Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen

A perspective of the municipal-school teacher's experience and constraints associated with teaching low performing students, in the city of Valparaiso, Chile.

-A qualitative study with an ethnographic aspect

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OsloMet – Oslo Metropolitan University

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

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Last, but not least, I own a great deal to my daughter, who finally will receive all my attention again, which I will welcome with open arms.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Abstract

This study contributes to qualitative research by exploring the situation of teaching vulnerable students in Valparaiso, Chile. The approach of the study recognises the interconnections between the various ecological levels in the students' life and how they create barriers for learning, which complicate the municipal teachers' work. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews, participant observations, semi-structured questionnaires, and informal conversations. Two teachers from different schools in Valparaiso, Chile were selected as the main informants. In addition, information from the Director of Education in Valparaiso was obtained as well as questionnaires from five additional municipal schools. The purpose of the study was to investigate the challenges affecting the teachers' practise and the possibility to reduce them, with the aim to increase the vulnerable student's academic results and reduce marginalisation. The study utilises the theory of ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and inclusive education theory. The two theories allow us to recognise how different influences from the micro,- meso,- exo,- and macro levels are interconnected, how learning barriers are created, and how these barriers affect the possibilities of inclusion at the school. The study discovered various factors at different levels that burden and complicated the municipal teachers' work, which recognises that a systemic collaboration is needed to improve the situation. Recommendations are made to adjust the educational evaluating systems and utilise contextualised long-term research to create better guidelines to address areas of concern, such as parent participation. Furthermore, the study recommends to better allocate funding to aim to improve the vulnerable students' social and behaviour skills as well as facilitate for the municipalities to create space for individual working methods, which should contribute to a more inclusive practice at the school.

Keywords: Chilean education, educational inequality, municipal school, ecological systems, inclusive education, learning impacts, diversity, vulnerability.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Acronyms

CPS- Colegio de Profesores de chile- Chilean National Assembly for teachers

IVE- Índice de Vulnerabilidad Escolar- School Vulnerability Index

JUNEBA- Junta Nacional de Auxilio Esolar y Becas- National School Aid and Scholarship

MDS- Ministerio de Desarrollo Social- Ministry of social development

MINEDUC-Ministerio de Educación- Ministry of education

OECD- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OPECH- Observatorio Chileno de Políticas Educativas- The Chilean Observatory of Educational Politics

PADEM- Plan Annual de Aesarrollo de la Educación Municipal- Annual plan for the development of municipal education

SEP- La Subvención Escolar Preferencia- Preferential Subsidised School Funding

SIMCE- Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación- Quality in education Measuring System

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF- United Nations Children´s Fund

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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Chapter 1. Introduction to the study

1.1 Organisation of the chapter

The chapter provides an introduction to the study and its significance, which both addresses why the area of educational inequality is still highly relevant and important to research, and why it attracts my interest. The chapter further deals with the objectives of the study and the context in which the study was conducted. The chapter as a whole aims to present the reader with relevant background information to create an understanding of the chosen direction of the study. The chapter concludes with the research questions.

1.2 Introduction

A phenomenon linked to educational inequality in Chile is the unequal distribution of children with different social, cultural, and economic characteristics in schools. Consequently, students from low socioeconomic backgrounds study mainly in municipal schools (Villalobos & Valenzuela, 2012), which leads to problems with marginalisation (Valenzuela et al., 2014).

The neoliberal framework of the country, introduced during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, 1973-1990, has a lot to do with the inequal distribution of students, especially since reforms in the 1980s forced municipal,- private,- and, later, semi-subsidised private schools to start competing. The competition consequently reduced the number of municipal institutions and the position of the municipal school in society. At the macro level, the current neoliberal structure creates a climate that aims at standardised productivity among students, which marginalises diversity by keeping a standardised national curriculum and measures knowledge with tests, developed to measure mandatory standardised requirements (Cavieres 2011, Villalobos & Valenzuela, 2012, Valenzuela et al., 2014).

At a national level, with a population of over 18 million, Chile struggles with a high Gini coefficient of 0,459, that indicates an uneven distribution of the national wealth. The number is at the higher end in Latin America and stands significantly higher than other developed countries, such as Norway, whose Gini coefficient is 0,249 (World population review, 2020b).

Yet it seems like Chile is celebrated in some ways, outperforming other countries in the region with high ratings of the United Nations' Human Development Index, ranking 42 in the world (United Nations, 2019).

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In addition, Chile has higher than average scores with respect to reading, science, and math from the PISA test of 2018 in Latin America (Di Gropello et al., 2019). The World Bank (2020) states further that Chile has one of the fasted growing economies in the region, which enabled them to reduce the number of people leaving in poverty.

1.3 The significance and purpose of the study

The introduction shows how Chile's unique education and political path is recognised as successful, while several issues are still present, especially with respect to the vulnerable students. In addition, the country has recently been involved in several major social movements, where students and teachers have entered the streets in protest, particularly in 2006 during the administration of President Bachelet, and in 2011, and 2020 under President Piñera. The protests opened people's eyes to the fact that not everyone agrees with Chile's trajectory towards a well-functioning quality education.

Therefore, it is my hope that this study will contribute both with narratives and practical knowledge regarding how teachers experience the Chilean educational development in municipal schools and how the progress can be made to promote vulnerable students' equal right to quality education. A Teacher has a unique position to potentially prevent and transform the practice. This, in my eyes, needs to be recognised first in research, and later at a macro level to enlighten the situation and guide society to adopt more sustainable and contextualised practice for vulnerable students.

Within the framework of inclusive education and the theory of the ecological system (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the study will take on a qualitative approach to investigate, from the municipal teachers' perspective, which factors at different levels of society, benefit or burden the municipal teachers' work in the classroom. While the theory of ecological system takes into account the specific context in which the study occurs and the web of different influences from the micro,- meso,- exo,- and macro levels, the inclusive education theory allows for critical review of the actions taken by the teachers and an understanding of the educational context.

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The study is important with respect to Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number four, which recognises equal access to quality education. SDG 4 highlights the importance of developing and acquiring the necessary skills through education in order to be able to take on a central role in an inclusive and sustainable society (United Nations, 2019). According to UNESCO (2020), the fulfillment of this aim requires the will and commitment of several bodies at a national level, such as the government, the private sector, and civil society. Commitment is important in order to use education as a tool to escape poverty and create social mobility.

The objectives that guide the study are:

Main objective

➢ To analyse the relations between challenges and effective teaching and learning for vulnerable students.
➢ To explore the scope for and the possibilities to reduce these challenges in the future.

Specific objectives

➢ To collect the municipal teachers' narratives about the nature of challenges that they experience.
➢ To identify how the municipal teachers, address the challenges in practice.

1.4 The context of the study

This section is divided into two parts. The first subsection presents the specific location where the study is conducted and the current context of the municipal school in Valparaiso. Secondly, it describes the events during the days prior to the fieldwork during which municipal teachers took to the streets in massive protests, demanding to be heard at a national level. The occurrence is important since it directly concerns the informants of the study, hence, can impact the interpretation of the result.

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1.4.1 The location and context of the municipal school

The study is situated in the city of Valparaiso, located in the center of Chile. The city is characterised by its geographical location with steep hills, creating the need for innovative architecture. Many of the buildings are therefore of a unique design, which, despite their beauty, causes problems. Most of the municipal-owned schools are consequently in need of renovation (PADEM, 2019).

Valparaiso has a population of 282,400 inhabitants (World population review, 2020a), of which 19 percent suffers from multidimensional poverty. This number is higher among children, and figures from 2017 show how 22,9 percent of the population between 0 and 17 are multidimensionally poor (CASEN, 2017). This group, because of school segregation, is highly represented in the municipal schools, as shown in figures from Vulnerability Indices of municipal school (Índice de Vulnerabilidad Escolar in Spanish, shortened IVE). Table no.1 presents the figures of IVE from both primary and secondary levels in Valparaiso. How IVE is measured is explained further in chapter 2.

Table 1. The IVE figures for the primary and secondary schools in the region of Valparaiso

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
IVE Primary	84.2	85.8	86.0	85.4	88.0	88.4	92.3
IVE Secondary	79.8	83.4	80.1	82.4	81.9	81.9	89.5

(JUNAEB, 2018)

Another factor that adds to the high enrolment of vulnerable students in municipal schools in Valparaiso is the decrease in the number of municipal schools over the years. This development is explained in chapter 2. The reduced number of municipal-owned schools has consequently increased the proportion of vulnerable pupils per school. Table no.2 presents an overview of the number of students enrolled per category of institutions in Valparaiso. A relatively higher share of students are enrolled in the private-owned institutions since the middle and upper-class prefer these schools (PADEM, 2019).

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Table 2. Number and share of institutions per type and students enrolled by category in the region of Valparaiso

Category	Number of institutions	Share of schools	Total enrolment of students	Registration percentage
Municipal	54	31,4%	18.695	33.1%
Private	18	10,5%	3.458	6.1%
Private semi-subsidised	99	57,6%	33.174	58.6%
Total Valparaiso	172	100%	56.565	100%

(PADEM, 2019)

The municipal school is divided into three levels, basic schooling for eight years, ages 6 to 13 years, which are low and middle school (colegio basica), and high school for four years, ages 14 to 17 years (colegio segunda basica). In 2003, the first 12 years of schooling became mandatory, the preschool is still not compulsory in Chile (Santiago et al., 2017). Boys and girls are mixed in the schools and it is mandatory to wear a school uniform, which is for free. Although, any loss or damage needs to be paid and replaced by the family. All municipal schools are governed by the municipalities that hire the administrative managers and are responsible to impact the academic performance of the school. The state on the other hand conducts controls and is responsible for the instructive materials, which means that all the municipal schools access the same materials. For each class, the teacher has to report on student's attendance, any test results, and general comments on students' behaviour in a blue folder. The blue folder is later used to grade students and control attendance, which is important because the school receives subsidised funding for attendance and not per registration.

Figure no.1 presents the organisation of Valparaiso's educational department, which each year releases a larger annual educational development plan called PADEM, designed and produced in Valparaiso under the overall management from the Director of Education. PADEM (2019) contains strategic guidelines and planning support intended to increase future generations' opportunities in life, especially those who are among the most vulnerable according to the social vulnerability index.

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Figure 1. Organisation of the educational department in Valparaiso

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                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │ Director of Education│
                        │    in Valparaiso     │
                        └─────────────────────┘
      ┌──────────────────┬──────────────────┬──────────────────┐
┌─────────────┐  ┌─────────────┐  ┌─────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐
│ Subdivision │  │ Subdivision │  │ Subdivision │  │ Department of │
│of Planning  │  │     of      │  │     of      │  │Participation  │
│and Management│ │Administration│ │ Pedagogical │  │and Citizenship│
│   Control   │  │and Finance  │  │   Support   │  │              │
└─────────────┘  └─────────────┘  └─────────────┘  └──────────────┘
   ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
   │ Area of      │ │ Area of      │ │ Area of      │ │Coordination  │
   │ Planning and │ │Administration│ │ Continuous   │ │area of       │
   │ Management   │ │and Finance   │ │improvement   │ │Participation │
   │ Control      │ │management    │ │and Technical │ │and Citizenship│
   └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘ │support       │ └──────────────┘
   ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ └──────────────┘
   │ Area of      │ │ Area of      │ ┌──────────────┐
   │ Monitoring   │ │ Management   │ │Support       │
   │ and pursue   │ │ of human     │ │program of    │
   │ educational  │ │ resources    │ │students      │
   │ results      │ │              │ └──────────────┘
   └──────────────┘ └──────────────┘
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(PADEM, 2019)

As part of Valparaiso's annual education plan, an analysis of the current situation is carried out within four areas: curriculum, leadership, school coexistence, and school resource. Within these areas, in the same order as above, the most important evaluations findings are described as follows:

- The curriculum has a great pedagogic approach to diversity, integration, and the community, where opportunities exist for a politically fair approach and improved practice in terms of quality. Permanent classroom assistance will further help to introduce and take responsibility for the school's psychosocial environment. Weaknesses in the curriculum are due to the lack of alternative recreational and cultural education activities and the fact that the comprehensive national curriculum is difficult to balance with the municipal curriculum (PADEM, 2019).

- To strengthen the leadership, it is recommended to promote a greater practice of self-evaluation, to improve the technical support to the schools' administration, and to strengthen the collaboration between the educational community and the university level. The municipality of Valparaiso needs to increase the level of communication

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within the organisation and create a broader co-responsibility for educational improvement with less supervision and fewer sanctions involved. In addition, Valparaiso needs to improve the recruitment of new leaders by using more appropriate criteria in the hiring process, a senior position is not enough as a guarantee for a successful leader (PADEM, 2019).

- Knowledge about safety nets for children and adolescents is systematically updated through the municipal's guidelines. It is necessary to increase knowledge about students with risk diagnosis and develop approaches with participation from various relevant sectors in society. Today, there is a lack of democratic practice with the respect to bodies that ensure representation, such as a student council. There is also a lack of time to coordinate and create a broader sense of unity between teachers, as well as a general lack of policies focused on preventing bullying, promoting gender equality, and managing conflict (PADEM, 2019).

- The municipality aims to reduce the teacher's lecture time and to free up time for democratic reflection and analysis, which can provide a basis for the development of a professional educational plan. Today, the resources are not sufficient to control the flow of purchases made by individual schools and there is a lack of professional staff in the management group. Finally, as there are a larger number of school facilities built during different periods and with different qualities of the material, the evaluation concludes that virtually all facilities managed by Valparaíso Municipal Corporation have infrastructure deficits and need to be updated (PADEM, 2019).

1.4.2 A social movement of teachers

Almost one year before I started the fieldwork, negotiations had been initiated between the Chilean National Assembly for Teachers (Colegio de Profesores de Chile in Spanish, shortened CPS) and the Ministry of Education. The teachers had been demanding improved conditions for the municipal schools but had been constantly rejected. Subsequently, this left the teachers with no other option than breaking out in a massive strike. They entered the streets of Chile on June 3rd, 2019.

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The Chilean Observatory of Educational Politics (Observatorio Chileno de Políticas Educativas in Spanish, shortened OPECH), a cooperative network for teachers, explained in a letter signed by the municipal teachers, how Chile needs to change the standardisation of education, which generates enormous stress in the educational communities. For them, their students are people, not a product from which they can squeeze out performance at any cost. This letter also mentions their refusal to implement the proposed curriculum change, in which, the government eliminates history, physical education, and art for the third- and fourth-grade students. According to these teachers, such a change would entail serious damage to both the physical and mental health of students and a loss of their historical identity (OPECH, 2019).

Most of the teachers' proposed solutions and requirements, were described as dependent on political will, and therefore not impacting the national budget. The exception was the historical debt, an old issue of disagreement between the teachers and the government, rooted in the history of the dictatorship of Pinochet. A promise had been made to the teachers that the decentralisation of Chiles's educational system would allow for compensation for money that the teachers had lost. However, these workers never saw any money, which later created a huge injustice and poverty among the now-retired teachers in Chile.

On July 22, 67 percent of the teacher voted to end the strike, although the Ministry of Education only gave in on a few points, such as providing monetary grants to special education and analysing the possibility of compensation of the historical debt. Despite this, the teacher union reported the result as a win because of their success in getting the government to treat them with respect by sitting down and talk to them (Colegio de Profesoras y Profesores de Chile, 2019).

Back in the schools again, the teachers had to work extra hours, in addition to the 45 hours work week, as a supplement to the hours lost during the strike.

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1.5 Research questions

To lend more specifics on the purpose of the study the research questions are as follows:

1. What challengers do municipal teachers in Valparaiso, Chile face while disadvantaged and low performing students?

2. To what extent and in what ways are municipal teachers addressing challenges in connection to these students in the classroom?

3. What changes do these teachers need to compensate and improve the overall schooling experience of these students?

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OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Chapter 2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction to the chapter

In the previous chapter, an introduction to the significance of the study, the current context, and the research questions were provided. This serves to set out the direction of the study.

Chapter two presents the theoretical frameworks supporting the study, which are as follows: inclusive education theory and the theory of the ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). While, independently, each framework has limitations, the double dynamic enables a more useful and holistic understanding, which is explained in the last part of the subsection. Both frameworks influence and validate the choices made during the study and support the approach used to interpret the data, specifically shown in the discussion in chapter 6.

The relevant theoretical frameworks and key concepts of the study are presented below, both in general and in connection to how they are connected to the study.

2.2 Inclusive education theory

The theory refers to a philosophic standpoint and a pedagogic practice that addresses the need of all students with the main goal of providing equal opportunities and respect for diversity. According to the theory, the decisions within the classroom should be based on individual needs. Equal opportunities are achieved when all students reach their full learning potential. In relation to vulnerable students, it commonly refers to students' social inclusion and social exclusion, which involves a recognition of the barriers that this group faces in order to access quality education or the danger that this group faces to be excluded from an education due to behavioural problems (Ainscow & Miles, 2008, Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus, 2014, UNESCO, 2005).

Inclusive education has its roots in special education, which explores different ways of responding to students with difficulties to learn. It started as separate support or a separate supplement to general education. Increasing pressure from human rights supporters forced the approach one step further, which means that the framework today aims at challenging and improving the overall system.

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The framework can be used to analyse the whole system or different areas in need of improvements such as the learning strategies, the organisation of the school, its culture, its curriculum, and its teachers (Ainscow & Miles, 2008, UNESCO, 2005).

Inclusive education emphasises the need for a transformative force, which in some cases has been criticised and outlined by teachers as difficult due to the limitation of resources and administrative support (Loreman et al. 2010, Hornby, 2015). Despite the fact that transformation is the main aim of the framework, it also takes on a constructive view with respect to the students' opportunities. By viewing student diversity in a positive light, the framework avoids focusing on the problems within the student that needs to be "fixed". For this reason, the theory is not only practical or organisational but also clearly philosophical, which also is highlighted by UNESCO in their definition of an inclusive view, which states; "a dynamic approach of responding positively to pupil diversity and of seeing individual differences not as problems, but as opportunities for enriching learning" (UNESCO, 2005, p.12). Thus, an inclusive school practise is more an ongoing movement rather than a process with a beginning and an end. The way of practising inclusive education is therefore to consciously challenge the thinking behind the actions, which is easier to execute in schools with a culture of collaboration between the teachers that allow for feedback and reflections between colleagues (Ainscow & Miles, 2008, Booth & Ainscow, 2002).

To adopt this philosophy, Braunsteiner and Mariano-Lapidus (2014) suggest changing our viewpoints and highlight that meaningful inclusion is needed to guide and recognise all members of society. In their approach, the first main point of departure is the use of language. How the teacher speaks to and about the student should not imply any negative labels as this would be the same as assigning the problem over to the student, contradictory to an inclusive view. A second main point of departure is to give the same learning access for all, which means not to follow a standard education that marginalise students outside the majority group.

Ainscow (2020) further recognises that the most important resource besides the teacher in inclusive education is the students themselves.

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She promotes engaging with the students and taking advantage of the students' potential by providing opportunities and experiment with teaching methods to find out how to overcome the limitations faced by the students due to their barriers. The practice needs to be reformed in order to respond positively to the diversity of the students and, as each student have their own individual needs it is important to recognise that one solution for all is not the answer. This means further that several working methods should be incorporated (UNESCO, 2005). Dyson et al., (2004) review on research on inclusive education and Booth & Ainscow, (2002) index for inclusive education adds further that a collaboration with the student in the learning is important, which generates flexible learning that allows for the student to participate and include their own knowledge and experiences. The difference between students should further be a resource and an opportunity to increase the learning for all participants in the classroom.

Inclusive education is intrinsically connected to education as a human right since it recognises not only the relevance of schooling but also its interrelationship to the participation of all beyond education. Because of the practical nature of the framework UNESCO (2005) recommends countries in need of reducing inequalities in education to introduce inclusive education and use various international guidelines as a foundation for a change.

For this study, relevant international guidelines include the Convention on the Rights of the Child as well as methodological guides and reviews produced by various organisations that aim to empower vulnerable students. The Convention on the Rights of the Child is important since it highlights the need to respect the individual student. International conventions provide a legal basis and weight to the key principle that they outline. A more practical guide can be found in a recent report developed by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The report directs attention towards the overall educational system of member states of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), including Chile, which is helpful when applying inclusive education theory. It also highlights the need to consider the specific context of each country since countries may hold different practices and values depending on the national character (UNICEF, 2018a).

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The Convention on the Rights of the Child is ratified currently by 196 countries, including Chile, which makes it the most widely ratified human rights agreement in history (UNICEF, 2014). Despite the fact that it leaves room for debate, and individual interpretations, it is today the most common force, globally, as an ethical and legal framework for the respect of children's rights.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child inside the school considers an overall child-centred pedagogy, where the child is active and participating in his or her own learning. The approach recognises students as essential and ensures critical thinking through active reflection about the child and an active dialogue with the child (Freire, 2000, UNICEF, 2018a). The students are respected as individuals and their strengths, abilities, and diverse learning is recognised as a foundation to build on [Article 12]. The teacher is guided by the realisation of the rights and is the one that holds up, supports, and stays true to the obligations to achieve the rights, which means that assessment of student's learning is diverse, relevant, and authentic. [Article 4]. The Convention on the Rights of the Child is also about raising awareness about discrimination [Article 2], which means that the teacher needs to be aware of language, materials, norms, and values in order not to act patronising against any group or individual. This emphasises the right of the student to be brought up with dignity, tolerance, equality, and solidarity [Article 3.1] [Article 6] (UNICEF, 2014).

The report by the UNICEF mentioned above ("An Unfair Start: Inequality in Children's Education in Rich Countries") enlightens how circumstances beyond the power of the student, such as birthplace and economic status of the parents can be addressed or their impact reduced. Even though the circumstances are challenging, some specific measures can help to alter the gaps between students. Especially mentioned in the report is the negative effect of a division of rich and poor students between schools, which likely produces schools with unequal performing results (UNICEF, 2018a).

Due to the objectives of the study, it is interesting and relevant to present what the report recommends at a global level in the area of inclusion and empowerment of the most marginalised and low performing students in society.

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The five main recommendations aimed towards richer countries in the world, including Chile, are the following:

1. Ensure preschool for all

   Accessible and affordable centre-based childcare benefits children, their families, and societies. It teaches children to play and learn with their peers and allows parents to achieve a better balance of work and family life. Early group learning reduces educational inequalities by preparing all children for primary education, regardless of their family background (UNICEF, 2018a, p.46).

2. Ensure schools with equal share of student from high and low socio-economic backgrounds

   Where children are sorted into different streams within schools, or go to different schools altogether based on their academic performance, children from less-privileged families tend to be over-represented in the lower tracks, with fewer opportunities in the future. Grouping children by their abilities is a long-standing feature of many school systems. There needs to be greater awareness of its role in reinforcing inequalities between children (UNICEF, 2018a, p.47).

3. Reduce the degree to which the student's socio-economic background impact the child's educational achievement

   Through a combination of family allowances and public services, rich countries can ensure that all children have access to a decent breakfast, suitable equipment, and school events and enriching extra-curricular activities, so that they are able to enjoy learning, develop varied interests and achieve their full potential (UNICEF, 2018a, p.47).

4. Invest in high-quality research about development on inequality and the effect on the individual child in different contexts

   We have found numerous gaps in data coverage and quality across rich countries. […] Longitudinal studies that follow the same children as they grow older would be particularly valuable. To understand the depth of educational

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disadvantage, we need information on all children, including those who are missing from standard surveys (UNICEF, 2018a, p.47).

5. Use the degree of inequality in policy and public debates

International comparisons should consider not just how countries are faring in average educational performance, but also the amount of inequality among the students in each country. Greater equality does not come at a cost to average achievement. Both are necessary to give all children a fair start (UNICEF, 2018a, p.47).

2.3 The theory of the ecological systems

Bronfenbrenner's theory about the ecology of human development tells us about how people are influenced by several environmental systems. Each layer of the system affects the development through the individual's interaction with various aspects of each layer. The process is seen as an ongoing development throughout life, influenced by relationships within and between both the immediate environment and the broader societal context. In other words, the layers are presented both in the close environment, through for example the parents and the school, and at a greater through for example the work of the parents (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Bronfenbrenner's model levels are labelled: micro,- meso,- exo,- and macrosystem. These levels, borrowed from Brim, were a result of Bronfenbrenner's studies on parenting, mediated by social class and gender, as well as his interest of the relationship between the adult and the child, which he referred to as the proximal process (Jaeger, 2016). The levels can be further described as follows:

- The microsystem concerns the child's immediate relationships and concerns environments, such as the child's family/household, classroom situation with teachers and peers, and other primary environments as the child belongs to. These systems are close to the child and involve physical relationships with social agents' in direct interaction. The level is highly relevant for the development of the child since the child is directly affected (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Inside the microsystems are the most important primary caregiver, which determines how the child develops emotional, cognitive, and social. The condition of the parent

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and child relationship is the first and most important system. The situation of the family can both lead the child toward a functioning system with learning opportunities or a situation with a poorer developmental outcome. For example, a child's development may suffer negatively by growing up in a destructive home, with fewer structures and less predictable practices (Kvello, 2012).

- The mesosystem is an interacting system that involves the interaction of components between different microsystems. A common or in most cases the most common mesosystem is between the family and the school (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Similar to the first layer, the influence of the mesosystem on the child depends on the child's specific situation and results can hence vary between children. The layer can either reinforce positive aspects of the child's microsystems, for example, through greater communication practice between the educator and the parents. It can also, undermine the development of the child and work isolated from each other, for example when communication practice between the educator and the parents is dysfunctional (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998).

- The exosystem includes factors that influence the child without or with limited interaction, which means it influences the development indirectly, such as the local community or the workplace of the parent. As mentioned earlier, overlapping exists between the layers (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This means that poor working conditions for the child's parents, a factor that belongs to the exosystem, can be a cause of dysfunctional communication practice between the educator and the parent or cause stress inside the home that affects the child's home environment in the microsystem.

- The last system is the macrosystem which, in similarity to exosystem is a layer that the child is not a direct member of. The macrosystem can be seen as the carrier of the greater values and ideologies in society. The layer can, for example, affect the child's freedom, it can involve the culture, decisions of the government, or political will When it comes to the microsystem can risks be visible in for example cultural alignments that can undermine the child through, for example, classism or racism that discriminates groups and threatens the individual belonging to the group (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, Jaeger, 2016).

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The theory emphasises the role of the school and the importance of the teacher as a caretaker in the vulnerable students' lives. It also introduces the different factors that impact the child in the various levels, resulting in advantages or disadvantages in the learning processes. The theory justifies the need to take into account the complexity that exists in each child's context while growing up. The teaching and learning situation inside the school is hence only a part of what influences the development of the child. These are important aspects to consider in this study.

Since each component interacts with other components, it is never easy to properly explain the child's context. The layers are also constantly changing as the child develops, the components are never static since the child is an active contributor and affects its nearest components. Bronfenbrenner also acknowledges the biological and psychical characteristics of the individual and divides them into three different characteristics: demand, resource, and force. These characteristics can identify cumulative risk factors in a child's development and reveal vulnerabilities. In relation to the study which specifically analyses children at a lower level in society, limitations may evidently arise in resources such as poor health. Low access to knowledge and experience, due to insecurity, lack of direction, or motivation, associated with the personality of the child also has an impact on force. Demand can also be discouraging due to reactions from the social environments, which can be related to gender, age, or group belongings (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, Jaeger, 2016, Kvello, 2012).

Over time, Bronfenbrenner adds a fifth layer, which he calls the chronosystem. The chronosystem basically recognises the timeline in which the child grows up and adds the important point that development is always based in a specific society at a certain time in history (Jeager, 2016).

2.4 Reflecting on the theory of inclusive education and the theory of ecological systems

The subsection presents a discussion of the choice of theory and key concept; it highlights why they are chosen and in what way they complement each other. The essence of the subsection is to make sense of why they are more important for the study together, rather than separate since they exclude each other's weaknesses.

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The inclusive education theory allows for critical analysis of the action taken by the teachers in the study and provides a conceptual framework to understand the educational context and to gain an understanding of the relative importance of the challenges taken on by the teacher inside the classroom. The inclusive educational theory offers a wide view of the rights of vulnerable students while Bronfenbrenner's theory to education helps the study limit the scope by narrowing the analysis to the specific situation and the specific context in which the individual lives (Ainscow & Miles, 2008, Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The latter can also be argued to compensate somewhat for a perceived weakness of the inclusive education theory related to the subjectivity of norms, morals, and values used to guide the knowledge; the issue of who determines the perspective. The inclusive education theory needs therefore as highlighted by UNICEF (2018a) to be modified into the specific situation of the country. In the case of Valparaiso, this means to recognise the inclusion of the large differences in students' socio-economic status depending on the school type (JUNAEB, 2018), and diagnose at a regional or local level the most pressing need to allocate sustainable measures that serve students from vulnerable groups.

On the other hand, limitations in the theory of the ecological system can also be compensated by the inclusive education theory. The ecological system theory recognises the individual interplay and active role in the various interacting systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). However, it does not fully recognise the individual as a resource for the various systems, which inclusive education helps to contribute to. As an example, can collaboration and participation of the student inside the classroom both be a resource for the teacher and for other students to learn and contributes to a more supportive and inclusive learning environment, as mentioning earlier (Booth & Ainscow, 2002, UNESCO, 2005). All students are also recognised as important and meaningful because of their later contribution to their communities, which is important for an efficient society (UNESCO, 2005).

Another important aspect is, how the ecological system theory emphasises both the relationship between people and between the different systems, which means that the theory emphasises both social interaction and the factors that influence the individual function in a specific sociocultural context.

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Acknowledging the latter is important because it recognises how the larger social, cultural, and historical structures in the macrosystem are essential in order to fully understand the situation that the teachers are engaged in. The theory is further beneficial to provide an understanding of which factors play an important role in the individual's growth or development.

Finally, I would like to point out that both theories support Vygotsky (1978) and his theory on the zone of proximal development; the ecological system, by providing an understanding of who plays an important role in the student's growth or development, and the inclusive education theory because of the child-centred philosophy. The zone of proximal development highlights what the student can learn with appropriate assistance, aiming to calibrate the student's level and give optimal challenges to increase the student's motivation. Because it allows the student to be successful, be in control and manage tasks, it also transfers the responsibility for learning from the teacher to the students as it regulates that the student is mastering the task. Hence, the student develops efficacy.

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Chapter 3. Political and legislative context of Chilean public education

3.1 Introduction and Organisation of the Chapter

In the previous chapter, the theoretical framework was presented on which the study is based and why they complement each other and exclude each other's weaknesses.

This chapter describes the background. It begins by describing the context in which teachers developed their practice, including the recent history of Chile, characterised by the implementation of neoliberal policies and relevant legislation from the macro layer that shaped the educational system and regulates how teachers' work with vulnerable students. It provides an awareness of the circumstances surrounding the teacher, as well as the socio-economic order and social policies that shaped the view on poverty in today's society. The chapter is significant because it provides a vocabulary necessary for comprehending the study's content and describes the cultural context and experience, that lie behind the behaviour and expressed views of the participating informants in the study.

3.2 Coup d'état and a neoliberal experiment

Early on the morning of September 11, 1973, tanks entered the streets of Santiago and an extremely aggressive battle broke out. The coup led by Augusto Pinochet and backed up by the United States caused the death of Salvador Allende, the sitting president at the time. The coup marked the end of Allende's attempt to bring Chile out from the financial crises through the nationalisation of large-scale companies. With the coup, the political orientation of the country changed from socialism to a right-winged position. The new era of dictatorship controlled by Pinochet lasted seventeen years and was marked by massive human rights violations, restrictions of freedom, and restrictions on political opposition. Businesses and natural resources were sold back to international private investors, which increased the division of the Chilean people into two groups that strongly disagreed or strongly supported the action, the latter mainly consisting of the upper-middle class or elite (Harvey, 2005, Sohr, 2011).

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In the years that followed, Pinochet implemented a neoliberal model of the economy and policies in Chile. The neoliberal framework originated from the University of Chicago and was brought over to Chile by the so-called "Chicago Boys"; a group of thirteen Chileans, who followed and supported Milton Friedman a professor at the University of Chicago (Harvey, 2005, Sohr, 2011).

Neoliberalism is a fundamental basis in Chile and needs to be explained to understand how the past affects the future and how subjectivities have been influenced and created. Many scholars agree that the introduction of neoliberalism into national political and economic systems is the cause of increased levels of income inequality, which eventually leads to strong gaps between different social groups and classes (Beckert, 2019, Harvey, 2010, Sayer, 2016). The term "neoliberalism" is a broad term and has been used since 1970. It impacted policies in different parts of the world, from Augusto Pinochet's Chile to South Africa during the post-apartheid period as well as through reforms in the welfare state of Sweden. The introduction of neoliberalism in society can affect every dimension such as the political, social, economic, and cultural aspects. It can be understood as an ideology or a system of ideas that provides a framework for individuals and society linked both to practice and theory (Hilgers, 2012). Neoliberalism is, therefore, multidimensional, and diverse and can be used in different versions or picked out as parts (Harvey, 2005, Blomgren, 1997). An analysis of a neoliberal framework must, therefore, include the context and the individual approach of the nation (Blomgren, 1997, Harvey, 2005, Hilgers, 2012). In the case of Chile, the control of a smaller homogenised group under the dictatorship led to large-scale implementations.

A neoliberal government works through a market-oriented approach. The goal of the state is to intervene in the market as little as possible. When the market is created, it is left to the competition to shape economic form and the social sphere, which means that the welfare state and rights of for example workers are left to the market. The state is still seen as essential to pursue corrections of fixed prices and monopolies that work against a self-regulating market. Neoliberalism hence has some important characteristics, such as market-oriented reforms, lower trade barriers, reduction of state influence, privatisation, and reliance on competition to secure development (Harvey, 2005, Hilgers, 2012).

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Neoliberalism also assumes that the individual knows what is best for her or his well-being and success, which means, that the individual has the liberty and the freedom of choice. The freedom of choice is further a mechanism of control, ensuring that various social services are functioning, such as healthcare and education. As consumers, the individual is given the liberty to control these services through the power to decide what and from whom to buy. It is therefore important to have the capacity to autonomously produce and performs as an individual (Cavieres, 2011, Harvey, 2005). The social sphere in a neoliberal society hence encourages certain values and operate within boundaries and foundations that foster people. In this sense, a neoliberal government is thereby influencing culture and subjectivation (Read 2009), which is more described in the last subsection of the chapter.

3.3 The neoliberal impact on Chile´s education 1975-1990

In 1975, a framework based on neoliberalism is introduced in the educational system of Chile. The Minister of Finance is first to announce the new program, which includes massive changes and reduces governmental spending in education by 25 percent, enabling the market to be a larger financer of the Chilean educational system. In a speech to the people of Chile, the Minister explains that there is a need for patience, because sooner or later a productive transformation will occur, including decreased poverty and a modernisation beneficial for all (Cavieres, 2011, Sohr, 2011, Harvey, 2005). The change is hence initiated and, as a first step, privatisation of public services is implemented, including healthcare, pension, water, electricity, and the educational system. Parents are now free to choose between a few private schools, funded by parents or the municipal school funded by the state, which allows the first stage of the educational competition, an important feature of the neoliberal framework (Cavieres, 2011)

By 1981, the government approves private schools for both primary and secondary education. In the same, the municipal school sector is provided with the autonomy to hire as well as dismiss teachers and manage school equipment and infrastructure, while the central ministry still holds on to the overall curriculum. This means that the Ministry of Education reduces its role as the management body of education. Furthermore, caused the transfer power a change in financing, which consequently caused financial problems for some municipalities (Assaél & Cornejo, 2018, Santiago, et al., 2017).

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In addition, a voucher reform is approved and becomes the basis for how municipal schools are financed. The monthly number of attended students translates to a certain level of financing, which makes it possible or forces the municipality and the private school to compete for students' enrolment. In 1988, the government introduces SIMCE (Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación in Spanish), an assessment system with two main purposes; measure the quality of the main parts of the curriculum and provide information to the educational customers, which in this case are the parents (Santiago, et al., 2017).

Throughout this period, reforms and policies are implemented under exceptional and antidemocratic circumstances, which weakens the position of the teachers and suppresses students' recognition as a group ability to express themselves jointly (Assaél & Cornejo, 2018). The dictatorship consequently also weakens the relationship between the individual and the state since the market takes the place as a central body and the individual becomes self-responsible because of the principle of absolute individual autonomy.

At the end of the dictatorship, economic growth arises, as a result of a society with a more consumer-oriented focus and a wider connection to the global market, which also means greater access to new technology. This economic progress is important to mention because it is the reason, together with the idea to maintain order in society, why the new democratic government in the early 1990s chooses to keep the neoliberal structure. Furthermore, the new democratic government makes the important decision to add strategies on top of the neoliberal structure, in an attempt to maintain economic growth, while at the same time trying to reduce inequalities in Chilean society (Cavieres, 2011).

The last thing Pinochet signs before his resignation are the transformational reform of the general law of education (LOCE). It was an attempt to keep control and create a culture of obedience and discipline. The law was perceived as the last legacy from the military government because of how it suppresses freedom and deprives teachers and parents of their right to make decisions (Muñoz, 2011).

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3.4 Chile's educational system in the post-dictatorship era, the 1990s- current situation

After almost two decades of dictatorship, Chile returns to democracy. As mentioned earlier, the government retains several features of neoliberal character in the educational system. Although, several attempts are made to reverse the negative effects, such as the implementation of new laws and policies. Some changes are less successful than others and worsen the educational situation, while others turn out to be more sustainable. Common for them all is the process of implementation which tends to lack harmonisation between policies the people of Chile and therefore a stronger authentic development is lost. The new democracy avoids to involve and create a space for social participation, such as including teachers and students in the political processes, which is somewhat contradictory to the teachers' and students' rights to be part of their own development (Bellei et al., 2018, Cavieres, 2011, Freire, 2000,).

In 1991, attempts are made to restore the teachers' status, which is made through establishing a minimum wage, improving the teacher's working conditions (introducing maximum working-hours per week and holidays), and strengthening regulations concerning discrimination. The reform successfully increases the registration of applications to the teacher's program at the university and reduces the number of teachers who feel insecure at work from 24 to 12 percent (Wales et al., 2014).

Between 1990 - 2002, Chile increases educational spending from 2,4 percent of the gross domestic product to 4,4 percent, and the figure continues to increase to 5,4 percent in 2017. While not being at the global top, the number is well above the global average (Cox, 2004). Education together with other social services such as healthcare now receives a larger share of the total budget. Although, the increase is not stable over the years and is even weakened in some years. The budget is hence under pressure (Palma Aguirre, 2008).

In 1993, one of the less successful decisions was made when a new funding system was introduced. The new funding system allows private schools to apply for governmental funding with the requirement to reduce fees for the families. The result is that the negative effects of the neoliberal system are unfortunately deepened.

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The third type of school develops in this process and the Chilean educational system now allows parents to choose between the three types:

- State-subsidised municipal schools
- Private semi state-subsidised schools, with reduced fees
- Private non-subsidised schools

The funding system, consequently, reduces the number of municipal schools, which means that the number of private institutions is now higher than the municipal once on a national level (Clavier, 2011, Mediavilla & Zancajo, 2018). The increasing number of semi state-subsidised private schools, which were introduced to increase the options for families with low socio-economic background, instead increases the gap between the middle class and the elite. Board members in larger-sized companies and owners of the private and private semi state-subsidised schools start to independently decide which families to register based on the student's previous results, the student's behaviour, and the family's social status. Consequently, students from vulnerable positions rarely access these schools. Greater socio-economic segregation develops in the educational system, with an elite hegemony at the top and families at the margin of society at the bottom (Valenzuela, 2011, Valenzuela et al., 2014, Bellei et al., 2018).

In 1996, the government introduces the school day reform to increase the hours each student spends in school. The reform process becomes complicated, and consequent several years are spent on the implementation on a national basis. The reform eventually becomes successful and improves academic performance by successfully give each student more time for additional curriculum-related activities (Santiago et al., 2017, Cox, 2004). In addition, it improves the connection to the Chilean context in the national textbooks, increases access to information and communication technologies (ICT), and introduces a new teacher practice with a greater focus on the student, which results in a more active student (Cox, 2004).

SIMCE is also expanding during this period and the test is conducted by all students on a national basis, measuring; mathematics, Spanish, nature- and social-science, in 4th grade, 8th and 10th grade.

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The expansion is a part of a greater aim to offer equal conditions and skills to the entire population, and by offering an equal curriculum, more students can be assessed with SIMCE. The scope of SIMCE is further developed to provide feedback to the teacher about the students' development while simultaneously monitoring the teacher's success. This adds an increased pressure at the teacher to perform, and, as the teacher is now is evaluated and can access better labour conditions through improving the result of SIMCE introduces, as a consequence, a competition between the teachers. However, the main purpose of SIMCES remains to indicate quality both for policymakers and the general public. It also remains as an important tool that maintains the free school choice and helps parents to choose the right school for their children since average results are published (Meckes & Carrasco, Paredes & Pinto, 2009).

In summary, the educational system of Chile is still characterised by neoliberalism and includes the following features:

- Competition between schools and free school choice for families.
- Standardised and productivity-oriented curriculum, which aims to emphasise the skills necessary for future participation in the workforce.
- Standardised assessment
- The transfer of public funding to the private sector.

When it comes to the free school choice and privatisation (both competition-based features), Valenzuela et al., (2014) empirical research explains how it now creates a higher socioeconomic homogeneity inside the schools than in the local area where the school is based and requires measures in these areas to reduce this negative trend. This means moreover, that the areas not large enough to maintain the number of schools required to create a competition affects at a lower degree. School segregation in Chile is further affecting social cohesion and students' social patterns; opportunities to socialise outside the student's social origins (Villalobos & Valenzuela, 2012).

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3.5 The governmental response to social movements

This subsection describes the main characteristic of the social movements that concerned the national public debate. In the 1990s, the low participation of young people in the election was explained by labelling young people as the "whatever generation". However, the same generation is interestingly the ones in the center of the social movements during the same period, which means that the presumed apolitical attitude obviously was not correct (Muñoz Tamayo, 2011, Schulz et al., 2010). In a case study reviewing the Chilean educational system, their informants express how the new generation shows less fear than their parents of challenging the system and confronting the existing culture in Chilean politics. Although they are still faced with the long-term tension that emerges when the marked-based foundation is challenged since it is still seen as an important basis for the educational system of Chile (Wales et al., 2014).

Despite the efforts of the government to improve and introduce new reforms after the dictatorship, the first movement was born in April 2006. Thousands of secondary students, with the support of their teachers and the teachers' union, demanded increased quality of education, reduced inequalities, and a more active and greater role of the municipal institutions in society. The movement lasted for more than two months and was named the "Penguin revolution" due to the black and white uniforms worn by the students. The first movement paved the way for the next major movement in 2011, which lasted for seven months, also led by students.

Both movements paid attention to the strong link between the failure with respect to inequality and the neoliberal characteristics of the educational system in Chile. The criticism can be referred to the constitutional law of education (LOCE), implanted during the last days of the dictatorship. More specifically, the criticism was aimed towards the rule of the market, that was seen as the reason for educational profit, discriminating practice, and favouring the private schools through the free school choice approach was the quickly increasing fees and costs at the higher educational levels, which basically reduced the access to higher education for poor and middle-class students at a national level. During the social movements in 2011, the administration of President Piñera rejected all demands from the students and instead tried to avoid the situation by offering scholarships directed to poor and middle-class students.

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The scholarship made a small impact on the protest, which continued for several more months. Some form of recognition by the state was finally given and the protest ended with a promise to allow some students to participate in the negotiations on new policies and the distribution of the national educational budget (Bellei et al., 2018).

Although the success of the movements was limited, the protests, from a sociological perspective, revealed that the new generation of Chilean youths were no longer afraid or traumatised by Pinochet's dictatorship and was capable of handling both educational discussions and political actions.

In 2015, the government made another attempt to avoid further protests by introducing the Inclusion law (Ley de Inclusión in Spanish), which aimed to reduce discriminatory practices and recognised the need to improve the conditions for low-achieving students. The law states that publicly funded schools, the municipal schools, and the private semi state-subsidised schools, would no longer be allowed to select students based on criteria such as students' academic performance, the parents' legal status, and the families' socio-economic background. If the number of applicants is higher than the school can accommodate, a random selection system guarantees no discrimination among the applying students. All schools, receiving funding from the state must further be organised as a non-profit organisation, which means that all resources allocated to the school, whether provided by parents or by the government, are used for an educational purpose. The Law, furthermore, ensures that poorly performing students have the opportunity to retake one course in basic education and another one in secondary education. In addition, deportation would no longer be allowed in the middle of a school year (except for serious offenses that jeopardise the safety of the school community) (MINEDUC, 2015). This means that it becomes harder to expel a student, even though, deportation is still allowed as a practice and can be used by the private semi-subsided private schools. In practice, this means that the expelled student will be moved from the semi-subsided private school to the municipal school.

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3.6 Compensational finance for schools and the educational system to address socio-economic disadvantage

To reduce the gap between students from families with low and high levels of income and attempt to homogenise the results of SIMCE, the government of Chile introduced the Preferential Law in 2008. The main objectives of the Preferential Law was to introduce a preferential school subsidy (La Subvención Escolar Preferencia in Spanish, shortened SEP), which provides an extra amount per student depending on the student's disadvantages, recognising that it costs more to educate students from low-income families. SEP hence aims to make it more attractive for private schools to enrol more vulnerable students. However, the debate on the introduction that occurred, especially from the left political side highlighted SEP as a less sustainable solution since the market-driven system is still operating. To receive the resource of SEP, the holder must sign an agreement on equal opportunities for all. How the resources later are used is more left to the municipality who is responsible for the budget and how to make improvements from within the school. The objective of SEP was to improve the quality and equity of education in educational establishments that serve students whose socioeconomic conditions may affect their school performance and to move towards education with better opportunities for all. The regulations for priority students are determined annually by the Ministry of Education and follow the criteria established in article 2 of Law No. 20,248. Currently, 99 percent of the municipal schools that provide regular daytime education receive the subsidy from the state at a higher degree (MINEDUC, 2016, MINEDUC 2008, Santiago et al., 2011, Wales et al., 2014).

To help to set the number of students eligible for SEP, the socio-economic measurement, IVE is used. This is calculated annually by the National School Aid and Scholarship (Junta Nacional de Auxilio Esolar y Becas in Spanish, shortened JUNEBA). JUNEBA estimates IVE based on the result of a parent survey on the student's background, conducted by the school. IVE varies from 0 to 100 percent, where a higher percentage indicates a higher risk of vulnerability and a student with low readiness for education.

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The students who have been identified as vulnerable are further classified into priorities based on the families' socio-economic level, or combined problems such as low socio-economic status and low performance or low attendance at school. JUNEBA also allows for food rations based on the result of the students' IVE (Cornejo et. al., 2005, Santiago et al., 2011).

The recent years, Chile has received financial support from the World Bank, through an educational-oriented loan, in order to reduce inequality and school segregation. The loan of US$100 million was approved in 2015. A clarifying comment by Alberto Rodriguez the World Bank Director for Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela was provided: "This loan will support the Government of Chile in its objective of reducing inequality through the implementation of structural reforms that will help achieve a more integrated society with equal opportunities for all" (Rodriguez, Word Bank, 2015). In the same document, the World Bank also acknowledges Chile's sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction, while the loan is still expressed as necessary, especially to improve access to higher education for all (World Bank, 2015).

3.7 The history of viewing poverty and a "good citizen"

The last subsection of the chapter addresses the individual responsibility and the individual's position in society. Due to Chile's specific context as a nation and the unique historical influence of neoliberal norms, it is important to address what kind of symbols from the society that influence the Chilean peoples' views, habits, and culture. The subsection serves the same purpose of the chapter as a whole: to contextualise and describe the lived experience of the informants in the study. The process of subjectivation is used to describe the dynamics.

Subjectivation is an ongoing process in which individuals and society interact. However, the process is also unique since the individual responds only from their own experience. Hence, the process of subjectivity is two-fold; it relates to some form of dynamic of control as well as the individual's active self-configuration or own continuous process of formatting an identity (Ball & Olmedo, 2013). The individual response to the dynamics of control can therefore vary in time and space.

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The view of poverty in Chile has changed over time, along with key historic events such as the fall of the dictatorship in 1990. The new era and the decades of democracy and economic growth in Chile brought increased social assistance and the creation of a new multidimensional way of viewing poverty. Multidimensional poverty expanded the old concept from economic poverty to include social capital, access to power, and level of participation in public space. The new way of viewing poverty also introduced the individual's ability to act and access the benefits and services of the government, which means that poverty is understood from the individual's ability to autonomously use necessary resources from society. Systems and social services, therefore, aim to reduce poverty by strengthening the individual's knowledge, increasing his or her capacity to manage risk, and helping the individual to provide himself or herself with basic goods. This means that the state takes a promoting welfare role through the market-driven system instead of a providing welfare role (Aguirre & Valderrama, 2015, Beckert, 2019).

Consequently, children from low-income families are understood primarily as a product or a generation of a family's weaknesses, and therefore families are responsible when their child fails. This means that families or individuals need to take responsibility for their own problems and risks and rely on each other when failing. The pressure and responsibility of the family are strengthened by neoliberal governing that promotes children as human capital: an individual should contribute to society by investing in personal success. This is a view that arose during the dictatorship and was reinforced during the modernisation (Vergara del Solar, 2015).

The neoliberal type of individual is also the concept that the student meets at school, which promotes for example productiveness and autonomy (responsible for their own future) to become a successful citizen and gain the skills and knowledge necessary to compete in the global market. This derives from the role of education and its relationship with the economic system and the modernisation process inputs on the identity (Down, 2009). The role of education is hence to introduce the students to the right set of values and knowledge required to stay within the neoliberal system. Because of the strategy to form students into an individual that society perceives as appropriate, some students can be excluded from the system.

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As mentioned at the beginning of this subsection, the process of subjectivity is not a single dynamic process. This can be seen in the modernization process of Chile and Cavieres (2011) suggests that various individuals are receptive to neoliberal subjectivity to a varying degree. Cavieres (2011) believes the new democratic government has failed to include all members of the Chilean population in its new implantations of policies and strategies, which consequently caused the Chilean people to take a step back from the dynamic of control. The new policies were implemented without consideration of the peoples' views, which developed an experience of exclusion and negativity towards the new strategies and policies. Cavieres (2011) further believes, because of this failure that the Chilean people have formed their own cultural behaviours, rejecting the international market approach and a culture based on productivity, self-management, and self-improving individuals.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Chapter 4. Empirical review of educational inequality and effective teaching

4.1 Introduction and organisation of the chapter

Chapter three provided a guide of the policies and strategies implemented by the higher level of society, from the time of dictatorship to the current day, in relation to education in Chile. Among the recent policies and strategies, several aims to reduce the negative effects of the neoliberal structure that had been introduced in Chile. For example, funding to schools with a high level of vulnerable students has been increased to mitigate the inequalities caused by the increasingly growing number of private schools.

Chapter four examines the importance of a well-functioning micro system for all children and pays attention to guiding principles of the role of the teacher in the student's life. The current chapter four further highlights difficulties that the teachers of vulnerable students can be faced with and analyses empirical research reports that address the lower social class and their academic performances. The chapter refers to literature about how teachers relate to and work with inequalities in schools. It also provides an understanding, in line with the ecological framework, of how the mesosystem interconnects the different microsystems and contributes to the students' socioemotional and cognitive development. An example of interaction between the meso- and microsystems that are relevant for this study is the interaction between the two key systems: the household and the school (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

4.2 Socio-economic inequality that is recognised globally

Education has a central place in a child's life in almost all countries since the school is often the most well-organised setting next to the household for children and young people. Consequently, educational institutions can be considered as a setting where society forms and foster the child.

Amartya Sen (1999) emphasised that the most significant role of an education system is to allow the child to achieve academic progress. The main function of education, according to Sen (1999) is not to reach the highest achievement level in society for all but instead offer the freedom to be able to study or the freedom to be able to enter a university.

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Education is, therefore, important for the student as a process to expand the freedom that the child or adolescent value, in line with the child's or adolescent's own capacity and will. First, once education has reached this status, students can be recognised as equal in society. The role of education can also contribute to the task of promoting democratic values, which recognise all members of society as equals. This essential task helps society to adopt democratic values as a lifestyle or way of living and not merely as a system of government or a form of organisation of social life (Sen, 2009).

It is almost a global phenomenon that children from less-privileged families are the ones that perform at the lowest level in the educational setting. With this in mind, we know that some countries have performed better than others when it comes to reducing the gap between low- and high-achieving students, which indicates that the task is not impossible. However, a detailed global solution is unlikely to be effective or sustainable because the methods used to reduce inequality inside an educational setting need to be contextualised to the specific country or the specific setting (UNICEF, 2018a). This indicates that each country must develop its own methods and take individual responsibility for providing the disadvantaged child with his or her rights to quality education. Researchers in different countries have taken on various approaches to analyse how a disadvantaged school start can be transformed into successful educational results. The following are three examples of such research from three different contexts.

In the United States, researchers have over a period of time investigated the teaching methods inside the classroom and analysed the result from a social justice approach. They argue for the importance of social justice methods and its ability to create an education with rich knowledge for all, despite the student's background. The main goal of this approach is to create a classroom environment where students are treated equally, regardless of their gender, religion, group belonging, or economic situation. The approach reflects the environment and values desired in a future society and the method aims to give the student the academic and critical skills needed to reduce the social factors that give rise to various forms of exclusion. Eventually, the student's chances to share the opportunities offered by society on an equal basis are expected to increase (Cochran-Smith et al., 2010).

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Research from England conducted by Harris (2011) seeks to prove the "oppositional culture theory" wrong; the idea that black students underperform in school because academic knowledge is not valued and integrated as part of their culture. Her research not only contributes to prove the theory wrong but also showed how black students in England underperform academically, not because of their culture, but because they belonged to the lower socio-economic level and lack of pre-academic skills to succeed in school. In addition, the students were, according to Harris (2011), put in an unjust position, when teachers, peers, and the society from the beginning placed them in the group expected to do worse.

> The findings do suggest that students from lower social class backgrounds perform less well in school and are less engaged in school-related activities than are students from higher social class backgrounds, which is not a novel finding. However, disengagement alone does not equal resistance; the disengagement must be accompanied by perceptions and attitudes that suggest intent to fail. (Harris, 2011, p. 179).

In conclusion, the research shows how young people, marginalised by social class, are less engaged in school, not because their culture resists education, but because they lack social actors who believe in them and the support needed to perform at a higher academic level.

In Australia, Gervasoni et al., (2010) have conducted an empirical study on the pilot project "Bridging the Numeracy Gap in Low SES and Indigenous communities". The pilot project aimed to provide richer mathematical knowledge to students from low socio-economic communities by assisting teachers to implement adequate methods and instructions and providing the resources needed to support low achieving students in mathematics. The pilot project involved students from the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities that according to the study had the need to be understood and taught based on their culture-specific situation. Two important steps that made it possible for the schools to close the mathematical gap between students and reduce the marginalisation of cultural ignorance within schools were taken.

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The first step enabled the teachers to identify each child's proximal zone of learning from a 15 to 25 minutes long individual interview, which provided the teacher with the information needed to individualise the child's instructions in mathematics. The second step was to provide the children in need of individual instructions a program in smaller groups with a specially trained teacher, 30 minutes every day, for as long as it was necessary for the student's growth.

4.3 Socio-economic inequality, academic achievement, and student's wellbeing

Research indicates that children from low socio-economic households develop academic skills slower than children from high socio-economic households. Furthermore, socio-economic barriers due to the parents' level of education, income level, and social network are linked to a higher dropout rate than the average student and a lower chance to enter or complete higher education (Morgan et al., 2009, Lundetræ, 2011, Winding & Andersen, 2015, UNICEF, 2018a).

In relation to the ecological systems, international research implies that poor academic achievement of vulnerable students is not exclusively caused by the quality of teaching or the standard of the school. Instead vulnerable students' poor academic results can have several interrelated causes (Devlin, 2010, DeCarlo Santiago et al., 2011).

The complexity of the unequal performance by students has historically been studied less in Chile. This is due to the fact that methodological approaches in the Latin American context primarily have followed a quantitative tradition (Fleer & Oers, 2018). Qualitative research has not been absent in Chile but limited by restricted government funding. It has therefore been difficult to establish a research community that enables development in the field. The progress made in the qualitative research community today is largely due to the influence of international organisations as well as the impact of the social protests, which highlighted the need and aroused the interest of questioning and criticising the structural inequalities in Chile at a local level (Contreras et al., 2017). Specific research in areas, such as parental participation in education is still far behind in Chile and it is not rare that research influenced by the United State is used instead of research with data from Chile (Lara & Saracostti, 2019).

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To inform this study, a review of multiple research projects in Latin American has been carried out. The projects cover the fields of children's learning and development and how younger children from low socio-economic levels struggle with oral language skills in school. The following sections provide a brief summary of the main points of the various studies.

Although Chile has a higher average score than most other countries in Latin America in literacy, factors that can negatively affect children's ability in literacy are found in the country. Such factors can be linked to the child's closest environment, such as low academic stimulation in the household and low standards of living. In the search for better methods to improve the situation in Chile interventions focused on literacy have been tested out in schools. Two different interventions, aimed at improving the child's vocabulary, reading comprehension, and phonemic skills, proved to be successful in increasing most children's academic skills in reading and writing. However, both interventions also confirmed that the strong gap between students with high and low socio-economic backgrounds was difficult to reduce. The children with the lowest pre-academic skills learned the new skills more slowly in the first model and in the second model, which focused on reading sections in smaller groups, they had no opportunity to develop any new skills at all since their low skills hindered them from understanding the text at the beginning of the project. This shows how important the early social exchange is to both foster and develop language skills and to be able to participate fully in society later in life (Strasser et al., 2016). Moreover, since children's school readiness and academic achievement is directly linked to early educational interventions, Bhattacharya (2010) advocates that the most critical investment that can be done is to invest in early childhood education, which means providing all children with a mandatory and free preschool system.

In relation to the quality of teachers, Gazmuri et al., (2015) videotaped more than 50.000 observations of classrooms and analysed the influence of the teacher's action on the classroom environment in Chile. The study showed how the teacher's ability to guide the class collectively was a significant factor that increased the academic performance of the students. This indicates that the classroom environment is an important factor for the student's performance.

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The teacher's ability to handle the class was further dependent on the teaching skills or the teacher quality, although factors outside of the teacher's control also impacted the result. Such factors include the size of the class.

The quality of teaching and the effect on the socio-economic gap has further been researched by Torres (2018). Torres´s study indicates, positively, that the number of effective teachers that work in the municipal schools with students from the lower socio-economic level in Chile is high. The study shows, moreover, how effective teaching is more important in these schools than in the schools with a higher number of students from households with a higher socio-economic level. This was found by measuring the effects of the lower performing teachers in the different types of schools in Chile, which showed that an underperforming teacher had a greater negative impact in schools with more disadvantaged students.

> […] findings imply that, in the Chilean context, teacher quality is a relevant driver for inequality of educational opportunity. In circumstances in which public policies looking to enhance the quality of teaching are one of the main priorities in the educational agenda for most countries (including Chile), our evidence suggests this as a critical factor for tackling educational inequality. (Torres, 2018 p. 405).

This research suggests that a higher quality of the poorer performing teachers may have a leveling effect on the gap between students with low and high socio-economic backgrounds.

Research has further investigated the influences of the microsystems on the child's satisfaction in life. Important settings or factors for the child's subjective well-being in these studies are the schools, the relationships inside the family, and the standard-level of the neighbourhood, which all impacts the child's self-image and health (Lawler et al., 2017). An investigation with an ecological perspective in the same field carried out in Chile reports that 1.329 Chilean student aged 10 to 13 years old was more influenced by the relationships and the environment at their school than their grades and performance. Children, hence, perceived performance to have less impact on their school satisfaction.

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The low impact of school performance on satisfaction could be explained in the municipal schools by the student's lower cognitive ability or by the impact of their disadvantaged position to perform well in various academic settings. In addition, the study showed that the highest listed factors of the students, in order to achieve a high level of wellbeing and a high level of satisfaction inside the school were; the relationship with the teacher, to be treated well, and to feel safe. Recommendations were also made from the researchers that a neighbourhood improvement and an improvement of the relationship between the child and the parents were needed in order to increase the life satisfaction of the student's from a lower socio-economic background (Gómez et al., 2019).

4.4 To teach students with low socio-economic background

Effective teaching to support a student with a disadvantaged background has been identified to include a supportive relationship between the teacher and the student. While educational policies often concern the content of education, Vaughn and Baker (2004) argue that the attention instead should be directed towards increasing the understanding of the students' situation, which could result in an increased students' performance and improved quality of teaching.

Chubbuck (2010) points out how teachers who work with students that struggle, especially from families with low socio-economic status, can create a deficit thinking; a focus on what the student does not know. The way of thinking often occurs when the teachers feel defeated and when the teachers give up and thereby believes that the student is out of the teacher's ability to teach. The situation can occur because of several competitive pressures such as balancing a wide range of students with complex requirements, dealing with educational policies and regulations not consistent with the students' physical and cognitive ability, or experiencing a lack of support from the family of the student. Deficit thinking can also include stereotyping that informs of misinformed thinking, such as when the teacher or school, groups students, for example, students from poor families or students with low performance (Devlin, 2011, Devlin, 2010). These stereotypes contribute further to characterise students into presumed views such as students from poor families are lazy, uses harsh language, or are poorly raised by irresponsible parents.

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To reverse the deficit thinking challenge Gorski (2012, 2013) recommends the teacher to incorporate a dialogic-driven collaborative pedagogy, and to listen to the students' stories, which can challenge the characterisations made from misinformed thinking, and instead promote the examination of how to eliminate the negative outcome from socio-economic disadvantages that prevent the students from achieving at a higher academic level.

The action of deficit thinking means, moreover, that the teachers' performance is not free from values and beliefs and involves actions of power. Values can be caused by various personal experiences of the teacher and it is therefore important that an educational community works actively to impact and prevent that employees at the school internalise stereotypes into the organisation (Cochran-Smith et al., 2010). Coleman and Glovers (2010) further suggest that the leaders of the educational community should work towards creating an inclusive environment inside the organisation, by allowing all members of the school community to participate in decision-making processes and thereby staying on top of reviewing the organisational values and beliefs. The strategy of inclusive leadership impacts moreover, positively on the organisation by promoting the same values inside the classroom through inclusive teaching and equally give the students equal opportunities. Coleman and Glover (2010) suggest further to introduce the "five whys" when dealing with reflection work of values, concerning inclusive teaching, to ask "why" helps the teacher or the head of the organisation to visualise the root of the value and "why" the value possibly are less feasible for the organisation and its members. As stated by Coleman and Glover "A decision which may originally have been based on teachers' preferred pattern may change as the underpinning principles of good teaching, underpinned by fairness become clearer in answering the whys" (Coleman & Glover, 2010 p. 37).

This is, also in line with the study of Ainscow (2005) that draws attention to the importance of encouraging reflection between teachers by incorporate a practice of group discussions, based on, for example, observations or interviews made with students. When the culture in the school allows for different views and opinions, the chance increases that the teachers rethink their practice and embraces change (Messiou et al., 2016).

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This feature of an organisation also facilitates and makes the process of implementing new policies more sustainable, due to the already established collaboration between the teachers that challenge thinking (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). An inclusive organisational culture, open for dialogues, are furthermore more likely to have greater collaboration with the parents and the community (Ainscow & Miles, 2008).

To increase the social support inside the classroom and prevent the occurrence of behaviour problems suggests research that a changed pedagogic approach can be facilitated by paying attention to transforming the classroom. The incorporation of a second learning space allows the teacher to divide the class into smaller groups that enable different types of activities and workshops. Learning in communities allows further to focus on ownership and participating of the students since it reduces the instructional talk in front of the whole class and allows students to be engaged in the learning process (Byers et al., 2018, Kariippanon et al., 2019). Moreover, is the incorporation of the student's personalities inside the classroom, such as artworks and projects an effective way, shown by research, to increase the feeling of ownership and respect for the environment (Barrett et al., 2015). The study of Van den Berg et al, (2012) shows furthermore, how students who interact more reduces peer victimisation. By decreasing the distance between students, for example by rearranging the sitting within the class allowed the students to interact in a more diverse group, which changed their perspective of each other to the positive.

4.4.1 The effect of the poor composition of students from different socio-economic levels in school

Gustafsson et al., (2016) studied data from 50 countries with a focus on identifying school-related factors that affect the student's results in mathematics and science. The study shows how students' peer networks are among the factors that can reduce academic performance in classes with a larger number of students from low socio-economic backgrounds.

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Although the evidence for peer effect was only partially recognised as the explanation, the study pointed to how a large number of low performing students in a class are related to other negative outcomes, such as poor school climate and low quality-teaching. In schools with a higher number of students from higher socio-economic backgrounds both the school climate and the quality of teaching increased, as the students came to the school prepared and had greater pressure from the parents to perform well.

In relation to the effect of a composition of students from the same socio-economic class is the high connection between students with a lower social-economic background and peer victimisations. López et al., (2018) study explore, in the sixth grade in Chile, the relation between peer victimisation and high composition of students with low socio-economic disadvantages. The result from the 405 participated schools showed how 74.8 percent of the students had been bullied in various ways by a peer in the last month. Several variables were found to contribute to the high level of bullying, for example, that students with a high absence from school were more likely to be exposed to exclusion when they return to the school and that students suffering from poor mental health were at a higher risk of being bullied. The study also showed how significant the classroom environment is and the importance of achieving a sense of belonging in the class for the individual student, hence recommendations were made from the researchers to strengthen the classroom climate in order to reduce bullying. Climate improvement efforts were further believed to increase the interactions within the classroom with the recommended methods to introduce more face to face communications to avoid a distance between peers and between the teacher and the students. Coleman and Glover (2010) also believe in the positive effect of increasing the interactions between individuals in a classroom and adds how it contributes to a higher degree of teacher satisfaction when the classroom climates are more open and greater communication takes place between the student and the teacher. A larger integration of all inside the classroom is further a step to broaden the students' view of each other and gives the message to the students that people exist in diversity and how each students' truth is a perspective of his or her interpretation of the matter (Brooks & Brooks, 1999).

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4.4.2 How to increase parental participation in school

The debate about whatever the school can help unmotivated parents to start participating in their child's education is important. Research shows that the right programs focused on increasing parental involvement can have a positive impact on the student, the family, and the school community (Jeyenes, 2012, Catalano & Catalano, 2014), which indicates that schools should be an active promoter in engaging parental involvement programs. Although, the debate also concerns the question of whatever behaviours such as self-discipline and loyalty, both needed to be engaged in the school community as parental support is possible to modify. Social scientists express a concern that such an act only becomes successful when the parent voluntarily wants to change, while others believe in learning methods possible to impose a different perspective among the parents (Lara & Saracostti, 2019). A cross-sectional research that examined the sampled from 516 parents to children in the municipal school of Chile shows several factors that reduce the success of parental cooperation and support in the municipal school. The factors featured in the research were, the parents' sense of their academic capacity to help their children with the school work, parents' perspective on the time and energy available to be involved, and parents' perception of when the child becomes self-sufficient. The study, furthermore, argues for the importance of the parents to understand the significance of why parental involvement is important that the parents understand and that their engagement has a larger and positive impact on the child's learning and in some cases the child's mental health and suggest that cooperation can be increased through providing a specific program. The main feature of the program is to allow the child to be the active promoter of their own education, which allows the child to invite the parents, and plan parental cooperative activities both in the home and in the school. To incorporate a participatory focus that includes the child argues to have a greater impact on the parents than when a teacher invites for a meeting or an activity at the school (Reininger & Santana López, 2017). Moreover, adds (Gorski, 2013) the need for the school to nurture a positive and trusting relationship with the parents, which means to foster ongoing communication, as well as reaching out when something negative has happened.

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4.5 The importance of the microsystem and mesosystem for the child

To grow and develop as a child is strongly connected to the child's identity formation and the process of socialisation, which refers to the process where the child forms and develops the skills, habits, and norms necessary to participate in a social setting, like the school. The primary socialisation process takes place inside the child's family or with the child's caregiver and the second socialisation process when the child later enters the school. During childhood's socialisation, within the family, or in relation to the child's teachers and peers can a negative as well as positive outcomes occur, which can affect the child's wellbeing (Kvello, 2012).

Since socialisation, as a whole is an ongoing process where values are formed, reshaped and new roles are learned, each step is important for the child's ability to understand the new experience. The lack of previous experiences can, in the worst case, lead to the ignorance of a new experience (Brooks & Brooks, 1993).

4.5.1 The importance of the household for vulnerable students

A strong and secure attachment with a primary caregiver in the home is a core feature of developing resilience and a healthy personality for a child, in addition to a safe and nurturing home. This is seen as a healthy foundation for the child to perceive the outside world as a safe place to explore and develop independence, which is important for the first years of schooling. Children who lack this security and grow up in families with stress caused by financial or personal circumstances are more likely to develop lifelong behavioural problems associated with their vulnerable situation (Catalano & Catalano, 2014, Lara & Saracostti, 2019).

Socially constructed factors in the student's life provide further, different levels of school readiness, which means different levels of physical, emotional, cognitive, and social development. The development in households with lower socio-economic levels are more likely to be negatively affected for the readiness to formal education and according to research, exposes these children in high number to family members with a depressive disorder, anxiety disorder, or psychological distress.

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Domestic violence or exposure to threats and harm is also found more common in families with a lower socio-economic level, which impacts the child's psychological health (DeCarlo Santiago et al., 2011).

Low readiness is further associated with a lack of learning opportunities in childhood. The absence of cognitive enrichment does not affect the child to the same degree as the exposure to the stress-related factors mentioning above (Sheridan & McLaughlin, 2016). However, it still causes a disadvantage for vulnerable students' learning. A cluster analysis from 2019 with 498 participated caretakers and parents of children in the municipal school in Chile confirm that the lower-achieving students are more likely to have parents with lower involvement in their children's education (Lara & Saracostti, 2019).

The result of the study is according to the researchers in line with international evidence. The study showed also how variations in academic resources and repertoires of educational activities offered by the child's household are dependent on the parents' income level and /or affected by the parents' previous experiences. The parents' previous experiences form the meaning behind why it is important to be involved in their children's' formal educational process, which means parents interpret and draw different conclusions about what is important for the child.

To read for the child in the home, together with great communication and extra curriculum activities such as visiting museums promotes early learning and cognitive stimulation, which plays a role in the child's cognitive development and the child's readiness for formal education. Moreover, has a language with linguistic diversity shown to be positive for the child's language development. These assets or experiences are also relevant factors for the child's ability to focus and working memory (Shonkoff et al, 2009, Hackman & Farah, 2009). Furthermore, shows the study of Leyva and Nolivos (2015) that Chilean preschool children whose parents asked them more questions in negatively perceived situations, improved the children's impulse-control and self-government.

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Research further shows that parents with high educational backgrounds have a better attitude towards reading with their children than parents with lower or no education in Chile. This is explained in the study by the higher income that allows them to purchase children's books, which are priced high in Chile, in relationship to the average salary. Another factor is the lack of access to public libraries in poorer areas. There is, furthermore, in general, a low culture for reading books, which also could impact the habit of engaging children in literacy activities inside the home (Strasser & Lissi, 2009).

4.5.2 The impact of domestic and community violence

Violence against children in Chile is according to UNICEF (2018b) of concern. Physical as well as psychological abuse from parents is widespread. In the last decade over 210 children have been reported dead as a consequence of domestic violence, and a larger number of children have been separated from their families and placed in residential care or with other family members.

The exposure of domestic abuse in various forms concerns and affects the child's emotional regulations, which means the child's strategies to cope with and respond to fear and other negatively perceived situations with high-stress exposure. In the classroom, this type of poor development can cause inappropriate behaviours such as anger, passive-aggressive behaviours, difficulty concentrating, and difficulty showing affection, which in turn affects the child's ability to learn (Sheridan & McLaughlin, 2016).

According to research, have children who live in families with multiple demographic risk factors, such as poverty, unemployment, and poor mental or physical health a higher risk of being exposed to or experiencing various forms of violence. A low social status in society and single parents' households is further also known to increase children's exposure to violence. All exposure to violence is more or less known to cause harm, even though household-related violence and community-related violence seems to have some differences in which level they cause harm for the child, are both connected to the development of aggressive behaviour. Children exposed to one kind of violence are also at increased risk to fall victim to more forms of abuse (Mohammad et al., 2014, Ma et al, 2016).

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The research from Ma et al., (2016) identifies that young victims of violence in Chile cause behaviour problems among adolescents.

"Consistent with prior literature and the study hypotheses, we found adverse behavioral and emotional outcomes among adolescents exposed to intimate partner physical aggression, parental corporal punishment, and community violence" (Ma, et al., 2016 p. 509).

The community violence experienced by children in Chile has also been shown to cause a high risk of the development of sleeping problems and nightmares. Additionally, shows the study a high degree of depression, anxiety, and fear among these children. Adolescents who experience violence are also more likely to be socialised to resolve conflicts with violence, which increases the statistic among young people who are exposed to violence to become violent themselves (Ma et al., 2016).

The exposure of violence, in relation to the child's educational process, reduces the child's connection to school by negatively making the child's academic achievements less effective due to a compromised focus.

Risks can also be found in the opposite. When the child has a low connection to the school, the child is more likely to search for other environments to be recognised in, which may, in turn, lead to an environment that challenges authority and adult rules, and increase the child's exposure to violence (Borofsky et al., 2013).

Recommendations from studies focused on children exposed to violence are to be aware of signals, such as psychological distress and less school engagement, alcohol and drug use are also found by research to be commonly used by adolescence exposed to violence. Children exposed to violence require great interventions to prevent any long-term developmental issues that will cause academic challenges. Parents and teachers need to be aware of their importance and act supportive. The child must be followed up at school for a longer period of time as visible behaviour problems caused by exposure to violence are unlikely to appear in the beginning. Some forms of violence may not be visible to others, but the impact on the child can be both be severe and disabling. To promote a warm and non-violent home might have the greatest overall impact, since the home environment provides the foundations for the child's development, as mentioned above (Borofsky et al., 2013, Ma et al., 2016).

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Chapter 5. Methodology

5.1 Introduction and organisation of the chapter

In the previous chapter, I introduced the empirical literature review, which helps to describe how this study is related to prior studies and why this research is relevant. In this chapter, I provide a brief methodological framework that helps to explain and support the chosen research design that upholds this study. The aspects included here include a description of the site, the process of selecting informants and schools, the chosen methods for the study, a description of the analysis, and an explanation of the setting before the fieldwork began. This chapter also contains ethical considerations and reflections as well as the implications of the work done in the field.

5.2 Description of the research

This study was conducted in Valparaiso and aimed at investigating the municipal teachers´ experience and constraints associated with teaching low performing students. The study was conducted at two public schools, one primary and one secondary, from which the respective headteachers were from. These teachers are referred to in the study as Headteacher A, from the primary school and Headteacher B from secondary school. Both teachers were interviewed during the collection of the data and observed while teaching their main classes. Additional data collection came from ten questionnaires, distributed to ten headteachers, in five different public schools, and, a larger semi-structured interview, conducted with the Director of Education for the municipality of Valparaiso. The time frame for this data collection was between July and August of 2019. Below follow two tables providing the overview of conducted interviews and questionnaires, with additional relevant information. The number added to each conducted interview and questionnaire is also used in the presentation of the research result.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

5.2.1 Summary of interviews and questionnaires conducted in the study

Table 3. Number of interviews and questionnaires conducted in the study

No.	Date	Informants	Time
1	31/7.2019	Headteacher B	45 min
2	1/8.2019	Headteacher A	30 min
3	5/8 2019	Director of Education (Silvana Sáez Valladares)	45 min
4	13/8.2019	Headteacher A	30 min
5	16/8.2019	Headteacher B	30 min

Table 4. Number and information about the conducted questionnaires

No.	Date	Teaching grade	Number of students per class	Teaching experience
Q.1	13/8.219	Primary	38 students	1-3 years
Q.2	12/8.2019	Primary	40 students	5 + years
Q.3	17/8.2019	Primary	30 students	5 + years
Q.4	13/8.2019	Primary	-	5 + years
Q.5	12/8.2019	Primary	40 students	5 + years
Q.6	10/8.2019	Secondary	42 students	5 + years
Q.7	3/8.2019	Secondary	25 students	5 + years
Q.8	20/8.2019	Primary	30 students	3-5 years
Q.9	12/8.2019	Primary	-	1-3 years
Q.10	12/8.2019	Primary	36 students	5 + years

5.3 Site and participant selection

Finding participants and a place for this study proved to be a major and time-consuming challenge. This process was firstly unsuccessful before the fieldwork even began when several attempts to contact the school authorities failed. Well at the site, I began to rethink my strategy since the difficulties in contacting the schools were most definitely a result of the poor timing of the fieldwork and a different approach was needed. Why this timing was poor but still interesting for the study is described more in chapter 1. In view of the context and with the new strategy, it became important to create a movement forward in the study, I, therefore, made the choice to implement the snowball strategy, a technique where the research participants identify other participants. This strategy can have the advantage of both gaining trust and reducing power relations (Cohen et al., 2018).

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S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

I quickly identified people who could access others, qualified for inclusion, and in line with the description of the snowball strategy. I later used these connections to increase the number of participants in the study. Some participants from this strategy were selected for the questionnaire and some became the primary informants in the study. During the process, I was well aware of the bias of this strategy, even if the bias was reduced by a low level of integration and personal relationship between me and the contacts. Despite the risk of bias, I still believe that this process was a crucial step for the execution of this fieldwork.

5.3.1 Criteria in selecting of the informants and the process of selecting the right schools

To find the two headteachers, four teachers were first taken into account to select from. The term headteacher in this research defines the teachers who are responsible for a class. This level of responsibility was important for the study since this ensures that the teachers work close to the vulnerable students and their households for an extended period. Having access to conduct participant observations at the schools of the headteachers was necessary for the study which is why the level of access became the second criterion for the final selection of the two headteachers. The criterion ensured that the interaction between the words of these teachers and the active teaching process could be analysed. This approach allowed searching for contradictions, since, what people say can differ from what they do. It also provided a closer opportunity for contextualisation of social significance.

Because of the situation in Valparaiso's municipal schools, I knew from the beginning that the teachers were probably involved in classes with high levels of vulnerable students. This was of course also discussed with the headteachers before arranging the meeting with the school´s authority.

The final two headteachers, that eventually were chosen, had experience over five years in the municipal school and were both expressing an active commitment to the local community. Both teachers participate in the local teacher movements and voluntarily participate in a program aimed at improving the municipal school in Valparaiso, initiated by the department of education in Valparaiso These teachers also expressed a great interest in the realisation of this study and a mutual interest in the chosen topic, which was all considered to be an access for the study.

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The remaining informants who were asked to fill in the questionnaire were also selected from the snowball strategy, where teachers provided information about other teachers. These teachers were selected based on the criterion of having employment as a headteacher at a municipal school in Valparaiso. Finally, headteacher B provided the needed assistance to arrange the semi-structured interview with the Director of Education in Valparaiso, Silvana Sáez Valladares. Silvana is a former principal for a municipal school in Valparaiso, an experienced English teacher, and holds a Master's degree in School administration and management.

The process of choosing the right place for the study became a process hand in hand with the choice of the two headteachers. During this process, two visits were made, one to each school, where I did a closer evaluation of the schools and obtained the principal's approval to carry out the fieldwork. Both schools were approved after these visits and later became the sites for the study.

To provide a better understanding of the setting for this study, a brief descriptive section about the schools is given below and my first visit to them.

5.3.1.1 School A

The first visit to School A mainly gave me information on the surrounding area and the standard level of living in the local community. In general, there is a low geographical division between rich, middle-income, and poor areas in Valparaiso. However, the area where School A is located is high up in the hills, with few grocery stores and poor access to the local bus. The houses in the neighbourhood, like the school, hold a simple quality, which indicates a low economic standard. In other words, this was not an area that someone with a good economy had chosen to settle in. School A is one of the older municipal schools in Valparaiso and the municipalities' review of the schools in Valparaiso presents the school as one with cultural heritage and a larger engagement for mutual respect and student-focused learning (PADEM, 2019).

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S234409
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The following table no. 5, gives the municipal figures for the number of enrolled students and the relatively high share of vulnerable students at school A. The SEP explained in chapter 2 is the number of students for whom the school receives additional financial support- due to these students´ exposed position.

Table 5. Figures of enrolment of students' IVE and SEP of school A

Category	Level	Total enrolment of students	IVE percent	SEP	Total SEP
School A	Primary	122	88,5	103	84,43%

(PADEM, 2019)

5.3.1.2 School B

This school is located below the hills, in the commercial center of Valpraiso´s patrimonial part, and consists of one larger secure building. The surrounding environment revealed limited information about the students. Hence, much of the first impressions arose through the first meeting with the principal. During this meeting, I first explained the approach and the aim of the study. We then discussed the regulations and general information about the school. In this part of the conversation, the principal revealed clearly how students at this school struggled which, according to the principal meant, that I had to take extra precautions to stay close to a teacher. This was a direct indication of how this school was within the criteria for the study. Unfortunately, at his school, several restrictions were later introduced during the fieldwork, which affected a certain part of the study. I was not allowed to walk around freely, and I was not allowed to enter the school building if any incident had occurred, such as a fight or a drug-related issue. This reduced the hours of observation, and the opportunity to map the physical settings, which resulted in this school's physical environmental analysis was omitted in the presentation of the research results, in chapter 5. The municipalities´ review of this school describes a practice of- civic education, critical thinking, and youth participation both in the educational community and in the local environment in which the students live (PADEM, 2019).

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S234409
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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

The following table no. 6 gives a presentation of this school´s statistics, which shows, similar to the figures of school A, how this school has a high degree of vulnerable students and SEP support.

Table 6. Figures of enrolment of students' IVE and SEP of school B

Category	Level	Total enrolment of students	IVE percent	SEP	Total SEP
School B	Secondary	1238	89,8%	829	72,85%

(PADEM, 2019)

5.4 A qualitative design

A qualitative research design was used in order to address the research questions and the aim of this study. This chosen design provided an opportunity to describe the current situation as well as allowing the informants to interact with the research topic on their own terms, within a loose frame. Epistemologically speaking, a qualitative research design is hermeneutic. In contrast to natural science, it attempts to understand and interpret human behaviour rather than measure it. This approach allowed me as a researcher to investigate culturally specific information, and actively understand the voice behind the statistical figures of the many quantitative studies that dominate the educational research in Chile.

This study, from an ontological perspective, distances itself from objectivism and instead approaches the social reality as an ongoing infinite process, built on the constructed knowledge of the participants in the research. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), this co-constructed knowledge and ongoing realities differ between individuals, depending on their different social contexts, which makes the social reality of this study complex. Hence, the choice was made in addition to the basic design of the research to include an ethnographic aspect. By providing the study with this ethnographic aspect, an open and flexible perspective is added from a methodological perspective and the researcher´s role is to ensure a wide view over the whole, which is important for a holistic understanding (Desai & Potter, 2006). In the fieldwork, this ethnographic translated in practice to the attempt to both understand the teachers´ active role in teaching the vulnerable students and, the meaning behind this role.

According to Cohen et al., (2018), ethnographic research is an explanatory study of a community.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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It is questionable if the number of participants in the study is representative of the whole community. Therefore, the choice was made to limit the scope and not to carry out full ethnographic research. Not being able to argue for a representation of the community would make any other conclusion unsupported.

Finally, it is valuable to mention how a qualitative design is important to educational research since it provides an insight into the needs of the teachers. This can benefit both social goals and strengthen the development of a society (Desai & Potter, 2006).

5.4.1 Description of time frame

The first process, estimated to be one week, was devoted to the choice of the headteachers. During this first period, I also spent time gathering and increasing my knowledge of the Chilean educational system. Although I had done a literature review before the fieldwork, the extent to which the three existing school categories (municipal, private, and private subsidised) were different became much more apparent after discussion with the locals. Additional data collection of this study demanded four weeks. The process of the fieldwork was initiated in late July 2019 in school B and was relatively equally distributed between the schools when it ended in late August 2019. Approximately two hours were spent at lectures at each school depending on the teachers' schedules. The time of the fieldwork was further divided into periods between the schools, due to the distance between them. The first two weeks were dedicated to school A and the last one and a half weeks to school B. Additional time during this period was spent on interviews, conducted outside the school on five occasions as well as the distribution of questionnaires.

In addition, meaningful time was spent during the breaks of the schools and after school, through active participation in the community of school A and in informal conversations at both schools. Insight was also gained by spending lunch with the headteachers. In school B, lunchtime was spent at a nearby restaurant, and in School A, standing outside in the courtyard. Reflective notes were written throughout the process to ensure documentation of insight.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

5.4.2 Methods of data collection

This study adopted several methods to collect data in order to- improve the ability to understand a complex reality and answer the research questions in the most efficient way. These selected methods are exploratory or in other words, they have an inductive approach. This is in line with a qualitative research approach, which focuses on describing individual beliefs and experiences. The chosen data collection techniques were semi-structured interviews, participant observations, qualitative questionnaires, and informal conversations.

5.4.2.1 Semi-structured interview

Semi-structured interviews were selected as a method to provide the study with information on beliefs, attitudes, and experiences related to the problem in question, while, at the same time, provide a certain level of structure through the interview guide.

To make the interview guides for this study was both challenging and time-consuming. Thus, proper preparation before each interview was required. This preparation was necessary for the development of the fieldwork and allowed for progress. The interviews were initiated by allowing the interviewee to explain the current situation and practice inside their respective schools and continued by exploring- failures of the system, according to their personal view. According to Cohen et al., (2018), the interview guide needs to be planned and structured from topics. In this case, after the introductory questions, the choice was made to group questions developed from reflections made during observations or based on informal conversation, which means that interpreting and probing questions were used. These three methods created thereby a circularity of understanding, that played an important role in the deepening of the data collection.

This circularity of understanding can also be recognised as a conversational circle, which stands for when the person being interviewed and the interviewer have a mutual understanding of the same perceived situation (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014). An example could be when an observed incident in the classroom later provides a deeper and shared understanding of the background or underlying reason behind a question or an answer.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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Furthermore, this method was also chosen because it both leaves room for individualisation and keeps the result enough coherent between methods, such as to make comparisons between the interviews and between the interviews and questionnaire.

As for the practicality of these semi-structured interviews, the only situation that provided ideal conditions for an interview, in terms of a good space with little disturbances was the interview with the Director of Education. This interview was conducted and recorded successfully with a voice recording app, which gave access to verbal data. In other cases, attempts were made to find a separate space available for the interviews, however, none of the schools had this access, which left the only alternative to conduct these interviews in cafés where the quality of the recording was poor. Thus, the process of taking notes became important as a means of documentation, which later required an increased amount of time spent on treating the data obtained from both recordings and the notes. As a consequence of the challenging surroundings, parts of interviews had to be redone as written interviews to secure the study with valid statements.

5.4.2.2 Participant observation

Participant observation was part of the process that was conducted in the two schools. This method was chosen firstly because it provides a complete exclusivity of the social reality through a place in the center or at the nature of the phenomena under investigation. It gives an understanding and an insight into the socio-cultural reality of the teacher. Secondly, in line with the ethnographic aspect of the study, it provides the researcher with an important opportunity to adapt to the target environment. By approaching the classroom while being open for interaction, the researcher can seek both the insight and the meaning of the participants' social life. This is done by experiencing their life through the researcher's own life and experience from the school system. The actions of this observation may seem difficult, however, during the fieldwork, this was perceived as fairly natural, as the environment and atmosphere the classroom invited to integration and knowledge sharing.

Most of the participant observations in the study were carried out during English lessons in school A, mainly because of the higher level of spoken English, most likely because of my access to a higher level of spoken English and in School A.

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The smaller participant role of the researcher in school B can be justified by the fact that this environment of the classroom- was not as open, thus students took a less social and more passive role. A better term for the researcher´s role at this school would, therefore, be an observer who participates.

To ensure less bias and achieve the most holistic data collection, a specific focus area was not selected, and instead, a non-structural observation focus on upcoming elements was undertaken. This is the most common technique in participant observation (Cohen et al., 2018). This strategy is also linked to the purpose of the research that seeks educational challenges and proposed changes from a bottom-up strategy. From this perspective, the interest lies in the complexity of the practice that the teacher meets every day. These elements are therefore not assessed after their frequency, but rather after the social impact that they give.

In order to facilitate the process of analysis, the choice was made to categorise the written notes from the observation, either during the observation or after each day of observation. The notes were hence marked according to different key categories, which are provided below.

- Descriptive field notes, mapping of the physical environment.
- Descriptive field notes, the interaction between the teacher and the students.
- Reflective field notes, that created a conversational circle initiated by the researcher.
- Reflective field notes, that created a conversational circle initiated by the informants.

The descriptive field notes, mapping the physical environment and the reflective notes that included some reflection about the impact of the physical environment are presented as a smaller review of the circumstances of school A. This is done to evaluate the impact of the physical environment on the learning context since, the physical environment can play many roles in the context of teaching, and further affect the students' behaviour, commitment, and effort (Tanner, 2000).

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Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

5.4.2.3 Semi structured questionnaire

The semi-structured questionnaire in this study can be regarded as a written interview, which in line with the semi-structured interview sought the teachers' experiences, and opinions from their everyday practice by using open-ended questions. The answers from these questions are therefore qualitative, which means they are varying between informants, depending on what the individual decides is important, yet everyone gets asked the same questions. Moreover, were a few close-ended questions included in the beginning to capture the basic information about the teachers, such as their level of experience. Few close-ended questions were also included to sort out certain areas of responsibility and perceived difficulties. However, these were later rejected in the process, due to the essence of the study to capture the experience and the opinions of the teachers. Although this questionnaire, especially, with regard to the semi-structured interviews, had less space in this study, it made a valuable contribution to the data collection. This was especially noted with respect to data and insight gained about the teachers' thoughts and experiences related to the collaboration between the households and the school.

For the questionnaire to be useful and still practical for the study, Desai and Potter (2006) propose to stay close to the culture and form the questionnaire as contextualised as possible. Therefore, two scholars, both born and raised in Latin America were asked to give an evaluation of this questionnaire, focusing on the language, the structure, and the intelligibility. This was important to do considering, the wide variety of words used in the Spanish language, which also varies depending on the geographical area.

Cohen et al., (2018), mentions "the more the merrier" when it comes to sampling strategies. However, in this case, the choice was made to reject several questionnaires as some respondents had shared the questionnaires with presumably, their colleges. These respondents were unknown to the researcher and the surveys were poorly filled out, which gave rise to the choice to reject these questionnaires. The ten remaining questionnaires were all filled out by respondents, whom I personally met and explained the interest of the study to, along with the informed consent. Presumably, this personal contact increased the chances of these teachers' answers becoming more thoughtful, which is important since open-ended questions in questionnaires can be time-consuming and answered in many different ways.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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Below are some main questions included in the questionnaire.

- What are the major challenges when teaching the most vulnerable students?

- How will you encourage your school to improve the situation for these students?

- How does the collaboration between these vulnerable students' households and the school work?

- How does your school collaborate with the parents or the adult responsible for these students?

5.4.2.4 Informal conversation

In the field, these informal conversations became a natural feature and were used as a spontaneous conversation between the researcher and the headteachers, as a result of the time spent together. Once back from the fieldwork, I realised how these conversations had functioned as small building blocks that brought data collection forward. Some of the information from these conversations was, hence, important to use in the presentation of the research as it provided the most faithful description from the informants.

This study relates to the informal conversation as an opportunity to add authenticity and context to the study. However, it is a controversial method from an ethical perspective and therefore it is also important to discuss it in a subsection in the reflection section below.

5.5 Analysing the data

As a first step towards analysis, the data was organised and prepared in various marked folders in the computer which served as a storage system. This was done after the transcripts of audio files and the transfer of questionnaires, interviews, and notes into Word files. The second step involved reading and listening through all data. This process involved major reflection and revision of the meaning of the data, which was especially important because of several answers from open-ended questions. Out of this process emerged notes that later turned into key themes, consistent with the grounded theory, where codes emerge from the data (Cohen et al., 2018). This process, again consistent with the grounded theory, involved attempts to easier understand the data and grasp for the most significant information. The focus here was also to shrink the data by searching for repetitions. When new themes were found, the framework changed, and the data was reorganised according to the new structure.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

When new themes no longer appeared, the process was considered complete and covered the most important themes that could emerge out from this data. The process continued with a further rereading of each theme, this time focusing on coding where I identified text segments that contained a deeper meaning for the corresponding theme.

5.6 The Contextualisation of the settings before fieldwork

The contextualisation below is important for the study because it provides a perspective of the lenses through which the findings should be seen. This description of the context also increases the understanding of how this specific study cannot be applied to other settings, people, or times. This means that this section increases the external validity of how-to, or perhaps more importantly of how-not-to generalise this study. What characterised this time was a massive teacher strike that lasted for 50 days and ended only a few days before the data collection began. The strike strongly involved all municipal teachers in Chile and consequently closed down the municipal school during this period, the detail for this strike is addressed in chapter 1.

5.7 Reflection and implications of working in the field

This section addresses challenges, and limitations related to data collection. The purpose of this section is to create transparency and provide clarity with respect to how this research should be reviewed. The section reflects upon the researcher´s role, the methods, and the implication of working in the field.

5.7.1 The role of the researcher

As this research takes on an inductive position, the first reflection of my role was to assume as little as possible about the results. This meant I could not adopt or build any theory from the beginning. In my interpretation, this meant that my role, was primarily an explorative researcher or what Brinkmann and Kvale (2014) would refer to as the traveler, which is a metaphor for a researcher that creates knowledge along with the process of the study.

To both enter the role as an explorative researcher and at the same time carry out the fieldwork as a none-native in a relatively new language, I was well aware of how the direction of the research could end up far away from its initial aim. Afterward, I have understood how a few elements prevented this from happening.

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OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

The first important element was to stay consistent with a few specific informants, established early on with the respect to the core of the main objectives. The second element was the appropriate choices made with respect to the two headteachers. The two informants were hence both professional and stayed independently with the topic of the study because of their great understanding of the research and the process.

The focus of the researcher's role, which is also mentioned in the method section, was to understand the informants' experiences and opinions. This focus caused the researcher to attribute a certain level of personal interpretations into both the data collection and the analysis. This means that my role as a researcher had a subjectivity that allowed me to be both relational and participatory during the fieldwork, which affected the knowledge base upon which this research has been produced. In the various methods, this subjectivity was taken out in different manners, which is described in the section that follows.

In the participant observation, these personal interpretations related to the experience as a whole which means that the subjectivity of the researcher was used as a measuring instrument of the information that this method produced. In the semi-structured interviews, subjectivity relates mainly to the emergence of questions. Thus, several questions arose either from conversations that included my personal experience to some extent or from my reflections on observations. Regarding the questionnaire and its use of open-ended questions, subjectivity is also a factor to some extent. The questionnaires were first, translated by me, with support from a local person. In addition, there exists no single way of understanding the answers since different people have different ways and phrases to describe their points of view.

The last reflection in this section will touch upon my professional experience and my experience as a researcher. I am a trained teacher in special education which means I have previous experience from observing a classroom and human behaviour. This made me motivated and hardworking since my experience brought me confidence in this position. On the other hand, being my first time inside the Chilean school system, I lacked the experience of the municipal teachers´ regulations and work descriptions.

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S234409
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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Trying to understand these regulations and work descriptions was perceived as complicated, especially since I experienced contradictory information, which made me believe that the Educational system was in many cases individually interpreted. Examples of contradictions applied registration of students' attendance (at the beginning of the lecture or at the end of the lecture) and the rules on what times the teachers should be physically present within the school.

5.7.2 The methods

Cohen et al., (2018) raise awareness of how research with different methods does not necessarily ensure a greater thickness which could be the case in two of the sections in this study. Therefore, it is important to interpret these sections right in order to not affect its validity.

The first section that should be considered is the subsection on the role of the physical environment. The evaluation or review of the physical environment is presented in line with the ethnographic aspect of this study, which takes on a broad view since it is important for a holistic understanding. The review is, hence, a part of creating a holistic picture of the study. The point here is to see the difference between a physical environmental review that emerges out of a study of another main phenomenon under investigation, which does not ensure a great thickness, compared to a review where the physical environment is the phenomena under investigation. This study did not have the physical environment as the main phenomenon under investigation although time was specifically allocated to the phenomenon throughout the field to ensure an analysis of this important element.

The second subsection to consider with respect to the variety of methods and the potential resulting thickness of the analysis is the subsection on the collaboration between the household and the school, in which a more valid strategy would have been to include the parents' statements. During the fieldwork, an attempt was made to collect this data. However, questionnaires were poorly filled out with non-personal statements, which led to the rejection of the data. The parents were difficult to reach and did not have the status of a primary source. Thus, more time would have been needed to be allocated to data collection from the parents in order to ensure valid data.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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As a consequence, it is important to interpret the subjection on the collaboration between the household and the school, from the view of how the teachers perceive the collaboration rather than how the collaboration works as a whole, which would be an ethically incorrect interpretation.

As stated previously, this research involves informal conversation as a method. Above, in the section of "Methods of data collection", this method is referred to as "a natural feature" which is important to know is not the case with all informal conversations. Therefore, it is essential to argue why this could be said and to clarify both the ethical and the methodological sides in a discussion. To begin with, ethical considerations should be made with respect to the informants' level of participation and the informants' understanding of their participation in the study. In this study, both the informants who participate in the informal conversations are also the primary informants of the study and consequently, their level of participation is high. The risk of ethical issues decreases when the participation level is high. There may therefore also be a difference in the ethical considerations between those who are less involved and those who are more involved in the research. The level of understanding of this research also increases with increased participation. Furthermore, it is important to have an agreement on the terms of the participants before including these informal conversations in the data collection. Both informants with a high and low level of participation are, in this case, protected by the informed consent where they can withdraw at any time in the process. The informal conversations were also discussed and included in this consent and can hence be concluded that participation in informal conversations was based on free will. This free will or free decision was further reinforced during the fieldwork by the informants' initiative to initiate these informal conversations.

The methodological perspective of the informal conversations that should be discussed includes, firstly, the power relationship between the researcher and the informant, secondly, the status or size of the data collected from informal conversations, especially in relation to the whole and thirdly, the difference between the data collected from the semi-structured interviews and the data emerged from the informal conversations. The power relationship in an informal conversation can vary depending on the transparency of the researcher's motives.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Throughout this study, the participants were never perceived to think that I was anything else than a researcher. This was reinforced by the fact that most of the time was spent in the school or in connection to the school and that our established relationship centered around the research. Another power relationship could have occurred if the participants had been led to believe that the conversation was another everyday conversation with a person with no motives. With respect to the status or size of the data, it is important to note that data from informal conversation does not constitute primary data for the study. Instead, it takes on a role to complete some part of the semi-structured interviews, most often with contextualised information, as many of the informal conversations took place inside the school. Informal conversations could hence also be argued to a part of the participant observations. However, I prefer to divide them to keep this research transparent.

5.7.3 Implications of working in the field

The first major implication of working in the field was the difficulties to collect verbal data due to the often noisy environment. Because the quality was not quite satisfactory, I decided to raise the quality of the data by remaking or redo parts of the semi-structured interviews in written form. This increased the reliability of the statements presented in Chapter 5 and helped to avoid presenting "something along the lines" of what was said. This increased the internal validity of the research.

The second implication was the limitation of language use. This research collected data in more than one language, which resulted in the need for translations between languages. As the research's role sought to build trust and experience in the sociocultural context, the choice was made early on to enter the fieldwork without an interpreter. This decision was also made to reduce any form of loss of the literal meaning of the words during the translation, and second to easier create a trustworthy and closer relationship with the informants. The Spanish I speak work well for social interaction, but the chosen language during all semi-structured interviews was English. This was a mutual decision between me and the informants that came with certain consequences, such as grammatically wrong statements in the presentation of data, which left a larger room for interpretation and a certain level of cultural loss since the informants did not speak their native languages.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

The latter was partially compensated by using the Spanish language during the participant observations, most of the questionnaires, and in the informal conversations.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Chapter 6. Presentation of research result

6.1 Introduction and organisation of the chapter

In this chapter, the results obtained during the process of fieldwork will be presented. As stated in the previous section, the data was collected using a qualitative methodology with an ethnographic approach. The informants' interactions and behaviours were therefore included, in addition to their expressed understanding, experience, and perspective of the task to teach and improve educational achievement for the less successful students. What is important in my research is the selection of study participants; those who could provide substantial information in relation to the research questions and the context. The research is, therefore, more concerned with understanding and interpreting the findings rather than making generalised statements. This means that the result of the study can not be applied to a wider setting such as the municipal school community on a national basis.

The first section of the chapter "Internal and external challenges" presents the teachers' and the Director of Education' opinions of the current challenges connected to teaching vulnerable students, which relates to research question number one "What challenges do municipal teachers in Valparaiso, Chile face while teaching disadvantaged and low performing students?" The purpose of the section is to provide insight on what areas could be perceived as dysfunctional, which lay the basis to understand the nature of what the teachers' address in school.

The second section of the chapter "The teachers' approaches" relates to research question number two "To what extent and in what ways are municipal teachers addressing challenges in connection to these students in the classroom?" The section addresses the teachers' approaches in the current learning and developmental context of the student, which in this study is defined as situations where an impact occurs on the learning and development of the student.

The third part "The proposed changes of the informants" seeks answers on how the teachers and the Director of Education would like to improve the success rate of the most vulnerable students, hence answering research question number three "What changes do these teachers need to compensate and improve the overall schooling experience of these students?"

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
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Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

The purpose of the section as a whole is to acknowledge the reality of the situation and further understand the type of difficulties involved in the teaching of the most vulnerable students in a municipal school and the possibility to reduce them. This section provides findings from five interviews, six questionnaires, two observations, one physical environment review, and informal conversations during my fieldwork in Valparaiso.

6.2 Internal and external challenges

The first section presents the challenges of concern, which provides a common understanding of which challenges are prominent in the context of the study. Both internal and external challenges were expressed by the teachers, which gave the impression of a complex problem in a wider area.

6.2.1 Challenges related to the educational system

The first finding from the questionnaire was that time is limited for the teachers. Teachers express that they lack time to successfully teach each student in the classroom. In addition, they describe difficulty to fulfil each student's needs and to understand each student's individual experiences, as the quotations below suggest.

> The teacher plays a fundamental role. There are many references or leaders who help with students' personal development. But time is limited, there is no space within the school. Only dedicated teachers or those who give their personal time to listen.[1] (Questionnaire no. 1, 13 August 2019)

> With the number of students per room and in front of such numerous courses it becomes complex to see individual needs and/or interests. Back in the day, it was easier because the courses were more homogeneous.[2] (Questionnaire no.1, 13 August 2019)

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[1] El rol del profesor es fundamental. Hay varios referentes o liderazgos que ayudan en el crecimiento personal de los educando. Pero el tiempo es escaso. No se permiten los espacio dentro de la comunidad. Solo lo docentes comprometidos y los que dan su tiempo personal para escuchar

[2] La cantidad de alumnos por sala y ante cursos tan numerosos se hace complejo individualizar necesidades y/o intereses. Antiquamente, era más facil porque los cursos eran más homogéneos

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

It's a challenge to fully understand each student´s personal experiences since they tend to need to feel confident with the adult before engaging in a more connected relationship. Also, as an adult, the teacher must go beyond their prejudice regarding the child´s background (social, economic, etc.). (Questionnaire no.7, 3 August 2019)

The responses obtained from the questionnaires also gave the impression that the size of the classes that some of these teachers have is large. In the questionnaire, I asked about the number of students per class, which gave answers to up to 42 students. However, the number seems to vary between schools as the lowest number of students was 25 students. This lower number was more consistent with the number of students per class during the fieldwork in school A and B.

The students in these classes as headteacher B described in an informal conversation, come from a wide variety of backgrounds, and a larger number of the students suffer from extremely vulnerable situations, which take both time and capacity from the headteacher as a person and as a teacher. As an example, the headteacher explains that ten out of twenty-three students had problems such as psychological diagnoses, drug abuse, victims of physical abuse, the victim of rape, and severe poverty, which shows that the teacher knows his students' backgrounds. Because of the high number of vulnerable students in the class I asked headteacher B, in the first interview, if it is possible to fulfill the individual students' needs in the classroom. The answer, as the quote suggests, implies that individual approaches are accepted as a practice, but it is difficult to incorporate them when the time has to be spent on the national curriculum in order to prepare for the national test.

Because of the preparations of SIMCE, it is hard, but we try, and we can be experimental with our teaching. We can also do exhibitions if it fits with other classes. Once we went to Parque Cultural. (Headteacher B, interview no. 1, 31 July 2019)

In line with headteacher B, the Director of Education also described the national assessment test, SIMCE, as a disadvantage for the vulnerable students and as a challenge that raises concerns, as the quote from the interview suggests.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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> We are saying that a standardised test doesn't show if a school is a good school or not. Because it is [sic] not focus on their learning process, just the result and the result is like a picture and that picture doesn't have any reason in this system where you have 5 million in Chile who didn't finish school in 32 years. That is not a [sic] good result so what are the ideas just to control right? Control teachers, control students, control the whole society, especially teachers. (Silvana Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

The point in this finding may be that a larger number of the Chilean population fail school due to an educational system that provides a standardised education, which is based on the average student. The quote below further strengthens this finding by suggesting that standardised education is not sustainable and poses a challenge for vulnerable students.

> Always the point is the same they failed at the school, they did not learn anything, they did not have a link to their teacher. I mean always it is the same thing so if you continue doing the same thing I mean train students for standardised, train students just for a grade, or a mark I mean it is not going to work. (Silvana Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

These findings are crucial for the discussion on how the municipal school has developed. The quotations suggest that SIMCE and standardised education create greater difficulties in the process of reducing inequalities in Chilean society. They also suggest that SIMCE fails to acknowledge the learning development of the students, which creates an unfair picture of the school and the vulnerable students.

In the same interview, the Director of Education describes further the competitive-based system as an additional factor from the educational system that challenges the development of the municipal school:

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> We have a teaching career that is related to salary, so they [the teachers] have to compete to get more money so it is not a matter of collective work it is a matter of competition […]. There is not always a connection between the school when a child moves up [a level]. The teachers compete and say "you work at that level and there it is no good so I have to do your work because you didn´t do it right". The relationship between the teachers is good in some respects but not professional because they compete, and they don´t work together. (Silvana Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

One might think that this competition-based feature among the teachers, makes it more difficult with following-up strategies for the vulnerable student since an inclusive practice in the next level of schooling is left out. The competition-based feature may also be linked to a lost opportunity for the teacher to gain knowledge through reflections, as the system reduces collaboration.

After these interviews, I was more curious about the impact of the educational system on the vulnerable students and included, therefore, a question about the strategies of the government to reduce the inequalities between students, with headteacher B. The answer, as the following quote suggests, introduced another challenge. Headteacher B criticised the preferred way of the government of increasing funding as a solution to the problems related to the vulnerable students.

> We are very critical about the different levels of financing, [preferential school subsidy, SEP] that has terrible consequences for the schools because even if the poorest children have money support is it just assistance. So now that there was a social explosion and emerged more critics the government has put a new law in parliament to increase funds. But keeping the same structure. (Headteacher B, interview no. 5, 20 August 2019)

The answer is given in plural pronoun, which might suggest that he and other teachers believe that the support of SEP is a challenge since it is perceived by the government as a sustainable solution to the problems, as the teacher describes it. One might think that the challenge is not to receive the extra funding, but instead in the way the funding is perceived as an effectful and functional solution to improve the long-term development goal to reduce inequality.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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The finding further provides an important point that implies a lack of common understanding between the teacher and the government, since the chosen measure of the government is perceived by the teacher as a dysfunctional long-term solution for the vulnerable students.

Several challenges related to the educational system were revealed and can be summarised as follows:

- Limited time prevents teachers from fully addressing vulnerable students' needs.
- The high class-representation of vulnerable students pose a challenge for teachers to engage sufficiently with individuals.
- SIMCE and standardised education steers the focus to the average students and fails to acknowledge various learning development for the students.
- The competition-based system reduces collaboration between the teachers and the schools, which can counteract communication between teachers and following-up strategies between schools on individual students.
- The government approach to a complex problem is limited to increased funding whereas a more strategic and systematic approach might be needed.
- Lack of a common understanding of the problem between the government and the teachers leads to insufficient strategies to address inequalities and the vulnerable students' specific needs.

6.2.2 Challenges related to the physical environment

Challenges related to the physical environment of the schools were also found during my fieldwork. As mentioned earlier, the study was limited by the implemented restrictions in school B. The main physical environment review, therefore, encompasses school A primarily. The findings draw on information obtained through observation during the first visit to the school, when the environment was specifically analysed, as well as from additional time spent in the school, such as during the participant observations. A subsection is informed by Valparaiso's annual education plan, which highlights that all of the physical environment of the facilities managed by Valparaiso Municipal Corporation is in need of infrastructural investment and improvements (PADEM 2019).

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Three main areas of concern were identified. These areas are addressed due to their potential negative impact on learning contexts at school. The three concerns that might cause challenges for vulnerable students are as follows:

- The school's ability to buffer external noises from the street or between rooms

Excessive noise was observed during each class and seemed to cause distraction. This was noted through interruptions in the oral language and heads turning toward the noise.

- The lack of functioning temperature control

The classrooms seem to have the same temperature as outside, or perhaps lower since some rooms have less access to the sun. During the time of observation in mid-July, the temperature varied between 12-17 degrees outside and required the use of jackets inside. During the colder days, it was a struggle to sit still as I experienced both cold feet and hands.

- Lack of space

  The students have to share classrooms, and therefore, need to enter lessons in the early morning or late afternoon. There is only one extra room at the school to be shared between the teachers and meetings which leaves little space to divide the class, perform group activities, or conduct individual conversations with the students.

6.2.3 Challenges related to parental participation

The vast majority of the teachers described perceived problems related to the parents of vulnerable students. The result further implies that the challenge of poor communication between the teachers and the vulnerable students' parents emerges at regular basis.

First, a narrative from the time of the fieldwork is presented, told by headteacher B. From this conversation, I felt a sense of hopelessness from the teacher in terms of reaching a mutual understanding between him and his student's mother.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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He began by telling me how today's lesson was a difficult one. During the lecture, he had come across some unidentifiable pills belonging to one of his students. He went on explaining how, after the lesson, he had contacted the mother of the student involved and invited her to a talk. According to headteacher B, this meeting turned out to be less productive. The student's mother had denied that the pills existed and expressed how there was nothing to be worried about.

I asked why he believed this meeting became less successful. These types of unproductive meetings are more than common, he explained. There is either a communicative problem with the parent or a problem with the responsibility. He continued our conversation by giving me some more examples of parenting problems he faces, such as, students who are orphaned, have parents in prison, or stay with extended family, because the parents have to work far away. According to him, these circumstances made communication difficult.

The narrative from headteacher B is also in line with the answers from the questionnaires that describe several challenges in relation to the collaboration between the teacher and the vulnerable students' household. Common for them all is the described sense of distance and alienation between the school and the household.

The answers reiterated below are samples from the questionnaires that answered the question: "How does the collaboration between these vulnerable students' households and the school work?" or samples from the open section of the questionnaire that gave space for additional comments related to the relationship between the school and the household.

Not a lot [collaboration] being people [the parents] of low socio-cultural levels, there exists a distance due to the difference in resources, cognitive levels, and them [the parents] being tired.[…][3] (Questionnaire no. 6, 10 August 2019)

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[3] No mucho, al ser personas de niveles socioculturales bajo, existe más lejanía por distancias recursos, cansancio, diferencias cognitivas.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

According to my experience, one of the greatest difficulties is the low commitment level of the vast majority of parents, due to reasons connected to their work for the larger part, and the rest simply are not interested in what happens to their children, because, when they are between 14-17 years they are perceived as old and ready. Secondly, I mention a low appreciation of the teacher as a profession in our society.[4] (Questionnaire no 3, 17 August 2019)

"Drug abuse, poverty. Low expectations, parents in willingness to take responsibility for their children are the main challenges we face on a daily basis" (Questionnaire no.7, 3 August 2019)

The main challenge is to be on the same level as the parents, to have them follow the principles of the method.[5] (Questionnaire no. 9, 12 August 2019)

All of the answers seem to be highlighting problems related to the parents, which may suggest that the teachers believe that the cause of the problem is outside their reach or outside their power to impact.

The problems with parents' participation in the municipal schools were also mentioned in the interview with the Director of Education, where she first described concern about the challenges that the parents of vulnerable students face in relation to the poor employment conditions in Valparaiso. She explained that poor employment conditions are especially hard for single mothers, making it difficult for this specific group to participate in their children's education, as the quote suggests.

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[4] Segun mi experiencia, una de las más grandes dificultades es el poco compromiso de la gran mayoría de los padres, ya ser por razones laborales, gran parte de ellos, y el resto simplemente no les interesa lo que ocurre con sus hijos, ya que estos al tener entre 14-17 años ya son grandes. En segundo lugar mencionó la poca valorización de la profesión docente en nuestra sociedad

[5] El principal desafío es estar la mismo sintonia con los padres que sigan los mismo principos que el metodo.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
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The problem is that most of our parents are just women responsible for the whole family, they don't have employment, they are selling things on the street. How come a lot of people selling things on the streets are women? That is a flexible kind of work, they can take care of their kids if they are sick, most of them have their children downtown where they work, that's why it is not that easy. (Silvana Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

The finding further suggests what I saw during my stay; that mothers with their children sit nearby the busy streets in the center of Valparaiso, trying to sell whatever things they have been able to collect, which seems to be a hard upbringing for a child. The finding also indicates an unfair situation for single mothers due to a patriarchal society.

In addition to the challenge connected to the work of the parents, the Director of Education mentions how culture can play a role in why the parents are perceived by the teachers as distanced:

Here in Chile, the culture is very connected to religion. Even if they [vulnerable students' families] do not practice religion they follow some ideas, especially protestant religion, it is hard because they say that the school cannot influence their kids it is like their kids are private; "they are mine so you cannot influence them" (Silvana Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

The last two quotations from this section underline how the parents of vulnerable students are often in situations that complicate the collaboration with the school.

The main challenges related to parental participation can be summarised as follow:

- The teachers perceive that the challenges related to the students' parents are out of their reach.
- The work situation of the parents, especially that of single mothers, can limit the ability of parents to engage in their children's education.
- Culture and religious aspects can limit the role that the parents think that the school should take in the children's lives (a level of mistrust displayed).

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

6.2.4 Challenges related to the surrounding violence in Valparaiso

This subsection presents findings that involve concerns about the violence that surrounds the vulnerable students. As the current situation of the fieldwork was close to the time of a massive social movement, the police and military were often visible on the streets, which made me sense a feeling of tension among the teachers.

One afternoon, on the initiative of headteacher B, the violence of the community was raised in an informal conversation. Headteacher B expressed concern for the situation and the vulnerable students, suggesting that violence could counteract important values such as democracy. He also stated that the violence could create emotional problems among the students.

> He told me in the conversation how these students are close to the victims and the streets where violence exists. As an example, of the local violence, he brings up a situation from the nearby city, where special police entered a high school with teargas and proceeded into the classrooms, while carrying weapons, with the purpose to arrest students. He explains that the police oppose students that raise their voices in groups and form unions against the government. In this situation, the conflict escalated to the worse, to the point that UNICEF specifically expressed worries for these students. Headteacher B expressed his concern over the situation and explained how situations like this cause fear and disbelief in democracy among his students.

This conversation widened my understanding of the situation and how the police and military in the streets is a concern for the teachers. I was curious to get another teacher's opinion of what they experienced as challenges in this issue. I, therefore, included a question about the violence in my next interview with headteacher A. As suggested in the quotations below, headteacher A perceives that the violence can have a negative effect on the students and that this, might affect the students' learning and personal development.

> Violence is affecting children at a psychological as well as a physical level, as they are experiencing fear and anxiety at the idea of being held by police forces, but that also causes a huge level of hate and mistrust towards them [the police]. The police forces were

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

highly regarded in our society with celebrations and parades for their anniversary but nowadays both adults and children don't trust them and are even seen as enemies. Clearly, parents transmit their own views as a basis, but as children get older they may complement these ideas with their own experiences and knowledge from different sources, which may enforce what they've learned from their parents or take them to a different side. (Headteacher A, interview 4, 13 August 2019, restated in written form)

Children usually have victims of the police force around them, relatives, friends, and neighbours" (Headteacher A, interview 4, 13 August 2019)

It is hence clear that violence is a serious problem in the areas surrounding schools in Valparaiso. It is also likely that violence is a significant external challenge to vulnerable students.

6.3 The teachers' approaches

With the knowledge of challenges that the vulnerable students face, the approach of the teachers to reduce them is of interest. During the study, special attention was given to the pedagogical approaches in the classroom. The pedagogical approaches are of interest in view of the challenges related to the educational system and its impact on the individual student, as described in section 6.2.1, as well as due to the additional knowledge that a high number of students with disadvantaged backgrounds are placed in the same class. The main information from this section stems from classroom observations. The classroom observations aim to provide a holistic picture of the situation. At the end of the subsection, attention is also paid to the measures utilised by the municipal teachers in the area of parental participation.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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6.3.1 The teachers' pedagogical approaches

In order to fully understand the teachers' pedagogical approaches when they teach the vulnerable students, two participant observations are presented with the purpose to sufficiently describe the setting as a social system and understand both the approaches of the teachers and how the system affects the teachers' ability to carry them out. Both observations were selected based on their illustration of an everyday lesson and were made a few days into the fieldwork after a connection had been established with the class. The fact that I was less seen as a stranger at this point increases the validity of the observation. The two observations were done within the time interval of a lesson, approximately 45 minutes. My participation in these observations included answering direct questions or talking during invited conversations.

6.3.1.1 Observation one, School A

Observation one takes place in school A and it is the first lecture of the class, despite early afternoon. The classroom for today's lesson has twenty chairs and desks placed in a u-shape, which makes it possible for the students to see their classmates, as they are facing each other. The rest of the classroom is empty, similar to the walls, except for a large blackboard, placed over the teacher's desk, which also holds a stationary computer. The atmosphere in the classroom is mellow, due to small windows with thick bars, which makes it almost impossible to see the outside. Today's class is attended by 14 students from the 6th grade. The topic of the lesson is the pedagogics of drama.

> The communication is loud when the students enter the classroom and they speak freely. I had observed this group of students before which made them greet me with a warm, buenas dia. These students are overall open and accepting, however also lively and highly active. As the students spent time greeting me properly, they had less time to follow other classroom rules such as asking for permission and keeping the classroom in order.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Each student definitely has their own identity, which they express loudly while chatting to their classmates, barely paying attention to the request of sitting down. After several minutes the headteacher of the class, so-called "Profe", attempts to start the lesson. Profe is full of patience and motivation that finally arouses the students' interest. He organises his papers at the same time as he respectfully participates in conversations initiated by his students, which impressively creates a feeling of care. Suddenly he decides to take command, by standing up and writing the tasks of the day on the blackboard. While facing away from his students the teacher immediately loses several students' attention, who begins to talk to friends on the side. One of the girls stands up and walks towards the trash bin to throw something. She is the one student who always smiles and loves to attract attention, both from the Profe, her classmates, and myself.

While talking, the teacher interrupts himself after every section to ask if his students follow, and after approximately ten minutes, he finishes the speech and hands out an assignment. The time when handing out the papers opens up a new space for conversations, which the students take advantage of. The teacher now walks around between his students while answering questions about his mother's work, his father's work, the mines in Chile, and how old he is. While balancing answers he sneaks in more information about the presentation of the assignment on Friday and asks the whole class as well as individual students if they follow and understand. He looks impressively into the eyes of both his students and uses our names, and waits patiently for the response, every time he talks to someone.

Almost every time a student answers the teacher it involves laughter, although, the responses rarely connect to the lecture. The girl that always smiles and loves to seek attention asks if she can put on some music, the teacher nods friendly while helping another student. The sound of Björn Skifs´s "Hooked on a feeling" fills up the classroom along with a monologue from "La vida es sûeno" from the stationed computer at the teacher desk. For me, this was a lot of noise inside a classroom, especially with the addition of the drum lesson from downstairs.

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S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
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The students now move around in the classroom: they need the toilet, throw away garbage, sit on another student's chair, etc. The teacher still walks around supporting the students who need extra help, bringing the students who end up outside the classroom back in, and participates in further conversations mixed with teaching pedagogics of drama and the celebration of "El dia de Nino". The lesson ends quickly, as the teacher leaves the classroom and another one comes in to introduce a new subject.

After this class an informal conversation with the headteacher B, the teacher of the observed lecture, took place. The headteacher asked about my opinions about the class. I said I was impressed by how open his students are and how he involves the whole student in the lecture, but also, that I am not used to a classroom with so much noise and movements. He smiles at me and explains with a smile on his face how important it is to take care of the little time they have together. With these children, you always have to include the voice of the child and balance their life experience with mandatory teaching. This classroom belongs to them and it is important that they also feel that.

The observation described above was made in a class with relatively few students and, still, challenging behaviors were notable, mainly in the form of a lack of concentration among the students, which might suggest that more students in the same class would increase the difficulties to teach. The observation gives the impression that the teacher works hard to see all the students and recognise the individual student by answering their questions and provides individual supports. The way the students showed interest in their teacher and the way they talked openly in front of the class also gave an impression of an inclusive environment where the student in general seemed comfortable and safe.

6.3.1.2 Observation two, school B

Observation two takes place in school B, this time early in the afternoon. Since I had a meeting with the principal, who ran a little late, I also ran a little bit late for this lesson, which the headteacher had been informed about and approved in advance.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

When entering the classroom, I see how a student helps the headteacher to set up a projector, and how this projector had probably delayed the lesson. I, therefore, arrive perfectly on time, I sneak quietly to the back, while one of the students helps me by moving a chair in my direction. I knew him from before and smiled as a thank you for his gesture. These students sit two and two in the classroom, in rows of three pairs, facing the blackboard with no possibility to interact with the students behind or in front. The walls in the classroom are not blank here, however, they would benefit from being updated from Christmas adornments, and peeling paint. In this classroom, twenty-one students are present and only a few benches are left empty at the back of the classroom.

I am pretty sure that this observation will be interesting because these adolescents offer a wide range of behaviours. The first impression they gave me was a very interesting one since they express their character through their looks. This is very well done since they use school uniforms but work through creative ways to modify their clothes and adding accessories to express an identity.

After a while, the teacher decides to go and replace the projector that is about to break down. This gives the class a small break. During this break, a handful of students begin to argue, the situation is not in any way threatening, but I understand from the voices how they disagree about something. The situation escalates rapidly as the teacher enters the room again, and now it is clear that one of the students accuses a peer of stealing his wallet. Not long after the headteacher understands the situation, I hear his strict voice telling his students to sit down. This was done to quickly avoid further escalations and minimise the time of the fight.

The lesson starts again, the teacher talks about critical thinking and interpretation of media, and now, when the projector works again a subjective film about Pinochet's life starts to play. When the short film ends, the teacher addresses the class -again and asks his students to explain their interpretations of the film. Some students seem to be listening to him, while others are distracted.
-Vamos chicos, the teacher calls out.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

The students summarise the film and the teacher asks questions; What happens here? Why do they say this? Some students laugh, some look at the wall, one watches his phone, some eat candy, another one picks the eyebrow, and some sit all quiet.

- Vamos chicos, the teacher again tries to increase the level of participation in the classroom. It works, most students become more active and join in the disorganised classroom conversation. The teacher becomes more engaged, he laughs and provokes longer responses from his student, both verbally and with an active body language, while facing his students. The bell rings and the class stands up from their benches. Most of them leave while others choose to stay behind in the classroom to listen and dance to an old music player.

The teacher in the observation seems to work hard in this lesson to capture the attention of the students. The approach of the teacher is perceived as engaging and his approach is necessary since several students in this class seem to have a problem paying attention. The teacher tries hard to include all the students in the lesson, but little time is dedicated to the situation of the escalated argument between the students, which indicates that the focus was set on the program of the lesson. The reason for this choice to not spend time on the argument might be connected to the challenges of the educational system that the same teacher expressed; that individual needs are hard to address due to the focus on SIMCE, as described in section 6.2.1. The behaviour of this class was generally more aggressive than in the class of school A. An example of the aggressiveness was the heated argument, which was something I felt the need to ask the teacher about. As shown by his answer below, the approach of the teacher is often to de-escalate situations like this.

During one of the lunchbreaks, I had an opportunity to talk more with the headteacher B. We ordered food together at a nearby restaurant and while waiting, I asked him about the lesson, and if the argument interrupted him. In response, he immediately expressed regrets over the situation and described his actions with the metaphor; "this only extinguishes fires". He explained how he would much rather have time to address the real cause and discuss these types of situations together with his students.

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This answer implies that the teacher would prefer another more inclusive approach that helps the students to reduce their negative behaviour. This seems to be supported by the Director of Education, who in her interview comments on the negative effects of the current practice of the municipal teachers, as the quote suggests.

> The teachers cannot use their standardised methods because we do not have standardised students […]. We are responsible of not just the learning process of the students but responsible for their lives. Because when you are in school, you are living in there. At the same time, so your life project fails if your learning process fails. (Silvan Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

In summary, the current approaches of the teachers respect the diversity of the students, address the students individually, and invite them to participate. However, the conditions needed to enable the teachers to provide the necessary extra support are not in place, especially in school B, which leaves the teacher struggling to make a connection between values and practice. The underlying reason for these limitations is also connected to the impact of the standardisation of the educational system which forces the teacher to allocate time on a standardised educational performance.

6.3.2 The teachers' approaches to parental participation

During the fieldwork, the teachers talked with the parents several times. However, on several occasions, the meetings were a result of negative behaviour or situation in relation to the students. This can be a contributing factor to the impression of teachers that communicating with the parents is challenging, but also that the communication concentrated on problems, as was also presented in section 6.2.3.

As the answers sampled from the questionnaires imply this a regular approach of the municipal teachers. The question here is; "How does your school collaborate with the parents or the adult responsible for these students?"

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Organise /request a meeting [with the parents] if there are any problems with the grade or behavior.[6] (Questionnaire no. 5, 12 August 2019)

The management team requires the teachers to perform interviews with families whose children have some disciplinary and/or academic complications.[7] (Questionnaire no. 1, 13 August 2019)

This might be a well-meant practice to guide the parents and the students, as the quote below suggests. However, the approach of the municipal teachers might also be why parental participation is perceived as dysfunctional, as shown in section, 6.2.3.

In most cases, teachers spend more time than parents with students, therefore our mission is to train the child, guide, and lead by example.[8] (Questionnaire no. 5, 12 August 2019)

6.4 The way towards a change

This section presents the findings related to change and addresses the teachers' and the Director of Education's approaches to change.

The first finding relates to the attitude to change where several answers, both teachers and the Director of Education suggests a feeling of responsibility for implementing processes that lead to change:

Our political responsibility is to think about how we can do it in another way. (Silvan Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

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[6] Citarlos a conversar a cerca del bajo rendimiento y problemas conductuales

[7] Desde el eguipo directivo, se le exige entrevistas de los docentes con las familias que presentan algunos complicaciones de disciplina y / o académico.

[8] En el mayoria de los cosos, los profesores estamos mas tiempo que los padres con los alumnos, por lo tanto nuestro mision es de formacion del nino, guian y dar el ejemplo con le conducte.

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The approach of the teachers implies a concern for the greater society, but also a belief that education can become a key in reducing the greater challenges in the community:

> I strongly believe that education is the means that will allow us to overcome the circle of poverty, strengthening of human capital and social mobility for well-being, thus we need to configure ourselves, as agents of change, co-builders of a more just society, a more fair and inclusive society. (Questionnaire no.7, 3 August 2019)

Headteacher A answer goes one step further and implies that the teachers are the only one that can challenge the system in order to make a positive change.

> We, teachers, have the power and responsibility, with class consciousness and social commitment, to transform this society where violence and abuse have been normal for the weakest, I am convinced that we are the only ones capable of overthrowing this system. I also know, closely, how difficult it is, but in the process, I have been meeting colleges who became family and realised that we are not alone and in this way, we can face each challenge. (Headteacher A, interview no. 4, 13 August 2019, restated in written form)

The two last quotations may indicate a common understanding among the teachers since both quotations refer to "we" as in many teachers. This gives the impression that the teachers are working together in a union.

The time for change is according to the Director of Education, believed to be now as she suggests that the trend of growth in the private and semi-private sector has stagnated in Valparaiso:

> I think the system is frozen. I don't think the number will increase [sic] so we are working to get more student from those schools by showing another way of doing education more open-minded, flexible, and including the student's voice and the parents' voice. (Silvana Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

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If the growing trend in the private educational sector levels out, it might just mean that the municipal school can have a chance to increase the number of students from a more diverse group. The inclusion of the student in the process of a new change seems to be especially important since the Director of Education refer to them as the generation that can move culture:

> If we are listening to the students' voices, we can move culture even though in their house and their parents are conservative. (Silvana Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

However, there are differences of opinion between the various teachers and the Director of Education as to the practice in the municipal school:

> We think we are in the middle of that discussion. What I mean with that is that the lines or pathways are assumed by very few teachers. We are in the transition between what is written and what we have to build. (Headteacher B, interview no. 5, 16 August 2019)

Headteacher B further believes that the change needs to be planned at a higher level and, in contrast to the answers of headteacher A, headteacher B believes that several stakeholders need to be involved in the change; the school cannot make it alone, as the quote suggests, which implies that he is critical to the overall system as a whole.

> We think that society itself needs another paradigm. The school can´t change alone, neither teachers can. The change must be holistic. So, we think the school has to promote critical thinking and liberation but also has to be involved with the changes that society needs. So, teachers are not only constructing a new paradigm in the school, they are working outside, hand in hand with the social movement. (Headteacher B, interview 5, 16 August 2019, restated in written form).

However, headteacher B also has the same active attitude as shown in the earlier quotations to involvement in the process of the change. This implies that he promotes an improvement from the inside and participates actively in the social movements in the streets.

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The Director of Education also actively supports the municipal teachers, by allocating a larger responsibility of decisions to the teachers. The preferred way to go in the future is to utilise the local knowledge, which means that the current international approach is no longer desirable:

> They say that the experts of education are [sic] from that company, you know Parsons Santillana, they are international companies, those kinds of companies are like accessories of experts, but they are no experts, the experts are the people doing education in this context. "Nobody knows how to do it in this context except you" that is the thing you have to say to the teacher inside the schools. "Ok let us discuss but we have to make decisions and be responsible of that and try and know the context" […] (Silvana Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

To increase the teachers' autonomy in the decision-making process might raise the professional status of the teachers and increase the process of democracy inside the educational system:

> […] they [the teachers] have to say something, and also the students, so their voices can be included in the decision. That is democracy inside the school. (Silvan Sáez Valladares, interview no. 3, 5 August 2019)

Finally, headteacher B and the Director of Education have a common understanding when it comes to the need to reduce the competition between the schools. As suggested by headteacher B, greater collaboration between schools might reduce the uneven distribution of students with different socio-economic backgrounds.

> We need to bridge the gap between the institution to address inequality and create a coherent society (Headteacher B, interview no. 5, 20 August 2019)

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From the above, it is hence possible to extract that the teachers and the Director of Education are actively supporting a change. The Director of Education advocates more autonomy to the teachers in the processes of decision-making and local knowledge as well as the students' voice as a foundation for the development of the municipal school. However, support, from higher levels may be needed since several stakeholders are playing different parts in the educational system. Finally, increased collaboration between the schools is advocated, in order to promote a greater collaboration of society, as a whole.

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Chapter 7. Discussion and recommendations

7.1 Introduction and organisation of chapter

The previous chapter outlined the result of this study by presenting the result that emerged through a process of analysis inspired by the grounded theory. In this current chapter, I will discuss, interpret, and combine theory, the background chapter, the literature review, and findings from the data collection to answer the research questions.

The first part of the chapter, section 7.2, is connected to research question number one "What challenges do municipal teachers in Valparaiso, Chile face while teaching disadvantaged and low performing students?" and research question number two "To what extent and in what ways are municipal teachers addressing challenges in connection to these students in the classroom?"

This section includes table no. 7, in section, 7.2.1, that adds to the chapter an overview of the results on how the municipal teachers approach the vulnerable students and how the municipal teachers support the development of the municipal school. The table further adds to the chapter a summary of the findings of the teacher´s approaches as a way of organising the information and thinking.

Table no. 7 is followed by a discussion of the various challenges and approaches found during the research. This subsection is titled: "Review on the teachers' challenges inside the school" and presents the practical aspects and challenges related to teaching vulnerable students. This relates to the macro and meso levels in Bronfenbrenner's theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Next follows a discussion of the external challenges, which are challenges that affect the teaching: within the educational system (the macro level), section 7.2.3, within the household (the meso- and micro levels), section, 7.2.4, and within the community (the exo level), section 7.2.5. Internal and external challenges are usually interlinked and dependent on each other. The way of organising the work should hence not be interpreted in a strict way. External challenges are more beyond what the teachers can tackle. However, this does not mean that teachers are out of the reach to impact them, which is especially important for section, 7.2.3, the household.

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OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

The section helps further, to understand the function of each interacting system and its impact on the learning of vulnerable students, in line with Bronfenbrenner (1979) and his theory of the ecological systems.

A discussion then emerges, in section 7.3, about the possibilities for the public school to mobilise towards a positive development in favour of the vulnerable students, in line with research question number three "What changes do these teachers need to compensate and improve the overall schooling experience of these students?" The changes, disused in this section, are mainly connected to challenges of the macro system, which means challenges that indirectly affect the teaching and the vulnerable students' development, since, they belong to the wider context of society (legal structure and educational policies) (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

Finally, the chapter concludes with recommendations that have emerged during the process of this study, also in line with research question number three and the needed changes.

7.2 Discussion of key challenges and the teachers' approaches

In this subsection, I will discuss the key challenges and the teachers' key approaches observed and documented during the study, what they mean, and why they matter. The challenges, as noted from the result of the study, vary over several dimensions or areas, both within and outside the school and both related and unrelated to the vulnerable position of these students. The wide variation of challenges in connection to teaching vulnerable students is not a novel finding and is consistent with international research (Devlin, 2010, DeCarlo Santiago et al., 2011). The wide variation of challenges found in the study is further consistent with the core in the theory of the ecological systems; that various stakeholders are not functioning in isolation (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), which means that the teaching of vulnerable students is best and most truthfully explained by incorporating all influences from the various interacting system.

7.2.1 The teachers' pedagogical interventions

This subsection addresses the teachers' pedagogical approaches when teaching vulnerable students. The range of approaches exposes how teachers contribute to inclusive education, and how well their knowledge and approaches meet the need of the vulnerable students.

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The highlighted approaches below in table no. 7, give moreover, a sense of the teachers' contributions and their potential to address the existing challenges, which will be discussed more in the sections below.

Table 7. Teachers' approaches in responding to challenges, the meaning and impact of the teacher's approaches

No.	Observed approaches	Meaning and impact
Approaches to internal challenges		
1	Address the student individually	The teachers work hard to see all the students by distributing questions or providing individual support. The effect of this measure is limited by a standardised comprehensive national curriculum, (PADEM 2019), a large number of vulnerable students and the little possibility to divide the class into smaller groups due to small buildings.
2	Respect for the student	Not once did the teachers mention a student or their students in a negative way, which shows a level of respect and understanding of the students' barriers and difficulties. This is important in order to address the students in an understanding and empathetic way and provide education without prejudices (Gorski, 2012).
3	Invite to reflection and participation	The teacher encourages students to participate by keeping a focus on participation between the teacher and the students. The students generally seemed comfortable expressing themselves in the classroom. However, the teachers especially in school B could have strengthened this measure by, for example, changing the seating arrangement and thereby further encouraged students to interact more.
4	De-escalate the situation	The teacher intervenes and interrupts the student's negative behaviour. This has a direct impact to regain control of the classroom and/or restore the normal pace. In the long run, the student would benefit from a follow-up conversation to understand and discuss why this behaviour occurs, and how to minimise it. This effect of this measure is limited by the time availability of the teachers.
Approaches to external challenges		
6	Consult and collaborate with the family	The teacher seeks contact from the parents with the main purpose to inform or identify what aspects are problematic for the student. The strategy aims to help the student manage their behaviour or educational progress. This measure does not work properly, likely due to culturally specific behaviour and lack of knowledge about parents in vulnerable positions, hindering a positive effect of this measure.
7	Participate in national teacher movements/social movements	The teacher contributes with knowledge within his or her area of competence to the greater society. The intention is to alter and improve the educational system of Chile by influencing the government and, thereby, serve society as a whole. The measure is limited by challenges related to the overall governance in Chile.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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8	Voluntarily participate in programs aimed at improving the municipal school in Valparaiso	The teacher engages in the local community, sharing knowledge and receiving support from colleagues and authority actors. The intention is to enhance the local community by interconnecting resources and strategies that serve the local community. This measure should be scaled up to reach the intended impact, which is to improve public education. Similar programs could be initiated between more sections and different types of institutions.

7.2.2 Review of the teachers' pedagogical approaches and challenges inside the school

The observed internal approaches, number 1 to 3 in table no. 7, are positive because it shows how the two observed teachers incorporate several approaches in their teaching in favour of vulnerable students. Both teachers applied methods such as asking questions and encouraged the students to think aloud, in line with methods of inclusive teaching. Both teachers also avoided to distance themselves from their students by creating a comfortable classroom energy, where they shared personal views and stories. This is in line with Gorski, (2013), UNESCO (2005), and López et al., (2018) who claim that such approaches increase social interactions and improves relationships within the classroom.

As shown in the presentation of the observation, school B had a notably higher focus on formal education, which their teacher also expressed was a consequence of time limitations, since there is not enough time to address and discuss subjects outside the topic of the lesson. The inclusion of the students in this class was therefore within a learning context, while still allowing personal views and reflections based on the topic. A significantly higher number of personal stories and questions unrelated to the formal education was noted in school A, which gave the impression that the teacher in school A was more successful in taking advantage of the students' potential and view the students as a resource inside the classroom. This is in line with Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus, (2014), and UNESCO (2005) on inclusive teaching that highlights how the students should be viewed as an asset. The environment inside the school should therefore be active and promote dynamic interactions.

The challenges inside the classroom were, as noted in the findings, several and notable during observations. Several students struggled to behave and to follow what might consider being normal classroom behaviour.

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

They generally struggled with concentration, behaved defensively, and did not always apply general social rules such as waiting for their turn to talk. As the findings show, these students have several underlying problems that affect their lives. According to Catalano & Catalano, (2014), Lara & Saracostti, 2019, and DeCarlo et al., (2011) these problems are often associated with the development of poor mental health. As a consequence, students can develop behavioural problems or lack understanding of how to behave in a situation that the student perceives as difficult.

In relation to the student's behaviour problems, an impressive finding was how these teachers not once, during the fieldwork, talked to me or mentioned a student or their students in a negative way, and not once did they blame them for having created any difficulty of any kind. This behaviour of the teachers showed great respect and recognition of how poor behaviour within the classroom can be explained by underlying issues, related to these students' vulnerable positions. The teachers were further aware of the circumstances and the barriers that these students had experienced and lived under and understood how these circumstances were the underlying cause for the demanding challenges they faced, as explained in an informal conversation by headteacher B, in section 6.2.1. In line with Gorski, "it is a call, as well, to consider the extent to which the "common sense" guiding us is informed common sense rather than stereotype and hegemony" (Gorski, 2012, p.314). The recognition of various factors that can create difficulties for the vulnerable students provides moreover, the teachers with a more natural picture of the students, since the various systems in which the student function and the interaction between the systems are evaluated and accepted. This means that the teachers understand that the students' barriers are not a representation of the individual student, but rather of the environments in which the individual student function (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

The significance of the finding is also due to the fact that it provides an insight into the level of knowledge these teachers have and how they can understand and respect their students' situations in a non-discriminatory manner. In line with Ainscow, inclusion is increasingly seen more broadly "as a principle that supports and welcomes diversity amongst all learners" (Ainscow, 2020, p.9), which is also consistent with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 2 (UNICEF, 2014).

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The next step towards an inclusive teaching would be to recognise the students' individual needs (Ainscow & Miles, 2008, Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus, 2014, UNESCO, 2005), which can be done by adding professional reflections to the information that the teachers have, and from there create individual strategies for learning (Vaughn & Baker, 2004). This finding in the study implies that the teachers are on the right track to a teaching practice that can incorporate personal and educational readjustments. However, difficulties to actualise these readjustments can be found, as discussed in the next part of the section.

As written in Valparaiso's annual plan of educational development, classroom assistance is provided to help the school's psychosocial environment in three subjects: mathematics, Spanish, and English. Still, there are problems to balance the preferred curriculum and pedagogy with the comprehensive national curriculum (PADEM, 2019). The findings imply that the task to teach these classes, with a larger number of students from vulnerable positions is difficult both in terms of time and due to the high number of individuals that have problems in the same class. A possible consequence of these findings might be that individual working methods or experimental practices were not observed during the study. According to UNESCO (2005), inclusive methods should be a response to the diversity in the class, which means that methods and approaches should be modified, to include all students' needs. During the observations, the whole class was taught, without any observed difference between students. In addition, interactions between the students were limited since the students were not divided into smaller groups, which would allow opportunities to modify and be experimental with different teaching methods. To divide the students into smaller groups could also increase the interaction and participation between students, which would incorporate the students´ individual knowledge at a higher level. In line with Booth & Ainscow (2002), participation promotes as one of the core values of inclusion, along with equality, respect for diversity, and sustainability. It is also in line with UNESCO (2005) that recognise that the approach of participation can increase the quality of the student's experience, which suggests that making more space for the students' involvement in the classroom could strengthen the learning experience and promote academic achievement.

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In addition, the research of López et al. (2018) shows how schools in Chile with a high share of vulnerable students, commonly experience aggressive behaviour and bullying between students, also demonstrated in the observation in school B. This suggests that measures that initiate more interaction between students, also in line with the research of López et al. (2018), could help to avoid these situations since a greater interaction between the students could strengthen peer acceptance. As stated above, the observed approach, to keep the whole class together and not divide into smaller groups, limits the interaction between the students and could, therefore, be a contributing factor to aggressive behaviour and bullying. The finding suggests, therefore, that the students could benefit from greater social dynamics and peer group affiliations. In addition, the finding shows that teacher B corrects misbehaviour quickly and in front of the whole class. The student-student relationship could benefit from the preferred approach from teacher B, presented in section 6.3.1.2, to correct misbehaviour in a conversation with the students. When correcting misbehaviour in front of the whole class, as seen during the fieldwork, it might harm the student-student relationship since the approach does not prevent the behaviour from reoccurring.

A possible explanation for my findings of the lack of experimental approaches could be the limited space inside the school, and the limited availability of adaptive furniture. The limited space was especially noted in one of the schools where different students shared the same classroom between the morning and the afternoon.

Other contextualised limitations in line with the PADEM (2019), were the physical environment, which was generally poor in the municipal schools. With respect to comfort, the findings show that school A had poor temperature regulation and excessive noise that caused distraction during the lecture. Both schools lack a classroom environment that connects with the students' personalities, such as displaying the students' work. As stated by Barrett et al. "Permanent individual display (artworks, photos, crafts) has been addressed by many previous studies as an efficient way to promote a sense of ownership" (Barrett et al., 2015, p.129).

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To summaries, the challenges observed and expressed within the schools are an expected outcome of gathering such a large number of vulnerable students in one class. The expected outcome is consistent with the meta-analysis of Gustafsson et al., (2016) and the work of UNESCO (2018). The students' learning needs and preferences are not met fully since the student's individuality and diversity are not incorporated in activities and workshops. The learning environment is thus less supportive to address the students' learning problems and encourage desirable behaviours, such as social skills and peer acceptance. Varied approaches to learning are important in this case, due to the various vulnerable situations of the students that cause the need for individual support. It is clear that the participation of all students in the classroom in respect of their strength and abilities is promoted but not yet in line with the advocated child's rights approach to learning, that highlights that the "way in which children are provided with the opportunity to learn is as important as what they learn" (UNICEF, 2014, p.106). The child´s rights approach further requires that:

> There should be respect for the agency of children and young people, who should be recognized as active contributors to their own learning, rather than passive recipients of education. […] Teaching and learning must involve a variety of interactive methodologies to create stimulating and participatory environments (UNICEF, 2014, p.106).

7.2.3 An overall negative attitude to the Chilean educational system

In this section, I discuss how the overall educational system (the macro level) affects the practice of the municipal teachers. The first subsection presents the finding of the effect of the educational system on the collaboration between the municipal teachers. Secondly, SIMCE and standardised education are discussed, and finally, the section provides a discussion on the preferential school subsidy.

The result of my research implies an aspect related to the teachers' verbal language. During the fieldwork, several teachers responded to questions or expressed themselves by formulating themselves with a plural pronoun, as in the two examples:

"We, teachers, have the power and responsibility, with class consciousness and social commitment, to transform this society" […] (Headteacher A, 2019)

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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"We are very critical about the different levels of financing, [preferential school subsidy, [SEP] that has terrible consequences for the schools" […] (Headteacher B, 2019).

The chosen way of expressing themselves gives an insight into how they believe their values, thoughts, and statements are in agreement with the community of teachers in the municipal school. This way of verbally expressing themselves is interesting since the teachers' comments tell us something about who these answers concern and what scale they are valid, which further gives the impression of a communicative collaboration among the teachers. According to Cochran-Smith et al. (2010) and Coleman and Gloves (2010), an open climate of values and beliefs is positive for both integration and participation and, in line with the idea of inclusive teaching, these values are often transferred down to the classroom. In addition, an open climate allows for communication and collaboration among teachers to reflect and rethink their approaches, which can prevent deficit thinking, stereotypical behaviours, and misinformed thinking (Cochran-Smith et al., Gorski, 2012). It is further an important feature of inclusion to search for ways of development, which can be done between teachers in collaboration. According to UNESCO (2005), inclusion should be seen as a "never-ending search to find better ways of responding to diversity" (UNESCO, 2005, p.15).

The impression of an open and collaborative climate is contradicted in the interview no. 3 presented in section 6.2.1. The interview, conducted with the Director of Education, describes a poor attitude for collaboration among teachers in the municipal school. The reason for this is explained to be the educational policies that promote competition among teachers. The response from the director is interesting because policies, implemented in the last decade, have aimed to improve the standards of teaching through evaluating the teachers' performance and rewarding the better performing teachers with better working conditions (Santiago et al., 2017, Paredes & Pinto, 2009), which provokes competition between teachers and counteracts collaboration. According to Booth and Ainscow (2002), collaboration is one of the keys to developing inclusion in the schools, and inclusion is considered to be all approaches that increase the understanding and responses to the students' diversity, which requires the teachers to work together.

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It is also through collaboration that development can take place, as stated by Ainscow, "the starting point for developing inclusive practices is with the sharing of existing approaches through collaboration amongst staff, leading to experimentation with new practices that will reach out to all students" (Ainscow, 2020, p.10). The municipal teachers seem to be committed to collaboration and thereby inclusion. However, the philosophy of inclusion seems to be lacking at a higher educational level, which can make it more difficult for the teachers to work together.

The priority that is given to formal and standardised education is particularly emphasised by the compulsory and standardised national test in Chile. This test is criticised in the study, especially by the Director of Education in Valparaiso. As noted, the Director of Education suggests that the result of the standardised national test in Chile does not measure either the quality of the schools or the students' learning development. Measuring students with a standardised test does not, according to Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus (2014) support inclusion. The test reduces the students down to a number and a high score on the test "have become equivalent with determining who is worthy of participation in our society" (Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus, 2014, p.33).

The background review of this study shows how the competitive market-driven system in Chile requires both winners and losers. The system sorts out the quality schools while pressuring other schools to perform better (Harvey, 2005, Cavieres, 2011, Valenzuela, 2011). In this process, it is necessary to measure results, which is where SIMCE, the standardised test of Chile comes in. SIMCE, a control mechanism, transferred from the period of dictatorship into the new era of democracy only with some added expansions, still works as the main tool to measure student's performance and to advertise the schools' results to families of potential students (Meckes & Carrasco, 2010, Paredes & Pinto, 2009).

This means that the teachers in the municipal schools must work towards achieving goals in the standardised test, goals which are precisely defined and set, the same for all, despite school and background, which means, that the teachers who work with the students who struggle the most need to focus the most on SIMCE, in order to secure the school's place in a competitive market.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
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Hence SIMCE does not take into consideration that these students are entering the schools with, a limited repertoire of learning strategies available to them (DeCarlo Santiago et al., 2011, Lawler et al., 2017, Lara & Saracostti, 2019, Strasser et al., 2016).

In other words, it seems like SIMCE makes the teaching of vulnerable students less flexible and more standardised. This means that, as long as the tests are compulsory, students will be ranked. A false picture will hence be painted for families since the test does not take into account the students' diversity and readiness when they enter the school. SIMCE is hence less connected to the empowerment of vulnerable students since a narrow assessment does not allow students to use knowledge or demonstrating knowledge outside the set standard.

This is strengthened by Valparaiso's annual plan of education development (PADEM), which implies that the test of SIMCE is one of the greater contradictions in the Chilean educational system. According to PADEM, the national curriculum, that contains the core of the knowledge assessed by SIMCE, is difficult to balance with the municipality's preferred pedagogical approach, which aims at recognising students' diversity and connecting education to the community where the students live (PADEM, 2019). As the Director of Education in Valparaiso expresses, it is not sustainable to educate students from a standardisation point of view since the same students fail repeatedly, which makes it a system issue.

These findings suggest that the process of SIMCE compromises the teachers' possibility to improve the trajectory of the group that enters school with lower educational readiness. In relation to the ecological model, the current approach of the educational system fails to consider the complex interplay between the individual and the system (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) since policies related to education are shaping constraints instead of creating advantages in the learning process for vulnerable students. Hence, the different components of the students' ecological systems are not in harmony with each other.

To decrease the gap between students and include the vulnerable students in the educational system more successfully, efforts have been made in the last decade to implement new policies, such as the law on inclusion, and preferential school subsidies along with increased classroom teaching assistants (MINEDUC, 2015, MINEDUC, 2016, PADEM, 2019).

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As noticed in this study, these policies are of interest, especially the preferential subsidies (SEP) which are mentioned by a teacher as a setback for any long-term improvements in public education. The teacher included in the study, argues that these supports are used by the state actors to shift the responsibility for any other major changes in the educational system away from themselves. A similar argument was also brought up in the public debate that occurred during the implementation of SEP, as explained by Wales et al. "These debates echo the political conflicts that occurred around the creation of the SEP – criticised by the left for its continued acceptance of the market-based structure of education" (Wales et al., 2014, p.48).

In order to provide a possible understanding and an insight into why the preferential school subsidy is perceived negatively in the study, it is important to refer to the background chapter. When the educational department of Chile introduced preferential school subsidy, we know from earlier that it was explained as a project, focusing on the vulnerable students. What this support mechanism does is to try to introduce a pedagogical improvement from within the school, which should enable the school to meet the most urgent requirements related to learning and teaching. This means that the larger part of the preferential school subsidy today is free to be used as the municipality prefers (MINEDUC, 2016, Wales et al., 2014). There is hence, no guarantee that these resources end up in the right area since there is no requirement for any greater long-term plan in exchange for this support, nor are there any controls or follow-up strategies to secure appropriate use of the support. The system is also vulnerable since the school receives subsidised funding based on attendance and not per registered student, which means that students with low attendance for various reasons will cause a reduction in funding to the school.

The preferential school subsidy only has a positive effect on the learning situation for vulnerable students if the funds are allocated correctly. But in the long run, in line with the comment from a teacher in the study the connection between the implementation of this support and the development of public education is as a whole probably small, as other factors will still contribute negatively or others factors are still in need to be addressed to make a difference.

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As estimated in the research of Valenzuela et al. are "some educational market dynamics (i.e. privatization, school choice, and fee paying) accounted for a relevant proportion of the Chilean SES school segregation" (Valenzuela et. al., 2014, p.233).

It is moreover, unlikely that the preferential school has a larger impact on the uneven distribution of students if families with resources still prefer and have the choice through the free school choice to pay for an education that excludes vulnerable students. Consequently, the free school choice, suggested by Wales et al. "leaves low-income students in municipal schooling, as they are unable to pay private subsidised school fees" (Wales et al, 2014, p.46), which reduces the component of diversity in the schools. Both students from high and low socio-economic backgrounds will, therefore, have less access to diverse socialisation in education that introduces the students to the complexities of social life and creates an understanding for people with different backgrounds, which is an important civic function. According to Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus, the parents should reduce their fears "of not getting appropriate accommodations or adequate services" (Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus, 2014, p.37), and instead agree that "an inclusive vision should hold a much broader view of membership and that services for students are a vital necessity for children to be able to contribute to the greatest extent possible in society" (Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus, 2014, p.37).

7.2.4 The perceived dysfunction between the household and the teachers

From an ecological framework, a mutual positive interaction between the two important social spheres, families, and schools, (the micro- and meso levels) contributes positively to children's social, emotional, and cognitive development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). While such a positive interaction is positive for these students' development the study found that such interaction is not really in place in the schools studied. Approach no. 6 from table no. 7, indicates a dysfunctionality in the collaboration and communication between the teachers and the vulnerable students' families. This dysfunctionality is due to, according to the teachers, the working situation, the attitude, the culture, and the cognitive level of the parents.

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The dysfunctional interaction between the teachers and the parents, in line with previous research, confirms that low-achieving students from vulnerable situations are more likely to have parents with lower involvement in their children's education (Lara & Saracostti, 2019).

As my research shows, the assumption of potential cognitive differences between the teachers and the parents provides a possible insight into how these teachers approach the parents of the vulnerable students, an approach that probably does not value these parents' knowledge and perspective. This is strengthened by previous research in Chile, where parents of students in the municipal school highlight among several other features their perceived lack of academic capacity as a reason for their low participation and collaboration with their children's school (Reininger & Santana López, 2017). This might just mean that these teachers assume to be better placed to know what is appropriate in vulnerable students' development. This is one hypothesis of why communication can be perceived as bad.

According to previous research in Chile, parents respond that they have difficulty combining work and time to participate in their children's school activities (Reininger & Santana López, 2017). My study confirms such a view since the Valparaiso's labour market is perceived as tough, especially for single mothers. According to the Director of Education, the labour market is not open or accepting untraditional family situations.

Several different factors have been shown in the study to create the perceived dysfunction between the household and the teachers. Common to these findings is the high affiliation with and influence of the external environment outside the school, over which teachers have less control. Due to these factors, teachers may overlook certain opportunities for progress, such as reflecting on the unequal power relationship between an educated teacher and a parent with socio-economic disadvantages, which may be needed to achieve mutual understanding. The result from the study regarding the collaboration between the school and the parents of the vulnerable student also implies that communication is often focused on the child's academic problems and/or behaviour problems. This focus is negative and excludes measures that Gorski (2013) believes are important to promote greater collaboration, such as a focus on positive interactions to foster the relationship.

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In addition, there are no findings to suggest that larger contextualised intervention programs are implemented in the municipal schools, which Jeyenes (2012) and Catalano and Catalano (2014) suggest may be a measure to increase parental participation.

This perceived dysfunction can also be related to the chronosystem and to what was discussed in the background chapter, which provides information about the nature of the influence of neoliberalism on the individual subject in Chilean society. The influence of neoliberalism belongs to the chronosystem, since the system refers to all changes that occur over the lifetime that influence the development of the child, which includes major life changes or historical events, such as the implementation of neoliberalism (Bronfenbrenner 1979, Jaeger 2016).

Neoliberalism promotes an underlying discourse of assigning the responsibility to the individual, which means that the state to some extent withdraws as responsible for the provision of the citizens' well-being. This means that individual failure is perceived as self-inflicted and cannot be disassociated from the individual's responsibility (Aguirre & Valderrama, 2015, Beckert, 2019, Vergara del Solar, 2015). This suggests that there might be a link between this neoliberal influence and the dysfunctional communication between teachers and parents since parents are supposed in the current discourse to cater for themselves. The finding in my study of the mother whose child brought pills to the class and eventually led to a communicative breakdown indicates a situation where the mother blames herself for not protecting her child and that she has internalised an attitude to not expect assistance from the school or the teachers.

To conclude this subsection, and in terms of the ecological systems approach, it is necessary to keep in mind that the parents' attitude toward their children's education is influenced by more than one sphere. It is therefore important to no reduce the cause of the challenge of parental participation down to the parents since the family interacts and is impacted by the larger environment, outside the family (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

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However, it is essential that the teachers with assistance from other social services can establish a more functional relationship with the parents that aims to create greater harmony between the students' two most important spheres (the household and the school) in order to facilitate the students' learning outcome.

7.2.5 The force of violence

This part turns this discussion towards the community of the vulnerable students and particularly the violence in the community, and particularly by the police, which concerned the teachers. The exposure of community violence is an example of an exosystem level factor, which means that it is a factor that not necessarily is experienced by the student, but still, influence the development of the child indirectly (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

Since the time of the dictatorship, there have been ongoing allegations of corruption and abuse against the Chilean police force. This has particularly been a major and notable issue for the social movements, where the police have been accused of being overly violent. Not surprisingly the teachers included in this study claim that violence negatively affects their students, and further adds to the numerous problems that these students already face, as could be seen in the incident where the special police force entered the municipal school fully equipped to arrest underage students. The issue of violence is further supported by previous research that children in Chile exposed to various kinds of violence suffer from behavioural and emotional problems (Ma et al., 2016). The violence in the community is definitely a challenge that can considered to be beyond the control of the teachers and needs to be addressed at a higher level to effect change. However, the teachers' recognition of the negative effects of the violence on the vulnerable students' social and academic development shows that the municipal teachers are aware of the societal challenges which impair the vulnerable students' progress. This is in line with Bronfenbrenner's theory where the various levels in the society influence each other, and that the parents' and the schools' (the micro- and meso levels) behaviour towards the students are influenced by the exosystem, which often are outside their control (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

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This was noted in the interview with the Director of Education, who stated in line with research conducted by Borofsky et al. (2013) that students who fail academically or fail to connect to the school search for other environments, where drugs or criminal actions are common. Thus, at the exolevel, the various types of violence contribute negatively to the student's development. This is consistent with the biological and psychical characteristics of the individual in relation to their context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, Jaeger, 2016).

It can further be argued in line with Borofsky et al. (2013) that the students seek unsafe environments in order to compensate for the lack of recognition in other environments, such as the school. Since the students are not a passive recipient in their environment (Bronfenbrenner 1979). In this hypothesis, the impact of community violence can be argued to have an interrelation with a low commitment to the school, and therefore give the school a possibility to reduce some of the negative impacts of the violence, even if the community violence is recognised as an external challenge.

7.3 What can the result tell us about the possibility of change in favour of the vulnerable students

The findings show that the informants preferred major overall changes in the education system, which means centralised policies, a new educational model, and broader pedagogical recommendations for the school as a whole. Hence, few specific thoughts were mentioned about their own schools or more detailed methods. This might both be a consequence of the recent strike that gathered teachers in a discussion about the school system, and/or it might simply be a consequence of the informants' overall negative attitude toward the Chilean educational system.

The Director of Education stated that she believes that the system is ready to be changed. In her opinion, the municipality's pedagogical approach, to act flexibly, openly, and allow both students and their parents to have a say, can contribute to improving the situation by increasing the interest for the municipal school and thus the number of students.

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In line with the empirical research from Valenzuela et al. (2014) several measures in order to change the situation of segregation in Chile are recommended and some changes have already been made since the research by Valenzuela et al. (2014) was carried out, such as the introduction of the inclusion law in 2015. The law no longer allows the private semi state-subsidised schools independently to decide which families to register based on the students' backgrounds or previous academic performance (MINEDUC, 2015). However, this study indicates that challenges in the classroom are still great due to the large distribution of students with low socio-economic status. This indicates that measures of change in line with Valenzuela et al. (2014) that targets segregation from a higher level may still be necessary to improve the situation more quickly and make the situation easier for the teachers and the students who struggle. A change according to Valenzuela et al., in order to increase the position of the public school in the educational community, would be "to reduce self-selection, parents' school choice should be controlled to some level" (Valenzuela et al., 2014, p234). To introduce a regulating mechanism to the free school choice would prevent a larger number of students with the same socio-economic background from ending up in the same class and reduce the number of vulnerable students in one class. This could give the teachers more time to include both the students' and the parents' voice in education, in line with the Director of Education's advocated approach. To incorporate the parents and the students in the change is also advocated by Ainscow that states, "there is evidence that the views of families, including children themselves, can be helpful in bringing new thinking to the efforts of schools to develop more inclusive ways of working" (Ainscow, 2020, p.13).

My research also gives information about the teachers' attitude toward change, where a high degree of faith is expressed about the teachers' role in societal change. This was confirmed by answers, presented in section 6.4. These findings give the impression of teachers who actively want to contribute to the community where they teach, and how they believe in their ability to enable change for vulnerable students. The teachers' attitude further shows how they take responsibility for the vulnerable students, by advocating a development to a more just society.

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As stated by Messiou et al. (2016), action towards the elimination of exclusionary factors is in the students' environments also to response to the diversity in relation to the students' various socio-economic backgrounds, which is highlighted as a positive action for an inclusive school improvement.

An active approach to the community is also promoted by UNICEF (2018a) that highlights the importance of understanding the community when implementing change in education. My research shows that the teachers have an active approach in the community, through participating in various movements. This active contribution of the teachers in the community can thereby be important because it is a good way to be involved and connect with the local context and culture. However, as discussed in section 7.2.5, fails the schools to draw on the knowledge and views of the parents, which according to Ainscow (2020) also is an important way of foster inclusion and involve the wider community in educational change.

According to the Director of Education, is not transnational and international companies and educational strategies promoted for the future development of the municipal schools. Instead, she believes that local teachers and their knowledge are the preferred way to go since the local teachers have the best local knowledge and are therefore recognised as the force that holds the best resources to make important decisions. Transnational or international educational strategies and programs, that target the practice inside the classroom might be beneficial for students with high socio-economic standards but can be questionable for students who struggle if disconnected from the local community and the local culture. This suggests that the approach of the Director of Education to promote local knowledge and increase the teachers' autonomy is important for vulnerable students. This is also strengthened by UNICEF that highlights that education should be connected to the context of the school, as the quote suggests.

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There are many sources of inequity in education related to political, economic, social, cultural and institutional factors, and these vary across countries. This means that what works in one country may not work elsewhere. This is why an emphasis on system change strategies being contextually sensitive is one of the pervading themes in this paper. (UNICEF, 2014, p,111)

The new generation of Chilean citizens, as described in the background chapter, shows both an active and committed attitude to expose the contradictions in the political model inherited from the dictatorship, a commitment, which shows a respect for values such as equal rights in society (Wales et al., 2014, Bellei et al., 2018, Schulz et al., 2010). This could be essential when promoting a political change in order to reduce the gap between different socio-economic groups in Chile. This positive outcome of the new generation is also mentioned in my interview with the Director of Education who suggests that the new generation belongs to another culture than their parents.

However, given the experience from the past, there are many obstacles on the way to a more equal society. History tells us that policies are often implemented without considering the view of the people or the view of the teachers (Cavieres, 2011, Bellei et al., 2018). This means that the political system has monopolised the implementation and change of policies and laws without a democratic foundation. In line with Bronfenbrenner (1979) the interplay between various stakeholders in different spheres is important since it either strengthens or weakens the outcome of the individual. This can further imply that a common understanding amongst educational stakeholders is lacking and as stated by Fullan (2000) will work inefficiently for large-scale implementations of new education reforms.

In terms of the scale of change needed in order to improve the vulnerable students' education and academic performance, one teacher's answer is particularly interesting. The teacher expresses clearly how the Chilean society is in need of a new paradigm and recognises that a larger change in this context involves more than one stakeholder.

The expressed need for a new paradigm seems to mean that the traditional system is no longer sustainable.

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A paradigm shift is a new way of thinking that replaces an old one and changes do not imply minor adjustments, but instead a profound change with changed opinions and changed instruments, inside the educational, social, political, and economic model. Such major societal change or paradigm shifts are not unknown to a Chilean citizen, referring back to the time of coup d'état and the era of dictatorship (Harvey, 2005, Sohr, 2011). Creating a paradigm shift is likely to require a societal revolution, in which people adopt new ideas, goals, and practices related to the broader spectrum of societal development, where the transformation is a result of leaving one paradigm and adopting another since according to Kuhn (1962) a new phenomenon must have a complete representation of the reality to which it refers. New and sustainable ideas and values can significantly impact everyday thinking and practice, creating a new normative framework for society as a whole.

It is further understandable that the teacher expresses the need for a paradigm shift since several challenges found in the study can be connected to the societal model. First of all, it is a truism that there are no educational inequalities without social inequalities and that the high share of the vulnerable students is not just a product of educational features, but also high-income inequalities for example (Muñoz Tamayo, 2011, Schulz et al., 2010, World population review, 2020b). Moreover, neoliberalism's two main educational features, i.e. free school choice and privatisation, are both known to be the reason behind the high socio-economic homogeneity in the municipal schools (Villalobos & Valenzuela, 2012, Valenzuela et al., 2014). Furthermore, the decentralisation of the state management of social services, including education, back in the 1980s is a feature that has been criticised in social movements to reduce the quality of the municipal school. Finally, the market-driven approach has been argued to make education a social good instead of a social just (Bellei et al., 2018, Villalobos & Valenzuela, 2012).

Finally, an important finding from headteacher B, presented, in section 6.4. suggests to "bridge the schools". This suggestion is important for several reasons, especially, for the vulnerable students, since according to Ainscow (2020) a greater collaboration between schools can facilitate a reduction of the polarization between the schools.

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Ainscow, further suggests that greater collaboration can facilitate the municipal teachers to increase and improve inclusive teaching, as the quote suggests.

> Collaboration within and between schools, closer links between schools and communities, networking across contexts, and the use of evidence as a means of stimulating experimentation are all seen as key strategies for moving such processes in a more inclusive direction (Ainscow & Miles, 2008, p31).

In conclusion, a positive force toward a change can be observed. Although, the following question remains; Will the state provide change, or will the municipal school, in line with the Director of Education in Valparaiso, have to attempt to transform the negative external features by taking on a more collaborative approach towards dealing with the state? According to Fullan (2000), this means acting in a selective manner towards the state and aiming to participate at a high level by utilising the resources given to the municipal schools to its full potential.

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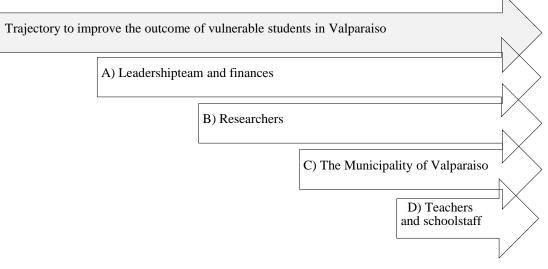OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

7.4 Recommendations

7.4.1 Introduction of the section

The section offers the main recommendations that emerged during the study. The recommended measures focus on how to rethink the situation in the context of the study, in line with the experienced constraints associated with teaching vulnerable students in Valparaiso. With regard to this process, the notion of each recommendation is associated with a positive change for the municipal teachers and could be defined as what Hallinger and Heck (2011) describe as a journey towards educational development. The aim of each recommendation is in line with inclusive education; not to integrate the vulnerable students into the system but rather to develop the system to include the students' needs (Ainscow & Miles, 2008).

The section does not go so far as to recommend a paradigm shift to improve the situation, as discussed above since a recommendation at that level would need a whole different study with broader data and analysis of the history and political system. Instead, it recommends that the government of Chile takes on broader and more appropriate measures to improve their commitment to making education better for all, by incorporating descriptive research that can provide new and improved guidelines for the nation.

As previously pointed out, educational changes in Chile are highly complex, due to political will, in addition to the multiple levels of participation. The teachers' level of power to influence the various challenges therefore varies. The responsibility or the power to implement the recommended measures is therefore given to four different sectors, as described in figure no. 2.

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Figure 2. Areas of shared responsibility to improve the outcome of vulnerable students in Valparaiso

Trajectory to improve the outcome of vulnerable students in Valparaiso

A) Leadershipteam and finances

B) Researchers

C) The Municipality of Valparaiso

D) Teachers and schoolstaff

(Source: own elaboration)

7.4.1 The recommended measures

The recommended measures are presented from one to six, where one to three belongs to the school and its teachers, four, to the community, and five to six to further research. After each recommendation follows an explanation of why the measure is recommended and feasible for positive development.

- Recommendation 1. Invest in positive communication with the vulnerable students' parents and specifically promote the municipal teachers' responsibility, with the aim to encourage parents' involvement and increase the support for the vulnerable students.

Various factors affect the collaboration between the educator and the household, negatively. Even though factors exist outside the school, the school can still be improved from the inside. The main recommendation is to increase the teachers' knowledge about stereotypical beliefs about parents and poverty and promote positive communication. The study shows that the current communication between the educator and the parents is generally negative.

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Positive communication can help to build a trusting relationship with the parents, which could facilitate a better comprehension of the experiences of each other and increase the parents' participation in their children's education (Gorski, 2013). The responsibility of the measure belongs to the teachers and the school staff.

- **Recommendation 2a.** Improve the learning environment in the classroom, through personalising the space, with the aim to make students feel known and integrated.

Many components go into making a positive learning environment. The study shows how the needed pedagogic approach of the teacher is in place. However, the physical environment can be improved by rearranging the chairs for more interaction between students and add pieces into the classroom that increases the feeling of belonging. A significant improvement would be to find a physical solution to interact in smaller groups, such as a room divider, which in line with an inclusive education could increase the relationship between the students and adjust teaching methods and strategies to meet the needs of the student on an individual basis (Booth & Ainscow, 2002, UNESCO, 2005). The responsibility of the measure belongs to the teachers and the school staff.

- **Recommendation 2b.** In line with PADEM (2019) funding should be allocated for the maintenance of larger infrastructural projects with the aim to prioritise the requests for improving the physical learning environment.

Funding for infrastructure seems to be a challenge for the municipality of Valparaiso. Several features of generally poor standards were found, which concerns the students' comfort and ability to concentrate. The lack of an updated infrastructure is also a concern or a missed opportunity for the municipal school to enrol students from higher socio-economic families. The responsibility of the measure belongs to the municipality of Valparaiso while the state also is recommended to increase funding that can be allocated to such investment.

- **Recommendation 3a.** Work equal between different levels of the municipal school to assist vulnerable students to succeed in the transition.

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The study shows a difference in approach to formal education between school A and school B. School A requires less of the students due to the students' inability to practice and receive support in the household. School A also allowed the students to act and speak more freely inside the classroom. The study implies that there is a positive attitude towards collaboration between institutions, both from the teachers and from the Director of Education. This should be taken advantage of by scaling up the number of programs that initiate and promote collaboration between the primary and secondary levels in order to avoid putting vulnerable students in an increasingly difficult situation when changing levels. The students are currently not prepared for the new practice. The responsibility of the measure belongs to the municipality of Valparaiso and the teachers.

- Recommendation 3b. Increase the collaboration between the schools to promote new thinking.

In line with recommendation 3a, allows the development of programs that initiate and promote collaboration also to strengthen the network of the teachers. Innovative strategies and new thinking can be developed at the same time as the measure helps to promote a greater collaboration with the aim to increase relationships and reduce the gap between groups with different socio-economic status (Ainscow, 2020).

- Recommendation 4. In line with UNICEF (2018a) in the area of inclusion and empowerment of vulnerable students, it is recommended to invest in increased community activities and specifically promote exchange between schools of various types with the aim to provide access to services for vulnerable students and create interaction across social levels in society.

Since several challenges in this study have been linked to external factors in the vulnerable student's life, it might just be in this area that something could be done to help the teachers and give extra support to the students. Greater investment in community activities for everyone could allow students to both interact with peers and experience other adults as role models and increase their access to extra curriculum-related activities.

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This can be positive for social behavioural skills and identity development (Shonkoff et al., 2009, Hackman & Farah, 2009) and ease some burden put on the municipal teachers. In addition, this measure can also add pressure on the wall between the preserved elite and the vulnerable student and possibly increase meetings between students of different socio-economic levels. The responsibility of the measure belongs to the municipality of Valparaiso.

An important aspect to keep in mind is to recognise the successful interventions to keep increasing the enrolment of vulnerable students, as has been done in recent years. However, there is still a problem of vulnerable students who never start or finish school too early. Such students receive very little support since the main responsibility for these children lies with the parents who are responsible for finding the right solutions and measures for their own child. This makes it increasingly important to invest in alternative supports, such as community activities which do not leave these children to their own faith.

- Recommendation 5. In general, run and harness educational research at different levels, and at the same time, include aspects that cannot be measured with the aim to interconnect different spheres of research with the state and the implementation of new educational policies.

The recommendation for this research is important as qualitative research is relatively rare in Chile since there is great faith in standardised ways of measuring. Further research should be directed towards finding out how to best solve the existing issue of inequality while maintaining a humble attitude on aspects that cannot be measured nor researched with quantitative approaches. Chile has a long way to go and must progress from simplifying pictures of the realities that people face. The aim would be to reach a political consensus on the policy response to the vulnerable students' demands, which means to increase the moral dimension of the reforms and mobilise power into the area in order to make a difference and reduce the gap between different stakeholders (Fullan, 2000). The responsibility of the measure belongs to the community of researchers while funding should be provided by the state.

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- Recommendation 6a. Invest more funding in research regarding which resources that can target socio-economically disadvantaged students.

Specific information about vulnerable groups in their context could facilitate the teachers and school staff with more information on the vulnerable students' learning needs and the appropriate pedagogical approach. According to UNICEF (2018a), longitudinal studies are recommended to follow the same group of students over time and deepen the understanding of how to improve the situation. Furthermore, parental participation is highlighted as an area in need of more attention from this kind of research (Lara & Saracostti, 2019). To facilitate the daily practice inside the school, workshops could be held to enable teachers, parents, and researchers to work together. This recommendation aims to promote solutions to overcome barriers and problems associated with the learning development of vulnerable students, to improve policies and practice (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). The responsibility of the measure belongs to the school and other school staff and the community of researchers with initiative and funding provided by the state.

- Recommendation 6b. Invest in research that targets how to monitor the learning outcomes and academic achievement of the socio-economically disadvantaged students.

First of all, an evaluation system that targets all students is less feasible for students that belong to groups outside the majority of the population (Braunsteiner and Mariano-Lapidus, 2014). Secondly the evaluation today is focused on academic performance and not academic development, which gives an incorrect measure of the quality of the education of the individual school. It is, therefore, recommended, to develop a better evaluation system that takes into account the vulnerable groups of students, that can also be used in policy development and public debates. Here, it is appropriate to add a reminder of a statement from UNICEF "Greater equality does not come at a cost to average achievement. Both are necessary to give all children a fair start" (UNICEF, 2018a, p.47). The responsibility of the measure belongs to the community of researchers with initiative and funding provided by the state

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OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

Chapter 8. Conclusion

This study shows that inclusive education is not in place, due to the limitation of implementing in the current practice inside the observed classes in the municipal schools of Valparaiso. The high class-representation of students with low socio-economic backgrounds complicates the situation to the worse for the municipal teachers and it can be concluded that the group with lower socio-economic levels is still suffering from the high level of privatisations in the Chilean education system. It is also clear from the observations and the answers from the participants in the study, that policies implemented in more recent time directed toward reducing the negative effects from the past are not enough to improve the situation for the vulnerable groups.

The approach of the study to investigate the interconnection of constraints at multiple ecological levels and how this interconnection affects the inclusion of the students with socio-economic disadvantages helped to found various factors that burden and complicated the municipal teachers' work. The study found globally recognised factors, that have for a long time been established by research to affect the teaching of vulnerable students (addressed in chapter four) such as difficulties to establish a functioning relationship with the parents of vulnerable students. Other factors, found in the study, are less universal and can be traced back to Chile's unique trajectory and history. Most of these factors are either rooted in the implementation of neoliberal policies or in attempts to reduce the negative effects of neoliberalism in later days. Subsidised funding, extra class assistance, and other measures are argued to not be sufficient enough and deliberately refrain from addressing the overall concern for the current educational segregation. Factors, such as the competitive market-driven system is still oversimplifying how students are ranked and measured with a standardised average as a goal. This is a clear issue shown in the study, forcing teachers to choose between achieving the goal of the standardised test or work on the basis of the preferred pedagogical approach of the municipality and the international recommendations for inclusive education.

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Resistance to informal education is therefore felt especially by national policies that still promote a standardised curriculum, not considering the process of the individual, which is important for the vulnerable students' identity and academic development. In line with inclusive education, the approach to over-standardised education is an epistemological mistake, since the approach does not recognise the importance of inclusion for all (Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus, 2014), which is crucial for the student's well-being. Furthermore, the educational system evaluating, monitoring, and rewarding the more successful municipal teachers with better working conditions promotes competition between the teachers and counteracts the teachers' engagements of group communication and mutual collaboration.

Although factors that need to be addressed exist in several dimensions, the study highlights three highly positive outcomes. First, productive support is provided to the municipal teachers from the local Director of Education in Valparaiso. The support aims at increasing the inclusion of municipal teachers in the process of decision-making. This supports an inclusive organisational culture and respects the values of inclusion that the teachers should embrace in the classroom (Coleman and Glover, 2010, Messiou et al., 2016). Secondly, the teachers, in relation to the pedagogical approach, are on the right track towards an inclusive teaching. Lastly, there is a high level of commitment of the teachers. Their fight for their students, especially seen during the protest in 2019, and in observations during the study is admirable. The present investigation confirms, moreover, a desire to make a difference in the lives of these young people within a context where worrying challenges remain. However, it is also essential that the teachers are provided with more resources that allow them to change the path for disadvantaged students. The foremost need would be to allow the teachers to work with smaller groups that might introduce more appropriate individualised methods for learning and give a place for each student to benefit from active participation.

It would further be of great value to establish a better systematic approach to monitor the group of vulnerable students. It is therefore essential that the government takes on a humbler approach on what can be measured.

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The state should incorporate research that pays attention to strengthening approaches for vulnerable students in their specific context with the long-term goal to embrace multiple methodologies in the curriculum and reach political consensus on policies that respond and support the municipalities, in order to change the negative path for vulnerable students. A better-established system of monitoring could further be utilised in a discussion on how to make more effective use of the subsidised funding that is provided to schools with students in disadvantaged positions today. Finally, the importance of inter-connected research from different spheres is highlighted, in addition to implementing workshops with the teachers, parents, and researchers.

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

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Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

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Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
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Faculty of Education and International Studies
OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

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Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
Master's thesis in Multicultural and International Education
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OsloMet-Oslo Metropolitan University

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Participant Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

**Department of international Studies and Interpreting. Faculty
of Education and International Studies**

○ **Title of research:** *A perspective of the municipal-school teacher's experience and constraints associated with teaching low performing students, in the city of Valparaiso, Chile.*

○Your answers will assist in the fieldwork of Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen, Master student at Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway. Your input is valid for the realization of the master thesis for the master's in international education and development and will be a part of an anonymous data collection.

The main of the research is to investigate the place for the vulnerable Child inside the classroom. To teach a vulnerable student requires both ability and possibilities. Therefore, the area requires research and collection of teacher's knowledge to increase the importance of the subject to alter the gaps in the individual development of the child, the gaps which result in different readiness to accumulate knowledge.

Fill free to contact me Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen for any questions or concerns at vickie.jochimsen@gmail.com or s234409@oslomet.no, for further concerns can also supervisor at Oslo Metropolitan be contacted at andersb@oslomet.no (Anders Briedlid).

○ Recruitment of your personal data collection has been selected according to the right area and ages of your pupils and demographic situation and the method will be either to conduct an interview or conduct a questionnaire both in the time frame of 30min.

○ I……………………………………… voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

○ I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.

○ I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me in writing and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study

○ I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially and will be anonymized

○ I understand that signed consent forms, original audio, recordings, notes and questionnaires will be deleted after completed thesis.

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○ I understand that I am free to contact Vickie Jochimsen at s234409@oslomet.no to seek further clarification and information

Signature of participant…………………………………………… Date…………………

Signature of researcher……………………………………………. Date………………….

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Appendix 2. Interview with the Director of Education

R: How is the situation for the vulnerable students in Valparaiso today?

When we started to work with the municipality here in Valpo, we had at the that time 700 students outside school, that means one school less in Valparaiso, one school missing, the problem was the attendance, the students did not go to school, then you have problems with your learning and you fail, it is different aspect why students go to school, poverty, drug addiction, I think the one that we can take into account inside the schools that the teachers just try to grade to have mark in the process they just train the students they do not take into account the problems that they have.

R: So, a challenge, is the approaches of the teachers?

We need to discuss with the area of professional, how can we have a model in which we are responsible of not just the learning process of the students but responsible for their lives. Because when you are in school, you are living in their in the same time, so your life project fail if you're learning process fail, so successful for us means also to have the same thing in school that why we propose to the school model, so I was a principal at a school and I started with this ide there, we have some problems related with the results, a standardised test of course is the worst in the whole system, public system, because the results are the worst ones, we do not have god results.

R: Why do you think that standardised test does not work in relation to the vulnerable students?

Standardised tests as everywhere they do not show the process or how the students increase their learning because we work with the more complex students, we also have an amount of student that fail in the process is high we have problems with math and we also have problems with linguistic.

R: What could be changed to make an improvement?

We discuss this model of an inclusive education for us is what we want, we also have problems with the teachers they did not have enough tool to deal with the educational

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policies, with the social and economic problems of the students, the teachers can not use their standardised methods because we do not have standardised students, and also we have a teacher career that are related to salary, so they have to compete to get more money so its not a matter of collective work it is a matter of competition. It is not god when you have complicated context because then you do not know how to work with that reality, and also a problem, there is not always a connection between the school when a child moves up. The teachers compete and say "you work in that level and there it is no good so I have to do your work because you did do it right. The relationship between the teachers is good in some respects but not professional because they compete, and they don't work together. Curriculum is for life, it has to give you tool to protect your life, it affect you life finally, personal relationships in the school is related to democracy, you have to live democracy inside the school, that is the first step, then we have professional running communities, and then we have a local system of education that consider the context. This is related to learning assessments, each of them have more areas as in the professional running communities there is about going with the student in their learning path, the other is to know how to work with their colleges and the other one, they need to get some tools to investigate and become professional leader.

R: Would you say that inclusion of the group of vulnerable students works?

Of course when we talk in Chile, the religion I think it's an ideology, that why they refuse because all the thing we can say inside the school….so we working with the rules to don't have any relations with stereotypes, in some school the teacher and principal have some norms and rules were the student cannot were earrings but now we talked about it and we want to eliminated those kind of rules so no gender discrimination,

R: How well are the parents included in the educational system?

Here in Chile, the culture is very connected to religion. Even if they do not practice religion they follow some ideas, especially protestant religion, it is hard because they say that the school cannot influence their kids it is like the kids it is like their kids are private; they are mine so you cannot influence them. If we listening to the students' voice we can move culture even though in their house and their parents are conservative.

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R: How do you recommend improving the municipal school, and the learning outcome for the vulnerable students?

Our political responsibility is to think how we can do it in another way because students fail and fail and fail and fail, they are at the streets we have a lot of problem with the with drugs…. So we have more young people in jail so we also have a school inside the prison, so always the point is the same they failed at school, they did not learn anything, they did have a to their teacher. I mean always it is the same thing so if you continue doing the same thing I mean train students for standardised, train students just for a grade or a mark I mean it is not going to work, so that's why with the new major we have we say ok we have to work to put some ideas and discuss with the teacher and lets try to do it this way.

What practical change is needed in order to improve the situation?

It is very important we are working with democracy and autonomy with the teachers and we are giving them the professional status that they have in the process, the teacher here they just repeat and reproduce a kind of due education and for us, they have to say something and also the students so their voices can be included in the decision. That is democracy inside the school. But the system doesn't give them that opportunity so that why we are giving them that so that's why we are very proud of our colleges they have the tools but no one gives them any space to decide.

Are there any more changes needed?

We do not have to compete with the other schools, we know that the problem is the system always based on competition that why they say ohh that school is worse than our so institutionally they try to do that to show because they need more customers for their school. But now I think the system is frozen. I don't think the not gonna increase number so we are working to get more student from those schools showing another way of doing education more open-minded, flexible and including the students' voice the parents' voice.
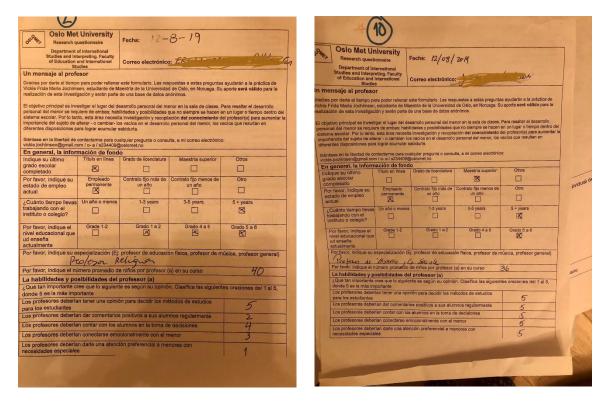
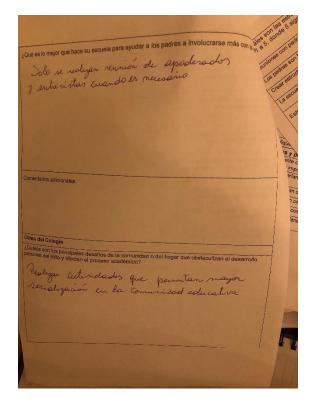R: So, it exists challenges inside the educational system for the teachers?

Yes, we are saying that a standardised test doesn't show if a school is a good school or not. Because the are not focus on their learning process, just the result and the result is like a

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picture and that picture doesn't have any reason in this system where you have 5 million in chile who didn't finish school in 32 years are no good result so what are the ideas just to control right? Control teachers, control students, control the whole society, especially teachers.

R: Are their more disadvantages for vulnerable students?

They say the experts of education its from that company, you know Parsons Santillana, they are international companies, those kinds of companies are like accessories of experts, but they are no experts, the experts are the people doing education in this context. Nobody knows how to do it in this context except you, that is the thing you have to say to the teachers inside the schools. Ok lets discuss but we have to make decisions and be responsible of that and try and know the context. Lets concentrate, what are the factors and aspects that make students fail lets see some of them. We can not have the tools to solve like economy an unemployment here in Valparaiso. The problem is that most of our parent are just women responsible or the whole family, they don't have employment they are selling thing on the street. How come a lot of people selling things on the streets are women? That is a flexible kind of work, they can take care of their kids if they are sick, most of them have their children downtown where they work, that's why it is not that easy. But the thing we can take into account is related to the learning process

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Appendix 3. The questionnaire

Vickie Frida Maria Jochimsen
S234409
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Faculty of Education and International Studies
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