EDUCACIÓN EN CLAVE DE METODOLOGÍAS Y MEDIACIONES

VV.AA.

GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE
ACADEMICS

Educación en clave de metodologías y mediaciones

VV.AA.

GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE
ACADEMICS

ÍNDICE

PARTE II. METODOLOGÍAS DIDÁCTICAS

Neoliberalism and middle school education

An approach to relational behavior of the school field in the city of Tandil (Buenos Aires, Argentina)

Marcela Leivas, Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Argentina

INTRODUCTION

The hypothesis underlying this work states that distinctions among social groups within a specific community, including those related to the school field or microcosms, may vary when their defining context changes. This, in turn, affects the allocation of resources and the strategies used by the agents to maintain or increase their own capital.

The relationship between the education system (ES) and society is characterized from a sociological perspective for the period 2015-2019, when a set of neoliberal policies was implemented by President government. In some countries, such as Argentina, neoliberalism has left deep marks across different spheres, including the ES. Neoliberalism is not only an economic model, but also a symbolic one. It structurally erodes the ES, while at the same time establishing symbolic connotations that undermine both the public sector and the capital of those who take part in it.

In Argentina, the National Law of Education Nº 26206, enacted in 2006, increased the years of compulsory schooling to 13, starting at the age of 5 years old. In turn, this resulted in increased tensions in the selective and exclusionary dynamics that have historically identified middle education in this country (Kessler, 2002; Filmus and Kaplan, 2012).

This work aims at characterizing the school field in the city of Tandil. To this end, Pierre Bourdieu´s genetic structuralism is used (Bourdieu and Waqcuant, 2005), specifically, to shed light on the differences among middle schools in Tandil.

From the perspective of genetic structuralism, it can be argued that value relations shaping school capital—the institutionalized form of cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (1987)—may change and thus alter the historical valuation of capital acquired by students from different social origins. According to genetic structuralism, these valuations of social practices change in response to the contradictions stemming from the shifting rules that establish how capital—in this case, school capital—is maintained, lost, or increased. This, in turn, affects the processes of resources allocation as, in spite of a wider distribution of school capital, social pulls will continue to struggle for distinction (Bourdieu, 1979).

In line with the previous considerations, the author will outline six different sections. The first section considers a series of elements distinguishing the existing educational policy at the time of data collection. The second section summarizes the theoretical framework sustaining both the methodology and the data analysis. The third one describes the methodological background and leads to the fourth section, where the data analysis is presented. The fifth one includes the most relevant preliminary results stemming from this analysis. Finally, the sixth section comprises a series of concluding remarks on the possible direction of future research.

CONTEXT

The following considerations provide a framework to analyze the educational policies in place during the period when the data were collected.

From 2015 to 2019, Argentina was ruled by the political alliance Cambiemos. In the year 2019, the country, and particularly the Province of Buenos Aires, was experiencing the height of what has been termed the *apocalyptic* phase of capitalism (Segato, 2018: 13), which has also reached its maximum expression in other Latin American countries.

Capitalism can be currently understood as being a model in decline, a regime that has become unsustainable due to its high levels of concentration of wealth, environmental pollution and commoditization of life. It remains, however, a hegemony, and resists its inherent downfall even though this entails a weakening of its authority (Fraser, 2019).

During this phase, the world undergoes a process of deterritorialization due to the rupture of the center-periphery dynamic, the discourse spread by a globalizing market, and the Internet and its virtual networks. However, this process is countered by an opposite tendency resulting in relocation and reterritorialization, thus establishing new coordinates for operation (Reguillo, 2007). Establishing how this process is achieved and expressed is important, as relocation must necessarily bring together differing interests in order to preserve governance. The role played by the SE in this process should also be explored.

In Argentina, the policies adopted by the government during 2015-2019 reflected the interests of economic corporations. The highest-ranking positions in key government departments were occupied by the CEOs of these corporations[1]. As a result, the poverty index increased from 30.3 % during the second semester of 2016 to 35.4 % during the first semester of 2019, whereas indigence rose from 6.1 to 7.7 % during the same time period. Thus, according to the National Statistics and Census Institute (2020), roughly 43.1 % of the population currently falls below the poverty level.

The set of measures enforced during 2015-2019 and affecting the ES reflect—in consonance with those enacted across all of the governmental spheres—the so-called *shock doctrine* (Klein, 2007), as they were implemented, not because of their

---

1   Ceocracy is a term aimed at describing a government in which public administration is ruled by ministers and managers (CEOs) from the private sector. This king of administration has been proven to lead to a pro-inflationary tendency (Katz, 2015).

popularity, but because of their direct impact on the citizen´s psychology in the face of disasters or contingency contexts, which lead to confusion and shock. Under these circumstances, the policies resulted in: the reduction of the education budget from 6.1 to 5.7 % of Argentina´s GNP between 2015 and 2017 (Claus and Sánchez, 2019); the disappearance of the centralized system of national collective bargaining for teachers, which ensured a minimum wage for teaching staff across the country and thus prevented regional inequalities from affecting salaries; the digitization of the application process for leaves of absence, which required relearning formerly known steps; the changes in the distribution of educational funding, as allocation shifted from 2.1 % to the Ministry of the Interior, Public Works and Housing, 0.6 % to the Secretary of Labor and 87.3 % to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Science, and Technology in 2016 to 1.3, 0 and 98.7 %, respectively, in 2019 (Claus and Sánchez, 2019); a dramatic reduction in the number of student scholarships and the adoption of a meritocratic system regulating applications, among others.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In terms of Pierre Bourdieu´s *genetic structuralism*, the study of any element must necessarily encompass its double objectivity. On the one hand, it should take into account the *social physics* as an objective structure "whose articulations can be materially observed, measured, and mapped out independently of the representations of those who live in it" (Bourdieu and Waqcuant, 2005: 32), and decode the "unwritten musical score according to which the actions of agents [...] are organized and ascertain the objective regularities they obey" (Bourdieu and Waqcuant, 2005: 33). On the other hand, through the lens of *social phenomenology*, it should help determine the interplay that results in information, "the emergent product of the decisions, actions, and cognitions of conscious, alert individuals to whom the world is given as immediately familiar and meaningful" (Bourdieu and Waqcuant, 2005: 34-35).

From this perspective, information must be reconstructed from its *genesis*. According to Pierre Bourdieu, a fully realised sociology must take into account the history of structures as a variable of study (Bourdieu, 1979). This does not entail the development of a merely historiographical perspective, but rather the reconstruction of a geographical space in order to identify the origin of struggles, tensions, contradictions, reforms, and/or underlying transformations that shape and define the geographical space as it is.

Accordingly, the present work aims at describing the *school field* in the city of Tandil from the perspective of *genetic structuralism* in terms of its double objectivity and intrinsic qualities. A *field* refers to a series of "relatively autonomous social microcosms, i.e., spaces of objective relations that are the site of a logic and necessity that are specific and irreducible" (Bourdieu and Waqcuant, 2005: 154).

This work will seek to identify the *relations of power* that determine the *location* of each agent within the aforementioned *social space* (Bourdieu, 1988). In order to focus on retrieving the practices both in their present tense and in their genesis,

research is systematized around two structural concepts, namely the concepts of school trajectories (ST) and strategies of social reproduction (SSR).

The concept of *historical time* as applied to the analysis of ST differs from its dominant, established notion. This is due to the fact that a complex pattern, throughout which the subject is shaped as he moves further along the educational path, is recognized as part of the historical process. As a result, its study requires exploring the associated progress, setbacks, and elections along the chosen paths, as well as possible desertions or the decision to change schools (Bracchi and Gabbai, 2013). At a fundamental level, this analysis makes it possible to establish sense relations between the material and symbolic resources available within the school space and the processes of appropriation taking part within "all those educational settings, by means of which life stories and itineraries are gradually shaped" (Bracchi and Gabbai, 2013: 33). In the particular case of young people, understood as agents of change, these processes are one of the means by which society reinvents itself (Bendit et al., 2008; Reguillo, 2012).

According to Rossana Reguillo,

> By means both diverse and uneven, young people have kept undermining certainties and showing in multiple ways that the social project currently favored in Latin America has been thus far unable to fulfill the promise of an inclusive, just, and, especially, possible future (Reguillo, 2007: 22).

On the other hand, SSR can be described as a

> …set of outwardly very different practices whereby individuals or families tend, unconsciously and consciously, to maintain or increase their assets and consequently to maintain or improve their position in the class structure (Bourdieu, 1979: 122).

These strategies depend on a number of factors: (1) The volume and nature of the capital that the agents own and seek to reproduce, as well as the historical development of this capital; (2) the status of the intertwined reproduction instruments shaped by the school space, or the objective conditions in which these instruments are inserted; (3) the power relations among social classes; and (4) the habitus cultivated by the social agents (Gutiérrez and Mansilla, 2015).

Analyzing each strategy and relating it to the different social groups or objective class—i.e., a set of agents in homogeneous conditions of existence and holding "a set of common properties, objectified properties, sometimes legally guaranteed (as possession of goods and power) or properties embodied as class habitus" (Bourdieu, 1979)—will enable us to understand the unequal distribution of school capital in the city of Tandil.

METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The methodological approach used in this work largely relies on qualitative data. However, these data will also be contextualized by means of quantitative elements, as described in the following section.

The methodological approach in this work can be seen as a *case study*, the latter being understood as a research exercise focused on analyzing the associations among numerous properties, all of which are contained within a single unit of study (Archenti, 2018: 291). The focus of this research is thus centered on an in-depth analysis of meaning in order to understand the particularities of each case (Archenti, 2018: 292). In this research, the case comprises the school field in the city of Tandil.

In order to characterize the school field in the city of Tandil, sample middle schools were selected on the basis of different criteria, including institutional identity (whether the school was founded before or after the enactment of the National Law of Education Nº 20206 in 2006), territoriality, and level of urbanization. A total of three middle schools were selected.

1. State managed public school (suburban area): This school is geographically located in a neighborhood with a low degree of urbanization, dirt roads and precarious housing conditions. It was created in 2013, after the approval of Law Nº 26206, in response to the expansion of mandatory schooling.

2. State managed public school (urban area): This school is located in the city center, and thus in a highly urbanized area. It was created in 1974 and consequently enjoys a distinct institutional identity, which has been further strengthened by its resistance against a number of neoliberal policies.

3. Privately managed public school (urban area): This school is located in an urban area. It was created in 1987, when a number of private schools were accredited to operate without state funds.

In the three selected institutions, a series of interviews and qualitative surveys were carried out. The following is a preliminary analysis of the interviews with students, school authorities, teachers, and students´ relatives. Two aspects have been broken down, namely, the ST and the SSR.

The data will be subjected to a process of codification; i.e., a code will be assigned to the significations, valuations and conceptualizations identified by means of a thorough revision of each source (Borsotti, 2015). This will help determine the existence of valuations, readings and considerations about the situation under study.

ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

Quantitative data outlining the school space in the city of Tandil

According to the statistical reports by the General Department of Culture and Education of the Province of Buenos Aires, Tandil currently has a total of 8,642 students attending middle school. Of these students, 5,593 attend state managed schools, whereas 2,049 attend privately managed schools. Figure 1 shows the historical trend of school enrollment in the city of Tandil.

Figure 1
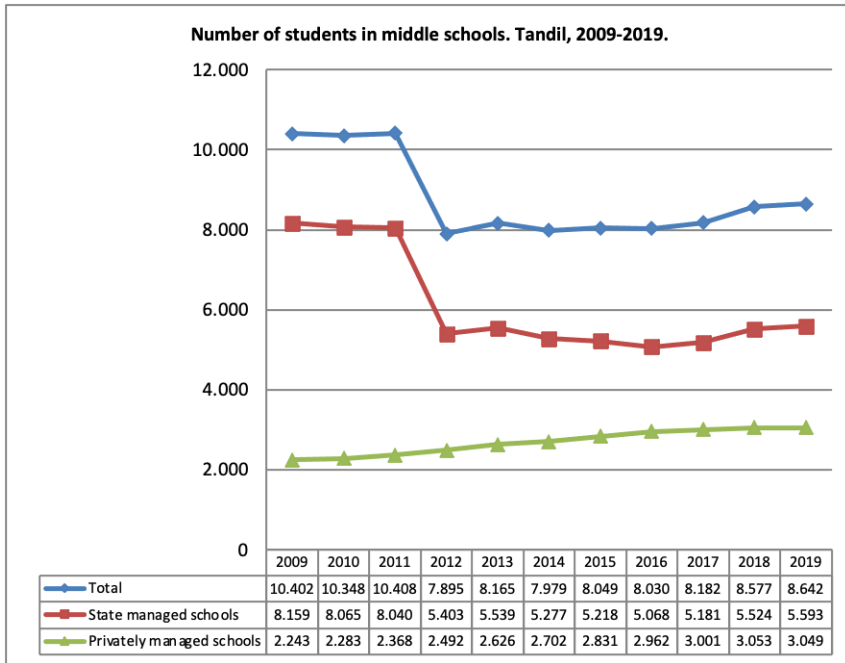
Number of students in middle schools. Tandil, 2009-2019.

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Total	10.402	10.348	10.408	7.895	8.165	7.979	8.049	8.030	8.182	8.577	8.642
State managed schools	8.159	8.065	8.040	5.403	5.539	5.277	5.218	5.068	5.181	5.524	5.593
Privately managed schools	2.243	2.283	2.368	2.492	2.626	2.702	2.831	2.962	3.001	3.053	3.049

Source: General Department of Culture and Education. Buenos Aires Province, Argentina. 2009-2019.

The trend in Figure 1 reveals a general increase in enrollment, with the exception of a marked decrease in 2012. The latter is related to the change in the structure of middle school education[2]. On the other hand, the state and private sectors exhibit different behaviors. Whereas the former closely reflects the general tendency, the latter experiences a constant and uninterrupted increase. This could be explained in terms of the differing but necessary logics driving enrollment in each sector (Leivas, 2019).

The following figure (Figure 2) depicts the number of educational units during the same period, 2009-2019. In spite of the increase in the number of students enrolled, the number of educational institutions has remained constant since 2014.

---

2   Under the Federal Law of Education (1993), middle school comprised two years of compulsory education (General Basic Education or GBE) and three years of non-compulsory multitrack education (Polymodal). The GBE thus included primary school and the two initial years of middle school. The enactment of the National Law of Education (2006) reverted this situation by separating schooling into two distinct levels, primary school and middle school, the latter comprising a basic and an orientation cycle.

Figure 2
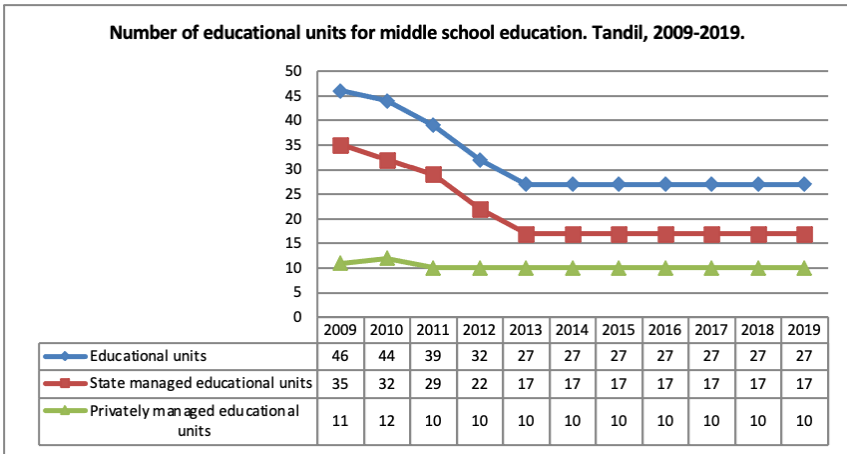
Number of educational units for middle school education. Tandil, 2009-2019.

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Educational units	46	44	39	32	27	27	27	27	27	27	27
State managed educational units	35	32	29	22	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
Privately managed educational units	11	12	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

Source: General Department of Culture and Education. Buenos Aires Province, Argentina. 2009-2019.

Lastly, Figure 3 summarizes data on the number of classes in the state and private sectors of middle schools in Tandil. A class is defined as an organized group comprised by students sharing the same classroom and being instructed by the same teacher of group of teachers. Apart from a marked decrease in 2012, a constant increase in the number of classes can be observed in both state and privately managed schools. It is noteworthy that this increase has not been accompanied by a concurrent increase in the number of institutions.

Figure 3
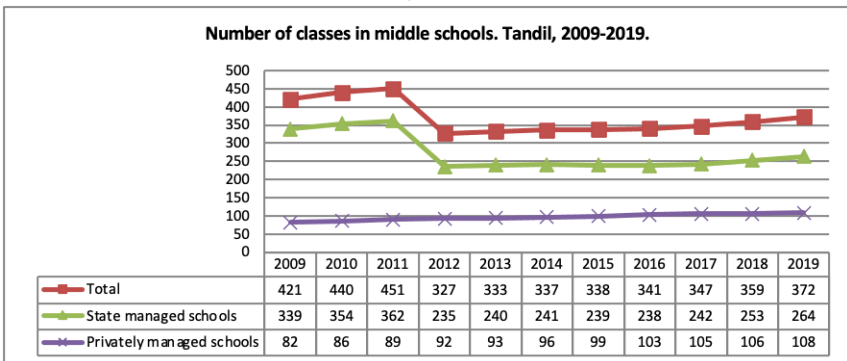
Number of classes in middle schools. Tandil, 2009-2019.

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Total	421	440	451	327	333	337	338	341	347	359	372
State managed schools	339	354	362	235	240	241	239	238	242	253	264
Privately managed schools	82	86	89	92	93	96	99	103	105	106	108

Source: General Department of Culture and Education. Buenos Aires Province, Argentina. 2009-2019.

Qualitative elements outlining relationships among young students in the school space in Tandil

In order to approach and understand the interactive dimension existing within the school field in the city of Tandil, the analysis of a set of interviews is carried out. For each institution, one interview with a currently enrolled student, one with a relative of this student, and one with a school authority were performed. The analysis of these interviews focuses on both ST and SSR.

School trajectories (ST)

When considering the ST of the interviewed students and comparing them with those of their relatives, the following observations can be made:

State managed public school (suburban area): The student enrolled at this school has attended neighboring institutions throughout her education. All of the places are coincidentally near her home. Her relative (mother) attends primary school in the same area as her daughter. However, she attends middle school at a centrally located institution.

1. State managed public school (urban area): The student enrolled at this school has moved several times to different cities throughout her life. She first lived in Bariloche, where she attended a Waldorf school and later a centrally located public school. She then moved with her family to Brazil, where she attended a private school for some months. When she moved to Tandil, she started her secondary education in a centrally located school, and then switched to the school where she is currently enrolled. She seems to actively opt for public education, stating "I choose public education [...]. I really like it, as you get to see many different social realities." Her relative, born in Buenos Aires, completed her primary studies in a private, non-religious school, and her secondary studies in a public school located in an urban area.

2. Privately managed public school (urban area): The student enrolled at this school has attended the same institution since kindergarden and throughout her primary and secondary education. Her relative used to attend the same school, with the exception of a brief period during which she attended a public institution. According to her, "classes were always cancelled in public school."

Strategies of Social Reproduction (SSR)

The following analysis highlights the results that help understand the day-to-day life of the interviewed students and school authorities.

1. State managed public school (suburban area): In principle, the student enrolled at this school displays study-related strategies. To the question of what advice she would give a newly enrolled youth, she expresses he should "study, do as the teachers say, and not make a mess, that´s what he should do". When asked about her physical and verbal stance towards her classmates and school authorities, she replies with an example of a conflictive situation with a male classmate: "He crept behind me and started singing 'so

pretty, so little[3]", so I turned to face him and said 'why don´t you shut up'; he replied 'you can´t order me around, you´re neither my mother nor my father', and I told him 'good for you or I´d send you sprawling from that chair'". At another point during the interview, she recounts a similar situation during which "[a group of schoolboys] came to bully people around, they were four against one, but what could he do, there was only so much he could do to defend himself. They even smashed a window... I shoved my friend aside; she was getting broken glass all over her head". She also talks about her stance towards school authorities and officials, especially about her requests for better study conditions. She states that she "went a short while ago to talk to the School Board [...]. Me and two other female students; we went to the headmistress and asked her to talk to the School Board. 'What for?', she asked, 'To ask for heaters in every classroom, for new tables and chairs, for repairs throughout all of the school', I replied. And they´re now doing just that, they´re going to build more classrooms upstairs [...]. We talked some more and I told her: 'We want a new roof, because we have leaks every time it rains... We want the walls to be safe, because we once leaned on a wall and got an electrical discharge'".

Concerning the strategies adopted by school authorities, the headmistress states that her everyday routine includes tackling non-attendance, working together with social organizations, and co-operating with each other with the help of State subsidies.

2. State managed public school (urban area): Apart from studying, the student adopts an active attitude about her education. For example, she states that school encourages debate: "We have many teachers who urge us to think, so to speak. To question things, to think, to reason, to read a text". She later adds that "there are many people who teach us to think, and we hold debates. The Student Center regularly organizes meetings, assemblies, it asks us whether we like something or not. If we don´t have a building in good condition, we gather together, we occupy the school[4]".

   The headmistress, for her part, states that her main priority is to provide emotional support to students. She also stresses the responsibilities she faces every day and the legal boundaries she often encounters.

3. Privately managed public school (urban area): The strategies deployed by this student mostly consist of "reading all of the lecture notes; they´re all together, so I don´t need to sort through them separately; it´s easier for me that way". When asked about behavior, she states that "yes, you can study, but that´s not all of it. The fact of working and participating during class, and helping your classmates, that helps too". When asked for her opinion about the school rules, she expresses that nothing should change: "No, no. Nothing. Everything is all right as it is". She further states: "No, no. I have never given thought to that".

---

3 Part of a popular cumbia song.
4 "Occupying a school" refers to the physical act of taking over said institution by students, who remain there for an indefinite period, i.e., until their demands are met. In this context, students take over their school to protest for their rights.

> The headmistress of this school states that her focus is on team and project management. She worries about the school being able to "handle the young people´s parallel universe".

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Regarding the ST, it can be said that the different testimonies outline the movement of capital among social groups. Whereas earlier generations received their education at schools that either are located in urbanized areas (1 and 2) or are privately managed (3), groups are now more segregated, as a new, suburban circuit is now in place. This makes sense in light of the creation of middle schools in new areas as a result of the broadening of compulsory education. The drawback of this situation is the risk of devaluation of the school capital obtained and accumulated by families living in suburban areas.

With respect to SSR, a distinction can be made between the student attending a privately managed school as opposed to those attending state managed institutions. In spite of some differences, the latter not only value content knowledge, but also confront a diversity of challenges associated with avoiding the loss of their cultural capital and ensuring they can continue increasing it. To that end, they are driven to improve and enhance their respective schools by both physical and discursive means. On the other hand, maintaining and increasing capital at the privately managed school is mostly related to compliance with the pre-established rules and practices. With regard to school authorities, it may be noted that concerns are chiefly directed towards strategies to reduce non-attendance in the suburban state managed public school. Conversely, school authorities at the other two institutions are mostly worried about the challenge of deploying strategies to provide "support" to their students; in the case of the state managed public school, these strategies involve overcoming legal boundaries, whereas in the case of the privately managed public school, they entail developing teams and projects.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In order to outline the associations among the different elements considered in this work, the following remarks are presented.

As a general rule, the context of political and economic crisis, expressed in social and, especially, educational policies, is reflected in state managed public schools as changes in the enrollment numbers to accommodate the situation. In contrast, enrollment numbers in privately managed schools maintain a steady increase. The crisis can also be detected in the students´ accounts; whereas the students from state managed public schools feel the need to confront their respective authorities in order to maintain or increase their school capitals, the student enrolled at the privately managed school merely adapts to remain within the system.

Differences in SSR among both students and school authorities are noteworthy. Each institution has its own singularities and consequently differs from the others. In spite of the potential similarities between both state managed schools, a clear contrast

is present at the one located in a suburban area, where the need for physical self-defense in the face of everyday conflicts is an additional challenge. The urban state managed school does not pose the challenge of self-defense against physical violence, although argumentative discussions about the value of public education are raised. In contrast, high levels of discipline can be found at the privately managed school. These differences are reflected in the worries expressed by the authorities of each school; whereas the major worries are related to non-attendance at the suburban institution, support is the main concern at the two schools located in an urban setting.

Resuming the hypothesis presented at the beginning of this work, and although many additional inquiries still remain to be addressed, it can be said that distances among groups grow larger in a context of crisis. It would seem that compulsory education and the creation of schools in suburban areas broaden the access to education. However, concerns remain as to the possibility of deepening segregation and thus depreciation of school capital.

REFERENCES

Archenti N (2018) Estudio de caso. En: Marradi, A., Archeti, N., Piovani J. I. (2018). *Manual de metodología de las ciencias sociales* [Case Study. In: Marradi, A., Archeti, N., Piovani J. I. (2018) *Manual of social sciences methodology*]. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores, pp. 291-303.

Bendit R, Hahn Bleibtreu MM and Otero A (2008) *Los jóvenes y el futuro: procesos de inclusión social y patrones de vulnerabilidad en el mundo global* [*Youth and the future: Social inclusion processes and vulnerability patterns in a globalized world*]. Buenos Aires: Prometeo.

Borsotti C. (2015) *La elaboración de un proyecto de investigación en ciencias sociales empíricas* [*Creating a research project for the empirical social sciences*]. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila.

Bourdieu P and Waquant L (2005) *Una invitación a la sociología reflexiva* [*An invitation to reflexive sociology*]. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Bourdieu P (1979) *La distinción. Criterio y bases sociales del gusto* [*Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*]. 3rd Edition. Madrid: Taurus.

Bourdieu P (1987) Los Tres Estados del Capital Cultural [*The three forms of cultural capital*]. *Revista Sociológica* 5, 11-17. Azcapotzalco: Universidad Autónoma de México.

Bourdieu P (1988) *Capital Cultural, Escuela y Espacio Social* [*Cultural capital, school and social space*]. 2nd Edition. Madrid: Siglo XXI.

Bracchi C and Gabbay MI (2013) Subjetividades juveniles y trayectorias educativas, tensiones y desafíos para la escuela secundaria en clave de derecho. En: Kaplan C (Dir.) (2013). *Culturas estudiantiles. Sociología de los vínculos en la escuela* [Youth subjectivities and education trajectories. In: Kaplan C (Dir.) (2013). *Student cultures. The sociology of school relationships*]. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila, pp. 23-45.

Claus A and Sánchez B. (2019) *El financiamiento educativo en la Argentina: balance y desafíos de cara al cambio de década.* [*Educational funding in Argentina:*

Assessment and challenges at the turn of the decade]. Working Document Nº 178. Buenos Aires: CIPPEC (Center for the Implementation of Public Policies Promoting Equity and Growth).

Filmus D and Kaplan CV (2012) *Educar para una sociedad más justa. Debates y desafíos de la Ley de Educación Nacional* [*Educating for a fair society. Discussions and challenges of the National Law of Education*]. Buenos Aires: Aguilar.

Fraser N (2019) *¡Contrahegemonía ya!* [*The Old is Dying and the New Cannot Be Born*]. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores.

General Department of Culture and Education of the Province of Buenos Aires

Gutierrez A and Mansilla H (2015) Clases y reproducción social: el espacio social cordobés en la primera década del siglo XXI [Classes and social reproduction: the social space in Córdoba, Argentina, during the first decade of the 21st century]. *Política y Sociedad* 52(2), 409-442.

Katz C (2015) La CEOcracia en acción [*CEOcracy in motion*]. *América Latina en Movimiento*. 29/12/2015. Available at: https://www.alainet.org/es/articulo/174465 (accessed July 19 2020).

Kessler G (2002) *La experiencia escolar fragmentada. Estudiantes y docentes en la Escuela Media en Buenos Aires* [*The fragmentation of school experience: Middle school students and teachers in Buenos Aires*]. Buenos Aires: IIPE/UNESCO.

Klein M (2007) *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. Toronto: Random House of Canada.

Leivas M. (2019) Desigualdad entre el sector público y privado de la escuela media. Lógicas diferentes pero necesarias [Inequality between middle school public and private sectors. Differing but necessary logics]. *Educação e Sociedade Centro de Estudos* 40, 1-23.

Law Nº 26.206 (2006) *National Law of Education.* Argentine Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

National Statistics and Census Institute (INDEC) (2020) *Incidencia de la pobreza y la indigencia en 31 aglomerados urbanos. Segundo semestre de 2019* [*Incidence of poverty and indigence in 31 urban agglomerates. Second semester of 2019*]. Report by INDEC/Ministry of Economy, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Available at: https://www.indec.gob.ar/uploads/informesdeprensa/eph_pobreza_02_195EFE752E31.pdf

Reguillo R (2007) *Emergencia de culturas juveniles. Estrategias del desencanto* [*Emergence of youth cultures. Strategies for disenchantment*]. Bogotá: Grupo Editorial Norma.

Reguillo R (2012) *Culturas Juveniles. Formas políticas del desencanto* [*Youth cultures. Political forms of disenchantment*]. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Segato R (2018) *Contra-pedagogías de la crueldad.* [*Counter-pedagogies of cruelty*]. 2nd Edition. Buenos Aires: Prometeo.