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THEORETICAL-POLITICAL RENEWAL IN EDUCATION AND ITS CONTRADICTIONS UNDER NEOLIBERALISM: AN INQUIRY INTO THE DEBATES AND CHALLENGES OF THE CHILEAN CASE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY¹

ABSTRACT

The article presented here focuses on the New Public Education (NPE), established by Law 21.040, which represents a substantial change in the understanding of the right to education in Chile. The fieldwork is organized around three key areas: 1) the administrative structure supporting public schools, the SLEP (Servicio Local de Educación Pública / Local Public Education Service); 2) the effects and aftermath of inequality exacerbated in school communities during the pandemic; and 3) the strategies implemented by schools with the SLEP to ensure equity and equal opportunities in dynamics of participation, communication, and democratic dialogue within the framework of education for citizenship and democracy as outlined in the law's principles. The methodology of this research is based on a qualitative and hermeneutic epistemological paradigm, aligned with the goal of deeply understanding the reality of local public education services through a multiple and retrospective case study design. The emerging results from the analytical processes of discourse and documentary material collected in five case studies across the country are built around three categories: 1) teachers as the foundation and pillar of public education; 2) neoliberal managerialism; and 3) the deep gap or fracture between what Law 21.040 declares and the daily reality of schools. These categories were constructed to contrast theory with practice in the Chilean educational context, demonstrating that these three axes allow for a rethinking of the current situation, an understanding of dominant conflicts and debates or tensions, and the charting of new perspectives to address current challenges.

KEYWORDS

new public education, school, State of Chile, citizenship, democracy, neoliberalism, twenty-first century, school

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Introduction

When considering the existential conditions, subjective configurations, and human dilemmas inherent to the logics of our time, we enter a broad conceptual debate (Barria-Asenjo 2024). However, these obstacles only highlight the relevance and urgency of reflecting on the individual and society (Barria-Asenjo et al. 2023). In this context, this article will connect the notions of citizenship (Redon 2010, 2011), democracy, education (Angulo Rasco and Redon 2020), and neoliberalism to open a new dialogue about the socio-historical and political-human phenomena that must be rethought in the Chilean State today (Redon et al. 2015; Vallejos et al. 2022).

Previous research has allowed us to understand that education for citizenship and democracy is not merely normative declarations or procedural structures but constitutes the foundation of daily democratic exercise in the life of each educational institution (Biesta 2021 2017; Sünker 2007; Morrison 2008; Sant 2019; Gibson 2020; Nishiyama 2021): “That is, the theoretical, legal, constitutional structure may be perfect, and citizens may know it well, but if there are no subjects who live it, it is useless” (Redon 2016:10).

Public education and the logics of the educational system have been extensively researched from various angles. The relevance of this study lies in its focus on the school, remembering that the school is the public space that promotes social bonds, as an experience of collective bodies that, together with other actors and/or organizations, expand the social and cultural repercussions of school communities (Bull 2012). Public commitment is not simply a public relations exercise but involves the development of dialogue, or what Young (2000) has called the establishment of deliberative democracy (Elster 2001; Gutmann and Thompson 2004; Smith 2004; Dryzek 2009) between schools and communities.

To delve into the issue, it is essential to begin by noting that this project pays particular attention to the New Public Education (NPE), established by Law 21.040²—led by the Directorate of Public Education (DEP)—and administered by the Local Public Education Services (SLEP), which represents a substantial change in the understanding of the Right to Education in Chile. This is because it embodies and symbolizes the significant demand of the citizenry expressed in the social uprising of October 2019 (Barria-Asenjo et al. 2020;

2 The Law, through its principles, poses significant challenges for educational communities—challenges that go beyond learning outcomes and SIMCE test scores (Flórez, 2013). However, the emphasis of governmental education policy has remained under the shadow of an *Evaluative State* (Neave 1990, 1994; Bellei 2015; Parcerisa & Falabella, 2017), operating through the *Quality Assurance System*. This system, composed of the Ministry of Education, the National Education Council, the Superintendency of Education, and the Agency for Education Quality (Gazmuri and Toledo 2020; Falabella and Opazo, 2014; Falabella 2015; Osandón et al. 2018; Angulo 2022), sets the targets and indicators that schools, teachers, and students must meet, measuring results via a framework of control, incentives, and sanctions (Meckes 2007; Gazmuri and Toledo 2020).

Angulo and Redon, 2023) and the preceding student movements (Inzunza, et al. 2019; Mayol 2019; Garcés 2020). The interpretation of the law and its implementation have been the subject of multiple studies (Bellei et al. 2018; Uribe et al. 2019; DEP 2019, 2020; González, et al. 2020; Barrera et al. 2021), which, among other aspects, suggest recognizing and integrating local trajectories, respecting the particularities and characteristics of the socio-cultural territorial contexts in which schools are embedded. The law establishes the importance of guaranteeing coverage and access with equity and equal opportunities, with local relevance, fostering collaborative work in networks integrated with the environment and the community. It also highlights the key importance of developing inclusive, secular, and democratic educational projects (Article No. 5, Law 21.040).

This research focuses on the axis of participation, democratic dialogue, equal opportunities within the framework of social justice, and public commitment to build knowledge in education for citizenship and democracy from the policies implemented by the SLEP and the experiences of schools since the pandemic.

The changes and transformations driven by historical movements and oscillations have promoted and constructed new challenges, such as those faced by the Local Services in managing public education with multiple complexities (Bellei et al. 2018), exacerbated by the health crisis context, which has made it difficult to visualize a clear policy in the framework of citizenship and democracy (Barrera et al. 2021).

It is important to recall and reiterate that the new Public Education System Law is articulated around nine principles that underpin it and could be organized into three major cores: quality, social justice, and public commitment. Quality refers to an integral sense of it and its constant improvement; social justice encompasses equitable development, equal opportunities, the implementation of inclusive, secular educational projects, citizenship education, and republican values; public commitment is established in the diversity of educational projects, citizen participation, local relevance, and integration with the environment.

This research centers on the cores of social justice and public commitment that the establishment of local education services under Law 21.040 entails. Its relevance stems from theoretical sources that consider social justice (Fraser 1997, 2000, 2008a, 2008b; Fraser and Honnott 2006) to involve, at least, combining redistribution, recognition, and representation, as shown by Lynch and Lodge (2002), and addressing precisely equal opportunities and inclusion, among others. On the other hand, the concept of public engagement (Wooden 2006) means that schools affirm themselves in the public sphere (and commit to it) through their active connection with local communities in networks. It is not just about the commitment of school communities to the instruction they provide or concern for learning but about the duty and responsibility to educate for citizenship and democratic life, which represent the deepest meaning of education and its ultimate purpose (Redon 2018).

The transformations in evaluations and the logics of competition deployed and installed in schools—promoted by the Law—have deeply strained the realization of the principles of the New Public Education Law with the maintenance of structures and educational policies that favor segmentation and privatization of education (Ruiz Schneider 2019; Angulo 2020b). The content of public education established in Law 21.040 takes on fundamental significance for society, citizenship, and the nation’s well-being, as it clearly assumes, with all its consequences, that education is a public right (Atria, 2014), a right that has been diminished over the last 40 years with enrollment not exceeding 35% (MINEDUC 2019). According to the OECD, Chile is one of the countries with the lowest public education enrollment in the world (OECD 2014).

Pandemic, School, and Inequality

The COVID-19 pandemic context brought significant changes (Barria-Asenjo 2021; Barria-Asenjo et al. 2023, 2024b), exposing society and revealing all pending and invisible dilemmas. One of the challenges it highlighted was the complex educational reality and the difficulty of rapid and effective restructuring in the management of Local Education Services and their articulation with school communities, specifically in the areas of inequity and democracy.

The pandemic had a vital, social, and political impact that cannot be separated from civic education. It has affected the space of the common, forms of relationship, fears of proximity to others, the ephemeral nature of life and its meaning, sustenance and food, health in all its variants determined by inequality (Andrada 2020).

This pandemic caused an unimaginable and unprecedented crisis in all areas³, and it has wreaked havoc in the educational field (ECLAC 2020; UNESCO 2020; Cachón-Zagalaz et al. 2020; Mejías-Flórez et al. 2020; Pokhrel and Chhetri 2020; Barrett and Chen 2021), as, among other consequences, it has widened the gap of inequalities based on condition and/or origin among students.

In Chile, due to the pandemic, on March 16, 2020, the suspension of in-person classes was decreed for the entire school system at all levels, affecting: 616,615 pre-primary students, 1,514,761 in primary; 1,520,724 in secondary; and 1,238,992 in tertiary education (UNESCO 2021). For 2020, it was estimated that in the school system, “the number of dropouts could increase by 43% compared to the magnitude presented the previous year” (MINEDUC 2020a: 4). In this sense, remote education placed students at risk due to gaps

3 The situation experienced during the pandemic posed significant challenges for the New Public Education (NEP) in a country with high levels of inequality, where, even before the health crisis, it took six generations to escape the cycle of poverty (OECD 2018). From this perspective, the core principles of the law—organized around the concepts of social justice and commitment to the public good—allow this research to highlight how the NEP’s institutional framework (through the Local Public Education Services, SLEP) and educational communities have responded to the health crisis and advanced in line with the law’s principles.

that hinder the maintenance of school trajectories, derived from inequalities of origin or condition, such as migrant students, those with unstable trajectories, students with disabilities, as well as factors like special educational needs (SEN), rurality, family socioeconomic needs (SES), and/or gender (MINEDUC 2020b; MINEDUC 2020c; MINEDUC 2020d). On the other hand, as several studies have indicated, the lack of in-person attendance and the interruption of school meal services due to school closures (ECLAC 2020; Vlachos, et al. 2021; Pokhrel and Chhetri 2021) equally affected child malnutrition rates, which in Chile increased particularly in preschool and secondary education (JUNAEB 2020).

One of the barriers of the lack of in-person attendance was the need to resort to virtual channels and redesign communication strategies with the school community (Pokhrel and Chhetri 2020; Scharagrodsky 2021). However, precarious connectivity conditions reveal that in Chile, virtual education is not accessible to all students, whether due to lack of internet access, electronic devices, or knowledge of platforms and technologies (Koçoğlu and Tekdal 2020; Pokhrel and Chhetri 2021; Scharagrodsky 2021). According to MINEDUC, in the poorest quintile, the coverage of distance education reaches 27% of students, while in schools serving the richest quintile, this coverage reaches 89% (MINEDUC 2020e). Thus, the difficulty in accessing the internet in a large part of low-income households has raised alarms about the possibility of de-schooling, interruptions in educational trajectories, or increased school dropout rates in these segments (MINEDUC 2020c).

On the other hand, the work overload of teachers in a virtual learning context, concerns about personal and family life and health, and the role of emotional support for students (Red ESTRADO and OPECH 2020; Palma et al. 2021) have meant impacts on mental health and greater pressure on teaching performance.

Citizenship and Democracy in School Communities

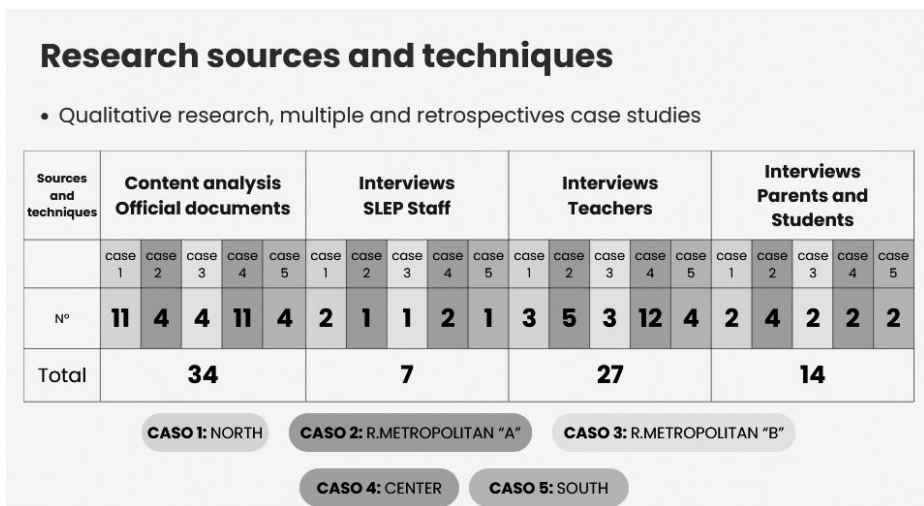
The relevance of this project lies in investigating the policies issued by the Local Public Education Services (SLEP) and schools in education for citizenship, participation, democratic dialogue, and equal opportunities as the cornerstone that guarantees the right to public education. In schools, democracy is often reduced to the numerical procedure by which we elect a ruler (Redon 2020), which often becomes a strategy that disguises real participation arising from dialogue in difference to build spaces for political decision-making, whether at the institutional-local and/or national level. The experience of citizenship and democracy in schools should surpass and expand this procedural aspect because it is anchored in practices and democratic experiences that emerge from a way of living together based on ethical and epistemic principles, collectively constructed through a culture of dialogue in diversity. Education for citizenship and democratic coexistence, rather than being realized through manuals or plans attached to decrees, laws, or indicators, is consolidated in

policies of meaning that permeate life in the educational community. Education for citizenship is expressed and realized in practices of solidarity, cooperation, and the construction of a collective body that exercises “a way of life in school culture, which involves dialogues, bonds, shared values, an experience of the common in a collective that concretizes its civic action in praxis” (Redon 2020:74). Hence the importance of building knowledge in education for citizenship and democracy from the policies implemented by the SLEP and the experiences of schools since the pandemic and its effects.

Methodology

The methodology used to gather information from the five SLEP responds to a qualitative and hermeneutic paradigm aimed at understanding the object of study, in this case, the actions deployed by the SLEP and the lived experience of school’s post-pandemic, through five case studies, ethnographic, multiple, and retrospective, which integrated various qualitative techniques and sources. Therefore, the first year involved collecting information from official documents of each SLEP, and the following years included interviews with SLEP staff, teachers, school leadership teams, students, and guardians of educational institutions based on inclusion and exclusion indicators through a reasoned sample by criteria. The synthesis of the collected information is shown in the table (Diagram No. 1). The analysis was assisted by the NVIVO 12 software, which gave rise to more than 120 free nodes (open categorization) and matrix categories (selective) expressed in two categorical trees, one resulting from official documents and some discourses of SLEP personnel, and the other from interviews with schools, especially teachers, students, and guardians.

Diagram No. 1.



Results

The results are grouped into discursive lines that emerge from both documents and interviews. In this article, we only present the discourses of teachers, given that the analysis of the documents is disseminated in the article “The New Public Education in Chile and its Implementation in Neoliberal Contexts” (Redon Pantoja, et al. 2024). The interpretive explanatory framework of the content analysis of the reviewed documents aligns with the characteristics of the Chilean neoliberal context, generating deep contradictions between the content of the law and its implementation.

The specific categories that emerge from these documents are organized around five thematic categories in the content analysis: a) neoliberalism as normative reason and valuation scale; b) management as the sole objective in the logic of new public management; c) homogenizing bureaucracy of accountability; d) quantification as the only reading of reality, using it as a legitimizing discourse; and e) participation as a discursive mantra. This article presents the discourses of teachers, students, parents, and SLEP personnel, which show a close thematic coherence with the analysis of the reviewed official documents, linked to the Annual Plans of the SLEP (PAL) and the Strategic Plans (PEL) valid for the seven years of the SLEP’s management.

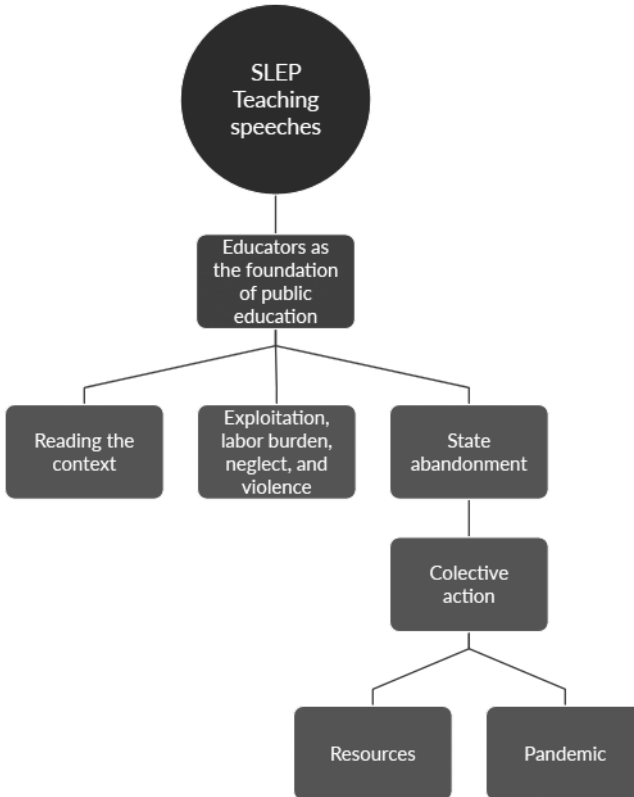
The categories that emerge from the discourses of the speakers, mostly teachers from schools affiliated with the SLEP, are grouped into three major thematic axes of basic discursive lines: 1) Teachers as the foundation and pillar of Public Education; 2) Neoliberal Managerialism; and finally, 3) the deep gap or fracture between what Law 21.040 declares and the daily reality of schools.

Category I. Teachers as the Foundation and Pillar of Public Education

The figure of the human, the importance of the body or emotions, the forgotten relevance of humanity in construction with other humanities, and the importance of these mixtures that arise in the processes of subjective edification that intersect in school spaces and labyrinths of encounter with another, with the common and difference, become particularly denied and invisible places in the educational contexts of the era. Education and the education system underwent profound reforms in the 1990s; thinking about education today is also thinking about the discursive logics that the dominant ideology in the twenty-first century tolerates and fosters. In this regard (Peña et al. 2022) point out that since 1927, when the work of “teachers” was consolidated, various emancipatory tools and capacities for individuals in construction have crystallized in this place. It is important to affirm and understand that the educational institution constitutes the pivot and fundamental foundation to transmit, safeguard, and consolidate the three pillars that sustain every culture, ‘the episteme’ as what the culture that is established as true, the ethical as what is considered valuable, and the beautiful, art, and aesthetic sensitivity in a given culture (Redon, 2018); however, this relevance is often invisible and

undervalued in society. As one interviewed teacher expresses: “head teachers are key to all that and in the school system, they are little visible” (D1, SLEP 1). In this context, the individuality and ruthless competition that neoliberalism promotes must begin to be deconstructed; the recognition of a leader in the educational context must be linked to the value of the community and the construction of communities.

Diagram N°2: Category I. Teachers as the Foundation and Pillar of Public Education.



According to various authors (Palma and Álvarez 2011; Toro 2015; Pérez et al. 2007), we find various exchanges between family, social, and educational systems tied to the figure of the teacher, through whom information passes, implying a possibility of echo and resonance in the student body. Various educational themes have their epicenter in the role of the teacher, such as trust (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy 2000), recognition of agency and decision-making capacity (Phillippo 2012a, 2012b), infantilization or student autonomy (Fuller 2014; Ramson 2019), and communication and/or validation (Binning et al. 2019).

On the other hand, in retrospect, the perception of remote work as the only possibility during the COVID-19 pandemic has various facets. In the study titled “Perception of Chilean Workers on the Impact of Teleworking in the COVID-19 Environment” (Céspedes, et al. 2021), it is noted that the psychological repercussions caused by isolation brought harmful effects that professionals had to face, along with the work overload that extended their working hours.

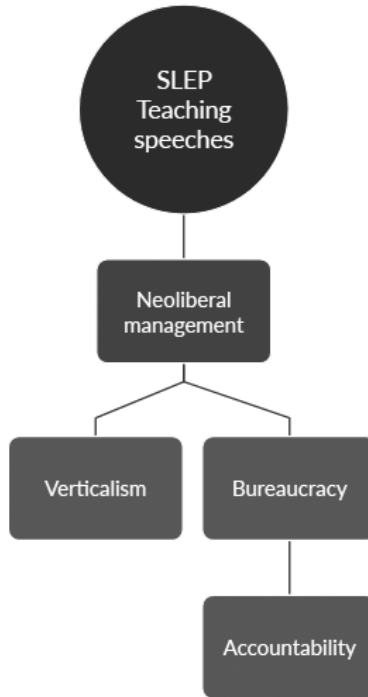
The repercussions on mental health and its importance must be a place of reflection in light of the accounts, among which we find: “we took a break to have tea and then continued working until three, four in the morning preparing the material for the next day, so it was very exhausting, many teachers got sick (...) we were almost all medicated, really, because there was a lot of back pain (...) a lot of headaches, stress, tension, forget it, we were all very, very bad” (D1, SLEP 2) “There was no support for us. So, there was no psychological support, no kind of support, other than our colleagues and seeing that we were all going through the same thing. So, what’s happening now? We have to... I don’t know if it’s 12 or 14 colleagues on leave now, and several holding on not to go on leave. We have a teacher, one day she had a panic attack” (D2, SLEP 5).

Demonstrating with this some of the effects and psychic conflicts that arose in this period and that are relevant to think about the implications these dilemmas have in the educational process and the transmission of knowledge. It becomes essential to rethink humanity and sensitivity, avoiding falling into the identification of the teacher as a mere number and responsible for a process; we affirm that they are a pillar and, therefore, the conditions of the pillar become an important place to care for, support, and value for what it means to be a pillar in the educational context of the twenty-first century.

This described context of teachers as the pillar and foundation of education enters into total contradiction with the logics of exclusion, invisibility, and silenced voices of the teaching collective by the SLEP. The managerial and bureaucratic administrative structure with which the SLEP operates follows a management dynamic that centers its action on its internal structure, which connects with the administration of official representation of school communities, which, as we know, are usually not the voice of the bases they represent, occasionally linking with the leadership and representatives of educational institutions, which, as we know, are usually not the voice of the bases they represent. It is the antinomy of democracy widely discussed by Rancière (2007), Balibar (2013), and Brown (2016).

Category II. Neoliberal Managerialism

Diagram N°3: Category II: Neoliberal Managerialism.



The arrival of the neoliberal model configured and disfigured various aspects of the social, the human, the institutional, the historical, the economic, and the political (Sferco and Blengino 2023; Jameson 2005); this domination crystallizes as a *political theology* (Villacañas 2019) that exterminates creative potential (Villacañas 2023) and from its moment of birth began to create determined subjective forms adapted to the limits of the model. Developing new forms of governance, it managed to “usurp a vocabulary and social consciousness belonging to democracy for economic terms” (Brown 2015 p. 12). This form of colonization typical of neoliberal logic is introduced with voracity and violence into education, eliminating and introjecting into the subject instrumentalization and rationality, invisibilizing in practice the human and living aspect itself. The discourses expose it as follows: “The law sometimes says some things, and has some very nice, very ideal principles, but in reality, what we have experienced is an employer manager who does not know the educational needs of his schools, nor educational, nor social, nor structural, nor anything” (D3, SLEP 4) “They send guidelines and send documents, but

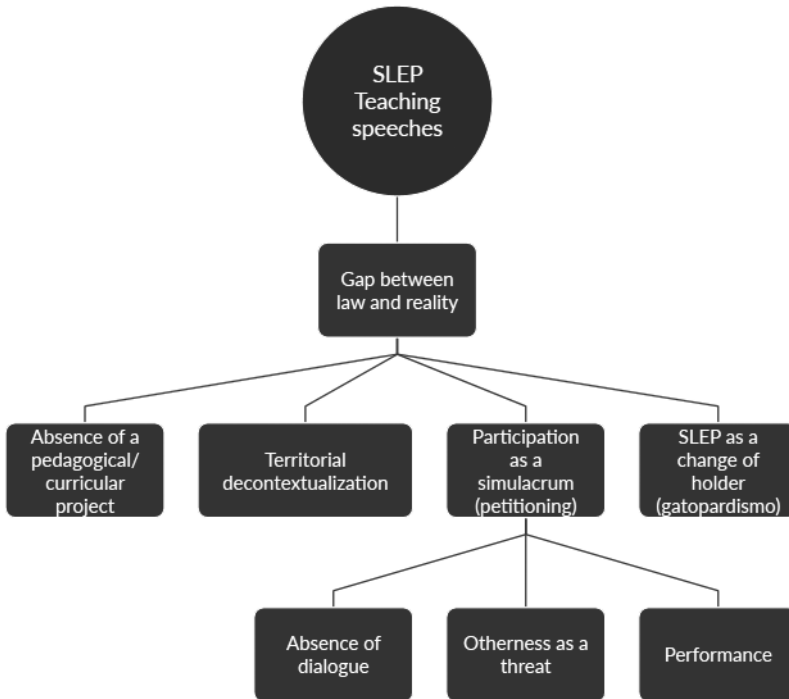
mostly to the principals, not to us, not with teachers, yes, there is information that the SLEP sends for teachers, but we don't see the document, the leadership sees it, and the leadership passes some guidelines to us" (D1, SLEP 2). The logic that drives the entry of the market and therefore competition modifies the educational structure, promoting the figure of an *employer manager*, with characteristics typical of *corporates* (D1), that is, "they are managers, very good managers" (D1 and D2, SLEP 2), drawing a verticalism that suppresses the sense of community, collective creativity, and forms of emancipation typical of social criticism.

The above is related to the processes of educational standardization in Chile (Saldaña 2024); economic transformations also implied new modalities of measurement and performance, which are transversal in the educational model and also have resonances. From the inside, it is identifiable as "a level of bureaucracy that is brutal" (D4, SLEP 4), in which "there is no flexibility" (D4, SLEP 4), a bureaucratic and economic model "that does not respond to the dynamic times of working with human beings" (D3, SLEP 4).

Category III. The Deep Gap or Fracture Between What Law 21.040 Declares and the Daily Reality of Schools

A recurring critique of all kinds of transformations is the gap between what we can identify as theory and practice. Klein (1992) points out that both are polysemic concepts: "neither term denotes a clear meaning in any careful and consistent way. This condition further confuses communication between theorists and professionals" (Klein 1992: 193, cited in Álvarez-Álvarez, 2013). From an early date, theory and philosophical processes had as their horizon to serve society and not remain encapsulated in the plane of ideas. According to Álvarez (2013), "in the field of education, theory and practice suffer mismatches; in this regard, the importance of the distance that exists between the production of knowledge and its implementation in schools stands out" (p. 173). This antagonism concerns educational laws and their possibilities of implementation and/or application; it is a relevant place to consider and rethink in light of the accounts and discourses of active agents who must try to translate these guidelines in the educational context. We find in this regard: "Regardless, I think that education laws are very idealistic, they idealize an education, but reality is very far from that, from what the paper says. The paper allows for a lot. But what happens in reality is not like that, it cannot work exactly as it comes out on paper, and the same if we take it to everything that involves education" (D2, SLEP 4).

Diagram N°4: Category III: The Deep Gap or Fracture Between What Law 21.040 Declares and the Daily Reality of Schools



The duality or impossibility that arises from the theory-practice gap is directly related to territoriality and the particularity of each case: “At least it declares within the principles, like building a territorial issue that responds to the internal logics of each community” (D3, SLEP 3). It is the construction that occurs, the process of constructing the laws and structuring that must be revalued to avoid a misreading and therefore a miswriting of the documents that sustain the practice: “There is no such reading, so they misread the territory, they have a bad diagnosis” (D1, SLEP 1)] “The real physical contact, in the territory, is done by the territorial coordinators, who, as I was saying, go to specific situations, and generate dialogue with the leadership team, but not with the base of the teachers” (D3, SLEP 4).

Christian Laval and Pierre Dardot (2013, 2015, 2016) in their work, highlight that “the modern market does not act alone, but has always relied on the state. Moreover, this allows us to understand that it is the same normative logic that governs power relations and forms of governing at very different levels and domains of economic, political, and social life” (17). This is what, when extrapolated to the field of education, becomes confusing and complex. We are facing a fundamental blockage, that is, in the depths of public education, sleeps an economic model that eliminates from the root the possibility of emancipatory

paths in education. The subterranean gears that move behind reforms, modifications, and action plans within institutions that are bathed in the inhumanity of neoliberal ideology, which, like a virus, floods and contaminates the entire structure. The human and humanity are erased to understand and translate them into a number, a void, and a place that can be replaced or eliminated.

Provisional Conclusions

The anchors of the conceptual, practical, and theoretical renewals of the New Public Education are sustained and solidified around the possible figures of a transformation with an emancipatory horizon; the proposals and epistemological turns seek to contribute to the foundations of tomorrow as a near reality that the next generation will navigate. However, the impossibilities of social justice in the field of education find their blockages and barriers precisely because of the limits that logics impose at the level of transformation; the dominant discourse, the possible constructions from the common, the human, and solidarity are part of the incessant search for new signifiers that open new discourses.

In our contemporaneity, we find an increasing frequency of reports, results, and interventions that are presented from a position of alleged objectivity, alluding to the importance of numbers, tables, indicators; the expected results are constructed from results. A dominant logic that has caused undeniable saturation in those who fight in daily life with new modalities of doing their work. What affects institutions is also what impacts those who are inserted in these spaces.

One of the pending challenges is to achieve a translation that is kind to discourses and lived experiences. The challenge of the time is to accept humanity and subjectivity not as a barrier to progress but as the fundamental condition that must be made visible and valued. In this article, from the discourses and narratives of various individuals, an attempt was made to foster a translation to the complexity of their labors, affections, and feelings that awaken in the field of education and in educational contexts that seem obsolete and stagnant, precisely because they hide and deny these elements.

To think about education today, to enter the labyrinth of the educational context today, is to approach the abyss of our historical, social, and economic context that increasingly produces isolation, self-absorption, and a way of being and being in the world as a foreigner.

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Teoretsko-politička obnova obrazovanja i njene kontradikcije pod neoliberalizmom: Debata i izazovi čileanskog slučaja u XXI veku

Apstrakt

Ovaj članak se fokusira na Novu javnu edukaciju (New Public Education/NPE), uspostavljenu Zakonom 21.040, koja predstavlja značajnu promenu u razumevanju prava na obrazovanje u Čileu. Terensko istraživanje organizovano je oko tri ključna područja: 1) administrativna struktura koja podržava javne škole, SLEP (Servicio Local de Educación Pública/Lokalna služba za javno obrazovanje); 2) efekti i posledice nejednakosti koje su se dodatno pogoršale u školskim zajednicama tokom pandemije; i 3) strategije koje su škole, u saradnji sa SLEP-om, primenile kako bi osigurale jednakost i jednake šanse u dinamici učešća, komunikacije i demokratskog dijaloga u okviru obrazovanja za građanstvo i demokratiju, kako je definisano principima zakona. Metodologija ovog istraživanja zasnovana je na kvalitativnoj i hermeneutičkoj epistemološkoj paradigmi, usklađenoj sa ciljem dubokog razumevanja stvarnosti lokalnih javnih obrazovnih službi kroz višestruki i retrospektivni dizajn studija slučaja. Rezultati koji proizlaze iz analize diskursa i dokumentarne građe prikupljene u pet studija slučaja širom zemlje organizovani su oko tri kategorije: 1) nastavnici kao temelj i stub javnog obrazovanja; 2) neoliberalni menadžerizam; i 3) duboki jaz ili raskorak između onoga što Zakon 21.040 propisuje i svakodnevne stvarnosti škola. Ove kategorije konstruisane su da bi se kontrastirala teorija i praksa u čileanskom obrazovnom kontekstu, pokazujući da ove tri ose omogućavaju preispitivanje trenutne situacije, razumevanje dominantnih konflikata i debata ili tenzija, kao i mapiranje novih perspektiva za rešavanje aktuelnih izazova.

Ključne reči: nova javna edukacija, škola, Čile, građanstvo, demokratija, neoliberalizam, dva-deset prvi vek, školske zajednice, pandemija, socijalna pravda

