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**The Role of Individuals in Socio-Urban Exclusion
A case study on the School Institution in Santiago de Chile**

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Abstract

This is a work concerned with the increasing processes of social exclusion in cities nowadays. In approaching this phenomenon, the research highlights how people interact with their institutional environments. This is also, perhaps centrally, an investigation into the possibility to engage an individual perspective to understand the transformation in urban experience, which is orienting society to new uses and forms of exclusion. Following the perspective deployed by the so-called “sociology of individuals” in French sociology or “reengagement of agency” in the Anglo-Saxon world; I claim that individuals as well as collectives are gaining increasing power to question and re-organize institutions. This re-organization, in the case of socio-urban institutions, is no guarantee for major levels in integration, cohesion, and equality. Unfortunately, social institutions are becoming hard in its exclusionary capabilities under people intervention during the last four decades.

I believe that urban sociology is a field of struggle between different perspectives competing to “make sense” of social phenomena in cities. The orientation supported in this research is just one on many and it follows the roots of people and their life experiences within cities and how they influence the processes that shape the city. The last formulation is possibly not the clearest, because as we all know, references to “inhabitants” are presented in every variant of urban sociology. Nevertheless, there are not many variants focusing on peoples’ capability to influence institutional environments and by this way affecting the urban condition in which they find themselves. The particular institution selected for this study is the “School”.

This thesis is organized around two parts: part one includes the conceptual framework, methodological approach, and historical contextualization; part two describes three case studies produced to analyse the forms of and the relations between individuals and school institution. Part one starts from a premise: within the context of declining welfare State in the case of industrialized countries, an important part of urban studies focuses on economic and spatial restructuring. Confronted with the same situation, a part of social sciences shifts to the individuals’ agency and social uncertainty. This research is embedded in the last theoretical description presented above, thus, because it tries to observe urban processes from the perspective of the individual and outside of developed economies. In this sense, Latin America represents

a fundamental reference because urban conditions are historically marked by weak institutional arrangements to integrating people and large levels of marginality and exclusion among population. In this scenario individuals' practices around inclusion-exclusion have an essential meaning in everyday life.

Part two offers three study cases in which the relation between individuals and school institutions has been analyzed for the Metropolitan area of Santiago de Chile (MAS). Using different methodological resources an exhaustive account on three levels is presented: i) geo-referencing State intervention in public policies connected with neighborhood and schools to understand the form and extent of socio-urban exclusion in MAS, ii) narrative biographies applied to parents with children attending primary school, in order to reconstruct the familiar process of school selection and describing its impacts on the stabilization of school as an exclusionary device, and iii) autoethnography to describe in detail the temporal dimension involved in stabilizing actions which reinforces social mechanisms of urban integration-exclusion during the last three decades in Chile.

A key argument advanced by this research proposes that: the way in which the idea of integration is enacted by people in their biographical careers imprints changes on the institutional orientation and by this way, contributes to the reorganization urban life. The high level of social exclusion in Santiago de Chile is not accountable without considering transformation in all socio-urban institutions, especially the school. No family considers social integration with people from a low social, economical or cultural background as relevant orientation for school selection. This particularity of the Chilean social reality is not derivable from any big capitalistic or modernization processes impacting our cities.

Within the light of the thesis findings, I conclude that socio-urban institutions logics must be reassessment under the influences of people actions and representations. I also propose a consideration to major complementarities between urban studies and urban-institutions analysis. The school institutions is not just a sectorial field reserved to the researcher in education, on the contrary, it represent a key entrance to address people's experience in their institutional urban environments. The re-emergence of social and urban movements in 2010, under the "Arab Spring" or the "Chilean Student Movements", is not only a demonstration in the public space as result of major global trends. These situations are in essence, for this research, individuals gathering together

and calling for recognition and autonomy inside institutional environment that tends to reject them. Similar situation was the focus of the Latin American urban sociology research, within the focus on grassroots and urban social movements at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s.

In both cases, socio-urban institutions, unaware of recognition requirements claimed by inhabitants, are not beyond individual or collective reach. My main concern is to show that socio-urban institutions are constantly re-shaped as a result of individual action, what makes the difference, is the spirit that we all, socially, imprint on the logics of our socio-urban institutions, moving them to inclusion or exclusion.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Dissertation beschäftigt sich mit den Prozessen zunehmender urbaner, sozialer Exklusion. Ein besonderes Augenmerk liegt dabei auf der Interaktion zwischen Personen und institutionellen Umwelten. Diese Arbeit ist auch der Versuch, mit Hilfe einer individuellen Perspektive, die Transformation der urbanen Erfahrung zu verstehen, welche auch mit neuen Formen sozialer Exklusion einhergeht. In Anlehnung an die französische „Soziologie der Individuen“, bzw. an das im englischen Sprachraum verbreitete Konzept des „Reengagement of Agency“ wird die These aufgestellt, dass Individuen und kollektive Akteure mehr und mehr Macht gewinnen, welche es ihnen ermöglicht Institutionen zu hinterfragen und zu re-organisieren. Im Falle sozio-urbaner Institutionen ist diese Reorganisation leider keine Garantie für ein höheres Maß an Integration, Kohäsion und Gleichheit. Leider werden soziale Institutionen hart in ihren ausschließenden Fähigkeiten unter Menschen Intervention zu während der letzten vier Jahrzehnte.

Meiner Ansicht nach ist urbane Soziologie ein Forschungsfeld mit vielen konkurrierenden Ansätzen, welche alle versuchen urbane soziale Phänomene zu erklären. Dementsprechend ist die in dieser Arbeit gewählte Perspektive eine von vielen Möglichkeiten. Sie konzentriert sich auf die Einwohner einer Stadt, auf deren Erfahrungen und Einflussmöglichkeiten. Während die meisten Ansätze im Bereich der urbanen Soziologie die Einwohner miteinbeziehen, fokussieren nur wenige auf das Potenzial der Einwohner institutionelle Umwelten zu beeinflussen und damit ihre urbane Zustand –Ausgangssituation- zu verändern. Für diese Arbeit wurde die Institution der Schule untersucht.

Diese Dissertation besteht aus zwei Teilen: Der erste Teil beinhaltet den konzeptuellen Rahmen, die methodische Herangehensweise und die Einordnung in den historischen Kontext; der zweite Teil beinhaltet drei Fallstudien, welche die Formen von und die Beziehungen zwischen Individuen und schulischen Institutionen untersuchen. Der erste Teil beginnt mit einer Prämisse: Im Kontext eines schrumpfenden Wohlfahrtsstaates in den Industrienationen bezieht sich ein großer Teil der aktuellen Forschung auf ökonomische und räumliche Restrukturierung. Mit der gleichen Situation konfrontiert, ein Teil der Sozialwissenschaften, verschiebt sich „Individual Agency“ und soziale Unsicherheit um. Diese Arbeit analysiert urbane

Prozesse aus einer individuellen Perspektive und außerhalb entwickelter Ökonomien. Lateinamerika bietet sich hier als Untersuchungsgegenstand an, weil hier historisch kaum institutionelle Anstrengungen zur Integration von Einwohnern unternommen wurden. Außerdem sind die Marginalisierung und Exklusion von Bevölkerungsteilen weit verbreitet. In diesem Zusammenhang gewinnen individuelle Praktiken im Bereich Inklusion-Exklusion an essentielle Bedeutung im Alltag Praktiken.

Im zweiten Teil der Dissertation werden drei Fallstudien präsentiert, die sich mit den Beziehungen zwischen Individuen und schulischen Institutionen in der Metropolregion Santiago de Chile (MRS) befassen. Es wird eine umfangreiche Analyse mit unterschiedlichen Methoden auf drei Ebenen präsentiert: i) Geo-Referencing staatlicher Interventionen in die soziale Politik mit Viertel und Schulen verbunden, um die Form und Ausmaß sozio-urbaner Exklusion im Bereich der MRS zu verstehen, ii) Narrative Biographien, die Eltern angewandt mit Kindern die Grundschule besuchen um innerfamiliäre Prozesse der Schulselektion zu rekonstruieren und den Einfluss dieser Prozesse auf das Fortbestehen von Schule als Exklusionsmechanismus zu untersuchen, iii) Autoethnography zur Beschreibung –im Detail- der zeitlichen Dimension von Stabilisierungsprozessen, welche in den letzten drei Dekaden Einfluss auf Mechanismen urbaner Exklusion-Inklusion in Chile hatten.

In der Arbeit wird folgende zentrale These aufgestellt: Die Art und Weise in der Integration von Menschen im Laufe ihres Lebens verwirklicht wird kann (enacted) Veränderungen auf der institutionellen Ebene bewirken und damit zur Reorganisation urbanen Lebens beitragen. Das hohe Niveau sozialer Exklusion in Santiago de Chile kann nicht erklärt werden ohne auf die Transformation in allen sozio-urbanen Institutionen, insbesondere in den Schulen, Bezug zu nehmen. Keine Familie würde soziale Integration in Bezug auf den sozialen, ökonomischen oder kulturellen Hintergrund als Kriterium für die Auswahl einer Schule sehen. Diese Spezifität der Chilenischen sozialen Realität lässt sich nicht einfach auf kapitalistische Prozesse oder auf Prozesse urbaner Modernisierung zurückführen.

Basierend auf den Ergebnissen dieser Arbeit wird die Schlussfolgerung gezogen, dass die Logik sozio-urbaner Institutionen unter dem Gesichtspunkt individuellen Repräsentationen und Handelns neu bewertet werden muss. Außerdem zeige ich Komplementaritäten zwischen den Fachgebieten Urban Studies und Urban-Institution Analysis auf. Schulische Institutionen sind nicht nur ein Forschungsfeld für

Erziehungswissenschaftler, sie stellen vielmehr einen Schlüssel zum Verständnis menschlichen Erlebens in urban, institutionellen Umwelten dar. Das Wiedererstarken sozialer und urbaner Bewegungen im Jahr 2010, z.B. im Arabischen Frühling oder in den chilenischen Studentenbewegungen, sind nicht nur als Folgen größerer, globaler Trends zu verstehen. In ihrer Essenz handelt es sich dabei um Individuen welche sich versammeln, um Anerkennung und Autonomie innerhalb einer ablehnenden institutionellen Umwelt einzufordern. Die hier vertretene Sichtweise ähnelt derer der lateinamerikanischen urbanen Soziologie mit ihrem Fokus auf Graswurzelbewegungen zu Ende der Sechziger und Anfang der Siebziger Jahre des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts.

In beiden Fällen sind sozio-urbane Institutionen, obwohl sie sich der Bedürfnisse nach Anerkennung seitens der Einwohner nicht bewusst sind, nicht außerhalb der Reichweite individueller und kollektiver Akteure. Das Hauptanliegen dieser Arbeit ist es aufzuzeigen, dass sozio-urbane Institutionen sich in einem permanenten Prozess der Umgestaltung befinden. Diese Umgestaltung ist das Ergebnis individuellen Handelns, welches damit das Potential besitzt, sozio-urbane Institutionen in Richtung von mehr Inklusion oder mehr Exklusion zu verändern.

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Introduction

The studies on social exclusion are neither novel nor surprising within social analysis of cities. Dramatic life conditions, social and racial segregation, and urban crisis have been favored topics of research since the origin of the urban variant of sociology¹. This situation is not extraordinary when considering the great and disruptive social transformation produced by the rise of the urban condition in western history². More than two centuries ago and during a historical period that easily lasted for a whole century, poorness, homelessness, and sickness filled almost every corner of the industrial city³. The situation has changed in the last century; living condition of population has improved in many national contexts under the influence of welfare policies in developed countries and the rise in social expenditures and poverty control measurements in developing ones. Nevertheless, beyond the policy intervention in almost every city around the world, a growing tension remains towards a constant and intensive process of social exclusion.

What seems to be surprising, regarding social sciences account of urban life expressed in the paragraph above, is the losing role experienced by a perspective based on social exclusion in contemporary accounts on city life⁴. Inside the emergence of what LÖic Wacquant has

¹For many scholars the origins of the urban variant of sociology and also one of the first works on human geography are found in the early book of Friedrich Engels, *"The conditions of the working class in England"* written by the German author in Manchester during the year 1842-1844. In this regard, it is not unexpected to find in many compilations on urban study, a first chapter advocated to analyze the reflection made by Engel in the first half of the XIX century. That is the case of the book *"Blackwell city readers"* (Bridge and Watson 2010), or the book *"Key concept on urban studies"* (Gottdiener and Budd 2005) in which the work of the German author is fundamental in the topics of "Socio-spatial approach" and "Inequality and Poverty". In the preface to the first German Edition Engels states: "the condition of the working class is the real basis and point of departure of all social movement in the present because it is the highest and most unconcealed pinnacle of the social misery existing in our day" (Engels and McLellan 2009: xx). This quotation exemplifies his critique to the urban living conditions under an earlier capitalism.

² Classic references in this topic are the works of Karl Polanyi *"The great transformation"* (Polanyi 1944 [2010]) and Maurice Dobb *"Studies in the development of capitalism"* (Dobb 1964)

³For a very illuminating perspective on the American industrial city at the beginning of the 20th century see the famous book written by Upton Sinclair *"The Jungle"* Published in 1906. For the English case, a very illustrative reference is the report of Edwin Chadwick presented in 1842. Generally, this last work is used as a strong critique to public health and social justice in the origin of the industrial city. He states in the report: "Whole streets, unpaved and without drains or main sewers, are worn into deep ruts and holes in which water constantly stagnates, and are so covered with refuse and excrement as to be impassable from depth of mud and intolerable stench". In a similar vein Richard Dennis refers to the fact that even the people that work with the working class remain ignorant of the working class living conditions. "A few clergymen and missionaries, and occasionally some benevolent females of the middle classes, made transient visits to the abodes of the sick and the wretched; but I could not find that any general intercourse was anywhere maintained [...] it seems that they invariably rushed from the disagreeable and disgusting locality as soon as their labours of charity were completed" (Dennis 1949 [1984]: 80-81)

⁴ For some scholars a losing relevance of the studies on social exclusion in city life would not be an accurate description of the current state of arts in urban sociology. Beside this inclination, my intention is to highlight that the social exclusion becomes the consequences of structural phenomenon experienced by cities, as for example: global economic trends, State security withdrawal, and increasing patterns of segregation due gentrification and relegation. In all this accounts, socio-urban exclusion becomes a consequence and not the main focus of the analysis. In a similar vein, the studies on segregation address socio-urban exclusion but not with a concern in the urban institutions and individual practices, which both are the main targets in this research.

called *hyperghettoisation* or by the consolidation of an *advanced marginality* (Wacquant 2008) the discussion about socio-urban exclusion, paradoxically, seems to lose ground⁵. Hyperghettoisation understood as very extended places of relegation emerging as a consequence of the collapse of the black American ghetto and imposing a double form of segregation based on race and class on its inhabitants⁶. Advanced marginality as the “novel regime of socio-spatial relegation and exclusionary closure” (ibid: 2), in which closure implies how social practices deployed by certain collective are actively restraining the participation within the socio-economic opportunities existing in a given place to others. Both cases *hyperghettoisation* and *advanced marginality* imply a specific form of socio-urban exclusion applies over individuals and revealing the influences of global economic trends, the type of State action, and the mediation of social institutions.

The main shift proposed in this thesis is to highlight how socio-urban exclusion is rooted, primarily, in individuals’ social practices. This shift only makes sense, if we agree that the individual experience of exclusion it is no longer the main subject in urban studies and urban sociology, and only therefore, it could be replenish. This situation could be explained in several ways and by many different factors. However, this research argues that to study social conditions in contemporary city means to address the extended and increasing processes of inequalities and relegation experienced by people in the intersection of poverty, race, gender, marginalization, religion, nationality, and cultural background within urban contexts⁷. In this way, accumulated inequalities and growing forms of relegation are both equally at the basis of the processes of socio-urban exclusion. In other formulation socio-urban exclusion is a way to place people’s experiences in the center of the process of social and territorial transformation experienced by cities nowadays, by accounting for the interaction with their institutional environment.

⁵ The argument here is proposing that social-exclusion research loses its central role in urban sociology explanation, relegated to a second place by the rises of the processes of economic and territorial restructuring as consequences of globalization. By no means, it is suggested that the studies of social exclusion and social segregation are despairing after the 80s.

⁶ See paper “*Class, ethnicity and state in the making of marginality: revisiting urban outcasts*” available in L  ic Wacquant web page: <http://loicwacquant.net/assets/Papers/REVISITINGURBANOUTCASTS-Danish-article-version.pdf> retrieved on 07.08.2014

⁷ The theoretical bases of the socio-urban exclusion here presented are proposed with connection to the notion of “intersectionality” as has been developed, especially in gender studies, in the works of Kimberle Crenshaw et al (1995), Kathy Davis (2008), Nina Lykke (2010), and Sumi Cho et al. (2013). Nonetheless, an important difference with the main stream in intersectionality is the dynamic character of the socio-urban exclusion proposed in this research. It is not only the intersection in one person on in a collective of disadvantaged conditions the source of the socio-urban exclusion but the constant reinforcement of relegation practices deployed from whom could be defined as “social, racial, and gender peers”, and thus, inside socio-urban institutions.

Commonly the socio-spatial reorganization of the urban space has been connected with a novel phases of capitalistic restructuring, in other formulation, with the impact of global economy and the role-played by the State in processes of urban transformation⁸. The perspective engaged here is quite different and defends the argument that structural transformations in the organization of society and space, due to capitalist trends, requires as “condition of possibility” a coextensive shift at the level of people’s action in order to gain efficacy. Attempting to be accurate with the definitions, more than a focus on an individual action or representation, the emphasis of the thesis will be placed on how those actions and representation gain social efficacy. In the middle- and long-run individual action and representation are stabilized in social practices within the socio-urban institutions⁹. Furthering the argument, social practices are the means by which socio-urban institutions are influenced and transformed¹⁰ by individual agency. In another formulation, this thesis advocates for an explanatory route in which people’s practices are accountable for the transformation in urban way of life only by affecting the socio-urban institutions. Especially relevant in this description is the transformation in the school as social institution, which has changed from being places for social integration to become gradually the locus of social exclusion.

The transformations experienced at the level of schools express in a simple way the process described by the Uruguayan sociologist Rubén Kaztman (2001) as the “social isolation of the urban poor population” in Latin America. The author’s argument describes the emerging concern in the academic and the public policy fields for the isolation experienced by the poorest urban inhabitants and the social mechanisms that maintain and sustain their exclusion. In his proposal the analysis goes beyond the economic or material dimensions and describes “the fragile – or in the last term nonexistent - link between the poor urban inhabitant and the people and institutions that guide their performance by the norms and values prevailing in society at a given historical moment” (Kaztman 2001: 172)¹¹. Schools are the clear vehicles for the transmittance and reproduction of social values and

⁸ It is very illustrative to observe how many prominent scholars focused their intellectual efforts in elucidating how the world economy and the State are shaping city life. Saskia Sassen in the first sentence of the introduction to her book: *“The global city”* states: “For centuries, the world economy has shaped the life of the cities, this book is about that relation today” (Sassen 1991 [2001]: 4). In a similar vein, Neil Brenner, in the preface to the book *“New state spaces”* talks about his project as “inquire further into the geographies of the state power under modern capitalism” (Brenner 2004: v). Both approaches are observing the impact of macro trends in the city and therefore, elaborating theories of city life with some degree of independence about individual decisions and their impact on re-shaping institutional logics.

⁹ To better understand the orientation contained in the use of “social practices” see: Dorothy Holland (Holland et al 2003, Holland and Lave 2009) and Andreas Reckwitz (2002)

¹⁰ Institutions are approached in the third definition presented by Jacques Reves in his essay “The institution and the social” as “every form of the social organization that relates values, norms, models of relations and of behaviors, roles; in this sense, every social form that shows certain regularity may be part of an institutional analysis” (Reves 2005: 64). Translation by the author.

¹¹ Translation by the author

norms in urban society. Here is the reason why school institution has been selected as the most relevant phenomenon for study.

But until now has no been clarified what does it mean, specifically, understand schools as socio-urban institutions. Socio-urban institutions are presented here in a very general way as environments –in a social but also territorial way-, that organizes a certain stability in individual's action. The traditional notion of role as form of action and expectation of action is laying at the basis of previous definition. Socio-urban regularities are certainly imposing form of people's beehives. Nevertheless, institution are not stable neither unmodifiable during long periods of time. Institutions are not indifferent to the orientation imprinted by individual, and therefore, it is possible to speak about changing in the orientations and logics of socio-urban institutions. Consider schools as socio-urban institutions seek to describe its central role in urban life. School are not socio-urban institution because they are located within the city, furthermore, they are socio-urban institution because are the social place to define, produce, and reproduce the type of social binding legitimated by society. In the Chilean case, the legitimation of the exclusion inside the school system it is coextensive and in different ways reinforced by general trend toward urban exclusion connected with neighborhood segregation and housing market inequalities.

This research has been written with three beliefs in mind. The first is that the existing models for theorizing socio-urban transformations are incomplete. The conceptual entrance by the structural level to city life, in terms of social, economic, and territorial restructuring, confines people's actions and practices to a subordinated role in the urban explanation. Social and territorial restructurations are therefore neither the engine nor the origin of the transformation in the agency capability of individuals. The theoretical framework of the thesis shall be devoted to explaining this condition in depth, especially for urban sociology in its Marxist variant, which has extended influences during the 1960s and the 1970s in Latin America. At this moment the main urban research in the region, and especially in Chile, was urban social movement. The analytical framework resembles Marxist influences but showed a major affinity and influence from dependency theory and marginality theory, both social sciences approaches developed within the region. My argument in the first part of the thesis will show how from the particular Latin American sociological urban research, if it possible to consider this as a historical fact, is possible to stay that social practices of underestimation and relegation of disadvantaged population by their peers and due to social conditions, are direct responsibility of the socio-urban exclusion in contemporary Chilean cities. In other

formulation, the stabilization and legitimation of social practices of exclusion inside socio-urban institutions are creating at the same time the excluded and the excluder groups. The transformations produced inside the socio-urban institutions by individual's practices, in which the roles of excluded and excluder are constantly reshaped, are the main target of the empirical part of this research. In this sense, it is not the core of analysis whether the excluded conditions faced by population is part of their responsibility or not. The argument claims that institutions have been colonized by exclusion practices and representation and this phenomenon must become visible for both social and urban analysis.

The second belief is that the empirical analysis of the current condition exhibited by the socio-urban institutions will adequately disclose the interplay between the structural trends as well as the agency level in urban life. Social institutions of the city are impacted by current trends of global restructuring and this situation is, without any doubt, a source of transformations in urban life. Nonetheless, it is also possible to state that individual practices are shaping socio-urban institutions in directions, which are not totally contained by the ones exhibit by global trends. According with this perspective, it is possible to claim for the socio-urban institutions what the historian Jacques Revel observes for all social institutions “[...] therefore, the man need institutions, which is another way to say that they use as well as serve them” (Revel 2005: 79)¹². The perspective presented by the French author deliver an open definition, flexible, and relational of institutions, allowing the influences of individual and collective actions as well as representation on what I call institutional environment. Whether the wide extended trend of socio-urban exclusion is conceptualized in the context of capitalist restructuring, welfare State dismantling, modernization trends or even, contemporary economic crisis, may not blur the simple fact that people always make decisions, and thus normally, about things that they consider important. In this sense, socio-urban exclusion must be connected with the effect of individual's decisions that, actively or passively, seeks for congregation and relegation in the urban realm. The analysis of the role of individuals in the socio-urban institutions it is not an orientation toward what has been called “individual choice”. On the contrary, and in the same vain than what was presented in the paragraph above, individual practices are the only way to replenish the role of people's decision –or its lack- in shaping urban life due to the influence over institutions.

To some extent, one main purpose of this research is to support the statement; socio-urban exclusion is the consequence of those decisions, or in other words, that the socio-

¹² Translation by the author

territorial pattern of exclusion has been built over recurrent, individual, familiar and collective actions during middle and long period of time. Those actions may be classified in one of the twofold condition of relegation as the enclosure within a sort of community and the exclusion of strangers (foreigners).

The third belief sustains that a major transformation in the contemporary city is evident by the reorganization that occurs in socio-urban institutions. The changes experienced by institutions in its general organization, social role, and collective practices together comprises of the three vehicles with which the individual and collective actions acquire stability in an extended period of time. Remarkably, significant socio-urban institutions for urban life are the neighborhood and the school. It will be shown, in the empirical part of the thesis, that both the school and the neighborhood are central urban institutions because of their strong capability to create and recreate social bonds, thus including the “territorialized” dimension of social relations. Whether these two institutions were, historically, effective vehicles for social inclusion or not, may be less important than their current roles as devices of exclusion. In the contemporary metropolis, children and youths can spend their whole life without any significant contact with people from other social class or from a different racial background. At the same time, poor schools and segregated neighborhoods have been, during the last four decades, stripped out from any type of organization¹³ that may create identity, common history, and communitarian ties¹⁴.

The historical characteristics of different urban societies (Gulick 1989), the welfare-statism promoted inside the national boundaries (Esping-Andersen 1990), as well as the city’s physical structure (Sennett 1994), altogether, play a determinant role in forging the specificity of socio-urban exclusion nowadays. The same in other words; to advocate for an integrative analysis of the agency level in the current processes of socio-urban exclusion does not imply the rejection of historical, political, economic and physical embeddedness of the phenomenon. However, in the account presented here, the intention is to replenish the role of the individual as well as collective practices in the consolidation of socio-urban exclusion. The social practices that materialize the transformation of socio-urban institutions from places of integration into relegation devices are proposed in the thesis argumentation as the most

¹³ The work of Loïc Wacquant “*Body and Soul*” (Wacquant 2004) expresses, clearly, how the black ghetto in America slowly loses every institution, organization, place and even practices of group identity and communitarian ties. This is the case of the boxer gym he visited in Chicago.

¹⁴ It is almost exactly in these terms that Marc Augé defines the notion of anthropological places as identity, relational, and historic. “Si un lieu peut se définir comme identitaire, relationnel et historique, un espace qui ne peut se définir ni comme identitaire, ni comme relationnel, ni comme historique définira un non-lieu.” (Augé 1992 [1993]: 100)

decisive cause of every contemporary form of exclusion. Following the last idea, we should re-evaluate the excessive role given to global trends of capital restructuring as the only accountable process in the increasing levels of social exclusion in the contemporary city.

This thesis research is premised on a very simple argument: in every social context or under any structural conditions, the individual capability of the agency exists. Because of this very simple sociological conviction, research must face the task to reveal the social mechanisms that make the preeminence of the structural level in the explanation of socio-urban exclusion possible. The discursive regime that gives preeminence to the structural level over the agency capability in the scientific thought should be disclosed. To some extent this line of argument may be seen as a part of a “turn towards the individual agency” in urban studies, derived from the novel approach to “individual’s sociology” in the French world or the “reassessment of the agency” in Anglo-Saxon world. From all of these perspectives, we could state that the capability of the agency of all human beings is framed but not determined by the highly discussed *urban restructuring*.

From another side, the argument is not enclosed in what has been generally called “cultural turn” but instead, it follows the idea of a middle ground between i) the cultural turn and ii) the political economy as presented by John Eade in “*Understanding the city: contemporary and future perspectives*” (Eade and Mele 2002). “Here we resist this tendency and explore the dynamic interplay between the cultural turn and political economy. We want to contribute to closing this gap through explorations of a middle ground where the traditional concerns within urban studies – restructuring, globalization, North/South urbanization, for instance – may intersect with culturalist approaches [...] we aim to provide the first concerted effort at addressing this emergent middle ground” (Eade and Mele 2002: 3). It is in this framework that urban institutions are presented as the target of empirical research and I explore how they are modified by daily practices in the middle and long run. The first part of the thesis is advocated to constructing the large theoretical picture that “gives sense” to the study of social-exclusion by the influence of individuals in their institutional environments.

The theoretical account engages three major and broad conceptual discussions around urban sociology. The connection between them may be summarized in the following way; Macro trends have relegated agency to a subordinated level inside urban sociology explanation, that is, to account for the deviance observed in the local level regarding global trends. I propose that to re-engage the individual agency, in the studies of socio-urban exclusion in Latin America requires: the offer of a conceptual bridge between the European

notion of exclusion and the possibilities to use this conceptual framework in the regions other than the advanced economies confronted with deindustrialization and Welfare State withdrawal. To observe the connection between Latin American studies of urban social movements outside of a Marxist matrix, with reference to dependency and marginalization theory, and in a closer relation with the individual's sociology, which emphasize the agency capability to re-shape institutions and territorialize practices. Doing so implies that renewed attention is given to individuals in their singular or recurrent decision, its personal or collective choices, and how they are reconstructing urban societies.

The first part of the thesis, entrenched in theoretical and methodological discussions, offers the large portrayal of urban sociology as sub-discipline, in which the empirical research achieves its entire significance beside the particular case studies engaged. Pierre Bourdieu proposes, "Koyre (1966), who had attended Husserl's lectures, showed that Galileo did not have to repeat the experiment of the inclined plane to understand the phenomenon of the fall of bodies. A particular case that is well constructed ceases to be particular" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 77). I would like to add something that remains implicit to this convincing sentence; In order that a particular case gains its all explanatory potential, the context that gives significance must exist, as in the case of Galileo, it is the law of gravity and the discussions around it as presented, for example, by Aristotle. Of course, my intention is more modest. I will try to reconstruct the urban sociological discussion that from my perspective are relevant to proposing an individual approach concerned with socio-urban exclusion in Latin America.

Chapter one offers the major theoretical framework of the thesis. The discussion will engage the Marxist perspective in urban sociology explanations with the intention to locate the specific place for conceptualizing socio-urban exclusion from the individual level and what is its explanatory capability to account institutional transformation. In this chapter I imply that socio-urban exclusion is a particular topic in urban sociology that is only related to, but not contained in, other topics extensively researched as: urban crisis, urban segregation, and economic restructuring of cities. My claim is that socio-urban exclusion accounts for specific phenomena in social life, which require particular attention because they involve the constant relation between individuals and their institutional environments. The chapter approach is grounded in three different and broad conceptual discussions: i) a critical approach to the subordinated role of agency inside structural oriented explanation in urban sociology, ii) a critical assessment of the possibilities to use the notion of socio-urban

exclusion beside its European inception in other social realities, and iii) the review of Latin America research on urban social movement, between the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, and its relevance for a discussion about individual sociology nowadays.

Chapter two endeavors to organize a sort of epistemological entrance to the empirical study of socio-urban institutions from an individual perspective. The chapter primarily addresses a general description of what would be understood as the influence of individual action in institutional environments. After that, the chapter reports in depth the conceptualization made by Martuccelli and de Singly (2012) about “individual’s sociology” or “the sociologies of the individual”, searching for orientation to organize the empirical approach used specifically in chapter five and six. In general terms the argument will regain, from the abovementioned authors, the idea of “institutional individualism”, representing how individuals are affected by the social institution in which they participate. From this point, I will advance the idea that under certain circumstances and in a prolonged period of time, individuals could reshape the social orientation contained by their socio-urban institutions. This will be exactly the epistemological as well as empirical space in which the three case studies presented in chapter four, five, and six are deployed. At the onset of this chapter the research question, the general objective and particular objectives are stated.

Chapter three offers a conceptualization of the historical context that gives sense and provides specificity to study the notion of social-exclusion in Latin America. This chapter attempts to create a dialogue between the conceptualization of socio-urban exclusion and the different political projects and academic approaches presented in the region since the second half of 20th century. In doing so, the major theories that were in connection with the research about urban social movements, as presented in chapter 1, are analyzed. Approaching an expanded historical framework for Latin America discussions about inclusion-exclusion also allows for the re-engagement of the discussion started in chapter one about exclusion primarily connected with transformations to post-Fordism regimes. To move the analytical core of the notion of exclusion resembles the discussion about modernity and the possibility to apply the concept beside the developed economies. In this sense, and with the intention to clarify the argumentative line, a discussion about general modernity and Latin America as a variant are presented. The underlying intention of this effort is to expand the historical framework, which recurrently describes the exclusionary orientation of social institutions in Chile as direct consequence of civil-military dictatorship. When the historical framework is expanded a novel perspective to address socio-urban exclusion emerges as framed by

phenomena: i) weak institutional arrangement to achieve social integration in the region, and ii) the presence, for decades, of a massive marginality that implies that more than half of the population live in persistent conditions of exclusion. Chapter three concludes by pointing how all this conditions described for the Latin American case reinforces a particular account of socio-urban exclusion from the individual basis in the analysis of Santiago de Chile school institution.

Chapter four suggests a description of what I call a geography of socio-urban exclusion. This is conducted through the spatial analysis of the location of neighborhoods selected for regeneration programs and schools designated for intervention in order to improve learning results. By this way, the integrative character of the socio-urban exclusion is defined for the territory of Santiago de Chile. Different areas with distinctive characteristics appear as the embodiment of the social relegation in the contemporary city. The main conclusion of this chapter proposes that the low spatial coincidence¹⁵ between segregated neighborhoods and segregated schools is not a problem of integration of sectorial public policy. On the contrary, this situation shows that the socio-urban exclusion achieved such a high level in the city of Santiago de Chile, that any selection of local areas for intervention is plausible. Then the territorialization of socio-urban exclusion could be described as macro urban areas with social problems. Therefore, the individual's life is confronted with an extended, pervasive and persistent condition of exclusion.

Social strategies of exclusion are approached first in chapter five by describing the mechanism of school selection used by parents for their children. In this context, parents understand school selection as a legitimate mechanism of social relegation. In its stability over the decades, school selection gradually influences the entire educative systems. This chapter emphasizes the logic that provokes the change in the school institutions from being a place for social integration to spaces of social exclusion. The conclusion of this inquiry proposes that the active decision of people and family, and not a structural determination derived from the capitalistic restructuration or modernization processes, has been responsible of the failing capability of the school system to integrate individuals in Chilean society during the last four decades. Three mechanism of selection named here are explored i) biographical

¹⁵ Here "low spatial coincidence" has been used similarly to the concept of "spatial mismatch", for a revision on the topic see William J. Wilson's (1987) *"The truly disadvantaged: the inner city, the underclass, and public policy"*.

un-anchored¹⁶, social enclosure, and polarization of representation are highlighted to understand under which circumstances school selection become an exclusionary decision. These types of individual actions influence schools as institutions by making them i) lose their integrative capabilities, ii) transforming them into spaces for interaction by socio-cultural peers, and iii) defining explicitly which type of schools are not an option for the education of children. Altogether, the chapter recomposes, in depth, the social dimension enacted by individual decision around schools and is approached by biographical narratives. That is, parents' descriptions about their school experience, their careers and what they wish for the future of their children.

Chapter six offers an autoethnography of my scholar and academic experience with the intention to address in depth two dimension of the empirical analysis. On the one hand, to engage the temporal dimension involved in the social mechanism of school decisions and its stabilization through the decades. On the other hand, to describe the connection existing between integration to the school environment and exclusion from the neighborhood space. In other words, I intend to make visible the intergenerational construction of a selective process of belonging and relegation within school and neighborhood, respectively. By this process, I approach the form and uses of socio-urban exclusion. This biographical account describes, from an analytical perspective, the chain of events and processes connected with the school selection from my parents to their children – my siblings and I —, the reinforcement of the study discipline as a mechanism of social inclusion, the limitation of neighborhood contacts, and the actual social careers of us. In this way, I tackle, through studying my own personal and familial experience, my professional aspiration to replenish an individual sociological perspective inside urban sociology studies.

The thesis is organized in two parts, chapter one, two and three are the theoretical and methodological, and historical orientation for analysis. While chapter four, five, and six are the empirical approach to socio-urban exclusion, in the form of case studies. These two parts combined lead to a discussion about the role of people's relegation in urban sociology, the function of socio-urban institution in contemporary city life, and the character played by schools in the increasing socio-urban exclusion in Santiago de Chile nowadays. These conclusions of the empirical analysis are placed in an expanded perspective of urban sociology, which is not only connected with the intention to replenish the individual agency

¹⁶ “Un-anchored” is presented as concept in the line of “detachment”; the selection of un-anchored was because of it major uses in Spanish sociological vocabulary, but its uses may not be fully precise in English.

in urban sociology, but also to place this in an historical dialogue with the sub-discipline in the region, specifically referred to the rich research on urban social movements in Latin America. Thus, for the Chilean case, was, in coincidence with the splendor of the two most influential social theories developed in the region and with a vast political mobilization at the basis of the society.

Today in Chile, exclusion shows growing levels, but at the same time the first social movements are confronting it. A main concern has been posited in describing how the agency capability of individuals and collectives give legitimacy to exclusion strategies in school institutions. This process has been running during four decades and its effects are clear. Nevertheless, the analysis of the school institutions is never engaging the individual level. Opening up individual exclusion practices to critical inquiry permits an alternative explanation of how it becomes possible that together with the rising efforts of public policy to confront social relegation, the most pervasive forms of exclusion appears in urban life. From my perspective the answer lies in the stability of social practices of exclusion implemented on an everyday basis in its influences in urban dynamics during the last four decades, especially, for the Chilean case¹⁷.

¹⁷ For many authors, including the author of this thesis, Chile was the first country outside the developed countries or the western orbit to assume capitalistic mode of regulation. These conditions are at the bases of every analysis of socio-urban exclusion but fall short in explaining its particularities and its increasing strength. To a general introduction in the topic of Chilean capitalism see: "*Chile the great transformation*" (Martínez and Díaz 1996) or "*The shock doctrine: the rise of disaster capitalism*" (Klein 2007).

Thesis Part One Theoretical Research

Chapter One, Theoretical Approach

Socio-Urban Exclusion and Urban Social Movements; Two Sources to Research An Individual Perspective In Urban Sociology

Overview: From the 1980s onward, scholars have concentrated their analysis of the urban condition on exploring the impact of global economic trends on city life. Consequently, the explanatory lines consolidated during the 1960s and the 1970s within social actors and urban social movements lose ground inside general urban sociology explanation. This chapter seeks to recuperate the theoretical basis, informing, and the major roots, influencing, - an individual perspective inside urban sociology. Thus creating a focus on the interaction between individual and institutions while analysing socio-urban exclusion. In doing so, the chapter approaches with three different and broad conceptual discussions: i) a critical approach to the different forms of complementarity between agency and structural perspective in urban sociology, ii) the general social context that informs the reflection on socio-urban exclusion and the possibilities to apply the concept in different social realities iii) the Latin America research on urban social movement, between the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s and its relevance for a discussion about individual sociology nowadays.

These three theoretical discussions are not a unified approach; indeed they represent dissimilar levels of conceptualization and unlike analytical objectives inside a wide notion of urban sociology concerns. My intention within these discussions is to create a theoretical space in which an individual approach to socio-urban exclusion concerned with the analysis of the relationship between individual and their institutional environments is placed. The discussion about the structural or agency-based explanation aided me in raising an individual perspective not restricted to solving the problems or inaccuracies inside global or macro trends. Agency must be approached to observe its own productive capacity and creative role in re-shaping socio-urban conditions. The reference to social sciences approach to exclusion seeks to highlight its roots on the European deindustrialization and Welfare State crisis. In doing so, it is possible to describe under which condition and by which reasons the concept may be applied in other different social context, as it will be the case of Latin America. The debate about urban social movement in Latin America's research demonstrates that problems of inclusion-exclusion and n research approach based in social subject - very close to my notion of individuals - were both, incipiently, present already in the 1970s. Urban social movements in Chile were empirical description of i) a social actor emergence, ii) a political movement organization, and iii) the challenge to the capitalist city by the creation of a novel place "campamentos".

Only people experience exclusion, as well as, it is only people who are then accountable for its intensification or decrease. Thus is the argumentative line that connects a discussion about agency-structure, socio-urban exclusion, and Latin American urban social movements and gives meaning to the empirical chapters.

Introduction

Inside the complex scenery of urban sociology after so many different diagnosis of urban crisis linked to: i) international financial crisis, ii) de-industrialization process, iii) State and city insolvency or bankruptcy, a structural perspective seeking to expand the urban phenomena to the global economic and territorial restructuring gain adherents. The global impact of markets on city organization seems to be attractive explanation for scholars as well as for politicians. The relaying argument assumes that cities are not closed systems and social, political, economic, and cultural influences come from outside, in this case, larger territorial level. Global restructuring, organized over macro narratives as the ongoing deindustrialization process and the former dependency theory, was the largest structure available for delivering social sciences explanation. This perspective was also appealing for urban sociology at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s because it engages research with the current debates on globalization. Thus observing a large picture of social struggles, political interests, conflicts, and economic unfairness. A scholarly audience dissatisfied with the structural perspective and its capability to account for the very wide range of differences observed at local level turn to locality and social actors in search of more suitable explanations. They make part of the so-called “cultural turn” in social sciences (Jameson 1998; Ritzer 2007), and in urban studies they see it as an explanatory alternative since the 1990s onwards. Researchers from this perspective claim to be in a middle point between global political economics and local cultural ethnography (Eade and Mele 2002). This position became a comfortable shelter for the middle range researcher who sympathizes with the particularity of the local phenomenon but may not reject the influences of capitalistic global trends. Most of these broadly labeled “cultural urban studies” are informed by “The Making of the English working class” from E.P. Thompson (1963), perhaps without many explicit references. Thompson’s book is possibly the most classical reference to the intent of the Marxist approach to introducing cultural analysis within it. Or in another formulation, it is an example of the subjective emergence – class making - inside the Marxist conceptualization matrix. In words of Thompson: “This book has a clumsy title, but it is one which meets its purpose. Making, because it is a study in an active process, which owes as much to agency as to conditioning. The working class did not rise like the sun at an appointed time. It was present at its own making” (1963: 9). In a similar vein, his definition of class became a good reference for cultural studies because it highlights the historical and processual character of

class deployment within human relations. Thompson's theoretical improvement is a benchmark for every comprehensive account on culture and class.

From this "cultural turn", which is unambiguously rooted in the UK and embedded in a strong Marxist tradition, it is not surprising to observe how references to i) social uneven development, ii) social marginality and exclusion, and iii) urban social movements are all caught by structural narratives. A very illustrative domain, in this regard, is the study of residential segregation in its variants as social and/or ethnical¹⁸. From my perspective, segregation is a major influence of structural trends in social relations within city. Even when segregation includes cultural reference, for example, in terms of ethnic minorities' integration (Bolt 2009) and subjective and self-perceived dimension of spatial relegation (Sabatini et al. 2001), its driving motors are conditions produced outside of individuals. Inside this complex scenario of urban sociology explanation a variant rooted in the individual agency remains still without a systematic conceptualization.

In words of William G. Flanagan urban sociology is "many contemporary urban sociologies". With the plural the author wants to make explicit the variety and differences of approaches, because "the question that engages the attention of urban sociology are broadly divergent", moreover, "The theme *urban studies* has proven to be sufficiently general to have preserved a hood measure of diffuseness and insularity. It is not an exaggeration to state that there are several urban sociologies" (Flanagan 1993: 4). If there are many different "urban sociologies", as the American sociologist proposes, there should also be the case that many moments of controversies between those perspectives have existed. Flanagan proposes that even when urban sociology offers a heterogeneous character nowadays, the "greatest tension [...] is between the theoretical orientation of the global structuralism and the research orientation of the local idealists. It has displaced or subsumed the [previous] debates between the culturalist and the structuralist, or between ecologists and political economist" (ibid: 10). It is from this point that I want to propose a particular focus on individual agency within urban sociology explanation. Nevertheless, there are many points of differentiation with regard to Flanagan's conceptualization. They will be addressed in the next section.

As it was presented in the general abstract, this interpretation of urban sociology transformations during the last forty years from actors' movements to structural trends is only

¹⁸ During this thesis social or ethnical segregation as concept is reserved for the quantitative approach to the spatial proximity between different groups within the city. Contrarily, socio-urban exclusion is presented as a comprehensive and qualitative approach to peoples' life and real interaction, material as well as symbolic, between individuals, who belong to different social groups. I try to keep this distinction clear and consistent through the research.

one possible description and it is relevant for the thesis because it leaves in a subordinated position, the individual agency as explanatory device. In any case, this interpretation is an informed but brief analysis about urban sociology history but it should not be considered as a systematically elaborated description. It has proven to be useful in placing what I call “individual perspective” and even an “individual turn” inside general urban sociology explanation, yet it does not correspond with the variability and distinctiveness of every existing approach, its explanatory devices, argumentative lines, and case studies¹⁹. I used this rather idealized model to observe three important concerns of my research: i) which is a suitable place to place a perspective on socio-urban changes based on the individual agency and its capability to influence and be influenced by particular institutional environments; ii) How it came to be that the urban sociology loses the center in urban social movements, social actors, and socio-urban exclusion as explanatory phenomenon and relegated them to being explained by macro-trends. Using a methodological nomenclature on how it came to be that social actors in urban sociology shift from being independent or explanatorily variable and becoming a dependent or explained one; and iii) is there any explanatory potential in the urban sociology produced in Latin America between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s with focus on the urban social movements and the marginality to inform a contemporary turn to individual in urban sociology explanation, especially, concerned with the topic of socio-urban exclusion. This three concern are indeed very theoretical. Their role, sometime resoundingly abstract, is to set my empirical approach inside a broad discussion about different variants and dissimilar focal points produced by the urban sociological research. I argue that the focus on individuals i) institutionalized (Martuccelli and de Singly 2012) or ii) individual with capability to transform institutional environments, represent a variation in the general explanatory dispositions of urban sociology. The broad theoretical concerns discussed in this chapter are providing the foundations with which to connect a very local empirical research with general urban sociology orientations.

The objective in the following sections will be to provide a brief description of the different elements interacting in my particular approach to individual agency in urban sociology. This is the major task of the whole theoretical part. Particularly, in the next section, I intend to explain what a subordinated reference to agency inside structural sociological explanations is and how by analyzing different temporalities of urban change it is

¹⁹ In this case, it may not be accurate to consider every approach to socio and ethnical segregation as a structural analysis of the city. Very informative connection between segregation as macro-trend and social exclusion as living experience may be found in the work of, for example, Sako Musterd for Holland and North and Central European cities. See (Musterd in Kazepov 2011)

possible to re-engage social actors and thereafter, individuals. Urban space is understood as a place that is not merely containing and conditioning social action, but is, and has always been, dynamically transformed under individual influences.

Re-engaging the losing role played by social actors in city's life.

The American William G. Flanagan at the end of his book "*Contemporary urban sociology*" in the chapter advocated to "Agency, structure and urban sociology" offers us a very peculiar phrase, that because of its relevance, and besides its extension, I quote completely: "Despite the attention given to agency question in the past decade or so, one assumes that most who have chosen to study the city are structuralist at heart. Otherwise, they would hardly have chosen the single most imposing physical product of social life as the focus of their attention, and instead would be occupied with the analysis of more manageable arenas of action. The current methodological emphasis on local exceptionalism or variation represents a type of *weak* convergence in the field of urban studies. It is weak because it does not represent theoretical development. It is instead a methodological comment on where and how to look for the impact of structure" (Flanagan 1993: 163). It is an awkward way to close a chapter that intends to re-engage the explanatory capability of human agency in urban sociology. But awkward only for someone with a major inclination to valuing the individual role and creativity in social life. Because in the case of Flanagan, localism and agency only explain the variance between local settlements confronted with similar global trends. In his perspective, local variation could not be totally explained by the structural trends highlighted by political economy. Therefore complementarities with empirical research in the local level are essential.

This perspective relegates to a subordinated position the capabilities of the individual to influence urban transformations. The individual agency is framed by structural conditions. In this sense "we are all structuralist" under the perspective of Flanagan. A not very different version of the relation between agency and structure was proposed by the supporters of a Weberian perspective on European cities (Le Gales 2002, Kazepov 2011). This European orientation for urban research, as an integrated approach, was in its origin very much close to Flanagan's position. Which could be understood as the requirement to have a close focus on: local actors, city history, urban institutions, and governance styles for better understanding of the urban outcomes in capitalistic context. These set of elements explain if global trends impact by transforming, redirecting or simply adjusting urban characteristics. Therefore people's life get impacted by external trends, of course, with the mediation of supranational,

national, regional, and urban government. However, in both cases –Flanagan and neo-Weberian - individual, their agency capability, and institutional environments are just dependent or explained variables under the influence of an ongoing economic and territorial restructuring. In other words, they do not represent a sociological object of research in themselves, because they are affected by conditions that are not contained within the boundaries of “the urban” phenomena.

A similar critique is found in the works about hyper-ghettoisation and prisons of poverty made by Loïc Wacquant (2008 and 2009). There are some authors that claim Wacquant’s perspective is structuralist oriented. Indeed, when he explains the causes and driven forces of these processes – hyper-ghettoisation and criminalized poverty - a political economy orientation prevails. From this perspective, not only the international globalized market but also the State action and the conservative think tank are responsible of increasing levels of exclusion and relegation of population in American and European cities. Consequently, social relations appear highly influenced by capitalist forces, trends, and values²⁰. Economy but also public policies are both equally responsible of socio-urban conflicts growth and intensification²¹. Whether Wacquant’s interpretation offers an explanation based on structural determinism or not, it could be a matter of debate. What seems to be clear is that at least in other two major works of Loïc Wacquant, it is no longer possible to raise this criticism. The first is his book “*Body and Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*” (2004) the second is the paper “*Three Pernicious Premises in the Study of the American Ghetto*” (1997). *Body and Soul* offers an autoethnography of his apprenticeship as a boxer in Chicago and a particular narrative on black American ghetto decline. The second is his replay to the shortcoming in the American studies concerned with underclass and poverty, emphasizing its social and territorial conditioning. In both texts individual agency appears in its full relevance.

Based on the work of Wacquant I want to offer the following argument: the primacy of the structural account in urban phenomena is based on three interrelated judgments: i) urban changes seems to be always further from the possibilities of local community control. In other words, local community does not stop and neither does it prevent general macro tendencies; ii) urban changes happen too fast to be an effect of individual choice or collective

²⁰ Commonly associated with capitalism it is found liberal ethics and individual relaying morals. The debate in this sense is very much extents. To get a North American approach to the political philosophy in the urban affairs, see Peter Steinberger “*Ideology and the Urban Crisis*” (1985), especially in the debate in the chapter “The managerial mood” and “Possessive-individualism”.

²¹ Manuel Castells describes this situation as “urban sociology was turned upside-down, from the discipline studying social integration to the discipline specialized in the new social conflicts of post-industrialism” (Susser 2002: 393)

coordination. In another formulation, local community does not control and neither does it direct macro tendencies; iii) macro tendencies and structural determination exceed in stability the variability offered by individual or communitarian choices. Structures are more stable and less changeable than human agency.

The image of rapid urban changes accompanied urban sociology reflection from its origin and from many angles seems not only plausible but also true. Simmel seems to be always surprised by the Metropolitan change in Berlin (1976), the Weber account of Chicago as edge point in modern life is also accompanied by an imagine of frenetic growth (Katznelson 1992). Urban change comes very fast; nonetheless, in this section I will argue from a different standpoint. Transformations in city life are fast but only in the surface or in their material expression. When we observe deeply inside social relations, practices, and representations beyond all those material transformation, temporality appears quite different, perhaps, a bit slower. In a more abstract formulation, the material transformation in the city appears fast to our perception because we do not consider the temporality in which the social institutions that support a place are modified. The accelerated transformations in the building environment of cities are preceded by individual and sometimes communitarian decisions that become collective orientations only in the middle and long run, and thus, by slow processes of transformation in our socio-urban institutions. Thereby, this temporal perspective to approach urban institutions, seeking for the deeper roots of the city's change, represents the theoretical basis that informs the empirical research about biographical narratives connected with school selection (chapter five) and the autoethnography of a school and an academic career in the last three decades (chapter six)

Nonetheless, it is not easy to argue in favor of this argument; probes of accelerated transformation of building, places, and territories are a consensus in urban sociology and human geography. But I think it is possible to make a case, perhaps not directly in slowness, but at least, in the existence of different temporalities of changes by observing singular elements of urban reality. For instance could we consider having the same temporality the rapid emergence of new infrastructure and the gradual rise of urban or local social movements claiming for major political autonomy or citizen participation? I think not. No one would match the time frame for a building construction and the one for a social process. This situation, from my perspective, is evidence to sustain the existence of different temporalities in city life. Also, I will argue that temporality of social movement disintegration could not be from night to day. This sort of theoretical "blink" on the city's life temporalities

is relevant because it informs my empirical research and drives me to expand the temporal frameworks of analysis by using different methodologies connected with the research on individual practices and representations along their life biographies.

Inside all those different temporalities that coexist in the city, I consider from a special interest the one expressed by socio-urban institutions. It is not easy to describe the precise moment in which I started to forge the idea of what may be called “multi-layered temporalities” within city dynamic. I believe that certain insight is found in the work of Loïc Wacquant referred to above: “*Body and Soul Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*” (2004). When I started to read the book, I was captivated by the following image described by the author in the preface: “I lived through three funerals, two weddings, four births, and a baptism with them, and I witnessed, at their side, with unfathomable sadness, the closing of the Woodlawn gym, condemned in February of 1992 and razed a year later as part of an urban *renewal* operation” (Wacquant 2004: 5). After reading this passage I wrote down in my notebook: *social institutions are not changing that fast, they are inside of a temporal becoming in which the individual, collective, and social practices that support them, slowly lose sense.*

Even when the image presented by Wacquant about a bulldozer machine demolishing an old gym is not quite a slow motion sequence, we must question whether this phenomenon of demolition is the real object of sociological analysis or not. The demolishing-construction dynamics, I argue, is just the tangible expression of social transformation running deeply. At first sight there has been no clear formulation of this position in the urban sociology research and by approaching this lack, a group of questions arise. What happened with social relations that sustain socio-urban institutions? What kinds of experiences are people directly connected with these institutions having? How are different social groups affecting the logics and roles of institutions in society? Is it possible that under the requirements of autonomy and self-determination made socially to our institution, extended and intensive processes of exclusion are triggered? These are questions that will be addressed in the empirical part of the thesis by observing the relationship between individuals’ action and institutions’ logic inside the school system in Santiago de Chile. In the following I will try to answer these questions from a conceptual perspective.

A theoretical premise of my research is that something should change inside individual actions and collective practices connected to the socio-urban institutions, which, together, allow for rapid processes of transformation. Nevertheless, these are social processes slowly

forged within city life and history and their temporality requires special attentions equally in theoretical as well as empirical research. The description of this tight network of social processes slowly changing through time is what Loïc Wacquant narrates by approaching, from different angles, the Chicago black ghetto history in the first chapter of *“Body and Soul”*, called “The Street and the Ring” (Wacquant 2004). The narration is not only describing ghettos in the present day; biographical description and empirical data are gathered from decades before to the precise moment in which Loïc Wacquant enrolled at the gym of the famous DeeDee Armour as a boxer apprentice. This helps us - readers and researchers - to make sense of what institution means for peoples’ everyday life and how institutions influence urban life, and the requirement to observe, both phenomena, through extended periods of time.

Demolishing the Woodlawn gym marks the end of boxing as socio-urban institutions in Chicago’s black ghetto. But this situation only achieves its all social significance insert in the series of events - individual, collective and social - that shaped the dismantling of social function of the ghetto²², and one of its central characteristics: the duplication of social institutions (Wacquant 2000: 383). It is this series of events that slowly destroy the social fabric that support socio-urban institutions, what remains, from my perspective, in the shadows of urban sociological analysis. Replenishing its explanatory capability, introducing a new perspective to observe urban transformation and a novel place for engaging the dialogue between different variants of urban sociology.

Until now, what this chapter advocates for is a possible –and desirable - shift in the object of analysis in urban sociology. In other words, to leave the central role given to large social transformation, economic dynamics, and political arrangements, and creating focus on socio-urban institutions and individuals. In doing so, it is possible to replenish an individual perspective in the extended processes of socio-urban transformation leading to increased levels of social exclusion. This sections shows that some references to the individuals’ life in the form of biographical accounts are contained in every narration of extended social processes. Thus is the case for the decay of the Black American ghetto, and the rise and dismantling of the urban social movement in Chile. Expanding the argument, socio-urban

²² In the book *“Body and Soul”*, it seems to be that the use of the word “ghetto” does not achieve the conditions given by Wacquant in other works. Ghetto here appears as in the introduction to the *“Urban outcast”* as a place of relegation, exclusion and deviance. The role played by the ghetto, as duplication of social institutions and form of social integration is not that clear. Nevertheless, the description of the dismantling of the boxing institutions in the marginalized periphery of the American city is in fact the losing role of ghetto as place for some sort of inclusion and belonging. It is proof of what Wacquant will call the passage from the ghetto to the hyper-ghettoisation.

exclusion as phenomenon has important routes in the individuals' life biographies, and this life biographies are both shaped by and shape social institutions. The perspective taken in the thesis prioritizes the role of individual actions and representation in the consolidation of social practices, which in the middle and long run are reshaping socio-urban institutions.

Coming back to Wacquant's narration, it is still possible to state that: the gym is not falling down by the action of a machine operator. Something happened before, socially; that all constrains protecting socio-urban institutions vanishes. When I say "socially" I refer to a level that integrates individual actions, familiar decision, collective articulation, and social transformation. The specific articulation among all these levels, is not possible to clarify in this chapter, nevertheless, it is very much relevant because it moves the research focus from macro effects on the city, to social dynamics within the city. Furthering the argument, something should happen that collective meanings stabilized by a community – as small or large as it could be - stops to make sense for the whole society. Some people could easily argue that this situation is just the result of capital power and money investment – structural trends -. At that moment I do not have all the evidence to challenge this interpretation, but it seems to be clear for me, that this sort of mono-causality is just insufficient to address the historical and relational character of urban life and its transformation.

By exactly stressing the anthropological character of places, Marc Augé achieved international recognition (Augé 1992[1993]). In his famous formulation, he describes places as human constructions that are meaningful, relational, and historical. With bases in this very eloquent observation, thereafter, he argues that if an epoch starts to create spaces that are not anchored in shared meaning, in historical processes and allows no social relations, then they could be understood as no-places. Using Augé's framework, I could present my inquiry as an observation of how socio-urban institutions are losing their anthropological character of places when they miss the integrative orientation. But in a major contrast with the French anthropologist, I am not interested in observing how "supermodernity" creates or does not create something. I make my case simpler: socio-urban institutions lose its integrative characteristics by the concrete action of individuals in the middle and long run. Institutions, as will be shown in chapter two, are placed, nowadays, in a very different social constellation than was the case four decades ago. In this social context institutions have been losing disciplinary character and therefore, they allow major levels of influence from individuals.

The following sections of this chapter are organized to advance the argument that socio-urban exclusion can be addressed by the study of the individual actions over institutions. To

sustain such statement, it is required to describe some major transformations in urban sociology explanation. The argumentative line refers to, but does not explain in detail, the passage from a Marxist influenced approach concerned with social actors to a political economic version organized around the territorial restructuring. This movement implies breaking connections with previous conceptualization in which social actors were a central concern in urban processes. The two variants that focus on the actor level were North American approach to the racial relegation and the European and Latin American urban social movements. Both perspectives are generally considered in a Marxist explanatory matrix; consequently they could be easily trapped by a structural logic, which emphasizes macro variables. This was exactly what happens during the end of the 1970s and the 1980s when economic restructuring become a central concern for all social sciences and therefore turn to play a leading role as explanatory variable in urban sociology and economic geography.

The thesis argues that urban social movements in the context of large socio-urban exclusion are not dependent variables of macro and global economic trend, but phenomenon replenishing the individual dimension inside urban change. To support this statement, it becomes indispensable to first address, the inception of social and urban exclusion as a concept or in other words, its common reference in European social sciences. Thus, of course, if it allows for using such a broad generalization under the notion of one “Europe”.

Socio-urban exclusion beyond developed countries

Many studies in social exclusion and particularly in urban exclusion start from the premise that this phenomenon emerges around the 80s in the developed economies (see chapter three). Atkinson shows how some European commission reports at the end of the 1970s pointed out an almost eradicated poverty, it thus means that poverty is considered as a residual category that would disappear with the tendency to economic growth in Northwestern Europe (Atkinson 2000: 1037). Nevertheless at the end of the 80s and beginning of the 90s, European cities showed an increasing level of unemployment, large number of people living within low incomes, urban deterioration and growing homeless, school withdrawal, violence, crime, and so on. This is the moment that Atkinson recognizes as the one mobilizing social science to develop a new vocabulary “[...] the notion of social exclusion emerged as a way of addressing what appeared to be, or was defined to be, a new set of problems caused by fundamental changes in the nature of society (often summed up by notions such as the transition from industrial to post-industrial society or from Fordism to post-Fordism)” (ibid: 1038). Inside this interpretation, social exclusion is the European effort

to tackle distinctive problems caused by the largest transformation in the international market, the novel national productive regimes, and the social structure resulting thereof.

In a similar way, Müller introduces “*soziale Exklusion*” in the German cities by referring to the call pronounced in the middle of the 1990s by politician George Kronawitter²³, former mayor of Munich, when he says: “Retten unsere Städte – Jetzt!” (Save our cities, now!) (Müller 2012: 421). The argumentation is similar to the one expressed by Atkinson and states the linkage made by the European social scientist between social exclusion and work market as consequence of the novel condition of international production. The rise in unemployment constrains the integrative capacity of a growing amount of population. Hence the reason why it is easy to find the connection between socio-urban exclusion and the city’s social polarization, the last in the form of a growing distance between poor and rich people. Exactly this argumentation is presented in the following quote of Müller:

“Bedingt durch die Finanznot der Kommunen kam es zu einer Einschränkung sozialpolitischer Maßnahmen, sodass der anhaltenden Krise auf dem Arbeitsmarkt sowie den wachsenden sozialen Konflikten innerhalb der Städte kaum begegnet werden konnte. Das soziale Gefälle vergrößerte sich, immer mehr Menschen – so die Befürchtung – könnten ins gesellschaftliche Abseits gedrängt werden” (ibid: 425)²⁴

One important point highlighted by Atkinson is the role played by the European Commission (EU) in developing and popularizing the notion of social exclusion. In his words, the EU observes that novel poverty emerged at the end of the 70s has two grounds: first is the economic crisis, which increases unemployment and worsens the labor conditions; second, is the consequences of profound transformation in the industrial society. But what is more interesting for my argumentation is the recognition made by Atkinson that for both, European politics as well as European scholar, the novel social problems are a “threat to the European social model” (Atkinson 2000: 1938).

Summarizing, in the European context of the most advanced economies – Central, North and Western Europe -, social exclusion during the 1980s and the 1990s is represented as consequence of three interrelated phenomena: i) deindustrialization process that leaves a big number of the population in condition of unemployment, ii) fiscal crisis at the regional and

²³ Kronawitter belongs to the social democratic party of Germany (SPD) and was the mayor of Munich between 1972-1978 and 1984-1993.

²⁴ "Due to the financial problems of the governments, there was a restriction of social policies, so that the ongoing crisis in the labor market and the growing social conflicts could hardly be tackled within the cities. The social division grew, more and more people – so the fear - it could be pushed to social marginalization ". Translation by the author

urban level, which results in the deterioration of life conditions in many urban areas and for a large number of people, and iii) decline of the European welfare State because of the growing demand and reduction in resources. Phenomena such as these three prompt social scientists to reflect on the particularity of concepts developed to understand novel social configuration. Müller extensively addresses the notion of exclusion, arguing that it is not just the reconceptualization of the old inequalities because it highlights a new logic of inequalities formations. This novel logic comes as an outcome of transformation in the economic organization. Post-Fordism brings up a singular form of social integration. The major strength of exclusion as concept is the interconnection between different forms of participation and relegation, for example, in the labor market, educational system, pension provision, social relations, and citizenship. Therefore, vertical social distinctions – or class differentiation - are complemented by a conditions of being inside or outside social protection. This last condition becomes the prevalent form of integration in contemporary societies (Müller 2012).

To reflect on the origin and uses of the notion of socio-urban exclusion is crucial for my research, and thus, not only because it is one of the research topics. The discussion about socio-urban exclusion is an inquiry on the institutional capacity of integration and its decline during the last three decades in the European advanced economies. By approaching the European uses of the notion, I intend to critically address the chances to apply the concept to the Latin American social context. Moreover, if I connect this argument with the one presented in the section above, which emphasizes the gradual temporality involved in urban social changes, then socio-urban exclusion, as a concept concerned with the institutional logic of integration, may also be accounted for in expanded temporal frameworks as slowly changing through time and by influences of individual actions and representation. With basis in this proposition it is possible to use the concept of socio-urban exclusion for Latin American social constellation in the last five decades, and by this way connecting socio-urban exclusion with the theories of marginality and dependency raised in the region. This temporal framework of at least five decades becomes the horizon for the thesis's theoretical and historical analysis (chapter one and three respectively).

To a great extent, European reflection about social exclusion is characterized by its multidimensional and integrative condition. A deficient or in extreme inexistent social integration appears as multidimensional because it congregates a variety of disadvantages or

vulnerabilities in particular individuals, families, and groups²⁵. Integrative as characteristic expresses that exclusion, like a relational process, is experienced by individuals, families, and collective as a unitary condition of life. In any case, these two characteristics of social exclusion are, for a number of reasons, just an analytical distinction, which in life experience of people appears as indistinguishable. European sociologist as well as urban sociologist seems to encounter a novel and pervasive social reality during the 80s. As stated by the sociologist Hartmut Rosa, this situation brings up, for the first time in Germany after the Second World War, that a generation will not improve its life conditions in comparison with their parents, neither will they just meet them (Dörre et al. 2009). Considering all this evidence, it is not difficult to imagine the shock experience by social scientist, but also in common people, when increasing exclusion threatens the traditional means of European social integration, as are: work, union, company, and State.

Nevertheless, the theoretical model of social exclusion emergence, especially in its most constrained spatio-temporal formulation to Europe, does not seem to fit facts experienced, for more than half of a century in other regions of the world. In other formulation, social exclusion could not be reduced to the European experience because in other regions similar obstacles for social integration are researched for more than five decades. If the European model of exclusion ever did something then it was to express resolutely the astonishment faced by the European most developed economies observing the erosion of their particular model of social integration. But no other society, within its own history, has faced the bleakness of its own incapacity to produce social integration? Social exclusion as a general sociological concept cannot be bounded to a particular historical process and even more, cannot be bounded to the historical events of a particular region. It is just an epistemological oversight to match social concepts and particular historical processes. Therefore, the accurate sociological question is to elucidate the conditions under which a specific phenomenon falls within the category of social exclusion or not. This requirement, apparently, does not congregate much sociological attention in European social science reflection²⁶.

²⁵ Here, there is a similarity to the notion of intersectionality proposed mainly in gender and ethnic studies.

²⁶This sort of oversight is possible to describe for the theories of modernity, which equate modernization to the particular institutional arrangement emerged in Western Europe and North America. A more detailed explanation is delivered in chapter 3, and the alternatives to this shortsighted perspective are found in Cornelius Castoriadis, Peter Wagner, and Shmuel Eisenstadt (2002). In a similar vein, this problem is also present in the theory of ecological modernization, which matches this notion to the historical process and the specific environmental policies emerging in Europe at the middle of the 80s, see specially, Arthur Mol et al. (2009). A third example could be found in the notion of individuals and the possibility to find them beyond the “enlightened modernity”. In each case, European authors present in the regional historical –institutional-arrangement, as the referent of the abstract social phenomenon in a sort of yardstick to measure the deviance of each case with the ideal type presented in Europe.

Under which condition and to which extent it is possible to talk about socio-urban exclusion in other historical, geographical, cultural, and social contexts different to Europe and North America are two essential questions. What are the conditions of possibility to encounter and name social exclusion in different social constellation and institutional arrangement are inquiries not researched systematically in urban sociology. Such inquiries, however, are not ordinarily arising out of thin air, neither are they self-evident. Rather they need to confront a particular formulation to assert, precisely, its advantages and disadvantages. This task is rarely easy, but here, I will propose a possible argumentation.

The social and socio-urban exclusion in Europe is connected with global economic transformation and the reorientation of the State action. Without any doubt European socio-urban exclusion is an emergent social condition inside a society characterized by a post-Fordist mode of regulation, post-industrial economic orientation, or a late modernity marked by the dissolution of classic integrative institution and the emergence of social risks. But this cannot be the case in all regions of the world, because industrialization was not reached to all its extent, Fordism regulates a very small amount of the production, and Western modern institutions have not been created at all –in many places. Nonetheless, we may agree that social exclusion could be found, at different levels and with different intensities in every region of the world.

Multidimensional and integrative conditions of social exclusion, leading to tensioned and even polarized social organization have been present outside of Western society since more than half a century. Then the question is: How do we conceptualize these social realities? Could it be possible to use the notion of socio-urban exclusion? Do they represent just a simple form of social inequalities? Are they only “old social problems”? In my opinion the answer is no. There are social constellations marked by historical concretions of socio-urban exclusion. Yet some clarification about the relevance of this debate for urban sociology is absolutely necessary.

My goal is to understand socio-urban exclusion in the Latin American context by revealing both its theoretical roots in the regional social science of the 70s and its non-thematized yet persistent presence in the last four decades. In doing so, I hope to shed some light on the notion of socio-urban exclusion itself. This section has been an intention to address the theoretical existence, theoretically and factually, of exclusion beyond the western framework. If this task, rarely easy, is possible, then there is a solid ground to advance a particular interpretation of the urban sociology explored in Latin America during the end of

the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s in the light of socio-urban exclusion. And at the same time, to converge what is considered Marxist perspective on urban social movements with an orientation based in individuals. Socio-urban exclusion may inform not only social trends of polarization, but also and more importantly, from my perspective, life conditions of real people within vast social constellations with low capability to integrate and strong capacity to exclude.

This argumentative line does not show a great distance to the emergence of the individual sociology in the French sociology. As it will be presented in Chapter two the rise of individual is based on the losing relevance of integrative institutions, which is another way to say, that the turn to the individual has its roots in an increasing social exclusion. Both situations make individual life much relevant, for the good and the bad. If it is possible to argue that socio-urban exclusion was already present in the common life of the Latin American people during the 1970s, then it would also be possible to postulate the existence of nascent, but not concretized, individual perspective in its urban sociology. Again, it is very important, to consider this argumentation not as fixed or absolute. The intention is to develop a heuristic devise to conduct theoretical research, which I judge, is very useful in organizing the epistemic bases of my research and to inform about the major sociological portrait in which my empirical case studies are placed.

But, if there have been recurrent and persistent forms of relegation in different societies, multidimensional and also integrative experience of exclusion, and they lead to polarized social arrangements in terms of belonging and rejection, then: why only in Europe between the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s is it possible to talk about social exclusion? Moreover, why only when societies shift its productive structures to a basic form of post-Fordism then is it possible to argue the existence of social exclusion? I will rephrase four simple explanations of the reasons behind the strong connection between social exclusion and the social arrangement in developed countries: i) social exclusion requires the existence of regions embedded in a global economic restructuring; ii) these regions may be part of a running process of deindustrialization; iii) social exclusion may not be applicable to places without prior welfare State regulation; and iv) social exclusion requires from “individuals”-autonomous and self-determined- experiencing this phenomenon. All four conditions are phenomena only and fully materialized in Western societies. But similar situation have been influencing Latin American history since the end of the 40s. I will explain some convergence

between European preconditions of social exclusion and Latin American experience in the following paragraphs.

First I will address the preconditions of incorporation into a globalized market and the post-Fordist structure of society. On the one hand, references to global market, uneven structure of interchange, center and periphery notion to characterize what Fernand Braudel (1985 [1986]) calls *Weltwirtschaft* (an integrated world economy) are part of the Latin American vocabulary since the 1950s onwards. If globalized economy is a prerequisite of social exclusion then this condition allows the inclusion of more regions and periods under the notion of exclusion. Moreover, it is not less surprising to observe in Latin American text close to ECLAC during the 1960s and the 1970s a very lucid use of the notion of globalization with its most contemporary characteristic²⁷. On the other hand, post-Fordist structures of economic organization are not the center of social exclusion as a problem, therefore, they cannot be considered as a necessary nor sufficient condition. The main problem of social exclusion is deindustrialization, which left a large number of the population unemployed and with a marginal or non-existing social integration. Making the argument more explicit, the problem of exclusion is not experienced by a CEO employed in the third sector, but no one could deny its conditions as part of the post-fordist social structure. The problem is the industrial worker –qualified or non-qualified- who could not get integration through work as the same happens for his or her family. This is the social group, in a post-Fordist society, which suffers from exclusion. As will be discussed in Chapter three, this condition of deficient inclusion, in the urban and social realm, was pretty much the same phenomenon studied by Latin American marginality theory. With the intention to not duplicate the argument here and in the following chapters, I will simply state that during the first half of the 20th century, in the southern Cone –Argentina and Chile - the labor crisis in agriculture production for the former and in saltpeter extraction for the latter, is comparable to the deindustrialization process, specifically, in the large amount of population excluded from work and therefore from some sort of social integration. To this historical fact, it is possible to add the failure of the State project of internal industrialization and what some historians have called pseudo-welfare States. These two situations are persistence experiences in Latin American social history and are accountable for persistent condition of social exclusion. This evidences are traced to show how the lines that tie up social exclusion and post-Fordist society are diffused (see Chapter three). Similar conditions to the one experienced by

²⁷ See the references to the theory of marginality in Chapter 3

European workers in the deindustrialization process are present in other contexts, and also based in a strong reorganization of international market.

For the last case, to confront the existence – or not - of individuals beyond the limits of the modern western society is a more complex task. Delivered in chapter two is a brief reference to the work of Danilo Martuccelli precisely in this topic. Indeed for some writers this consideration – the existence of autonomous individuals - is crucial to understanding exclusion as an experience-able condition. To solve this problematic condition, some knowledge about urban sociology in Latin America to clarify if there was some research close to what would be called subjectivation or individualization today is clearly required²⁸. A better answer would be proposed in the next section about the existence of a distinctive urban sociology in Latin America based on urban social movements. Now, it is possible to highlight how some research focus, during the 1960s and the 1970s in our region, concerned with grassroots movements (movimiento de pobladores), were indeed empirical researches about the emergence of a specific social actor in Chilean society, what is very much close to what today is understood under the notion of subjectivation.

Another subject that attracts attention was the emergence of the so-called “campamentos” in the Chilean case²⁹. Researchers were analyzing their emergence, social organization and territory construction, which could be considered very much close to what today could be called “territorialization” studies.

Urban sociology analysis developed in Latin America, in the first years of the 70s and before the rise in civil-military dictatorships, with focus on the urban social movements, and under the influence of the two major Latin American sociological theories: dependency and marginality, contains the roots of an urban sociology with focus on individuals and their capacity to transform social institutions and territorialize. Due to dramatic political constraints, researchers were no longer able to research a dismantled reality by political repression, therefore, these studies remains as an incomplete project. The Latin American

²⁸ The concepts are used with reference to the French subjectivation and individuation, at the moment it is not relevant to trace the difference between both, but to observe weather the search for the constitutive logic of the subject were present in Latin American social and urban research.

²⁹ “Campamentos” may be translated to English as informal settlements, but this interpretation does not shows the social organization behind the process. In the Chilean case at the end of the 1960s the housing deficit and the pressure for housing solution arrived at a critical level. A growing population coming from the countryside, but also from the saltpeter crisis starts to live in the urban fringes of every big city. In this context, social movements where highly organized to take a territory and initiate a process of occupancy. This claim for urban integration and housing solution in a communitarian perspective as a political demand, attracted the attention international researchers. Until today “las tomas de terreno” y los “campamentos” are playing an important role in the national socio-political debate.

chapter of urban sociology does not play a major role in the urban sociology handbooks³⁰, but it was the point of convergence of highly relevant sociological theories, which established an intensive dialogue with urban reality. Latin American urban sociology chapter is missing from the historical account of the sub-discipline. To write this chapter is not an embraceable task for this thesis, but to raise the question has become a duty. My purpose for the following section of this chapter is to look critically, uncovering and assessing, how an individual perspective was an underlying assumption within Latin American urban sociology concerned with urban social movements. In doing so, some connection must be proposed between social movements, social actors, and action theory as well as individual perspective.

Agency and action in Latin American urban milieus explored under the notion of urban social movements

Manuel Castells in the conclusion of his compilation “The Castells Reader on Cities and Social Theory” edited by Ida Susser (2002) recovers an old question in his career: “*Is there an urban sociology?*” The question was first presented in a French publication on the Journal “*Sociologie du travail*” under the title “*Y a-t-il une sociologie urbaine?*” (Castells 1968) while he was appointed as assistance professor at University of Paris. In year 2000 Castells uses the same question to highlight the current state of affair, provoking, as well as was in 1968, the academic field with the condition of possibilities of the sub-discipline (Zukin 2011)³¹. The conclusion in 2000 is severe: “yes, there was, no, there is currently not: but perhaps with luck, it will resurge in the twenty-first century” (Castells 2002: 390).

In this section I deliver a similar question, not with the intention to provoke surprise in the academic field, but with the aim to open a debate about what was happening in Latin America sub-discipline between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. There was a specific variant of urban sociology in Latin America in that period? My interest with this inquiry, is to discuss whether the particular conditions in the regional research at that moment are enough to consider itself as something distinctive in the international context or not. Of course, I am very much aware of the extent of this question that could easily amount for a whole book. Nevertheless, I consider it relevant to disclose, from a general perspective some of these issues, which allows me to ask for the individual perspective in general urban

³⁰ To not consider an explicit reference to the Latin American urban sociology is almost expectable in North American and European compilation, what is surprising is the low relevance given to Manuel Castells’ studies on urban sociology before the publication of “The city and the grassroots: a cross-cultural theory of urban social movements” (1983), which may be considered the last of his publication on this topic.

³¹ “In 1968, a year well known for anti-establishment uprisings, the young sociologist Manuel Castells issued his own provocation. He published an essay, “Is There An Urban Sociology?,” in a new French journal, asking whether urban sociology is, or could ever be, a scientific field of inquiry [Castells 1968, 72-90]” (Zukin 2011: 1).

sociology and particularly for the Latin American case. Therefore my major question in this section is for the distinctive condition of the urban sociology in Latin America between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. Specific question is whether the empirical emphasis in the urban social movements (*movimiento de pobladores*) in those years, could be, nowadays, connected with a reflection on the urban sociology from the individual agency perspective. The relevance of this inquiry in theoretical terms is to connect the discussion to the broad discussion presented in this chapter on the topics of agency-structure based explanation and socio-urban exclusion with a specific form of urban sociology inquiry based in the individuals. At the same time this concern with Latin American urban social movements allows me to place, or try to place, my empirical research in a tradition of research focused with the intensified forms of urban and social exclusion in Chile and the region.

Then, why introduce this reflection with reference on Manuel Castells work on urban sociology? The answer is not complex at all, because the Spanish sociologist was part of Latin American incipient research project on social movements, which although short-lived, influence Castells writing until half of the 1980s when he published "*The City and the Grassroots*" (1983). Having a brief look on history, Castells was in different moments, between 1968 and 1972, on fellowships in Chile. First, at "Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales" (FACSO) and then, at "Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile en el Centro Interdisciplinario de Desarrollo Urbano" (CIDU). He also was advisor to President Salvador Allende's government at that period.

Castells made important part of his research about urban social movements in the Chilean context and within the support of the abovementioned institutions. From that period were the book: "*Luttes urbains et pouvoir politique*" [*Movimientos sociales urbanos*] (1973 [1974]), and the articles published in *Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbanos (EURE)*: "*El mito de la cultura urbana*" (1971) and "*Movimiento de pobladores y lucha de clases en Chile*" (1973). All these works in close collaboration with Latin American scholars, who were direct participant or directly influenced by the two major theoretical perspectives developed in the region: the dependency theory and the marginality theory. Revista EURE was a place for encounter and dialogue of all these perspectives until Chilean coup d'état prevented its further growth, letting in an unfinished condition of the marginality theory and also, strongly repressing every urban social movement and political opposition, category, which unfortunately applied to many social researchers.

My argument in this section proposes that Latin American concern with urban social movements is not entirely contained in a Marxist approach to urban sociology and in addition, it is possible to find some roots connected with a contemporary individual perspective on urban sociology. Thereafter, the structure of the sections offers some evidence to the non-Marxist dimension of Latin American urban social movements research and some possible connection of Latin American urban social movements research with action theory and individual agency.

Coming back to Castells and by observing his writing in “Conclusion, urban sociology in the twenty-first century” (Susser 2002), it is possible to highlight some criteria to describe what may be preconditions for urban sociology as sub-discipline in his approach. Again it is very important to warn readers; here my intention is not to open an extensive “epistemological” discussion about sociology, sciences, and the interconnection among research objects and research methods³². The aim is much simpler and, as I stated above seeks to offer some evidences to sustain that the institutional space around urban research existing in Santiago de Chile between the ends of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s had some uniqueness. Trying to make clearer the argumentative line of the section, three questions are proposed: i) which criteria allows us to distinguish the emergence of urban sociology, ii) which role does the urban social movements in the Latin American urban sociology play, and iii) how urban social movement differs from Marxist perspective and approaches the individuals’ life.

Castells realizes, as many other authors, that urban sociology has always been particularly connected with general social sciences theorization. This apparently obvious condition of urban sociology, it may be represented as a fundamental commitment to “making sense” of the social constellation in which urban phenomena is inscribed. This is the first criterion of urban sociology emergence. The second is to engage, from one way or another, what may be generally referred to as the actor experience inside urban life. This second criterion is not so self-evident and seems to be straightforwardly connected with an individual perspective. I do not think so; requirement of a social actor within the urban realm is not synonymous with individual perspective. The following quotes will clarify the meaning of this conceptualization. I remark that by doing a singular interpretation of Castells writing I state

³² Restricting the research to the above-mentioned aim does not imply considering the question for the scientific status of urban sociology as irrelevant. Here it becomes useful to quote the words of Pickvance: “the importance of this two essays [*Is there an urban sociology* and *Theory and ideology in urban sociology*] is rather an insistence that the question of the scientific status of urban sociology cannot be aside as irrelevant, and that its precise status must be determined, since if it is not scientific the field must be reformulated or else denounced” (1976: 3).

urban sociology as a sub-discipline fulfilling two requirements: i) to make sense of the social constellations influencing urban life, ii) to focus on the struggle conditions of urban actors³³. Again, it is important to emphasize that this theoretical analysis is directly informing my way to approaching theoretical and empirical, an individual perspective in urban sociology.

Castells observed these two preconditions for the case of the Chicago school, the French new urban sociology, and an urban sociology in the context of an information society. When referring to Chicago School analysis he states: “sociologists were dealing with the central problem of American society at the time: how to make a society out of a collection of disparate communities and competitive individuals fighting for survival” (2002: 391). Similarly, he describes the general social context in which the question of urban sociology “makes sense” during the 1960s and the 1970s: “[at this period] social problems in general, and urban issues in particular, were very different from those that gave birth to the Chicago School. Social/cultural integration was not the issue any longer. The struggle over the control and orientations of an urban-industrial society was not at the forefront of urban problems. Furthermore, new social movements were arising, challenging the very notion of development and industrialization, calling for the pre-eminence of human experience over economic growth and for new forms of relationship between society and nature” (ibid). In both quotations it is clear the reference that urban sociology should make to a general social constellations. Furthermore, when he refers to the current crisis of urban sociology one reason given is related to a poor understanding of current condition of information society: “The *new urban sociology* became obsolete vis-à-vis its new urban context, marked by early stages of the Information Age, just as the Chicago School had become obsolete in relation to the mature industrial society. The lack of excitement of both students and intellectuals vis-à-vis urban sociology reflects an understanding of the exhaustion of its sources of inspirations from the challenges happening in the real world” (ibid: 393).

In all these three examples, I see Castells concerned for an urban sociology capable to “makes sense” of its societal constellation. Furthermore, crisis in the sub-discipline are explained, in a major amount, by problems with the ability of explanatory devices to get adapted to novel social constellations. Castells connected French new urban sociology with a refreshing understanding of a mature industrial society, and in this sense he established:

³³ Every account on urban sociology and definition of schools of thought consider this preconditions and develop a narrative about its continuities and discontinuities. Major disagreements are in the accuracy of this definitions, because a social constellations from one is just an ideology for the other, as what is an actor for one, may be consider as secondary for others. In this sense, see particularly Castells paper: “*El mito de la cultura urbana*” (1971)

“However, for reason that historian of knowledge will explore someday, during the 1970s, the field of urban sociology was strongly revitalized by the so called “new urban sociology” school, which originated in France, essentially around the works of two individuals who were in sharp intellectual disagreement: the great Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1968), and myself. The new urban sociology, which was never a unified school of thoughts, was built around four major themes, two introduced by the first theorist, the other two by the second. The first two themes [...] were the production of space and the right to the city [...] The two other critical themes [...] were built on the notions of collective consumption and urban social movements” (ibid: 392). For my argumentation it is important to emphasize that Castells makes part from the Latin American urban sociology based in the research of urban social movements, but he explicitly ascribe to French new urban sociology. At the same time, Castells gives the “Marxist” adjective to Lefebvre but he does not use it to describe himself.

Trying to make sense of the second precondition for urban sociology concerned with actors in urban contexts, it is possible to highlight two passages. The first is to shed light on Castells’ reflection of human experience in urban contexts when he addresses the possibilities of a novel urban sociology “But perhaps, with luck, it will resurge in the twenty-first century, with new concepts, new methods, and new themes, because is more necessary than ever to make sense of our lives –which will be lived, for the large majority of people, in urban areas of some sort” (ibid: 390). This reflection brings peoples’ life to a central position in urban life. And it is as thus remarked when he describes urban social movements as fighting to recover the “pre-eminence of human experience” over economic growth (ibid: 391). These two considerations are not enough for discussing the individual perspective, but highlights clearly, the social actor as fundamental for urban sociology. Castells in this case, and perhaps as the same as Marx, is in a breaking point between social and individual levels of explanation³⁴. Human “alienation” produced by capitalistic forms of production or by capitalistic urban order, is at the same time an extended condition of a social class as well as an indefectible individual experience.

The second reference we find at the end of the conclusions of the book “*Luttes urbaines et pouvoir politique*” (1973 [1974]) and it begins with an unconventional sentence “It is therefore logical that our last word stays out of this text and it does not belong to us. Because urban social movements are not only a research topic. They born and developed in daily

³⁴ Supporting this idea, it is possible to address the book of Karl Löwith “Max Weber and Karl Marx” (1982), in which he express some sort of coincidence in both authors philosophical anthropology, especially in regard to humans beings.

events, posing new problems and throwing new challenges in a shout of life and fight covering urban myths technocratic rationality. A shout recalling that the urban power is in the street”³⁵ (1973 [1974]: 116). Castells’ task has been set by himself as twofold: On one side to catch what could be for scientific relevance on urban social formations, aside from the ideological illusion. On the other, to cast light on the unfolding drama, with both hope and fear, lived by so many people belonging to the emerging social movements all around the world³⁶. In this last sense, Castells was aware of authoritarian regimes power and he knew, by own experience, that social and political struggle are not from a safer upcoming. He states for the Chilean case: “Trenches of people in defense of their revolution or heroic remembrances condemned to be lost in memory [...] Chilean “campamentos de pobladores”, whatever their faith will be, they are a unique experience of political fight and a challenge to the old urban order”³⁷

Castells’s accounts on urban social movements is by far the larger intercultural research on this topic; therefore, he could not be noted as representing Latin American orientation, moreover, his label of “mature industrial society” was and still is not applicable to describing the general social condition in the region, which, as I will propose in chapter three, was marked by i) the State’s unsuccessful intents of industrialization, ii) a dependent integration to international market, and iii) a large – excessive - amount of marginal people³⁸. The label “mature industrial society” is not describing, accurately, the situation of Latin America at that time, but Latin America produced major theories to explain its own social constellation which were concerned with: modernization, underdevelopment, and marginality. Observing urban research gathering by “Revista Latinoamericana de estudios urbanos y regionales” EURE, I found several examples of what I will describe as two distinctive types of research: i)

³⁵ Translation by the author from the Spanish text: “Por eso es lógico que nuestra última palabra esté fuera de este texto y no nos pertenezca. Porque los movimientos sociales urbanos no son exclusivamente un tema de investigación. Nacen y se desarrollan en los hechos cotidianos, planteando nuevos problemas y lanzando nuevos desafíos, en un grito de vida y de lucha que cubre los mitos tecnocráticos de la racionalidad urbana. Un grito que recuerda que el poder urbano está en la calle”

³⁶ In a similar vein Flanagan observe Warf account on Castells: “Warf finds conventional Marxism of little use [...] He applause Castells’s (1983) defection from Marxism to a generalized social movements approach”

³⁷ Translation by the author from the Spanish text: “Trincheras del pueblo en defensa de su revolución o recuerdo heroico destinado a perderse en la memoria [...] los campamentos de los pobladores chilenos habrán sido, cualquiera sea su suerte una experiencia de lucha política y de desafío al antiguo orden urbano”

³⁸ In his book “*Luttes urbains et pouvoir politique*” (1973 [1974]: 89) Castells, make a pejorative use of the word “marginal” as connected with a sort of State ideology that generally labels people as marginal with is not substantive differences inside the category. This situation makes not clear his connection with the marginal theory in the formulations of José Nun and Roger Vekemans. Here the extract in Spanish: “Semejante iniciativa no se destinaba solamente al lumpen-proletariado (bautizado con el nombre de “marginal” por la nueva ideología”), sino también a capas populares afectadas por la crisis de la vivienda, que incluían a obreros e incluso a empleados y pequeños funcionarios”. Nonetheless, this situation is not affecting the fact that urban research in Latin America at that time, was influenced by this general social reflection. Even more, marginal theory starts as an urban reflection (see chapter three).

empirical research in urban social movements, and ii) research about urban development in condition of dependency and marginality.

The first group of researches on urban social movements is characterized by two orientations. First, to gather empirical evidences to connect this phenomenon with traditional Marxist categories as: class consciousness, class struggle, political role, and so on. Second, to obtain empirical information to document on a daily base urban social movement's internal organization. It is important to retain that the Chilean case is presented by Castells as one archetypical case study; social movements are embedded within processes of illegal land occupation, therefore, they should organize inhabitant to resist police and at the same time to supply common goods and services. This line of research on Chilean "campamentos" has been maintained for decades as a very relevant social research topic, and reemerges after dictatorship. Castells work is a good example of how this two perspective are embraced by one single research. Franz Vanderschurer's research it is connected with the first cases. He conducted empirical research in social consciousness in Santiago grassroots (pobladores), and in the political relevance of emerging local-based organization (juntas de vecinos)³⁹. CIDU as research team may be connected with the second line, especially, because they try to observe what really, are the so-called "campamentos" as social organization, and to explore with more detail how their organization is different in social aspects as, for example, judiciary entity⁴⁰.

The second group of researches is connected with urban development in condition of dependency and marginality. Here we find Boisier (1972) "Industrialización, urbanización, polarización: hacia un enfoque unificado", Corragio (1973) "Polarización, desarrollo e integración", Cardoso (1971) "Consideraciones sobre el desarrollo de Sao Paulo", Gavan (1971) "Un enfoque integrado de la pobreza urbana", Quijano (1972) "La constitución del Mundo de la marginalidad urbana", Santos (1974) "Subdesarrollo y polos de crecimiento económico y social" among others. All these researches are using, explicitly or implicitly, dependency or marginality theories as theoretical frameworks.

From this two research orientations congregated under Revista EURE in the first three years of the 70s and before the Chilean coup d'état, it is possible to obtain two conclusions. First, Latin American urban sociology was strongly committed with urban social movements. In this sense, empirical work becomes a resource to achieve both political engagement and

³⁹ See Vanderschuren (1971a) "Pobladores y conciencia social" y "Significado político de las juntas de vecinos en poblaciones de Santiago" (1971b)

⁴⁰ It is possible to observe the convergence between CIDU research on the 1970s in Chilean "campamentos" and Wacquant notion of ghetto as "institutional duplication". See specially CIDU (1972a) "Reivindicación urbana y lucha política: los campamentos de pobladores en Santiago de Chile" and (1972b) "Pobladores y administración de justicia".

scientific objectivity. By scientific objectivity I simply refer the construction of empirical evidence on the *everyday structuration* of the social movements, borrowing the concept of structuration from Giddens's action theory. Second, Latin American urban sociology, even when it was under Marxist influences, developed a vast, rich, and sensible theoretical vocabulary to "confront" and "make sense" of its own social reality. A situation as such, has not been experienced in the region, since the early 70s. I will state, even when I cannot probe it completely, that dependence theory and marginal theory are both crossed by a subtle individual reference, which emerges in the notion of socio-urban exclusion. Exclusion seems to be loaded with individual references in every sentence that portrays people's lives in the Chilean "campamentos". Almost every researcher draws on these images, which are creating individual recognition, in the human, social, and political dimension, inside Latin American social sciences approach.

The prevalent theoretical perspective in social sciences during the 1970s was the Marxist approach. In a similar vein political economy from Marxist references gain place inside urban sociology by the 1970s. Latin American urban sociology was not out of this trend, but as was presented above was not completely embedded on it. In the following I will propose some theoretical keys to understand this perspective in a closer connection with action theory and human agency. The intention is not delivering a full account of this argument, but some insights that could be perused in future theoretical efforts.

In the works of Werlen (2012) and Flanagan (1993) Giddens's action theory is presented as sympathizing with Castells's approach. Werlen states that for Giddens, contemporary city becomes a fundamental element in social theory, in this sense his theory is in coincidence with Harvey, Lefebvre, and Castells (2012: 162). From this observation it is possible to deliver a formal connection between, for example, urban social movements and action theory, but not a substantive one.

Giddens introduces his understanding of time-space and his central concept of "regionalization," stating that "most social analysts treat time and space as mere environments of action and accept unthinkingly the conception of time, as measurable clock time, characteristic of modern Western culture" (Giddens 1986:110). Subsequently, Giddens (1986: 110) took a drastic position, arguing, "social scientists have failed to construct their thinking around the mode in which social systems are constituted across time-space". However, what would such failure comprise? In his initial attempts, and following Hägerstrand's time-geography concept, Giddens stresses that "routinized character of the

daily life” presents time and space as constraints to social action. From this point of departure, the notion of regionalization refers to zones “of time-space in relation to routinized practices” (1986:119). However, the intention of this section is not to discuss this approach in depth, but to point out that the development of action theory was a first attempt to conceptualize space and time’s capability to constrain action, and, in doing so, it reduces the possibility to account for actions’ ability to structure time and space. In other words, actions are regionalized to such an extent that they lose their power to regionalize. Thus, this discussion becomes relevant for my thesis because urban social movements are an emergent social actor, they territorialize, and they are making sense of the general social constellation in which they live, marked by large amounts of people living in conditions of social exclusion. These characteristics are an incipient description of an individual perspective in urban sociology, and allows me to inscribe my empirical research in this existing analytical field.

In his research project to develop action theory, Benno Werlen’s notion of “everyday life regionalization” helped fill the gap between the role of time and space in social action. He states: “[...] thus the bordering of spaces, in the broad sense, which should be seen as a means of everyday activities, never as their aim.” (Werlen 2004a: 47) and, in a more explicit formulation: “space is an element of action and not action an element of space, as a majority of geographical approaches – implicit or even explicitly – still claim” (2004a: 48).

The notion of everyday regionalization offers a high potential to re-engage research in line with urban social movement in Latin American urban sociology between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s from a contemporary perspective. This dialogue among different contextualized theoretical perspective may not be developed without critical considerations. Social urban movements were clearly not observed by an action-oriented perspective at that time, and many of the researchers involved in this work may not agree with linking both approaches. Even more so, there are not few social theorists that are against action theory for a sort of lack in political engagements. Here is not the place, neither the moment, to address this criticism. What seems to be relevant is a very small, yet extremely relevant coincidences: i) Latin American research on urban social movements has a strong focus on the constitution of social, political, economic, and physical space, that are very much close to the notion of “territorialization” presented in action-theory, and ii) in both perspectives, the type of action that constitutes space is rooted at the individual as well as collective level.

“Movimientos poblacionales” and “campamentos”, are both realities that require a particular type of action to create a novel social and spatial reality inside the city. Here, it is very important to recall Giddens’ reference to power stabilization and maintenance in city life, by its conditions of generating authoritative resources (Werlen 2012) or “power containers” (Flanagan 1993). Urban social movements challenge city authority, and following Castells (1973 [1974]) its emergence relays in the interaction between three components: i) the place of urban question in social structure, ii) the place of social group in class relations, and iii) the political and ideological characteristic of the organizations involved. Even though, these three conditions are not directly related to “action”, it is very plausible to use Werlen classification of “actions and space” to observe the “creative/productive” orientation of urban social movement within the city. Even when moving the argumentative line from Castells to Lefebvre, some outcomes may be obtained by using the scheme developed by Werlen with bases in Lefebvre type of spaces, to account for the social action deployed by urban social movements in the form of: spatial practices, representation of the space, and space of representation. This argumentation will be approached by my empirical research when observing biographical narratives of parent’s school decision. In this analysis the type of space enacted and reinforced by individual agency is not only the lived material space. The methodological approach is organized to highlight the expectation of the parents as well as the way in which they value the school institutional environments. Both dimensions are very close to the notions of “conceived and perceived” space.

Type of Practice	Type of Space
Spatial Practice	Lived Space
Representation of the Space	Conceived Space
Space of Representation	Perceived Space

Table 1: Practices and Space.

Source Werlen (2004a: 53) developed from Lefebvre (1991)

Behind every account on urban social movements in Latin America, there was a something that I will call a surplus of meaning connected with it: its political references, its action orientation, and its lived experiences. This abundance of meaning, or in other words just its exceeding “life” calls for novel analysis. One plausible perspective is rooted in individual perspective and the type of action deployed by urban social movements.

If for Giddens a central element of the capitalistic city is founded in space’s commodification, then urban social movements should be presented as porting a type of action that challenged the political-urban power. It is of major importance here to remember

the temporal coincidence between urban social movements in Chile and Salvador Allende governments, considered as the “democratic route to socialism”. In other words, traditional political-urban power was challenge by two fronts, and by this way, rules as well as norms were contested by grassroots’ orientations. A perspective based in structuration theory may help to re-engage individual agency inside this context. Thus, by not bringing a foreign interpretation to make sense on Latin American reality, yet with the intention to replenish the relevance of individuals inside the existing regional urban sociology. Flanagan addressing Giddens structuration theory proposes: “By starting with social structure as fixed component, and individuals as the adaptive components of the social order, sociology embarked on a path that for too long worked against the recognition that the social structure is actually reproduced by the action of individuals, just as individual action is reinforced and informed by social structure. Neither is prior” (1993: 140). Urban social movements from the very first moment are the type of action and the type of individual contesting the primacy of structures: urban, social, or even global.

Conclusion

The interpretation offered during this chapter seeks to make sense of a broad domain inside general urban sociological concerns. Special attention was given to the discussion about agency-structure based explanation, the temporality of transformation in socio-urban institutions, socio-urban exclusion in connection with the changing role of institution in extended temporal frameworks and urban social movements in Latin American urban sociology between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. These variety of discussions are relevant because they create an analytical framework in which the research of socio-urban exclusion from an individual perspective is not unusual. On the contrary, every discussion brings up theoretical considerations to place my empirical research in a specific branch of Latin American social sciences, and at the same time informs methodological orientation, which will be followed in the empirical case studies.

I introduced the discussion in this chapter by observing how in the perspective of many scholars it is not possible to talk of one and only urban sociology but a sort of multiplicity. If this is possible, it then becomes relevant to know which are the major continuities and discontinuities of paradigms along time. I do believe that roots urban social movements in a wide label of structural or Marxist oriented research is a shortcoming. The references to “social actors” as Castells calls the people engaged with urban social movements (1983) is a line of research that has some affinity with Marxist urban sociology, but only in its opposition

to the cultural variant exposed by the Chicago school, thus, by following Castells argumentation in “El mito de la cultura urbana” (1971). From another perspective, urban social movements have some closeness with individual perspective, but not in the people’s difficulty to integrate them into an ideological “urban culture”, again using words of Castells criticizing a cultural approach (ibid). Research in urban social movements is connected with individuals approach because they both emphasize forms of resistance to socio-urban exclusion as one major conflict in capitalistic societies. A difference relay that for an individual perspective inclusion as well as exclusion are both outcomes of individual agency over institutional environments.

Urban social movements get lost in a structural perspective concerned with spatial and economic restructuring (Brenner 2004 and 2009, Sassen 1991 [2001]). But also, urban social movements were dismantled – destroyed - by authoritarian regimes and neo-liberal politics. My arguments stays that structural orientation are not allowing observation of the creative capability of individual agency. This structural perspective, in the better case, reduces the role of agency to merely account for the local differences and deviance in relation to global paths and trends. Confronting this common standpoint was the main focus of the explanation in the first section of this chapter “Re-engaging the losing role played by social actors in the city’s life”. In order to gain a place for individual agency perspective in urban sociology it is required to search for other theoretical roots besides the traditional, political, economic approach (Flanagan 1993).

Latin American urban sociology represents not only an alternative for structural urban sociology, but also a contribution to the understanding of social exclusion and socio-urban exclusion in a different context outside the orbit of developed countries. The second section of this chapter addresses the preconditions of the broadly labeled “European” research on urban and social exclusion and probes the capabilities to use the concept besides its geographical and temporal framework. The last section concentrates the analysis in the pre-requisite to describe the urban sociology emergence, and in this sense, it proposes a twofold reference: i) to the general social constellations in which the urban phenomenon appears, and ii) the identification of a social actors in relation with urban organization of life.

This very simple conceptualization, allows me to argue that Latin American urban sociology was based on an original description of the social context in which the regional urban phenomenon was embedded, that is, the dependency theory and the marginality theory. By this way, Latin American variant did not borrow general social theorization from outside.

The focus on the urban social movements is perhaps – even shortly in time - the most exhaustive inquiry on the daily-based organization of this social and urban actor in conditions of marginality and dependency that I consider very much close to socio-urban exclusion. Latin American urban sociology was driven by a formidable desire to know, document, understand, and even transform reality. Thus, it exposes researcher to considerable risk and danger. Latin American urban sociology in the 1970s, was at the same time a scientific inquiry and a political commitment, it was empirical evidence as well as human recognition of marginalized people.

Every description made by social science of human life in the Chilean “campamentos” represents a sociological portrait of both the hope and fear that accompany every individual and collective attempt to transform their city that it is to a major extent their own world. This is the sociological orientation that I would like to engage in my work and the one that illuminates the empirical section of this thesis presented in chapters four, five, and six.

Chapter Two; Epistemic⁴¹ Perspective and Methodological Considerations. Socio-Urban Exclusion in The Relation Between Individuals and Social Institutions

Overview: Chapter two is devoted to describing my approach to the analytical relation between socio-urban exclusion and the social institutions of the city from an individual perspective. In a main orientation, I will develop some theoretical as well as methodological consideration that allows me to embrace the empirical research from this standpoint. The argument suggests that socio-urban institutions have been losing their integrative capability and are gradually becoming vehicles of exclusion. As an analytical premise for empirical research, it is assumed that this institutional transformation is accountable for the increasing levels of relegation and enclosure within the city.

The argument will be clarified by observing how institutions become the objects and the places for collective as well as individual practices of exclusion. In other words, city's institutions have been altered by the agency capability of individuals, which are actively seeking for selective forms of inclusion and exclusion. There are three underlying goals of this chapter: i) to set institutions in relation primarily with individual representations and practices, ii) to question the evident connection between social institutions and structural trends, and iii) to describe the particularity of the individual approach considered in my proposal

As a conclusion to the chapter, the "turn to the individual" is presented as a plausible perspective with which to engage socio-urban exclusion by the analysis of the relation between individuals and social institutions in the city. The methodological approach is explained at the outset of this account describing a multi-methods perspective, which gradually focuses its analysis on how representation and practices deployed at an individual bases becomes legitimated procedures in socio-urban institutional environments. Three levels of analysis organized as complementary case studies are described: i) a territorial perspective to address the form, extension, and intensity of socio-urban exclusion in Santiago, ii) the family strategies of school selection are presented as individual orientation for action and its impacts are noted in a stable form of socio-urban exclusion, and iii) the temporal dimension contained in selective forms of socio-urban exclusion-inclusion in an intergeneration process is presented under the form of an autoethnography. I believe, that only by making visible individual representation and practices of exclusion, will urban sociology properly address the weight that city imposes over its inhabitants at an everyday basis.

⁴¹ The word epistemic is used to address the intention to search a particular perspective in the production of knowledge within the topic of socio-urban exclusion. It could be used a major reference to epistemological perspective, but this implies a reflection scope that by far exceeds the intention of the chapter.

Introduction

Social exclusion is a situation that is experienced and felt. Social exclusion involves people and makes them participate in its realization, either by exercising it or by suffering from it. There are people that at a certain moment and in certain situations exert practices of exclusion, but this does not imply that they cannot become its target. Nevertheless, there are some persons and some groups that seem to be persistently on one side of the relation only.

The most significant aspect of social exclusion is its continuity, meaning, its capability to weave different aspects of social life in a unitary condition. Social exclusion is not only the result of broad economic changes, even when we are wont to acknowledge that crises in international markets impact strongly in the integrative capability of societies. For example, the last financial crisis brought many people and families into poverty and intensifies exclusionary trends. However, we also know that exclusion is not primarily a condition at the aggregated level of society, yet it is something that affects real people and their everyday lives. If thereby we felt the weight of the exclusion, it is registered in our ordinary lives and in a specific moment easy to remember. But again, experiencing exclusion is not just a private issue or an intimate trouble. Even when its bases are in everyday life relationships, it always calls for social attention, for political measures, and collective demands.

Important, if not central, to describe the experience of social exclusion in its urban variant, but presumably in every aspect of its expressions, is to approach the places of encounter between individuals and society. Social agencies, organization and institutions in most cases are the clearest mirrors in which individuals confront the chances to sense integration, relegation, inclusion or exclusion. Individuals are always in contact with these mediating institutions and through them, with the social roles enacting exclusion-inclusion practices. A police officer in an excluded neighborhood or in a border control could trigger the feeling of uncertainty or safety in youths. A schoolteacher could warmly communicate belonging or hint refusal in children. Social institutions matter because all people may come into contact with them, and this contact is always bidirectional from institutions to people and vice versa. I could represent social relations connected with exclusion as some sort of issue that has been woven by many and recurrent interactions, thus, between different peoples and during extended temporal processes. The notions of biographical trajectories, that inform the empirical approach in chapter 5 and 6, catch the temporal condition of socio-urban exclusion in the relations deployed between individuals and institutions.

Someone that experiences exclusion may want to avoid these situations with their children and in so doing, may deploy forms of self-relegation that brings up more exclusion. Some people may not live any clear experience of exclusion in their life trajectory, but in pursuing certain types of social belonging and integration, they are willing to accept it and are thus resigned to different degrees of exclusion. In a sense we are all aware that socio-urban exclusion constitutes parts of everyday relations, and it is consequently revealed by the choices people make daily, yet at the same time, research projects approaching this quotidian level remain partially absent.

In the case of Chile, and as it will be addressed in the empirical part of this research, social measures to confront exclusion in the school institution are only offering actions over the structural level. Researchers in education and urban studies are equally driven by a powerful desire to change vulnerable conditions of people but they seem to forget the daily horizon of action and its powerful concretion. It is therefore possible to ask: if social exclusion lies at foundation of everyday experiences, why do researchers search for its causes and solutions, persistently, at the structural level of society? If the uses and forms of social exclusion are there just at our fingertips, why theoretically, does it seem easier to conceptualize causes and solutions in national or supranational conditions? Here, there is an important distinction to be made; causes are not the same as concretions. In this sense, it is possible to argue that causes of socio-urban exclusion may be found at the structural level – i.e. global trends - but its concretion are mostly visible around the relations between individual experience and social institutions.

The following chapter presents what may be called an unconventional methodological proposal, thus, because it focuses on discussing the epistemic perspective with which the research is oriented rather than offer close definitions of particular methods. The need to bring out a specific perspective to engage research in socio-urban exclusion originates in a central assumption, mentioned in the introduction: I do believe in the need to reconsider individual experience in the analysis of socio-urban transformations and explanations that are offered by urban sociology. This is not a requirement emerging from a total lack of “subjects” in urban sociology nor because of the usefulness of other approaches inside the sub-discipline. The individual’s perspective contains more than what has been reached within analysis of the individual adaptation to city – metropolitan - life, or within the embeddedness

of individuals in urban culture and underground spaces⁴².

In their explication of what “individual sociology”⁴³ is, Martuccelli and de Singly state: “few things define better the individual sociology than this accession to the *heroism of modern life* enunciated by Baudelaire”, afterwards they emphasize “it is useless to read the great social processes if one is unable to understand the people’s life: how they live, fight and face the world. More than just a simple analytical approach, which involves theory and specific methods, the individual sociology it is a sensitivity. Intellectual and existential.” (Martuccelli and de Singly 2012: 11)⁴⁴.

The sensitivity expressed above informs my intention to focus on the individual influence inside urban processes, thereby replenishing the agency capability to affect institutional environments. This perspective shows a sort of opposition to what is considered currently as the main target of contemporary urban sociology. According to Flanagan “To grasp and become comfortable with this tension between place and wider social processes is the first step in understanding the business of contemporary urban sociology” (Flanagan 1993: 3). In a similar vein, Sassen questions the new frontiers for urban sociology at the new millennium and goes on to answer that the “challenges arise out of the intersection of major macrosocial trends and their particular spatial patterns. The city and the metropolitan region emerge as one of the strategic sites where these macrosocial trends materialize and hence can be constituted as an object of study” (Sassen 2000: 143). Both quotation highlight a “contemporary urban sociology” concerned with a top-down orientation for research, in which the explanatory path goes from macro-structural process at the global level, which thereafter are territorialized in the urban dimension, and only afterwards do they impact peoples’ life.

When the word “opposition” is used as in the paragraph above, I want to emphasize that the specificity of every urban processes is not contained by how global tendencies become local. The perspective, which starts from the individual level, highlights how local concretions are in the first place organized around the relation between individual experience

⁴² Urban sociology within the Chicago school traditions is commonly considered as informing about an individual perspective. The reference of Simmel made in North America before the Second World War shows the interest for the coextensive construction of socialization and autonomy of individuals in urban environments. This is very much the same effort embraced by Wirth in “*Urbanism as a way of life*” (1938) The psychological adaptation to city life, yet observed as social conditions, was another perspective of analysis. Another way to address the individual in this tradition, was an incipient urban ethnography of the deviance in the city, approached generally by the “immigrants”, which could be from the inland or overseas, Afro-American or European. This observations are not addressing the individual capability to re-organize institutional environments in the middle and long-run and by this way sustain high levels of socio-urban exclusion in societies marked by a large and majoritarian portion of the population in conditions of marginality.

⁴³ The French term used originally by the authors is “*les sociologies de l'individu*”, which may remain clearer in the translation “the sociologies of the individuals”, nevertheless, in order to make the English easily legible is this form opted for: “individual’s sociologies”.

⁴⁴ Translation by the author

and their institutional environments. Here, the reference to individuals is not a sort of social staging; it is a different sensibility, which seeks to inform a specific form to perform the complementarity between macro and micro levels in sociological accounts. To advocate for the necessary interconnection among micro and macro levels, as it is today presented elsewhere, it is not accounting for all different possibilities of articulation between the two perspectives.

In my proposal, the articulation is clear and favors the individual perspective, which under specific conditions achieve the capability to influence institutional environments. When this process happens, in the middle and the long run, it then becomes possible to observe the extent, intensity, and form e.g. of socio-urban exclusion. The other way around, as proposed by the perspective based on globalization and re-structuration, discusses endlessly about the better explanation of the variability found in different case studies. The arrangements at the local level appears excessively variable to become the results of only a few global trends, and this variability grows as soon as i) the focus on the local is increased, ii) more variables are taken into account, and iii) more “details” are highlighted. The macro-perspective does not realize that the local specificity is only produced locally, even if the driving force comes from outside. Socio-urban exclusion in Chile shall be researched by stressing the social conditions and the specificity of the phenomenon in our society. From my perspective this specificity is approachable in the relation between individuals and social institutions⁴⁵.

Individual perspective around social institutions is not neglecting other perspective based on the subjective and micro condition of urban life, but differs greatly from those variants. In the first place, I start from an individual and from individuals’ groups, which from generations are already urban inhabitants. This condition is not the same that motivated by urban sociology at the beginning of the 20th century was concerned with people struggles for adaptation to a novel social setting. Secondly, individuals are not only constituted in their autonomy and socialization by institutions. Individuals under certain conditions are very actively (re) organizing the logic and orientation of social institutions. Finally, individuals live their social and urban life at the same time with hope and anguish. From these sensible conditions of life, or in another image, over these sensible conditions, orientation for action and interpretation are enacted in processes that rearticulate subjectivities and redefine socio-cultural context. These three assumptions are a partial way, but a good summary, to

⁴⁵ Advocating for the relevance of individual level, I could use the following metaphor, that I do believe is used by system theory when explain the definition of structural determination: “The wood is burning in the way that wood burns and not as metal, plastic or liquids”

describing what I will posit for the individual perspective in the following sections.

Coming back to the “individual sociology” proposed by Martuccelli and de Singly, they describe this novel approach as a way to support a sociology that is not only concerned with the greatest events of the world but which bears witness to what is occurring with people out there, out on the street (ibid: 10-11). This is the turn that I propose in my theoretical as well as methodological perspective to study socio-urban exclusion. The intention is to research the transformation in the city by observing how institutions are (re) shaped by the agency capability that every individual can exert within extended temporalities. In the following section, I address two main issues in order to clarify the methodological orientation: i) to set institutions primarily in relation with individual representations and practices, ii) to describe the particularity of the individual perspective considered in theoretical and empirical approach to socio-urban exclusion. After that the methodological perspective used for the three case studies that together construct the empirical part of the thesis will be explained: i) a territorial analysis to address the form, extension, and intensity of socio-urban exclusion in Santiago, ii) family biographies to address the way in which parents select the school for children and the impacts that this decision have on the capacity of the school institution to produce socio urban-exclusion, and iii) the temporal dimension contained in selective forms of socio-urban exclusion-inclusion in an intergeneration process, presented under the form of an autoethnography.

Individual institutionalism as a social science requirement

To displace the focus of research in urban sociology to individual relations with and within social institution, it requires the addressing of some general transformations in contemporary society. With this sentence I am not proposing that there has been no approaches to the individual level in urban sociology, but as was presented in the section above, I want to emphasize the differences. The reliance of urban social theory on big processes - wide spatialities and long temporalities - has profound roots and proposing a shift to the individual is by no mean self-evident. Furthermore, making sense of this shift in the theoretical perspective and methodological approach requires demonstrating the research yields gained from a perspective based in the relation between individuals and institutional environments.

There are not just a few researchers, who have approached the transformation in contemporary societies as a “passage” from first modernity to second modernity, from strong institutional arrangements to unclear life trajectories, to classic modernity to a reflexive one.

The main cultural transformation has been conceptualized as the “end of grand narratives or meta-narratives” (Lyotard 1979)⁴⁶. The same has been explained, from a less radical perspective as the “losing belief in progress” (Pooper 1956, Iggers 1965). This cultural transformation runs together with two major changes in the social sphere: i) the decline in the significance given to social institutions, and ii) the rise of relevance given to the individual and its singularity. Both processes go together and are proposed, elsewhere, in connection with the losing capability of social institutions to generate integration. Losing preponderance of institutions implies individuals’ challenges and as every contest indicates, it may lead to success or failure. “Becoming individual” in words of Lash (2002), is by no means an assured initiative. Institutions are not pressing to the individuals with the same power than before, but individuals are not constructed beyond the reach of social institutions. These conditions, that at first sight resound as paradoxical is not ambiguous, because, a turn to the individual is a shift to what de Singly and Martuccelli define as “institutional individualism” (Martuccelli and de Singly 2012).

Institutional individualism engages the notion of becoming individual as rooted in social process, avoiding the so-called “methodological individualism”, which represents singular persons, constituted beyond society relations, and moved only by self-interest. Using the reference to Talcott Parson offered in the work of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, de Singly and Martuccelli exemplify the turn to individual as: “the central institutions of modern society - civil, political, and social rights, but also wage, employment, training and mobility - are directed toward the individual and not to the group” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: xxi-xxii)⁴⁷. In the explanation offered by the French and the Peruvian scholars, the second modernity implies the erosion of the intermediary institutions but not a gain in the individuals’ freedom. “Individuals are involved in other [different] “historical process of societization”⁴⁸, they produce their own self by using other element [...] imprisoned in this institutional individualism, man and woman, adults or young, they must search for biographical solutions to contradictions” (ibid: 33). With this statement the meaning of turning to individual in social sciences becomes clear. Turning to individuals is the social sciences response to a novel social constellation, or as the authors state: a novel form to make a society.

⁴⁶ Actually the end of meta-narratives is presented as characteristic of the postmodern conditions, nevertheless, this is not the place to discuss whether the cultural change is post-modern or radicalized modernity. I engage, for the sake of simplicity, the second variant.

⁴⁷ Translation by the author

⁴⁸ The expression used by the authors is not socialization as the traditional sociological concept. On the contrary it express “societización” –in Spanish Language- as the becoming involved in society

But, is it possible to engage this perspective in the study of empirical processes inside historical as well as geographical contexts beyond developed countries? In the interpretation of some scholars, second modernity requires the development of the institutional arrangements of first modernity. This interpretation challenges the explanatory capability of “turn to the individual” in Latin America. This discussion will be addressed in depth in chapter three. At that moment, we confront the European theories of modernity with the contemporary reflection about modernity in Latin America. In the perspective of Latin American scholar, institutional arrangements organized by European modernity are not necessary and are neither sufficient condition to identify modernity. On the contrary, what should be consistent in different modernities are the social responses to the modern requirements of autonomy and control. Following the proposal of Larraín based on the conceptualization of Cornelius Castoriadis and Peter Wagner, it is perfectly possible to talk about modernity as being one and multiple at the same time (Larraín 2011: 13). This implies the recognition of modernity and even a second modernity in our region.

In order to avoid an uncritical use of theories and concepts born in specific cultural and other social contexts such as Latin America, a few considerations are in order. First, “individual sociology” as presented by Martuccelli and de Singer is not a reflection about social processes in the European context. Danilo Martuccelli, born in Latin America, has been engaged in depth in the project to describe the emergence of individual beyond the reach of European modernity. Several books, papers, and interviews testify to this endeavor. For example, in his book “Existen individuos en el Sur”⁴⁹ the author sustains that the individual is never the foundation of the society, but the outcome of a specific mode to make society (Martuccelli 2010). This perspective allows a reconsideration of the Latin American past from a perspective which gives centrality to the individual. In an interview given in Chile, the author states that it is imperative to do a sociology focus on individual experience. Above all, it is a requirement to singularize the sociological interpretation, because that it is performed in the world in which people live. “Sociology should sooner or later, show how subjective experiences are explained by structural processes” (Martinic and Soto, interview with Danilo Martuccelli 2010: 6)

All this references show that the social science requirements of “turning towards individuals”, is perfectly applicable in Latin America because it is not a need derived from a particular “modern European trajectory”, contrarily, it is contained in a novel form of making

⁴⁹ The title in English would be “There exists individuals in the south”, translation by the author.

society. In my perspective, due to the weak protective character offered by social institutions in Latin America, the biographical solutions to social contradictions, which are considered one of the basic features for the individual rise, have longer presence. In the same vain, individual strategies to deal with the requirements of autonomy and control gain major relevance in social context where the amount of people living in vulnerable conditions is larger. The “individual sociology” is not the implantation of a “foreigner” theory to make sense of Latin American condition. “Turn to individuals” is a sociological requirement that could be found in every social movement claiming for a different education system, for political recognition, for human rights respect or for environmental protection. These movements are becoming a current tendencies in the extended “undeveloped world”.

I do believe that conceived social institutions as shaped and reorganized through individual representations and practices, is a step further in the argumentation of an institutional individualism. Individual, as we all may agree, are not constructed beyond the reach of social institutions. As it was mentioned above, social institutions matter because they express or in other words, they port some meaning for individuals. But, should we still conceptualize institutions beyond the reach of individual material and symbolic practices? In the perspective of this research the answer is no. The supposition of individual practices only shaped by institutions falls short in explaining the relevance of the individual and collective actions over what has been called “institutional environments”. Under certain conditions the individual agency capacity gains strength to influence institutions. To disclose when this occurs will be addressed in the next section.

Beyond individual institutionalism, the relevance of individuals in (re) shaping institution’s environments

The French historian Jacques Revel shows with extreme lucidity the argumentative line that I would like to explore in this section: The transformation in the relation between individual, institution, and society. The argument that I want to defend proposes three interrelated processes i) individual gradually gaining freedom from the disciplinary social institutions, ii) institutions changing their orientation from a normalized autonomy to an autonomous individualization, iii) individuals gaining the capability to influence their own institutional environment – thus, besides the effective use (or not) of this potential. In other words, individuals released from institutional determination, in certain contexts and under certain conditions, may operate over the institution, re-injecting a novel capability to acting over social life. Individual actions on institutions have strong repercussion in the processes of social inclusion or exclusion.

This argument will appear clearly in the debate about social exclusion, described in chapter three. There, I will show how different authors explain the ambiguous process, in which social institutions lose integrative capability allowing major levels of individual autonomy, but at the same time, they exert an exclusionary power never before seen. Jacques Revel observes in detail this transformation in the institutions and describes its repercussions to the relations established by institutions with both society and individuals. He describes the generalized critique to institutions as opposed to society in the 1960s and the 1970s. In his explanation, social sciences approached big social institutions highlighting their disciplinary capabilities. The references used in this description are Erving Goffman's work *Asylum* (1961) and Michel Foucault's *history of madness* (1961), *Clinic* (1963) and *Prison* (1975). This interpretation, as a social science perspective and social life situation loses power at the end of the 70s. For the author there are two main reasons: i) there exists a weakening in the regulation capability of institutions⁵⁰, and ii) there were severe criticisms to the functionalist paradigm in social science which represents the social world as institutionalized and normalized. Nevertheless, both critiques are not sufficient evidence to dismiss the relevance of social institutions in shaping social life, and the author would quote extensively Foucault's work "*Deux essais sur le sujet et le pouvoir*" (n.d.)⁵¹ as evidence: "Il ne s'agit pas de nier l'importance des institutions dans l'aménagement des relations de pouvoir. Mais de suggérer qu'il faut plutôt analyser les institutions à partir des relations de pouvoir et non l'inverse; et que le point d'ancrage fondamental de celles-ci, même si elles prennent corps et se cristallisent dans une institution, est à chercher en deçà." (Revel 2005: 74-76)⁵².

These power relations expressed by Foucault as the central object for social research are what I want to pursue under the idea of "individual's capability to affect institutional environment". This is exactly the space of observation proposed as a methodological entrance to empirical research, because even if institutions are losing disciplinary power, they are not despoiled of social protagonism. It is a matter of empirical research to discover under which conditions and contexts, institutions play different and particular roles. In the three case studies presented in the next section, I will address the increasing capacity of socio-urban institutions to generate exclusion based on individual actions.

⁵⁰ The authors use a very appealing formulation: "While the Leviathan State gave way to nostalgia of the welfare state in a social world weakened by the crisis, was the same institutional intervention efficacy, which resulted in being questioned in the common consciousness of contemporary". Translation by the author

⁵¹ The essay as an article or paper is not accurately dated.

⁵² The quotation comes directly from the original work of Foucault in French language, and may be translated to English as: "This is not to deny the importance of institutions in the development of power relations. But to suggest that we should rather analyse institutions from power relations and not the reverse; and that the basic anchor of them [power relations], even if they take shape and crystallize in an institution, is to look below." Translation by the author

The French author Alain Ehrenberg in his work *“Le cerveau «social». Chimère épistémologique et vérité sociologique”* (2008) makes, also, a contribution to clarify the novel role of institutions in social life. In his work he questions the reductive perspective, in social and psychological sciences, which search for abilities to engage social relations inside the individuals’ brains. Analyzing mental institutions and mental treatments, he realizes that there has been a change operating in these institutions and procedures. Change means that people are not confined inside social institutions, not if they can prove capabilities to live in society. This means institutions allow an individualization process running inside them, but under two requirements made from society to people: to prove autonomy and demonstrate proficiency. In this sense, the author invites for a sociological study over “the change of spirit in our institutions” (Ehrenberg 2008: 101)⁵³, the notion is very much in the line with the idea offered as “institution environmental logics”.

Social institutions are not pressing over individual directly, but they may do so, as a result of individuals’ action over their institutional environments. This means mobilization - from the individuals to the institutions - certain orientations, as could be social integration or exclusion. To better follow this argumentation line, I believe it is in order to describe in detail, what I understand as “changing institutional spirit” nowadays. As expressed in the beginning of this section, institutions seem to be running from a normalized to an autonomous individualization process. This shift is in both cases oriented by individualization but it is not always a fact. To exert discipline today could still be the orientation of institutions. Here lies the reason why a claim for autonomy becomes a collective demand inside many social movements around the world.

However, evidences for this change represented in institutions supporting individual autonomy and self-determination could easily be found in contemporary cultural production. Movies are constantly replenishing the individual capability to shape his- or her own life under dramatic life experiences or inside hard institutional environment. Young people confronted to live with terminal diseases are one example of these conditions of modern life wisely expressed by Marshall Berman as “These world-historical processes have nourished an amazing variety of vision and ideas that aim to make men and women the subjects as well as the objects of modernization, to give them the power to change the world that is changing them, to make their way through the maelstrom and make it their own” (Berman 1984: 16).

A good example of the coextensive process of transformation between individual and

⁵³ Quoted in Martuccelli and de Singly (2012: 114) Translation by the author

institutions comes from an American independent film *“The Spectacular Now”*. The film is not a drama but it shows how institutional environments are changing in contemporary life trajectories, getting opened to being re-colonized by individual agency. *“The Spectacular Now”* (Ponsoldt 2013) shows the life of an adolescent in his last year of high school and is set in the American Midwest. The movie begins and ends with the protagonist writing his online application to University College, by answering the question: “Describe a challenge, hardship or misfortune you have experienced in your life. What have you learned from this and how has it prepared you for the future?” It could be easy make a complete argument about the new spirit of institution toward individuals just by looking at this specific questions and how it makes prevalent individual biographies in the university admission processes. But I prefer to go further in the film and observe what the protagonist says in the last scene of the movie.

“My name is Sutter Keely and I’m 18 years old. Compared to other kids, I haven’t had that many hardships. You know? Shit’s... Stuff’s happened, sure. But stuff always happens, right? But the real challenge of my life, the real hardship, is me. It’s always been me. As long as I can remember I’ve never not been afraid. Afraid of failure, of letting people down, hurting people, getting hurt. I thought if I kept my guard up and focused on other things, other people, if I couldn’t even feel it, well then no harm would come to me. I screwed up. Not only did I shut out the pain, but I shut out everything. The good and the bad. Until there was nothing. It’s fine to just live in the now, but the best part about now is there’s another one tomorrow. And I’m gonna start making them count. Sincerely, Sutter Keely”

If there is something like a new sensitivity in turning sociological inquires to the individual, it found all its ground in this sentence: “the real hardship, is me. It’s always been me”. A middle class young American existential problem is not the social institutions, nor school or university, nor love relation, nor family or the divorce of their parents. It is just him. Him dealing with his own life experiences and avoiding any chance to significantly connect with other people.

The movie, subtly, construct the relevance of the individual perspective. It is springtime in the Midwest, the sunrise comes early in the morning, the days are long and every public space looks greener. Nights are warm and the characters talk frequently in the intimacy of a room, a car, or a playground. This is the physical atmosphere of the movie. The institutional environment recreates the American high school, with nice corridors, big students dining halls, impressive sport fields and well-equipped classrooms. The suburb is not segregated; everybody moves by cars and the only benchmark of social status, seems to be the size of the

homes. The social environment brings together different economic, social, and ethnical background. The school is not showing students conflicts, no graffiti or bullying. The school as institution is not a disciplinary device. Confronted with learning failures, the protagonist is not punished by institutions, on the contrary, he is familiarly called by his name, teacher highlights his capabilities and virtues. The protagonist is encouraged to make a deal for his own sake. This type of scene repeatedly appears in the film, and could be described as: the protagonist encouraged by other characters to make individual agreements for his own wellbeing.

In “*The Spectacular Now*” the school as institutions collaborates to the individual self-determination. This self-determination is a necessary condition to individuals influencing institutional environments. Simply put, people may do whatever they want with their lives within the restriction that everybody faces. One option in this wide spectrum of possibilities is the individual’s comeback over to institutions, transforming them, and thereby replenishing their capability to act over the social processes or constellations, as is the case of inclusion-exclusion. In the film the institution did not determine protagonist’s life, there was a wide spectrum of life trajectories for him. But what happens in places where the institutions are not collaborating to autonomy of self-determination? Then, people claim for the transformation of social institutions under the light of these requirements⁵⁴.

Speaking with and reading works of graduated students in Chile, there are not just a few who criticize the school system due to its incapability to recognize and to value every student’s singularity and the particularity of their social background. In this sense, graduate students place an alternative in the so-called “popular education” as a bottom-up way to engage teaching-learning processes. This is not the moment to deeply analyze what is an accurate definition of popular education, but it is important to highlight that this type of education is presented as an alternative to the massive, impersonal, and poor educational results presented in the Chilean most vulnerable contexts. The accent is to highlight everyday learning and the experience in each individual condition, biography or career, which allows for further knowledge.

The relevance of the above-presented argument lies in its contemporaneity. Claiming for a school institution sensible to the individual autonomy has not been raised in a social context placed 50 years ago, neither in Foucault’s disciplinary institutions. Furthering the idea,

⁵⁴ This is normally the case of urban social movements, as was presented in chapter one. It is also, in my perspective, one of the reasons for the student public demonstration in the last seven years.

neither Chile nor Latin America in larger context are living in a social past time, their social constellations are not placed in previous stage of institutional development. My argument emphasizes that this claims appears inside current processes of individualization and autonomy experienced by our social institution, therefore, they are a particular form to make sense of the relations between individuals and institutions. For the Chilean case it is possible to state that searching for autonomy in the school institutions brings about a collective logic that seems to allow and to legitimize exclusion as an individual and familiar practice.

This is the specific social phenomenon that will be researched in the empirical section, and could be unpacked into the following question: what happens with the institutional environments, which when searching for autonomy, are reorganized around orientations that increases social exclusion? In other formulation: what happens if the requirement of autonomy imprinted by a few over their own institutional environments, as consequence results in the social exclusion of many? Again, I want to highlight that these questions are general research interrogations and they contain epistemological assumption, which should be addressed during the case studies. One of these assumptions shows that Chilean general scholar institution or educational systems –both names given in Spanish-, in the last 30 or 40 years, increased its levels of inequality and exclusion. This situation is in direct connection with the selective forms of integration perused by individual and families in the middle and long run. Confronting the exclusion present in the school, which is conceptualized as a particular form of socio-urban exclusion, requires a focus on individual practices and discourses. In the next section of this chapter the methodological approach used in the three empirical chapters would be connected with the main argumentation and explained further in detail.

Methodological approach to the relation between individual and social institutions

The main question of every methodology chapter is always how to research something. This inquiry could be unpacked in different forms, and here I present three possible orientations: i) a search for research methods, ii) a conceptual discussion of current social tendencies, or iii) an epistemic reflection in searching for a particular perspective to approach social phenomenon. In my case the research object is socio-urban exclusion but approached from the individual perspective, which implies, highlighting the capability of individual agency to modify institutional environments. Therefore, the methodology chapter acquires the form of an epistemic reflection to elucidate a suitable way to approach socio-urban exclusion. Following the already classical proposition of Emile Durkheim (1964 [1895] [2006])

“Consider social facts as things”, in the case of socio-urban exclusion, the phenomenon is truly a factual reality, yet their constitutions and characteristics are under controversy. To engage a top-down or a bottom-up perspective, are both plausible strategies of research.

Using the perspective developed by Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant in “*An Invitation to a Reflexive Sociology*” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), the sociological object of research is not self-evident, it is not just out there waiting for us. The sociological object of research emerges from a reflexive process, it must be constructed by the knowledge and also the intuitions of researchers.

“In his seminar, Bourdieu seeks to inculcate not a definite theory or a finite set of concepts but a *generalized disposition to sociological invention*. He does so by inverting the accepted order of pedagogy: his teaching proceeds from practice to axiomatic and from application back to principles, illustrating the fundamental epistemological rules that govern the construction of sociological objects in the very movement whereby he discusses them. To counter the intellectualist bias inherent in the situation of academic training, it builds incrementally from practical understanding to discursive mastery of the principles of sociological reason. Bourdieu advocates, and adopts, a total and self-referential pedagogy that steadfastly refuses the splintering of theoretical and research operations into isolated activities and territories whose separation serves only to reproduce the accepted – and forced division of scientific labor of the day” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: xiii)

The condition of the sociological object as constructed makes plausible and also desirable distinctive form with which to approach research. The alternative selected by this thesis is just one possibility amongst others; their significance lies in the criteria used for constructing the sociological object in what some authors have called “selecting and organizing the data”. The American sociologist Martin Bulmer also states an unavoidable interplay between theory and methods, and his perspective becomes very valuable to understanding the form adopted by this chapter. He starts from the sociological descriptive research saying that significance of this approach is not founded in the data by themselves, “the world is a vast sea of potential data” in which researchers may be lost without criteria. “These criteria are provided by the *problems and theories* derived by sociology [...] the sociologist setting out to grasp the complexity of social interaction and social process is himself seeking both to *understand* and *explain* social phenomena” (Bulmer 1977: 3)

Here the reason why this chapter shows a sort of “detour” around the “individuals’

sociology” and their particular perspective on the triple relation among individuals, institutions, and society. Educational institutions in Chile have been reshaped by individual and family decisions around selective forms of inclusion, thus, bringing up increasing levels of exclusion in the school system, which in the middle and long run, during the last three or four decades, have been enacted as a legitimate way to organize social interaction. As will be shown in Chapter five, there is no singular family that reports, as possible orientation for action, something like “integration with poorer or disadvantaged people”. In familiar discourses around schools, there is no valuable orientation in sharing with people from lower social background but there are many advantages reported in protecting children in spaces that only congregate socio-economic peers. I believe that this situation, in the middle run and in its aggregated effect, is accountable for the high level of exclusion in the scholar system in the city of Santiago, and in extended Chilean society.

To approach the three case studies considered in the empirical part I adopt a multi-method approach (Bryman 2012)⁵⁵. Multi-method in my situation is not just a collection of research methodologies; on the contrary, it implies a selective way to approach the sociological object of research, highlighting different aspects of its empirical manifestations, thus at three different scales. It must be noted that multi-methods are also known as mixed-methodologies (Pacheco y Blanco 2002 and 2008, Denzin 2010). Besides small differences in nomenclature, both approaches advocate for integrated methods in order to grasp complex research objects, what is exactly the research strategy followed in the three case studies composing the empirical part of the thesis.

Chapter four offers as method, to georeference⁵⁶ State’s intervention in public policies connected with improving learning results in schools and living conditions in neighborhoods. Schools under intervention for improving learning result and neighborhoods under regeneration programs are both mapped in the metropolitan area of Santiago de Chile (MAS). Observing this information and correlating their spatial concretion with the emplacement of various socio-economic groups, a first approach to the spatial form of socio exclusion is achieved. In this sense, spatial correlations show that the different settlements of socio-economic groups within the city are characterized by extended territories with bad housing conditions, deprived neighborhood, and schools with low academic results. Furthermore, the

⁵⁵ The author used the concept of multi-method but also mixed methods. He also develops the concept of triangulation as the convergence of different results of analysis in a coherent explanation. See also:

<http://www.referenceworld.com/sage/socialscience/mmr.pdf>

<http://www.referenceworld.com/sage/socialscience/triangulation.pdf>

⁵⁶ For a comprehensive introduction to georeferencing and geographical information systems see Bernhardsen (2002)

analysis applies statistical and spatial extrapolations of school results variables, to disclose the form and extension of the socio-urban exclusion in MAS during next years.

Even when this method uses quantitative data, the analysis is qualitative, because I am investigating the qualities shown by socio-urban exclusion in a given territory. Socio-urban exclusion shows a particular territorialization in my study case, which I call extended, concentrators and interstitial areas. All these spatial characteristics will be discussed in deep in the next section⁵⁷. The spatialization of variables requires for complementary insights in order to make sense of the experiential condition of people's lives. I support my research question in this case study as a critique to what I call the non-reflexive definition of scales in public policy action. Neighborhood regeneration emerges in the 90s in Europe as the right way to address transformation in city life, due to de-industrialization and government insolvency. Chile was one of the first cases out of the developed countries orbit to engage this type of policies (Campos-Medina et al. 2009). Nevertheless, in contemporary Chile the neighborhood is not a territorial or administrative entity. Moreover, whenever researchers spatialize any variable connected with social vulnerability in MAS, it does not show a neighborhood basis, on the contrary, it express big areas of exclusion and relegation. Likewise, starting the research by showing a comprehensive picture of exclusion in the city of Santiago, I considered it as the better way to address the socio-urban structure of exclusion from a qualitative perspective.

Chapter five addresses family and biographical narratives around the school selection from parents to their children. The explanation of the sample selection is presented, in detail, in chapter five. Here I just want to highlight that selection was not made under what could be a more traditional criteria as: socio-economic level, cultural background, position in the city, age of parents and children, or family composition. The research strategy is based on the intention to connect the parents' education-work careers and their own expectation for the children's school life. Therefore, I decided in the interview sample to consider obtaining major variance in the abovementioned relation between parents and children.

The interview method is based on open and non-structured conversations. To make the approach clearer, interviews have been performed with the intention to describe a biographical account⁵⁸ of the school condition reported by parents and their expectation for

⁵⁷ For a reference to this type of socio-territorial analysis see Sánchez, Joan Eugeni (2009) "*La gobernanza desde la óptica del poder y las escalas*".

⁵⁸ The major referent in qualitative interviews methods and the approach to biographical narratives is found in Oriana Bernasconi work: "*Negotiating Personal Experience over the Lifetime: Narrative Elasticity as an Analytic Tool*" (2011a)

the same process with their children. Interviews highlight different themes like socio-economic backgrounds of parents, school trajectory and work career, socio-economic level of the original family, process of school selection, intentions to share the school space with “other people”, main requirements made to the school, and current evaluation of the Chilean school system. The specific formulation of the questions remains open.

Two crucial intentions are engaged in chapter four: i) to address the time framework involved in the process of school selection, is the reason why I construct an intergenerational conversation at parents’ level, but connecting their scholar and professional careers with the expectation they have for the children; ii) to report the aggregative effects produced by selection made by different families, with distinctive socio-economic and socio-cultural background. When they decide over their children’s lives, from my point of view, they are also constructing a collective orientation of action as well as the material and symbolic outputs of those decisions. This means that, interviewing different families allows my research to overcome the individual level and grasp the collective one, but without losing the focus on the individual decision.

In chapter six I propose an autoethnography⁵⁹ of my scholar and academic history to engage an exhaustive investigation of the school as a selective device for exclusion and inclusion processes at the familiar and societal level in Chile during the 80s and 90s. I also seek to track in this case study the temporal dimension of the school selection process by following the stabilization of action orientations in the middle run. A most clear approach to the impact of institution conditions in the urban dimension of the social exclusion is also being pursued.

An autoethnography is by no means a neutral approach in social sciences. There are many scholars supporting this method and others that are extensively criticizing its reach and reliability. The autoethnography is part of two major research orientations arising in the last decades, the narrative methods and the biographical account. These are exactly the two conditions that I consider indispensable for my research. With the intent to get as close as possible to a thick description (Geertz 1973) of the selective form of integration-exclusion to the school and neighborhood institution, I start the process to gather information about my own life trajectory. I informally interview my parents, have long conversation with

and “*Aproximación narrativa al estudio de fenómenos sociales: principales líneas de desarrollo*” (2011b). For an approach to the significance of interviews as research methods, see Mishler (1986) “*Research interviewing context and narrative*”.

⁵⁹ For an introduction to autoethnography see: Carolyn Ellis “*Autoethnography: an overview*” (Ellis et al. 2011). For case studies using autoethnography as method, see Sarah Wall (2006) “*An autoethnography on learning about autoethnography*” Wall and Mercedes Blanco (2012) “*Autoetnografía: una forma narrativa de generación de conocimientos*”.

schoolmates, and discuss perspectives and findings with my brothers (two) who are closer in age. The autoethnography offers me the chance to go back and forth in different dimension of the analysis due to the closeness of the people involved in the research. Even though I will address more in detail the explanation of the method in chapter six, I think it is useful to clarify its aim.

Autoethnography considers that there is an unavoidable connection between the life of the researcher and the social and cultural transformation of society. In this sense, every biography informs about what has transpired in society at a particular moment. This condition does not imply that there is no mediation between macro-social trends and peoples' biographies. The mediation exists and is enacted by the social environments close to the researchers. This mediation is exactly what is of most interest to my research. Here lies the main reason why I decided to consider an exercise of autoethnography about my scholar and academic career. A second reason is found in the fact that my trajectory, even when it is rarely in my familiar or neighborhood environment, is pretty much the same showing by my sister Verónica, and my brother Luis. The stability of the life trajectory of my closer brother (in age) and me, presupposes some stability and strength in my parents' school selection and the practices with which they stabilize a particular orientation for action in the last three decades.

Connecting the three empirical case studies, they are together devoted to reporting a singular approach to the analysis of socio-urban exclusion in the interplay between individual and institutions. With the intention to deliver a general picture on the sociological object of research, I propose different stages of argumentation: i) social institutions in general and schools in particular are becoming progressively sensible to the individual orientations, ii) individual orientations are concerned with the search for autonomy in their institutional environments, iii) under this pressure coming from the individual, familiar or collective level, institutions are reshaped in the direction of individual autonomy, iv) this novel orientation imprinted over the institutions may lead to processes of inclusion-exclusion, which are provoked by institutions due to materialization of "group interest", v) in the case of Chile, the search for autonomy in one group brings up as a result the relegation of a large number of children and youth. In conclusion, the methodological approach advances relevant information at three levels: i) the extent and form of the socio-urban exclusion in Santiago de Chile described through socio-urban institutions, ii) the school system as exclusionary device as consequence of the action orientation deployed by parents in the middle and long run, and

iii) the temporal stability of the school as a selective form of integration-exclusion and its repercussion in the urban condition.

Research Question

The general question this research aims to answer can be presented as: How to address the increasing levels of exclusion in cities outside developed economies from a perspective based on the relations between individual and institutions? This formulation assumes that the socio-urban processes of exclusion have a particular condition outside of the north Atlantic economies, and at the same time, that traditional structural approaches are falling short in accounting for the experiential bases of urban exclusion. At the same time there is a methodological question concerned with what could be a plausible orientation to approaching socio-urban exclusion from an individual perspective? And an historical inquiry for which the specificities of Latin America are, that makes it relevant to ask for a singular perspective to approaching processes of urban exclusion? It is highly improbable to state that inequalities in the city lack for systematic approaches in social sciences, but it is reasonable to sustain that peoples experiences of exclusion, as producer and products of the individual agency, has been losing relevance as theoretical and methodological perspective to account for social inequalities. In the following section, I address the research objectives.

General Objective

1. To describe socio-urban exclusion as a form of relation between individual, families and collectives within their institutional environment. Specifically, portraying the process that bring about schools as devices for socio-urban exclusion in Chile during the last four decades.

Specific Objectives

1. To construct a theoretical space and a methodological perspective in which to place an individual approach to socio-urban exclusion in relation with institutional environments inside the urban sociology debates.

2. To highlight the connection of this individual approach with the urban sociology variant that influence social science debates in Latin America during the 70s; that is the many times called Marxist approach in the work of Manuel Castells.⁶⁰

3. To describe the particularities of an “individual sociology” concerned with processes

⁶⁰ A turn in urban sociology connected with the individuals’ perspective may sound easier in theoretical terms using as starting point the Chicago school approach, but problematic because this school of sociology did not play a relevant role in the social and urban discussion deployed in Latin America during the 1960s and the 1970s. The effort to connect Marxist urban sociology with the individual perspective found basis in the focus made, principally by Manuel Castells, but also for an important group of social scientist in the region, in the topic of urban movements as social actors. I do not propose that the reflection about social actors is the same as the individual sociology. Historically they could be considered even as opposed, but I believe there are important lines of convergence between both, as was presented in chapter one.

of socio-urban exclusion in contemporary cities and to track its theoretical and epistemological foundations.

4. To set the contemporary concern about socio-urban exclusion in relation with the Latin American social theories and debates existing from the 40s on. These debates were focused on the theories of dependency and marginality, which resembles very much an approach to socio-urban exclusion.

5. To analyze public policy implementation territories to describe the extension and form of socio-urban exclusion in Santiago de Chile.

6. To describe and analyze the transformation in the school institutions, which passes from being a place for social integration to becoming a device of socio-urban exclusion in the last three or four decades in Chile.

Chapter three: The Chilean Context.

Incompleteness as an Analytical Key to Understanding Social Exclusion in the Historical Context of Latin America

Overview: this chapter uses the concept of incompleteness to make historical sense of different logics, which since the second half of 20th century attempts to understand the process of social, economic, political, and cultural development in Latin America. Specially, in what was conceptualized as developmental problems since the 1940s on. With this analytical movement, we expand the historical and geographical frameworks in order to understand contemporary social exclusion in Chile. The intention is to overcome a restrictive perspective that connects social and socio-urban exclusion exclusively to neo-liberal turn promoted by civil-military dictatorship in Chile and its social consequences. Under the notion of incompleteness, as analytical and historical key, it is possible to observe the scope of the political projects as well as the theoretical representation in four important moments for the region: i) modernization theories which represent Latin America as living in a previous stage prior to Western Modernity, ii) dependency theory which observes the development problem not as a lack but as the tangible result of an uneven world economic order, iii) marginality theory as the analysis of the socio-economic logics that maintain in conditions of exclusion a majority and increasing portion of population, and iv) the neoliberal turn as the renounce to a social synthesis framed in the principles of equitable development.

The chapter concludes by stating that social and socio-urban exclusion poses a non-thematized presence in regional political policies and regional social sciences. Nonetheless, Latin America from its own social conditions, labeled many time as “incomplete development” shows a particular form of exclusion possible to describe as widely extended and with high-levels of inequality. A major historical and geographical portrayal, as the one proposed here, allows for the replenishing of the regional characteristic of social exclusion and to access the explanatory potential of approaching social exclusion through the individual dimension. Thereby by studying the regional social theory as well as the Latin American political project during the last seven decades we arrive at the individual perspective, highlighting people’s suffering from exclusion alongside a society in which the integration is an uncompleted project

Introduction

The first chapter of this thesis, on the theoretical framework, deals with the possibility of building a conceptual space for studying socio-urban exclusion from the capability of individuals to affect their institutional environments, in other words “individual agency”. In this sense, the argumentative line of this research sought to reconstruct an alternative interpretative route to what is commonly presented as the Marxist urban perspective. Two concerns are coextensive for the structural Marxist or also called structural political economy; on the one hand, social dynamics of production and consumption within the city during the 1960s and the 1970s. On the other hand, the emphasis on the incipient global urban social movements that emerged during the same period, and survives with difficulties into the 1980s. This last variant researched, empirically, the social organization and the capacity to construct a novel spatial form within the capitalist city. Thereafter, with bitterness, described their dissolution at the hands of the neoliberal authoritarian regimes (Castells 1973, 1973 [1974], 1976). In political terms, the death of the “grassroots movements” as social and political actors, along with their class’s consciousness⁶¹, was one of the largest social losses caused by authoritarian governments in Spain and Latin America. At the theoretical level, social sciences regard this event as the non-thematized transition from the Marxist-urban sociology centered on the local-social actor to an urban sociology focused on production regimes and the economic and territorial restructuring at global level. This last part is a different version of economic regimes and is closely related to the economic geography.

Chapter two aims to shed light on the methodological possibility of refocusing sociological urban research on the basis of “individuals sociology” (Martuccelli and de Singly 2012). This entails the replenishment of the capacity of people to influence the institutional environment through their agency capacity. Such a shift involves the description of daily practices and social representations. However, this narrative exercise would be an incomplete task if there were no references as to which extent, individual-family action and discourses operate in the medium and long term. Methodological focus has been made on the description, through family biographies, of the long chain of events that transform socio-urban institutions and how these changes affect the urban condition of those involved directly and indirectly.

⁶¹ For further analysis on the class consciousness of grassroots groups in Santiago, Chile, please refer to Vanderschueren (1971a, 1971b)

The foregoing in no way means denying the effect of global, social, economic and territorial transformations on the lives of people. On the contrary, this proposal suggests that understanding the socio-urban reality from the sole perspective of structural variations is an obstacle to grasp the sense of meaning, the interpretations and scope related to the experiences of people in what some authors regard as the reproduction of the social order. At the same time, and without referring to any hierarchy between structure and agency, a structural perspective would prevent us from observing that real scope and specificities of socio-urban changes are never predefined by big structures and large processes. In this sense, it is worth pointing out, that specificity is related to what is known as “enactment”⁶², that is, the practical effects of the capacity of agency and their specific realization.⁶³

In this line of argument, the third chapter of this research is focused on making historical sense of what it means to study socio-urban exclusion in Latin America, especially in the case of Chile. In order to do so, this thesis reflects on the notion of social exclusion and its historical origins for the sub-continent. I also argue that, within the Latin American context, there is an unresolved conceptual problem associated with the prevalent association between social exclusion and the transformations undergone by developed countries and international markets during the 1970s. From this perspective, and as was presented in Chapter 1, it would not be possible to consider Latin American social context in the 70s as marked by social exclusion. Such assessments will be confronted in this chapter by a criticism based on contemporary observations about modernization in Latin America. This exercise leads me to propose the notion of the conceptual detachment of exclusion —and modernity— within specific institutional answers. Then, I propose the concept of incompleteness as the common perspective of modernization processes within the region, either as a political project or in the

⁶² The notion of “enactment” is referred for the first time within the role theory; however, it was during the last decades that this concept gained recognition. First, and from a general perspective, as the result of the new direction brought to social sciences with the intention of describing its capability to constructing realities; for further information, please refer to the paper: “*Enacting the Social*”, authored by Law and Urry (2003). On the other hand, this visibility resulted from the renewed approach to the individual processes and experiences that “enact” human and social values, such as in the case of the research on suffering conducted by Wilkinson (2013). In the English-speaking world, the work conducted by Margaret Archer (1995, 2000) represents an essential contribution.

⁶³ In no case do I support the superiority of the agency over structure for the purposes of social explanation. Many authors propose a sort of a complementarity between both perspectives as the right approach to social phenomena. The problem of such a proposal is that there is no clarification as to how integration is built from: i) transformations at the macro level, ii) social impacts, iii) institutional changes, and iv) the living conditions of individuals. Studies of economic-territorial restructuring have access to the social tensions triggered by macro processes; however, due to the particular way they relate the concepts of structure and agency, they lose their explanatory capacity about social and individual consequences, as it was previously stated in chapter one. Urban polarization or social segregation, understood as analytical perspectives related to macro processes, provides little information on the concrete forms and uses of social and socio-urban exclusion. Therefore, my proposal is based on a perspective intended to reinstate the relationship between individuals and institutions, as well as their transformations over middle and long periods of time, in the accounts on socio-urban exclusion.

form of a theoretical description; some authors refer to this idea as part of Latin American society's self-description. This concept of incompleteness addresses the specificity of social exclusion in four key moments in Latin American and Chilean history by arguing that social exclusion is, specifically, the result of individual actions over institutional environments, which are weak in their integrative capability and strong in their exclusionary capacity. Given the weakness of these institutions, much of the reflection on modernity, development and social cohesion in Latin American region is regarded as an incomplete project.

In the search of an approach to the special nature of social exclusion in Latin America

In its early days, "*Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales, EURE*"⁶⁴ involved the collaboration of scholars and researchers interested in the so-called development problems. The first issue of this journal was published in 1970⁶⁵ and at that moment, 26 years after the Bretton Woods conference and the emergence of a new international trading system, *EURE* was fertile ground for the expression of critical views on the development policies outcomes. In Latin American, two political principles have been coexisting since the 1940s: on the one hand, there was the subservience to international interests of United States, which are related to the opening up of local markets within the region. On other hand, there were dissident positions that criticize international trade and favor an inward-looking industrialization and a paradigm center on national development.

Latin American studies on urban-regional issues are defined by the accelerated urbanization process that began in the 1950s.⁶⁶ This explains why the urban space and the city are meeting places for two of the most important theories raised in this region: dependency and marginality. Despite being derived from reflections about an enhanced theoretical and geographical framework —wide geographies and long processes—, the dependency theory regards the national State as a privileged space for intervention. In this sense, this theory refers to urban tension as the result of development contradictions within national dependent contexts. On the other hand, the marginality theory offers a different approach as this assumption relieves the tension of the human condition and explores national and social relegation processes. Marginality is a condition that transcends the urban sphere and extends to the social structure. The analytical approaches of these two theories can be summarized

⁶⁴ All references to Spanish names of institutions without an official translation to English has been kept in the original language

⁶⁵ Available at <http://www.eure.cl/index.php/eure/issue/view/15>

⁶⁶ Please refer to "*Población urbana y urbanización en América Latina*", written by Alfredo E. Lattes (2001). Figures show that the urban population of Latin America rose from 25 percent in 1925 to 75 percent in 2000, thus being the region of the world with the highest urban growth rate in the last five decades. Chapter available in Fernando Carrion (Ed). (2001). "*La ciudad construida, urbanismo en América Latina*". FLACSO Ecuador.

through the identification of: a perspective that goes from the macro geography to the urban space in the case of the dependency concept and a perspective that goes from the city to some of the major social structures in the case of the marginality theory.

The papers published during the early years of *EURE* were a significant effort to link the Latin American theories and urban-regional phenomena with international Marxist references. Though not published by *EURE*, “*Superpoblación relativa, ejército industrial de reserva y masa marginal*”⁶⁷, authored by Jose Nun (1971), was an attempt in this direction. This research was published by the *Revista Latinoamericana de sociología* and was immediately written after “*La marginalidad en América Latina. Informe preliminar*” (1969). According to different analyses, this text aimed to link the concepts of marginality and marginal mass with the Marxist concept of the reserve army of labor. Despite not being directly recognized by the dependency theory, it is impossible to ignore the Marxist dispute related to the origins of modern capitalism as an internal or external variation of the State at the end of the 1940s. Immanuel Wallerstein (2004) describes this issue in his reference to the debate between economic historians Maurice Dobb and Paul Sweezy on the emergence of capitalism in England.

Both the marginality and dependency theories aim to make sense of the urban reality of the region through the construction of conceptual links with the Marxist theory, which is regarded as the right urban theoretical “model” according to the works of Manuel Castells⁶⁸ and Henri Lefebvre. Against this academic and political backdrop, social exclusion is not thematized as a perspective of analysis. As discussed in chapter 1 and re-engaged in the following sections, this situation was first observed during the crisis of the European Welfare State during the 1980s. However, this is not to say that the social and urban discussion that took place in Latin America during the 1970s cannot be interpreted from a perspective with bases in social exclusion. I dare to say that in this concern for the structural order of society—which refers to the studies of stratification in Latin America⁶⁹—, social exclusion operates as an invisible but implicit model. Therefore, my task in the next sections is to describe under what conditions it is possible to rethink the structural reflection—prevailing since the 1970s

⁶⁷ Names of books and papers without official translation to English have been kept in Spanish to facilitate the access to the original sources.

⁶⁸ It is worth remembering that Manuel Castells, in his quality of Tenured Professor of Sociology and Director of the Seminar in Urban Sociology at the School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, Paris, France (1970-1979) completed an internship in the Institute of Urban and Regional Studies at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, which was the academic unit responsible for the publishing of *Revista EURE*.

⁶⁹ For an updated reflection on the study of stratification in Latin America and its connection with the regional studies conducted during the 1960s and the 1970s, please refer to Filgueira (2006).

on large marginalized groups within dependent socio-economic contexts- in terms of social and socio-urban exclusion.

The alternative idea supported by this study is that the large scope of the quantitative dimension of social phenomena —as in the case of the massive increase in marginality within Latin American countries on the 1970s— has an impact on the qualitative sphere and redefines the way this situation is experienced by those affected. This argument is a central element of our proposal on a specific and differentiated condition of social exclusion in Latin America. Seen in this light, the analysis of data from that period has shown that excluded groups might have accounted for 80 percent of the total population. Under these conditions, Latin America offers a significant panorama to address social exclusion from the perspective of individuals in terms of: i) social history, ii) academic reflection, and iii) political intervention. This can be explained through a series of conditions, which are clarified in detail below.

Firstly, large segments of Latin American society have always lived under poor or non-existent social integrative conditions. As a consequence, socio-urban exclusion cannot be regarded as an anomaly within the social system, but on the contrary, it should be represented as one of its flagship products. Secondly, there are abysmal differences and inequalities among integrated and non-integrated individuals within the region. Socio-urban exclusion is a generalized condition of relegation in the lives of people, acting as the lynchpin of deprivations in terms of work, income, housing, education, mobility, health, etc. Thirdly, the weakness of the Latin American institutions in terms of protection and their limited capacity to generate social integration can be understood as a historically stable feature. Socio-urban exclusion demands the study of the way different uses and forms of relegations operate in different institutional environments. Lastly, the constant presence of exclusion in the historical dimension implies that individual and collective biographies are defined by such a condition. Under these living standards, different attempts to overcome or cope with relegation will generate new forms of socio-urban exclusion.

The research premise of this thesis suggests that the study of socio-urban exclusion in Latin America requires the analysis of social institutions. Today, the proposal of such an approach means a shift towards the practices and discourses used by people to breathe life into their institutional environments. In Latin America, the breadth of the urbanization process is such that the concepts of social exclusion and socio-urban exclusion have become synonymous with each other. In support of this approach, I believe it necessary to analyze the

main historical events as well as the emergence of theoretical perspectives and political projects in Latin America over the last seven decades. This does not mean the elaboration of a comprehensive review, but the analysis of the general concern about human and social development within our region. This exercise is intended to think of the non-thematized presence of social exclusion and socio-urban exclusion as analytical models in the region. Therefore, the relationship between social exclusion and the education system will be carefully conducted according to the requirements of each of the empirical cases analyzed in the following three chapters. Hence the reason why it is not considered in this account.

Social exclusion within a broad historical context

This chapter addresses the reconstruction of the historical context that enables us to talk about some specificity of Latin America socio-urban exclusion. Such an exercise makes sense because, in general terms, the concept of “social exclusion” has been related to the decline of the European Welfare State during the 1970s and 1980s. Furthermore, the transition from a Fordist to a post-Fordist productive regime and its impacts in the deindustrialization process. As result, work as well as universal social services, will no longer produce social inclusion.

Carlos Lange suggests (2011), if this is the context that gives meaning to the notion of social exclusion then it is unavoidable to confront the problems related to its applicability, possibilities and limits, within Latin American regional context.⁷⁰ This is due to two reasons. On the one hand, all social institutions involved in the emergence of social inclusion in Western Europe have failed to replicate their implementation and scope in Latin America. On the other hand, though Latin America —especially Chile— is experiencing the neoliberal shift towards a flexible economy based on low State regulation and the increased privatization of social services, there is no such thing a welfare State focused on providing global integration processes in its history⁷¹.

The combination of these two conditions make it necessary to find a specific interpretation with which to address social exclusion within the Latin American context; added to this is the fact that there is a third specificity, which derives from the direction taken by this thesis project. This new element consists of understanding social exclusion through biographical exclusionary processes based on the relationship between people and social institutions. Unlike the European reflection on exclusion, our perspective serves as an

⁷⁰ As the author suggests: “Different scholars agree that Rene Lenoir, in his work *Les exclus, une français sur dix* (1974), was the first author to introduce the concept of “social exclusion” to refer to the situation that affects socially disadvantaged groups. Please refer to Estivil (2003), Karsz (2004) and Subirats (2006)” (Reference from Lange 2011: 1).

⁷¹ As was presented in Chapter 1, some scholars use the notion of pseudo welfare State in Latin America between the 1940s and the 1970s.

alternative to the recurring and almost customary relationship between social exclusion and structural processes.

The link among social exclusion, the generalized transformation of production models, and the subsequent impacts on the State-society relationship results in uncomfortable feelings. This is because such a relationship leaves unanswered the question regarding the historical and geographical contexts in which economic transformations, the geographical restructuring of production, and the redefinition of the role of the State operate. In other words, we propose that social exclusion cannot be related to the institutional erosion resulting from the transition from early to late —or flexible—modernity, thus, as there are places where these institutions do not exist or failed to evolve in the way shown by north-Atlantic countries.

If it is accepted that social exclusion is related to relegation experiences resulting from the loss of regularity on the part of industry or the retreat of the State from the Keynesian orientation of the economy, then it is even more important to raise questions as to the particular characteristics of social exclusion and individuals experiences in places where social institutions failed to achieve proper implementation. The following excerpt, written by Karsz (quoted by Lange 2011), clearly explains this situation.

“The development of exclusion radically transforms the social sphere, it implies a disconnection and the loss of a rudder: social sphere is no longer the space for expectations, (social) hope and promotion, shared progress and the possibility to find a place in society [...]. Unlike today, the disparities in terms of income and living conditions used to be relatively bearable given their transitory and circumstantial nature and because there was the certainty that they would be eventually overcome. The former progressive social perspective has been gradually replaced by a taciturn, lugubrious and even regressive social approach” (Karsz 2004: 148)⁷².

According to Karsz, social exclusion might be associated with the emergence of a progressive and intensified relegation process. From my point of view, in order to be fully understood, this intensification of relegation should identify the events that transpired in different institutional contexts. This does not mean that there are no similarities among the socio-economic and socio-cultural realities addressed by the study of exclusion. As Gil points out, one of the greatest current social problems is the loss of the integrative role of the

⁷² Translation by the author

institutions that “embraced individuals”. This change in the logic of social institutions is mentioned when the author states: “the family, the neighborhood and the school have never been as exclusionary as they are today. If the social function underlying their (social) establishment was based on integration, then, paradoxically, this principle seems to operate in the opposite direction” (Gil, 2002: 48)⁷³.

The reason why the notion of social exclusion has been closely related to the erosion of institutions that failed to achieve universal status still remains unclear. This statement is not intended to eliminate the focal point based on the loss of relationships and social projects as the constituent of exclusion—as suggested by Gil. However, I seek to draw attention to the need for making historical sense of the different contexts in which exclusionary processes operate. In his research entitled “*Pobreza, desigualdad y exclusión social en los centros urbanos latinoamericanos*” Lange (2011), ventures a generic definition of exclusion as “a process where social links and bonds are broken in the context of the prevailing—post-Fordist— social development model, which inhibits or hinders the active participation of certain segments of the population [...] social exclusion turns into the explanatory model of a structural transformation within contemporary capitalist societies; this becomes evident in the transition from a Fordist to a post-Fordist development model”⁷⁴.

The definitions proposed by the author are problematic both from an enhanced time perspective and from the point of view of individual experiences. If the concept of exclusion is understood as a breakup event, it is then essential to keep sight of the places that allowed this event to occur. Certainly, Latin America is not the best example of such a proposal. On the other hand, there is the question as to why macro-structural processes are solely responsible for the breakup resulting from the erosion of—traditionally— integrating institutions. This causes us to lose sight of how individuals and collectives are both taking part in these institutional transitions, which, without any doubt, lead to intensified forms of exclusion. In what follows, I seek to build on the use of the idea of incompleteness to represent the historical conditions that gave rise to the different forms of social exclusion in Latin America.

Incompleteness as the interpretative key in the phenomena of socio-urban exclusion

In his research on modernity—with specific focus on Latin America—, Jorge Larraín criticizes the notion of reflexive modernity or second modernity in the same vein as I criticize

⁷³ Translation by the author

⁷⁴ Translation by the author

the straight and customary relationship between social exclusion and the erosion of social institutions in industrialized countries.

“The focus on two modernities forces these authors to recognize that this theory cannot be implemented in places where first modernity does not even exist at all (parts of Africa and Asia). This is because second modernity has to firstly dissolve those institutions established during the first modernity. Then, these theories are exclusively focused on the European experience and there are no attempts to consider the existence of other institutional forms derived from the first modernity. Though initially rejected, this situation favors an implicit vision in which the European process is regarded as the global measure of modernity. Beck and his team accept that there are potential non-European alternatives to the second modernity that should be analyzed; added to this is the fact that second modernity has had some effects on non-European postcolonial territories. In my opinion, the case of Latin America clearly falls within the first category” (Larraín 2011: 19).

The previous text shows that, when observed from the perspective of its institutional concretions, modernity offers a sort of historical territorialization. Although not explicitly mentioned, the author recognizes that the problem of the second modernity and the subsequent erosion of social institutions lie in the fact that there are places where such an event actually happened, partially happened or did not happen at all. Therefore, it should be noted that these conditions define places where first modernity institutions actually operate, partially operate or do not operate at all. In the Latin American case, this situation constitutes a singular route towards the second modernity as it provides a differentiated answer or different institutions concretion to what the author identifies as the “fundamental imaginary significations of modernity”, namely, autonomy and control (Larraín 2011: 21)⁷⁵.

The research conducted by Larraín intends to reconstruct the essence of Latin American modernity without referring to the process in Western Europe. In either case, it is important to recognize that —for a long time— such a reference has had effects at the theoretical and practical levels. As for these consequences on the practical dimension, the proposed notion of “incompleteness” may be used to describe what has historically been described as the self-awareness of modernity in Latin America and, from that point, study the different processes of social exclusion within the region. In other words, Latin American modernity concretions —whatever its specificity may be— and its own representation as a sort of “incomplete

⁷⁵ This conceptualization is based on research conducted by Greek author Cornelius Castoriadis (1990) and German author Peter Wagner (1994, 2001).

process” cannot be separated from each other. Pedro Morandé confronts this situation; proposing that European modernity should be regarded as enlightened while Latin American as baroque (Morandé 1984). Put differently, what is represented, as a modernization deficit in Latin America is not such a thing, on the contrary it is a cultural difference in the substance of modernity. At this level, Morandé share the concerns raised by Larraín; however, there are some differences regarding the actions taken in response to these issues. This is because Larraín proposes that the lack of European institutional concretions in the Latin American context is actually a differentiated answer to imaginary significations of modernity. Imaginary significations of modernity describe any kind of modernity as it is. However, “baroque modernity” and “single and multiple modernity” concepts to understand the Latin American case, go in completely opposite directions.

This chapter is not intended to provide a theoretical reflection on modernity in Latin America. On the contrary, it seeks to make historical sense of social exclusion and its specificity in the region. Mindful of that objective, I believe it essential to describe the operation methods showed by different processes of modernization, both from political and academic perspectives. Therefore, there is a need to elaborate a theoretical and historical framework for the analysis of social exclusion; to that effect, I reflect on modernity since its contemporary Latin American variation differentiates local social processes from the specific institutions concretions in industrialized countries.

Nevertheless, it would be inadequate to suggest that the recognition of a particular modernity in Latin America in contemporary social theory is an achievement that could be extrapolated to make sense from every historical processes experience by the region in the 20th century. Likewise, it would be a mistake to transpose these conceptual achievements to different historical moments to previous social constellations. As Eisenstadt suggests, in order to understand the modernity concept within our region, it is necessary to point out “the great importance of external references —Spain, France, England and the United States— for the development of self-conception in Latin America” (Eisenstadt quoted by Larraín 2011: 17)⁷⁶.

The notion of incompleteness is then presented as an account that allows me to make a double historical sense; while the first one is related to the analytical perspectives adopted by social sciences and the political projects implemented by governments over the 20th century, the second refers to the way these processes affect the different forms and scope of social exclusion. Therefore, incompleteness does not emerge as a concept intended to replace the

⁷⁶ Translation by the author

Latin American reality with all its diversity and richness. It is not in my interest to favor the concept of incompleteness over concrete historicity and the long chain of causes and effects that converge in any socio-historical process. On the contrary, this notion is intended to track — at the academic and political level— the persistence of theories and projects that associate the social reality of the region with an unfinished development process. Within this concept, the unity, that may be achieved by Latin American society but which never is fully developed, can be considered in the analysis.

In a society that is based on integration, the concept of exclusion can be understood as a failure within the desire for full participation. On the contrary, within a divided or fragmented society as the result of the impossibility or denial of development, exclusion does not become a failure but a characteristic. If this statement is proven to be valid, exclusion within the Latin American society —especially in Chile— should have a distinctive condition. According to my proposal, this condition is defined by extremely close ties with the individual experience in a sort of “suffering” process that indelibly marks biographical trajectories in institutional contexts that failed to achieve the expected integrative capacity. Unlike the European case after the crisis of the Welfare State, social exclusion in Latin America has been distressing in nature for more than a century.

Beyond the neoliberal shift of the 1970s

During the 1970s, Latin America experienced a generalized institutional crisis triggered by the emergence of authoritarian regimes (Lechner and Laclau 1981)⁷⁷. From the 1970s to the 1980s, these civil-military dictatorships dominated the social-political system of the region. It was precisely at that moment when Chile adopted a neoliberal economic agenda (Ffrench-Davis 1999, 2003). Such a new approach is based on five premises: i) the privatization of public services; ii) the deconstruction of the social subject defined as State official —Governmental bureaucracy—; iii) the elimination of restrictions on the inflow of private capital into the provision of State services such as pension funds, health, education, and infrastructure; iv) the openness and free access of foreign investment into different economic activities⁷⁸; and v) the radicalization of the exploitation of raw materials as a strategy for global market integration.

In this sense, this neoliberal shift provides both the right context for the analysis of

⁷⁷ The institutional crisis does not explain the emergence of authoritarian regimes and civil-military dictatorships in the region. On the contrary, I argue that authoritarian regimes and the loss of democracy triggered the greatest institutional crisis in Latin America during the 1970s.

⁷⁸ In subsequent decades, this would give rise to nationalized capitals involved in profitable economic activities.

institutional transformations in Chile over the last three decades and the right framework for the development of the concept of social exclusion. In previous studies I argued that the socio-political and socio-economic changes derived from the neoliberal shift are at the basis of the increase in the extractive orientation of national economy and the subsequent territorial reorganization generated by such situation (Campos and Larenas 2012, Campos 2015 in press). In this sense, I planned to conduct a similar analysis to discuss the historical context of socio-urban exclusion. Over the last 30 years, socio-urban exclusion became increasingly regarded as a legitimate form of social organization⁷⁹; this can be clearly seen in the case of neighborhoods and schools. In this connection, the weakening of institutional environments would not have been possible without the incorporation of the market-oriented logic into the provision of social housing and education. In both case studies, the idea was to represent the civil-military dictatorship and its authoritarian way of governing as the most important historical context to convey the loss of social cohesion. This situation is at the basis of the reemergence of socio-environmental conflicts and the increase in urban exclusion.

Nevertheless, this chapter is focused on a different approach as it is intended to make historical sense of the increasing socio-urban exclusion processes from an evolving perspective rather from a specific historical point of view. The intuitive notion of incompleteness, which is related to the reflection on Latin American modernity and the criticism of the European notion of social exclusion, allows the reconstruction of the historical panorama of the region from the first decades of the 20th century to these days.

The argument is that Latin America has always been represented as an incomplete processes, either in terms of its internal situation or in terms of its external models; either as a political project that should be addressed or as the fixed destination of social life. In this connection, the developed world, especially Europe, has operated as the tangible point of reference for incompleteness. On the other side of the Atlantic it is possible to find development, prosperity, justice, and democracy. On South American side of the Atlantic, however, there is always the need to replicate these features, as there is a broad base of shared culture, religion, language, and ways of living. It is when Europe is no longer the point of reference for incompleteness that North America will rise as model, thereafter, the same Latin

⁷⁹ When I say that exclusion becomes a legitimate form of social organization, I socially refer to the political interaction between the State and the society within the context of public policies, the relationships among different social groups, the prevailing economic regime and the different cultural forms of symbolic exchange. In other words, an overarching vision of the “social”. However, the word “legitimate” does not mean accepted or imposed, it is just an allusion to a neutral reality. This situation changed with the emergence of the student movement seven years ago, which for the first time in more than three decades are challenging the social exclusion in the educational system.

American society —through self-observation— becomes aware of its shortcomings.

Latin America seems to be incomplete in terms of its incapacity to achieve a single progress-oriented society. On the other hand, Latin America is divided as the result of modernizing attempts over traditional or pre-modern structures in the first half of the 20th century. From the 1950s onwards, a large number of public policies materialized the intentions to achieve development by processes of internal modernization in the form of industrialization. However, during the 1980s, all this orientations focused on obtaining social integration and unity, were replaced by neoliberal policies that accepted the incapacity to achieve full development with social integration, thus inequity levels increase.⁸⁰

Four moments of historical and analytical analysis observed according to the notion of incompleteness

By taking the concept of incompleteness as the interpretative key of both the theoretical reflection on Latin America and the local political project, I will analyze four historical moments that took place over the 20th century. Though these events compose a sequence, they are not completely separated in chronological terms; they coexist and interact among each other. In what follows I offer a brief description of each of these moments and then move on to provide a detailed analysis of their capacity to influence the meaning given to the notion of social exclusion in the Latin American region.

Firstly, our analysis is focused on the academic and political discourses related to modernization theories. From this perspective, and greatly influenced by American anthropology, the underdevelopment condition of Latin America is due to its pre-modern conditions. Economic, political, social, and cultural delay is the expression of the incomplete deployment of modernity at the global level. Therefore, underdevelopment should be addressed by modernization policies focused on changing social structures towards new forms of production, exchange and accumulation. In this narrative, modernization resembles the deployment of instrumental rationality.

At the end of the 1940s, a new Latin American narrative emerged to compete with the dominant modernization theories. The thesis of Raul Prebisch about the “deteriorating terms of trade” between the center and the periphery is the starting point of a new perspective of analysis. From this point of view, the underdevelopment condition of Latin America is no

⁸⁰ Latin America is regarded as the most unequal region in the world; in the words of Alicia Barcena, Executive Secretary of ECLAC (2008), “it is common to say that Latin America is the region with the widest income gap in the world”. Available at <http://www.cepal.org/cgibin/getProd.asp?xml=/prensa/noticias/columnas/2/35072/P35072.xml&xsl=/prensa/tpl/p8f.xsl>. See also Machinea and Hopenhayn (2005: 14).

longer regarded as the result of the backwardness of modernization processes. This region is not going through a development phase prior to that experienced by industrialized countries. On the contrary, this situation is the real and tangible result of the inequitable logic of the global market, in which commodity-based economies depend on industrial-exporting economies. This theory gives rise to one of the most ambitious modernization projects developed in Latin America, known as “import substitution industrialization”. This initiative, proposed by ECLAC, was implemented by several governments in the region. In this sense, a change in the economic basis of society would contribute to the achievement of social synthesis and the surmounting of incompleteness, thus resulting in the integration of excluded groups.

Towards the end of the 1960s, and within the conceptual framework of a dependent economic condition, a second Latin American theoretical effort emerged; this proposal was known as “marginality project”. Different researchers from the region tried to expand on the idea of marginality from its empirical dimension in order to provide a conceptualization to describe the social reality of Latin America. Within the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and the Latin American and Caribbean Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES), the concept of marginality revealed the dramatic results of the accelerated Latin American urbanization process. In this sense, marginality would refer to the condition of poor settlements located in the outskirts of the city. Then, it would be observed that this concept also refers to the condition of tenant houses located in the downtown of the city. Therefore, marginality described a condition detached from the territorial dimension and intimately related to social groups. From that moment, and directly related to the description of underdeveloped and dependent economies, the concept of marginality would begin to take a new shape. According to José Nun, this notion indicated the ambiguous condition of a workforce that is rejected by the same system that creates it (Nun 1968). This situation was of great interest to non-autonomous economies with a demographic explosion and low levels of industrialization. Then, marginality, understood as the incapacity to achieve integration, revealed the widespread incompleteness of the Latin American development model.

The academic, political and social projects involved in the theory of marginality were interrupted as a result of the emergence of authoritarian regimes during the 1970s. However, the phenomenon of marginality was not reduced, but remained and was consolidated. A new model of economic regulation would be promoted by the civil-military regimes —especially

in the Chilean case. This violent shift towards neoliberalism becomes evident when new scholars and policy makers stop thinking of the limits of developments as the consequence of an unfinished modernity, a structural dependency or an increasing marginality. In Chile, development policies would no longer be affected by social groups excluded from the so-called socially-produced benefits of economic development. Within the neoliberal context, the interpretative role of incompleteness is not abandoned; in this sense I would like to be clear, the neo-liberal project is just the refusal to confront social incompleteness.

In this context, neoliberal policies adopted by the civil-military regime, which remained in force during the period known as the Chilean transition to democracy, addressed social reality from the perspective that refuse to confront social inequalities —and does not seem to be affected by taking such an approach. Enzo Faletto, in his work entitled “*De la teoría de la dependencia al proyecto neoliberal: el caso chileno*”, clearly illustrates this situation when pointing out that: “It is also evident that businessmen tended to accept, almost inexorably, a process of dual segmentation of economy and society. This phenomenon was regarded as the cost of modernization which, inevitably, left some groups behind; it was a dual country where not all individuals were able to take part of modernity and, in the brutal words of a former secretary, there were some extra people”. (Faletto 1999: 67)⁸¹.

The current period of democratic governments witnessed the rescue of a social and political project focused on the overcoming of incompleteness. However, this occurs within the margins and limits of this concept. Following the neoliberal logic, unlike the case of a social market economy, incompleteness reemerges in the governmental intent to supply market failures within the provision of social services and common goods. The market should not be regulated but complemented when it is not operating as expected. In this context, the main problem lies in the lack of access of poorest groups to social services such as education, health, and pension funds -to name just a few. These groups have no ability to pay and, as a result, they are ignored by the market. The concept of incompleteness should be tackled through focalization, that is, the provision of supply- and demand-side subsidies to ensure the delivery of social services to poor or vulnerable groups.

It was during the last seven years that Chile experienced the reemergence of a political discourse intended to overcome social, economic, political and cultural incompleteness through a model that moves away from the concept of focalization. In this context, there are three ways to address the issue of incompleteness put forward by social movements in

⁸¹ Translation by the author

contemporary Chile: i) the promotion of universal and free education, ii) increased political representation, and iii) the recognition of minority or vulnerable groups. However, this is far from being a completed process that provides the conditions for conducting a historical analysis.

In what follows, I refer to these four above-mentioned events. Each of them is thoroughly explored in order to examine the explanatory capacity of incompleteness; likewise, I explore how these perspectives may feed the notion of socio-urban exclusion. It is worth noting that these four events have differences and do not stand on an equal footing. I make use of the theories of dependency and marginality to reconstruct the analytical variables related to the exclusion process; as for the theories of modernization and the neoliberal shift, they are regarded as inadequate perspectives for the purposes of this research. There is a constant analysis of the historical emergence, the theoretical-political bonds and the Latin American specificity behind these events.

i) Social exclusion as incomplete modernization; modernization theories in Latin America

During the 1940s and 1950s there was a predominance of North American theories on modernization intended to expand on “backwardness” or “underdevelopment” related issues. According to Jorge Larraín, these theories depict modernization as a historical need in which traditional societies face less advanced stages, thus replicating the path followed by developed countries (Larraín 2011: 16). *The Stage of Economic Growth, A Non-Communist Manifest* (Rostow 1962) and *Economy and Society* (Moore 1955) are among the best known examples of this perspective.

Rostow, an economic historian, seeks to construct a theory on economic growth and, more generally, a theory on modern history (1962: 12). In the case of the latter theory, the “stages of development”⁸² were observed from a nationwide perspective and represent both the regularity and the distinctive feature of each modernizing trajectory. However, the proposal of a non-communist manifest is precisely an attempt to create an alternative to the Marxist historical description.

As the author stresses, the idea is to avoid thinking of political, social and cultural relationships as the superstructure built from economic relationships. The interaction between politics, society and economy shows how the economic shift is the result and the cause of

⁸² The author identifies five stages: i) traditional society, ii) preconditions for take-off, iii) take-off, iv) drive to maturity, and v) age of High mass consumption.

these reciprocal actions. However, epistemological considerations do not end there as Rostow—from the economic development perspective— regards human motivation as one of the most important driving forces of modernization. Thus, the reference made to Keynes is enlightening: “If human nature felt no temptation to take a chance, no satisfaction (profit apart) in constructing a factory, a railway, a mine or a farm, there might not be much investment merely as a result of cold calculation” (Keynes 1958: 149 quoted in Rostow 1962: 15).

The importance of the human nature in the context of the economic development places the work of Rostow within the domains of the evolutionary theory. Modernity is, then, regarded as a process that divides history and the world into developed and traditional societies. A similar approach can be found in Moore’s *Economy and Society*, even when the author suggests the need to conduct comparative studies on economy and sociology. In this case, the focus is on understanding the role of the economic shift in economic structures inside the processes of economic growth. Likewise, Foster’s *Traditional Societies and Technological Change* (Foster 1973), stands as a different and notable example of the North American anthropology of the 1970s. Here, the focus is on questioning the replication of scientific approaches in contexts other than those of industrialized countries. This work highlights the interrelation between technical and social development, in which the former is no longer the driving force of the latter.

A broad approach to human motivation in different cultural contexts may serve as a useful resource to understanding exclusion processes. On its own, the structural dimension of social processes is unable to shed light on the meanings that emerge around people and their institutional environments. Modernization theories and their different variables reveal prescriptive standards as far as the socio-economic shift is concerned. Such a standardization of history can only be attained through an overarching narrative, in which a number of previously defined variables are affected in order to bring about the modernizing change. Specificity can be elaborated by means of the identification of the historical and structural particularities lying behind each context, as in the case of the contribution made by the dependency theory. However, for the purposes of this research, there is a relevant focus on the individual and collective dimension that affects specific socio-cultural spaces.

ii) Exclusion as the result of unequal integration into the international market; Latin America dependence theory and the industrialization processes

In *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (1969 [1979]), Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto raise the question as to why Latin America did not achieve the expected development. Historical evidence provided by the authors suggests that, after World War II, the most advanced countries of the region succeeded in consolidating the import substitution model and showed considerable progress in the production of capital goods. Likewise, these countries had a large domestic market that suggested the presence of an autonomous development model and a strong productive base for exports. In this connection, governments carried out different modernizing policies and there was the conviction that growth rates would remain the same. This excitement disappeared towards the end of the 1950s, a period marked by the stagnation and slowdown of regional economies (Cardoso and Faletto, 1969).

Raúl Prebisch, who took part in important bilateral meetings between Argentina and England and a series of international conferences on economics during the 1930s, shares this approach. Joseph Love (1980), one of the most prominent historians of the Center-Periphery concept, points out that: “After war broke out in 1939, the British government played its monopsonistic position to yet greater advantage in negotiations between the Bank of England and Argentina’s Central Bank, led by Raul Prebisch. One can easily surmise that Argentina’s protracted and notorious dependency on her major trading partner left a lasting impression on Prebisch” (Love 1980: 49). The thesis of the deteriorating terms of trade shows that, even if commodity-producing countries increase their production and reduce costs, they will inevitably generate less revenue. The opposite is true in the case of industrialized countries. This is the birth of the center-periphery concept and unequal integration as the basis of the analysis of the dependency.

From these complementary visions, developed by Prebisch, Faletto and Cardoso in the context of ECLAC during the 1950s and the 1960s, the Latin American development issue emerged as a concern that transcended the unresolved structural duality and the traditional nature of Latin American societies. This process of development is hampered by the highly unequal international market. However, the question as to how the national incorporation into the international market is affected by internal social relationships remains unanswered. This is how the dependency theory is related to exclusionary social realities.

“The underdevelopment state of the country is a way of being that depends on

subordination relationships that transcend the reorientation of social, political and economic behavior towards certain interests [...] These relationships occur through the action of social groups which, by means of their behavior, establish a link between the economic and political spheres” (Cardoso and Faletto 1969: 29)⁸³.

The above quotation shows an attempt to emphasize the empirical analysis of specific underdevelopment features, even within a dependency-based model. In other words, acknowledging the existence of dependency, does not impede the accurate understanding of the specificities and interpretative value of each particular national case. The analysis proposed by the authors seeks to establish a relationship between the processes experienced by Latin American societies and the historical-structural characteristics of each country. In this sense, the highlighting of concrete features refers to the structural dimension of the analysis; however, the historical dimension is related to the purposes of social movements and their objectives, values, and ideologies. Thus, in an interpretative framework that proposes an interrelation between structure and history. This relationship among analytical perspectives is the most important aspect to consider when rethinking social exclusion processes in Latin America from the perspective of dependency theory.

Different authors describe the approach to a “historical process”, which implies transcending of the structural analysis in order to stress the “categories that give meaning to facts”. This capacity to give meaning to processes is precisely what I seek to demonstrate through the analysis of the forms and uses of socio-urban exclusion. This relegation phenomenon represents a historical process, a series of causalities in the construction of a specific system or institution which, for the purposes of this research, refers to the education system. The analysis of this perspective should highlight the types of relationships among different social groups, including their interests and values. In this line, Cardoso and Faletto point out that: “the social and political structures are modified inasmuch as the different classes and social groups succeed in imposing their interests, force and domination on society” (1969: 18). In the same vein, I propose that individuals and collective groups seek to impose their interests, not only on the general structure of society, but also on daily social relationships. It is worth noting that these interactions are iterative and succeed in expressing the interest of the group. Interaction between social groups and the imposition of interest are not only mediated by clashes among them. Individual and collective interests could be deployed not over other social groups but by affecting institutional environments in a subtle

⁸³ Translation by the author

and effective way.

The analysis of the dependency theory, which is always restricted to structural variables, reveals its deep-rooted link to social interactions. This enables the provision of an endogenous explanation about the success or failure of the historical process of development. I use the same approach to refer to socio-urban exclusion, which occurs in contexts other than those related to structural processes or conflicts of “class interest”. The reemergence of the individual and collective dimensions implies observing how and when these class or group interests lose their antagonistic and dissimilar nature to, as a whole, modify the institutional environment and its orientations and values at the everyday level.

iii) Exclusion as marginality; increasing social exclusion in Latin American societies within a dependency context

The marginality project began during the second half of the 1960s in Santiago de Chile under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), an agency of the Latin American and Caribbean Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES), and the Center for the Economic and Social Development of Latin America (DESAL). However, two years after its inception, the project was relocated to the Center for Social Research at the Torcuato Di Tella Institute, in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Under the coordination of Argentinian lawyer and political scientist José Nun, different researchers, as well as a large number of scholars during the 1960s, explored the issues of economic development within the region.

The description of the movements experienced by the “marginality project” and the almost complete abandonment of the initiative during the 1970s is nevertheless significant. The relocation of the project from Chile to Argentina is regarded as an analytical detachment from the original sponsoring institutions. In this sense, the Latin American approach to marginality has two dimensions, namely, concrete category and analytical category. In the case of the first dimension it is possible to find the studies conducted by ECLAC and ILPES, which descriptively address the situation of peripheral urban settlements. However, DESAL provided the first breakthrough on the conceptualization of the social behavior of population areas from an urban perspective; such an advance was then labeled as passive and active participation.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Passive participation refers to the receipt of the goods that make up society (literacy, decent housing and employment); on the other hand, active participation refers to the integration into the socio-political processes that dominate the distribution of socially-produced goods. This definition was regarded as insufficient within the marginality project as it does not explain the essential aspects and the causes of marginality.

Once in Argentina, the marginality project followed the unexplored analytical path provided by DESAL. “The greatest problems in the use of the term emerged when the social condition of the inhabitants of these [marginal] settlements and dwellings were added, by simple extension, to the empirically coined notion of marginality” (Quijano quoted by Nun 1968: 5)⁸⁵. However, does this situation represent a problem or a conceptual challenge? It would be easier for us to choose the second option. José Nun would say that the concept loses its urban anchoring when referring to the social situation of a large proportion of the Latin American population. In other words, marginality is facing the fact of making sense of particular social conditions in our region.

The marginality project is able to achieve its regional particular nature thanks to the dependency theory. Naturally, there are some examples of the adjective marginal being used in social sciences; Nun and his team tracked this word and found it in the Chicago school of sociology, which refers to the “marginal man”, and in the proposal of Theodor Adorno, which refers to the concept of “marginal personality” (Nun 1968: 4)⁸⁶. However, the first urban link to the proposed notion in Latin America is not related to an individual quality but to a social condition. In other words, this term is not an adjective but a noun. The concept of marginality does not allude to the material or cultural deprivation found in the notion of poverty. Marginality is the attempt to thematize a given situation and a social condition within the global economic context. This is about the situation of a group resulting from the economic constraints of a system; in this case, social system fails to absorb such a social group into its labor market. As for absorption, this is a highly differential process within a developed or undeveloped economic context. Latin American situation shows a particular condition of marginality, because it represents a social constellation that is overwhelmed by it. In this sense and from that perspective, marginality is the benchmark for all dependent and peripheral economies.

The marginality project regards this condition as the predominant characteristic of the regional development process rather than as the side effect of progress. According to data collected by DESAL (1966) and quoted in *Informe preliminar* (Nun 1968), 50 percent of the population lived under marginality conditions in most integrated countries –in terms of social structure; in the worst cases, this figure rose to about 80 percent. Therefore, the problem of

⁸⁵ Translation by the author

⁸⁶ I believe that the references to the “marginal man” are connected with the work of Robert E. Park entitled “*Human Migration and the Marginal Man*” (1928) and the book authored by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, entitled “*The Polish peasant in Europe and America*” (1958).

integration finds its maximum expression in the widespread condition of marginality; hence its value to rethink social exclusion in our region today. Unlike its formulation dating back to the 1960s, marginality, within the context of the research on socio-urban exclusion, does not need to question if this relegation phenomenon is the result of autonomous or dependent economies. Nor does it have to understand if this is a process caused by exogenous or endogenous forces. Social exclusion seeks to reveal the life experiences of population affected by marginality. In this sense, there is a need to focus on the individual when observing social exclusion, thus, with the intention of depicting its biographic condition as well as its stability and persistency through time⁸⁷. This analysis has to be done even when social sciences make serious efforts to defend the dynamic nature of social exclusion.

In this sense, I very much focused on the persistency of the marginality that emerges as results from its own dynamic force. In order to observe this phenomenon, and in the same way that it proposes the marginality theory, there is a need to refer to the paradox that exclusion is the result of the same dynamics designed to address or solve this issue. However, the most important aspect of this proposal about exclusion—which sets us apart from the theory of marginality—is that we do not understand it as the result, but as the enactment of social relationships. The experience of exclusion has an account that tells us how integrating institutions are redefined into generalized forms of exclusion. The applicability of the theories of “reserve army” and “marginal mass” (Nun 1971) into the school context will remain unanswered. However, I raise the following question: is it possible that school institutions need to maintain non-integrated groups in order to reproduce the capital of the dominant groups within a given society?

iv) The necessary exclusion in a neoliberal project; from authoritarian governments to the return of democracy

As we have previously stated, the main characteristic of the neoliberal shift is the abandonment of social integration as a theoretical and political project. For the new State officials, integration is not regarded as an issue. The increase in marginality and exclusion are processes that are not worth fighting for. Then, as Faletto suggests, it is important to understand the ideology of both policy-makers and businessmen.

There are some notable cases of social actors engaged in the public or private sector at the

⁸⁷ It is worth remembering the words of Danilo Martuccelli in “*Cambio de rumbo, las sociedades a escala del individuo*”: Sociology, in the times of the individual has to face an unprecedented fact: the individual is the preliminary—primary—horizon within our social perception” (2007: 5).

end of the 1970s. The well-known “Chicago Boys” or “the Economists of Pinochet” (Valdes 1995) promoted a change to the economic structure through the radical transformation of State social role. In this sense, Faletto points out that: “the interesting aspect of this group, known as the ‘Chicago Boys’, is that they aimed to elaborate a global reorganization model for the Chilean society” (Faletto 1999)⁸⁸.

The essential feature of this change is the transition from an organized society based on a collective project to a society driven by different interests and individual freedom. The social order is not denied; however, there is a reconfiguration of social roles. In economic terms, Latin America achieved substantial growth in the period spanning 2003-2008; nevertheless, such an improvement does not bring along an equally substantial reduction in inequality. This is clearly illustrated by Fleury:

“Contrary to expectations, the resumption of stable economic growth experienced during the 1990s did not bring along a substantial reduction in poverty and inequality within the region; this suggests that a favorable macroeconomic scenario that ensures poverty alleviation and the improvement of income distribution is not enough to overcome these issues” (Fleury, 1998: 6-7)⁸⁹.

We cannot say that inequality is a characteristic common to Latin America; however, there is no doubt that this condition is intensely experienced by those who live inside the region. Structural adjustment policies have weakened the State-society relationship, which is intended to achieve integration. Such a relation is represented by the “weak State” and “subsidiary State” adjectives. On the other hand, focalization emerges as the means of access to market goods for those living in poverty. However, socio-urban exclusion is a growing phenomenon in societies that are becoming increasingly spatially polarized. In these cases, the micro social processes that affect the everyday forms of relationship between individuals and institutional environments are still not thematized.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to demonstrate the special nature of the study of socio-urban exclusion in Latin America. Such a characteristic derives, on the one hand, from a quantitative perspective that is born of the observation of the widespread extension of social exclusion within the region, and on the other hand, from a qualitative perspective that

⁸⁸ Translation by the author

⁸⁹ Translation by the author

emerges when we observe that exclusion is a historically stable and widespread way of life within individual and collective biographies.

I went a long way to elaborate my proposal. Firstly, I questioned the relationship between social exclusion and the crisis of the European Welfare State. Secondly, I took this notion and analyzed the most important theoretical approaches, political projects, and historical events in Latin America over the last five decades. This analytical path, which may be regarded by some as a detachment from the contextual nature of contemporary socio-urban exclusion, allows me to observe the consistent and persistent — yet non-thematized— condition of exclusion within the social scientific debate in Latin American region.

The above allows me to state the following: from the 1940s onwards it is possible to think of socio-urban exclusion in Latin America as a living condition that establishes a close link between individuals and their institutional environments. This condition, which has been considered the bases for the shift towards a sociology of the individual, has been part of Latin American reality for decades. This is because institutional environments have always been weak in terms of integration and strongly effective as far as exclusion is concerned. In this sense, few things have a greater individualizing capacity than human pain, suffering, relegation, and exclusion.

This is precisely my proposal towards an urban sociology focused on the study of the relationship between individuals and their institutional environments. I believe that the historical-biographical approach to this issue will provide a wealth of analytical possibilities. This is especially relevant as the study of the empirical conditions under which individuals give shape to social institutions and the latter, in turn, intervene in the life trajectories of people.

Different social demonstrations demanding the transformation of the Chilean education system are, without a shadow of a doubt, the shining example of individuals claiming the reorganization of an institution according to their desire for recognition and autonomy. This concern has been continuously present in Latin American socio urban movements and their force has been echoed by local social sciences which, for over half a century, have focused their attention on integration issues. Latin America is guiding the return of the individual to the urban life because, in order to produce a change in the city and the social structure, something has to happen with our actions and representations about the meaning of living together.

Thesis Part Two Empirical Research

Chapter four: The geographic scale of social exclusion.

The spatial dimension of socio-urban exclusion described at the level of declined neighborhoods and deprived schools in Santiago de Chile

Overview: A growing number of public policies define the local scale as the privileged space for governmental intervention. Observing the intervention spaces defined by different programs at the local scale, we verified that rarely does spatial coincidence exist between them. What is going on there? Generally, this situation has been diagnosed as an example of incoordination by State intervention.

This chapter defends an alternative explanation by arguing: the lack of spatial congruence is the result of a scalar problem in which the geographical extension of the socio-spatial exclusion has reached such magnitude that any selection of local spaces inside macro-areas becomes plausible but at the same time insufficient in tackling the real extension – social and territorial - of the social problems.

By the description of the intervention spaces defined for neighborhood regeneration and learning improvement results in schools, both inside the metropolitan area of Santiago de Chile (MAS), a discussion regarding the scale of social exclusion and public policies will be advanced. The scale of social exclusion shows macro-zones, a geography located over or above the local level, delineating three particular configurations: concentrated and extended areas, as well as, interstitial spaces.

Introduction

The implicit interest of this chapter is to make progress on the description of the socio-spatial fragmentation in the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (MAS) in the context of the growing trend toward socio-urban exclusion from a neighborhood scale. This proposal suggests relieving implementation spaces, that is to say, the definition of the intervention territories of two public policies. On the one hand, there is the regeneration of neighborhoods, which has as objective to reverse the accelerated urban degeneration process; and, on the other hand, there is the intervention of low-performing schools, which is intended to improve learning achievement. The underlying hypothesis is that these two intervention methods, through their implementation sites within the MAS, reveal a geography of exclusion. From a theoretical perspective, this geography of exclusion should be understood not only as a structural condition of the metropolitan territory in terms of socio-spatial segregation, but also as a constant updating of practices that generate socio-urban exclusion.⁹⁰

As described above, this chapter analyzes the implementation spaces of intervention programs intended to improve the learning achievement of schools with low SIMCE⁹¹ records; the Ministry of Education⁹² labeled these institutions as “Critical Schools” (until 2004) and “Priority Schools” (from 2005 to 2009). Likewise, the intervention program of highly physically and socially deteriorated neighborhoods launched by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development⁹³ in January 2007 entitled “I Love My Neighborhood”, is also examined.

⁹⁰ “[...] problems of isolation of the urban poor and mechanisms that promote and maintain these situations beyond economic and material aspects.” Isolation is defined as a “fragile —and eventually inexistent— link between the urban poor and institutions that operate based on the regulations and values that dominate society at a specific historical period”. See Katzman (2001: 172). Translation by the author.

⁹¹ Education Quality Measurement System, a standardized test applied by the Chilean State over every school in the country.

⁹² These two programs refer to a series of initiatives intended to “support in a targeted way” those institutions regarded as a “priority” by MINEDUC. “A Basic general education institution that serves students from low and middle-low socioeconomic backgrounds and shows poor learning achievement results that persist on the medium term. Likewise, it maintains a repetition rate above the national and regional average and a constant decline in pupil enrollment; it is common for these institutions to have more vacancies than candidates, accept or being assigned students during the whole school year and show high student turnover”. This is a quote from Fernando Maureira in “*Support Strategies for Vulnerable Educational Institutions*” (2008), which refers to “*Terms of Reference. Priority Schools Consultancy Project. Follow-On Phase, 2006*”, developed by the General Education Division at the National Coordination of Basic Education (MINEDUC).

⁹³ The Chilean program on neighborhood regeneration promoted by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU) was entitled “I Love My Neighborhood” —also known as “200 neighborhoods— in order to refer to the number of units intervened to commemorate the 200th anniversary of National Independence, which took place in 1810. This program emerged as one of the measures prepared for the first one hundred days of the Bachelet administration in 2006. “The general objective of the program is to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants of deteriorated and vulnerable neighborhoods through a participative process aimed at recovering public spaces and the urban environment of families. The specific objectives of this program are: recovering deteriorated public spaces, improving the conditions of the surrounding environment, strengthening social relationships and ensuring the provision of more integrated neighborhoods”. Official information released by MINVU.

The question that immediately emerges is why these two sectorial policies⁹⁴ are combined in an analysis of the fragmentation situation, which is related to socio-spatial exclusion processes in metropolitan areas. Broadly speaking, the answer suggests that their low spatial coincidence is evidence of territorial fragmentation and its subsequent socio-urban exclusion. This chapter proposes that the low spatial correlation of public policies resulting from the definition of intervention spaces does not only reveal a lack of sectorial complementarity. On the contrary, there is a relationship with two phenomena that exert pressure on public policy from the territorial dimension: i) the institutional impossibility to integrally operate on a given territory, which means that State intervention is incapable of creating “intervention spaces” and “fields of action”⁹⁵ intended to achieve high-impact actions; and ii) a social problem that has transcended the local or neighborhood barrier, thus emerging as a socio-spatial complexity in the form of large exclusion zones or areas that exceed the diagnostic, strategic, and budgetary capacities of current public policies.

This chapter is divided into two sections; while the first one offers a theoretical reflection, the second one provides an empirical analysis. To a great extent, this theoretical thinking introduces a reflection on the social construction of geographic scales. Broadly based on the Marxist school of urban issues, this reflection proposes the possible existence of a line of argument within the social construction of the space concept suggested by Henri Lefebvre and the current debate on the social construction of geographic scales pointed out by Sallie Marston. The conclusion of such thinking provides a conceptual space for the study of socio-urban exclusion and its scale-based construction. In other words, the socio-urban dimension of exclusion is not an analytical assumption but a subject of study and constant social construction.

The empirical analysis addresses the description of the spatial forms of social exclusion through the examination of the implementation spaces of intervention programs intended to regenerate neighborhoods and improve the learning achievement of low-performing schools. In this sense, this chapter provides three dimensions of analysis: i) spatial coincidence or non-spatial coincidence within intervention areas; ii) the spatial relationship between exclusion spaces and the socio-economic level of inhabitants; and iii) the identification of predominant

⁹⁴ These two programs were an essential part of the recent administrations led by the “Coalition of Parties for Democracy”, a political conglomerate that run the country from 1990 to 2010. Later on, the center-right government modified these programs; however, their proximity in time and short life prevents the space-time analysis suggested by this chapter for the 2010-2014 period.

⁹⁵ On the one hand, intervention spaces refer to sites where a program of public policies is implemented; on the other hand, fields of action refer to thematic areas that can be addressed by such a program. This distinction becomes particularly clear in the case of neighborhood regeneration.

spatial forms of socio-urban exclusion based on the extrapolation of school performance.

As this introduction points out, the general objective of this chapter is to describe the particular spatial form taken by socio-spatial exclusion within the MAS. This is achieved by observing how the traditional spaces of social integration have turned into mechanisms of exclusion. In consideration of this objective, the methodology used in this chapter is based on a spatial analysis. Other methodologies such as the traditional approaches from social sciences based on qualitative or quantitative methods are discarded. The assumption behind this methodological selection suggests that the study of the spatial form of socio-urban exclusion is the first step towards the analysis of this phenomenon and provides essential information for future research based on the abovementioned techniques.

This chapter aims at finding complementarities, one of them being the fruitful research conducted by the Housing Institute at the University of Chile, which focuses on the recovery of neighborhoods at national and international level (Campos-Medina et al. 2010, Garcia-Huidobro 2008, Eckardt 2011). I believe that these experiences may encourage further attempts to address the key issues of territorial public policies at national level such as: i) a study on educational geography; ii) the possibility to make progress on the generation of country-wide public policies aimed at using the territory as a coordinating element; iii) the description, analysis and understanding of the multiple scales of socio-spatial problems; and iv) the generation of multi-level diagnostic mechanisms and responses commensurate with the geographies that emerge and vanish within the territory.

Social construction of scales and territorial coherence

The social construction of geographic scales is an analytical dimension that is rarely used in the socio-urban research at the Latin American level.⁹⁶ However, from the 1960s onwards, there have been conceptualization efforts provided by the international scene. The concept of “social construction of space”, coined by Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre 1991), is one such example and is regarded as some of the first efforts aimed at transcending the objectivist perspective on territory when it states that: i) (The physical) natural space is disappearing [...] ii) every society —and therefore every production method and its variations— produces a space, its own space. (Lefebvre 1991: 30-31)

The French author suggests that the production of space can be traced through the different types of spaces and forms in which they emerge. In this sense, it is possible to say

⁹⁶ See Diaz et al. 2010. In the case of Buenos Aires, authors are illustrative when referring to the differentiating construction of exclusion areas within a metropolitan space. At the same time, they put into question the study on social exclusion in excessively delimited areas.

that the space is not the place where capitalist relationships are developed, but on the contrary, it is an instrument for the development of capitalism. The following two quotes clearly describe this argument.

The project I am outlining, however, does not aim to produce a (or the) discourse on space, but rather to expose the actual production of space by bringing the various kinds of space and modalities of their genesis together within a single theory. (Lefebvre 1991: 16)

This is my hypothesis: It is in space and through space where the reproduction of the relationships of capitalist production takes place. Space is increasingly becoming an instrumental space. (Lefebvre 1974: 223)

The work of Lefebvre does not directly refer to the notion of territorial scales, at least not in the references offered in this chapter. His contribution is of a rather indirect nature, for if it is accepted the idea that space is a social construction, nothing different will happen at the territorial scale. Directly addressing this issue, Sallie Marston (2000) deals with the social construction of scales. This theoretical proposal sparked a heated discussion in the journal *Progress in Human Geography* in 2001 as the result of criticism leveled by Neil Brenner (2001) and the subsequent response on the part of Marston (2001). Beyond such a contention, it is possible to observe how different authors refer back to the “social” component within the construction of space and geographic scales up until today.⁹⁷

The theoretical proposal of this chapter is at a different level as it does not deal with the generalized construction of space triggered by technocracy or market trends, such as the case of Lefebvre. At the same time, my proposal is not completely centered on the “reproduction and consumption” suggested by Sallie Marston: “In this article I want to argue further that scale is constituted and reconstituted around relations of capitalist production, social reproduction and consumption, and that attention to all three sets of relations is critical to understanding fully the social construction of scale”. (Marston 2000: 221) In spite of this, I cannot deny my desire to approach the question regarding the role of “daily life” in the social construction of geographic scales.

Similarly, I keep a distance from a logic focused primarily on political-institutional issues, as in the case of Neil Brenner and the scale-based recreation known as “scale politics” when he refers to the “production, reconfiguration or contestation of some aspect of socio-

⁹⁷ In this line, it is possible to observe the theoretical project of human geographer Benno Werlen, especially his books “*Society Action and Space: An Alternative Human Geography*” (1993) and “*Sozialgeographie Alltäglicher Regionalisierungen*” 2 (1997).

spatial organization within a relatively bounded geographical arena —usually labeled the local, the urban, the regional, the national and so forth. In this singular aspect of the ‘politics of scale’, the word ‘of’ connotes a relatively differentiated and self-enclosed geographical unit”. (Brenner 2001: 559). While I acknowledge for the central action of the State within the scale-based construction, in the case in question, the spatial form of socio-urban exclusion emerges as the result of a combination of factors such as public policy, socio-urban trends and individual action.

By addressing the social construction of geographic scales from a public policy perspective, we highlight the conflict between the territoriality adopted by the State when addressing social exclusion and the supposed structural territoriality of socio-urban exclusion. The mid-point between both realities can be referred to as the “experience” of those who live in exclusionary conditions. The following section offers an empirical analysis to reveal this mid-point between the geographic representation of public policies in relation to social issues and the structural form within the MAS.

It is worth mentioning that this chapter highlights an issue that is rarely brought into discussion on public policies, which will be labeled as “the presumption regarding the time and territorial coherence of social problems”. This means that despite the clarity of social exclusion processes in the local or neighborhood space, they respond to dynamic processes of social differentiation in which their temporal consolidation moves, or oscillates, between: i) their origins when it comes to taking daily life decisions related to social differentiation, that is to say the anchoring in subjective action; and ii) their widely spread condition in large urban zones, which is the best indicator of structural condition, regardless of individual decisions taken by people or families.⁹⁸

In summary, I propose that the double *structure* and *agency*⁹⁹ dimension of socio-urban exclusion processes can be accessed through the description of the different time and spatial horizons used by different actors within exclusion geographies. This kind of instability can be analytically specified under the notion of the space-time transition of public policies, a concept that I would like to explore more in detail in future research.

⁹⁸ This double dimension of social exclusion at territorial and institutional level, including individual practices and strategies, can be addressed from the Habitus concept developed by Pierre Bourdieu: “A system of lasting and transferable dispositions, structures intended to operate as structures at structural level, that is to say, as principles that generate and organize practices and representations that may be objectively adapted to their functions, without the presumption of the conscious effort of certain objectives or the dominance of the operations required to achieve these objectives; they are objectively “regulated” and “regular” without being the result of the obedience to the rules and as such, they are collectively orchestrated without being the result of the organizing action of a conductor” (Bourdieu 2007: 86)

⁹⁹ The structure and agency concept is a key element within the sociological debate. For a comprehensive vision on this discussion, especially from an English perspective, see Anthony Giddens (1984 [1986]) and Margaret Archer (1995).

Spatial correlations, structure and agency

This chapter is not intended to simply conclude that the lack of spatial correlation between the two analyzed programs is the result of coordination problem at State level. On the contrary, I want to understand this difference as an indicator of the complex socio-territorial situation within the MAS. Here, the two diagnostic systems that faithfully represent their respective problems do not co-occur as the result of a lack of synchronization, and thus regarding the “cognitive representation frameworks” and “regulatory horizons of action”¹⁰⁰ of public policies. This allows us to hypothesize that our policy-makers, both at cognitive and regulatory level, have accepted the gradual but disastrous transformation of traditional socialization spaces into mechanisms of exclusion.¹⁰¹

This social transformation has given rise to an excessively enhanced scale of exclusion within the MAS; what could be understood as a synonym for construction. The configuration of this enhanced geographic scale of relegation is not only related to the financial capacity of households. On the contrary, households improved and expanded their access to goods and services over the last years. In spite of this, there is a need to understand that there are large areas or macro-areas governed by a constant “exclusion experience”.¹⁰²

The implicit assumption of this research proposes that there are families living in stable, continuous, lasting, and predictable conditions inside global spaces that offer low integration opportunities and high relegation chances. At the same time, these spaces have a scale that is not related to either the spatialization of income and consumption —as stated before— or the territorial divisions defined by the State. On the contrary, the exclusion scale has to do with the complementarity that emerges — at structural and experience level — in different socialization spaces which, rather than ensuring social integration, simply disseminated disadvantages over the last four decades. A large number of individuals, families and collectives have been unable to overcome such obstacles, thus becoming a situation that has persisted over the course of their lives.

Empirical analysis

i) Description of exclusion macro-areas

This analysis is based on the description of neighborhoods and intervened schools in

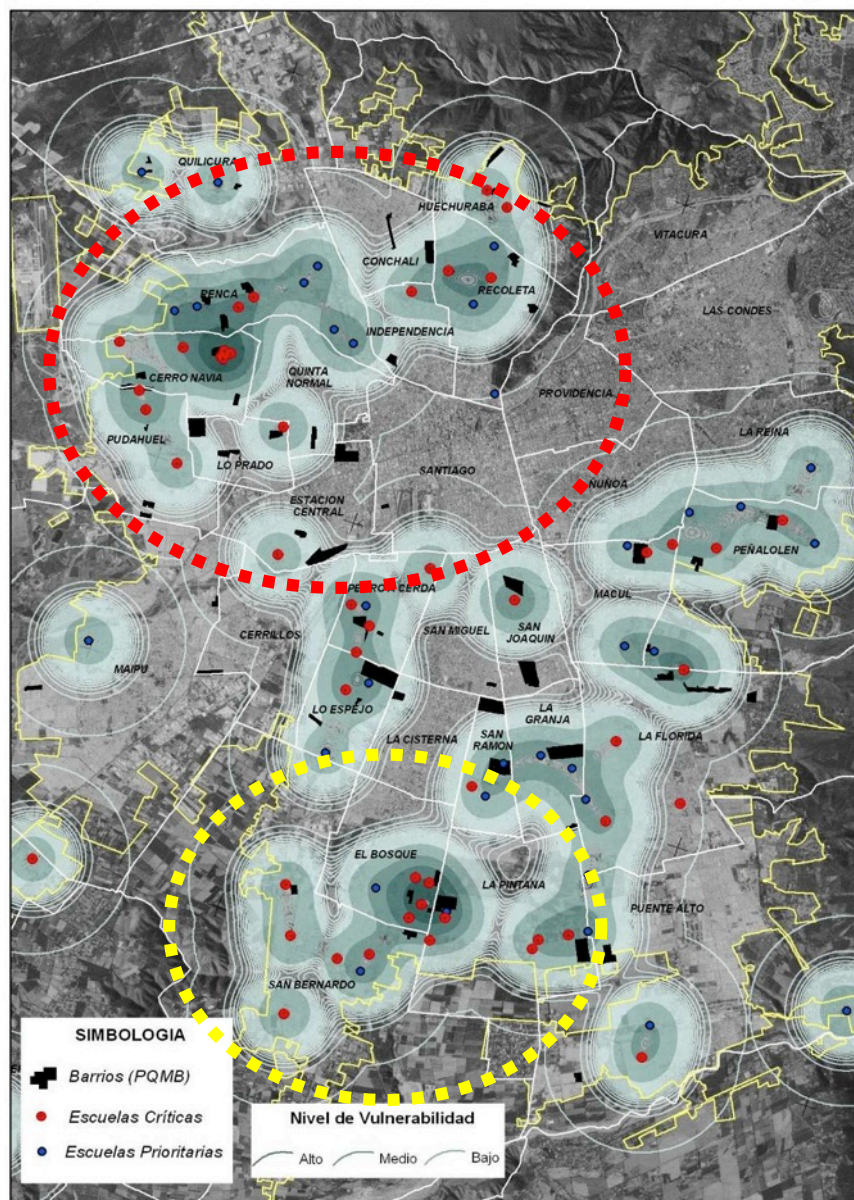
¹⁰⁰ Pierre Müller (2000) compares both concepts. In general terms, this author suggests that public policies are not the means to solve racial problems. On the contrary, they have the capacity to build conceptual frameworks to understand the world, which, apart from being of a cognitive nature, mobilize assessment elements to operate on a given issue.

¹⁰¹ The argument offered by this chapter is based on the interpretation of the cognitive approach to public policies developed by the French school. For a comprehensive view on this perspective, see Faure et al. 1995 and Müller, 2000.

¹⁰² In this sense it is possible to understand the intention of Jirón when she suggests supplementing the analysis of segregation within the MAS with the invisible forms adopted by inequality. These invisible forms are regarded by this chapter as the experience-related dimension of exclusion, which certainly cannot be reduced to material forms (Jirón 2007).

order to distinguish between the significant spatial forms that may allow a better understanding of exclusion geography. The question that emerges in relation to such an effort is: If neighborhoods and schools do not coincide at local level, is there any scale in which both dimensions coincide in order to describe a meaningful geography related to public policy intervention?

The comparison between the location of neighborhoods that are part of the “I Love My Neighborhood” project (MINVU) and the location of those schools labeled as critical-priority (MINEDUC) reveals some situations that may result as counter intuitive in a socio-geographic analysis. See Map 1.



Map 1: Location of Critical-Priority Schools and Neighborhoods Included in the ILMN Program
 Source: Elaborated by the author based on data released by MINEDUC, 2005 and MINVU, 2008

In general terms, this map highlights the locational complementarity of neighborhoods and schools; although strictly speaking, there is a low coincidence rate of intervention spaces (only the communes of Cerro Navia, San Ramon and La Pintana show an exact match). This global complementarity is not homogeneously distributed over the city; if the scale is changed and the different macro-zones are analyzed, it is possible to observe that the neighborhood-school concentration is higher in the northwestern part of the city (zone A: Cerro Navia, Renca and Quilicura) than in the southwest area (zone B: La Granja, San Ramon, El Bosque and La Pintana). The latter zone shows that there are more schools than neighborhoods being improved by these programs. As a general remark, it is possible to point out that neighborhoods show a peri-central location pattern within the city, while schools show a predominantly peripheral location pattern within the urban area.

According to the proposals made by Orellana and Fuentes (2009), this first analysis provides evidence to discuss the spatial geometries that reveal social and political elements within the MAS. i) There is a need to measure the fact that educational issues and the deterioration of the residential-urban habitat transcend the territorial administrative boundaries of the city.¹⁰³ ii) It is shown with relative clarity that the location of schools with poor learning achievement results is a weak response to a communal decision and a strong answer to the urban geographies of interstitial zones in-between districts; chief among them is the south border between the communes of El Bosque and La Pintana, the Macul-Peñalolen axis and the Cerro Navia, Renca and Pudahuel cluster. iii) This geographic distribution justifies the need to consider concepts such as “systemic leadership”¹⁰⁴ when thinking of improving school achievement within the MAS. This means addressing the possibility of having a group of schools sharing a similar logic, such as the concentration of students with learning disabilities in certain institutions and, concurrently, the concentration of advantaged students in other schools. This demonstrates that improvements focused on a single school rather on a group of schools may be influenced by location. iv) Lastly, despite the fact that there are neighborhoods showing high location rates coincident with communal borders, they do not represent a clear spatial group.

¹⁰³ As for neighborhood regeneration, the sustainability of interventions is related to intervention periods, fields of action and the already existing institutionalism. Such a logic also involves the need to transcend communal administrative boundaries. For a further analysis of the sustainability of neighborhood interventions in the Chilean case, see Sepulveda and Larenas (2010).

¹⁰⁴ Systemic leadership refers to how the heads of the same district work together to ensure the improvement of a school without affecting other institutions within surrounding area. For a further analysis of this topic, see Ceppe (2009).

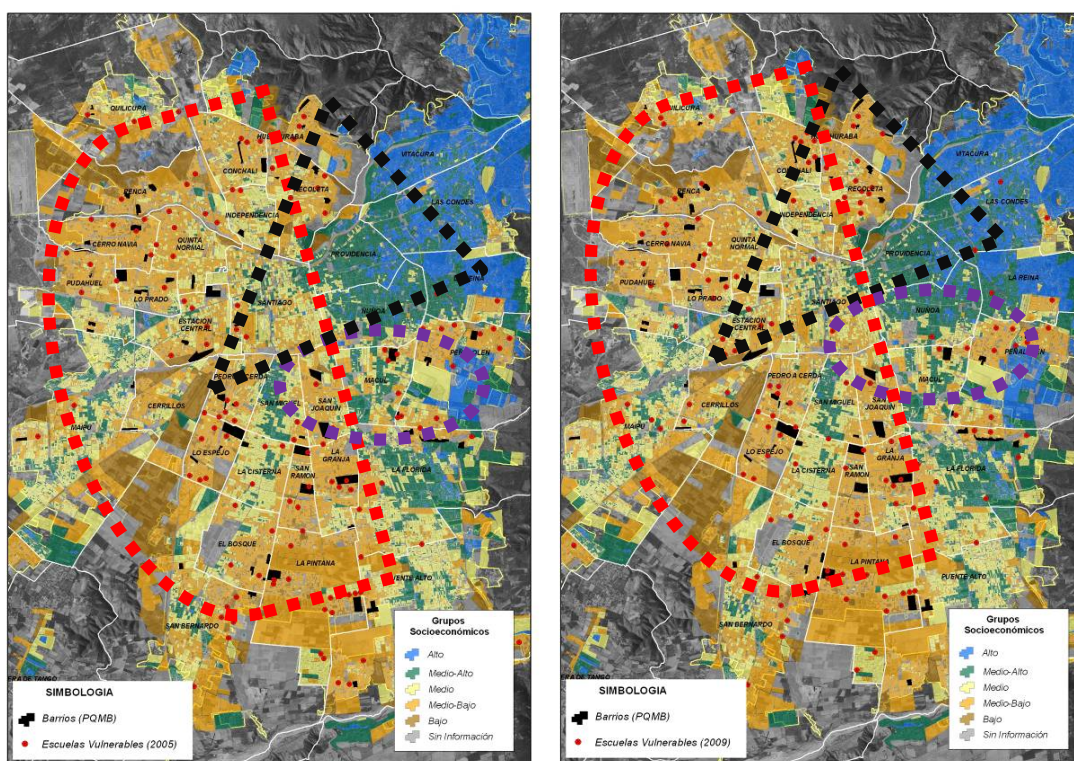
On the other hand, the complementary analysis of neighborhoods and schools provides coincidences in the identification of macro-zones of interest for future integral interventions.¹⁰⁵ These zones do not fall within a communal classification but, rather, describe inter-communal areas such as i) the northwest zone, by using the commune of Santiago as reference; ii) the south macro-area; and iii) the south-east axis, which is divided into the Macul-Peñalolen and Macul-La Florida systems.

As for the selection mechanisms of intervention units, the “I love my neighborhood” initiative was mainly based on the opinion of communal technicians and intervened schools were chosen according to their performance on the SIMCE test. In other words, it can be said that, while schools respond to social dynamics of segmentation and educational exclusion, neighborhoods respond to the political challenges of municipalities without being necessarily the result of socio-urban dynamics. Thinking of a synergic relationship between these two policies, thus with the capability to generate a transformational effect on the city, it would involve the inclusion of educational problems as a field of action within neighborhood regeneration. Thus entails the observation of: i) the education level of the inhabitants of these neighborhoods; ii) the education gap and the type of education of inhabitants; and iii) the school achievement attained by students. It is worth pointing out that there is a need to elaborate a list containing the addresses of students and their continuous enrollment in different schools to conduct a clear diagnostic of the urban conditioning of school performance.

ii) Macro-zones of exclusion and socio-economic level

The following two maps analyze the vulnerable neighborhoods and schools identified in 2005 and 2009, respectively, in relation to the location of predominant socio-economic groups within the MAS. See Map 2.

¹⁰⁵ For a further analysis of the zones of interest in terms of urban renewal based on the relationship between the spaces defined by the “I Love My Neighborhood” program and the already existing urban services, see Zapata and Arias (2008).



Map 2: Vulnerable Schools Groups; Spatial Geometries Neighborhoods and Socio-Economic 2005-2009
 Source: Elaborated by the author based on data released by MINEDUC, 2005 and 2009

Overall, these maps reveal classic relationships according to the territory-vulnerability concept. There is also a low concentration of vulnerable schools and neighborhoods in zones that are traditionally home to high-income groups and a dispersed concentration in areas that are home to low-income groups. The inverted cone depicted in these maps for the years 2005 and 2009 (left and right, respectively) shows the emergence of a small number of low-performing schools in the commune of Las Condes, which represents a municipality with favorable situation in terms of urban connectivity and accessibility, high management skills and resources available per inhabitant. The rest of the highlighted geometries clearly show that low-performing schools are concentrated in communes that lack the economic and professional capital to conduct intervention programs.

The semi-circle that extends over the north-southwestern area of the MAS shows the highest concentration of intervened schools and neighborhoods. The inner portion of this arc reveals the cluster of communes that are home to middle and middle-low-income groups; this is a macro-zone that comprises of the communes of Conchali, Renca, Quinta Normal, Lo Prado, Pudahuel to the north and the communes of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Lo Espejo, San Ramon and La Pintana to the south-central region. The time analysis allows us to observe that the number of vulnerable schools remained practically the same in 2005 and 2009, with the

exception of Cerrillos and Estacion Central, which showed some progress in 2009.

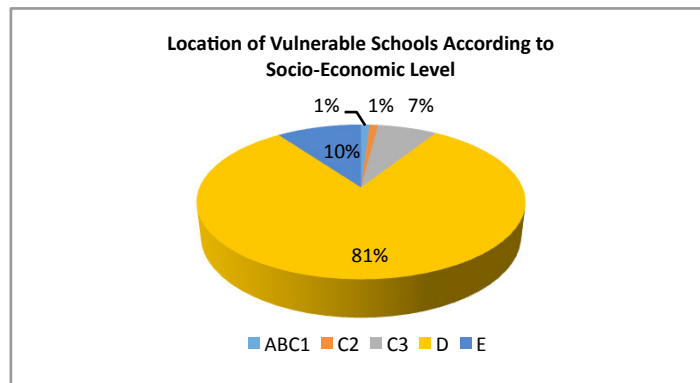
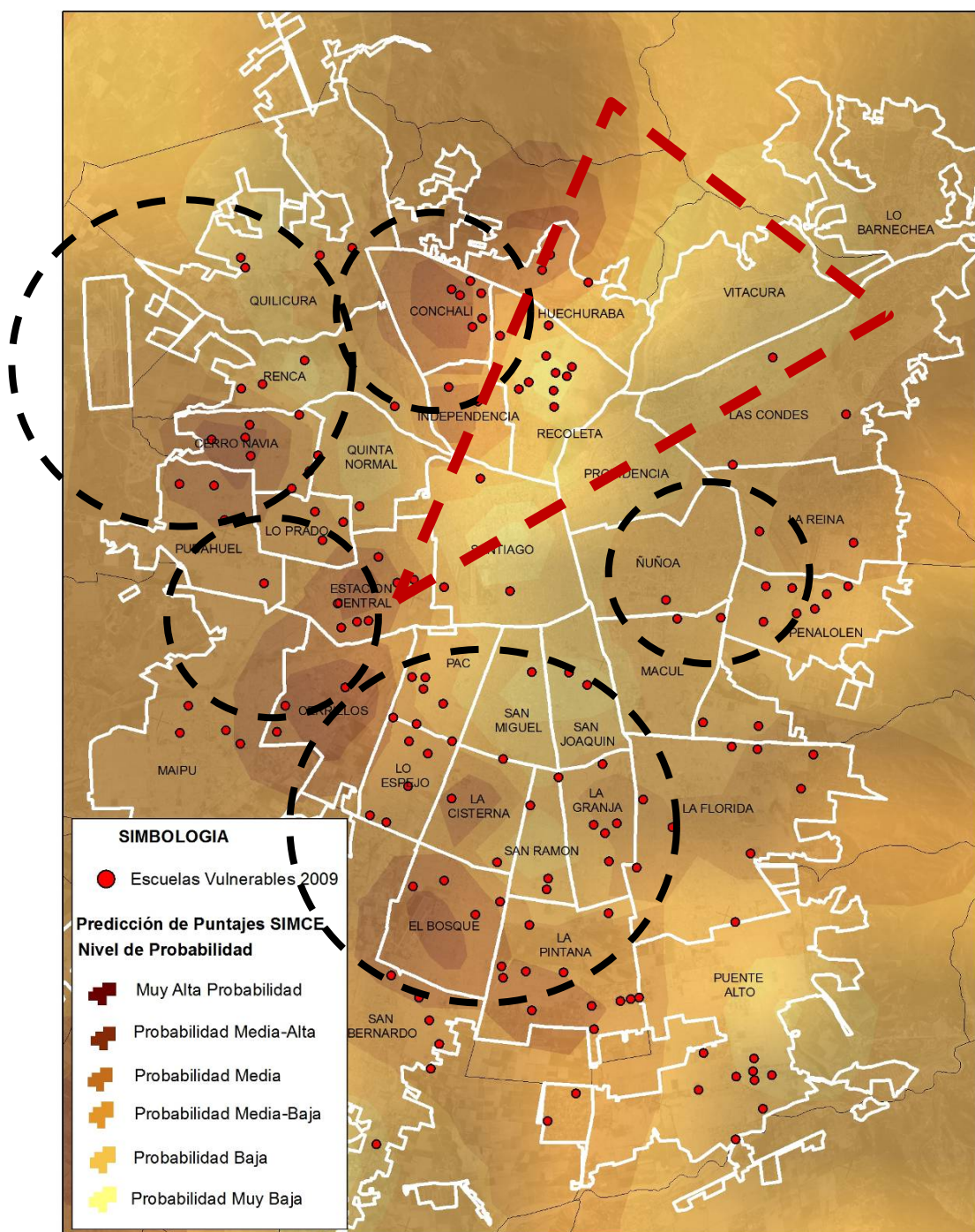


Chart 1: Percentage Representation of Schools According to the Location of Socio-Economic Groups within the MAS

Source: Elaborated by the author based on data released by MINEDUC, 2005

According to the figure/graphic above, the highest percentage of vulnerable schools tend to be localized in areas dominated by middle-low (D) and low-income (F) groups, thus representing a 91 percentile of the total. As it was previously stated, there are schools located in areas that are traditionally home to high (ABC1) and middle-high (C2) income groups, which represent only 2 percent of analyzed schools. This information enables the representation of a different school segregation measure, which incorporates the urban location variable — which is also segregated — into the homogeneity of socio-economic groups within schools.

iii) Macro-zones of exclusion and school performance



Map 3: Interpolation of 2009 SIMCE Results

Source: Elaborated by the author based on data released by MINEDUC-MINVU

With the goal of determining the level of association-dissociation between units (schools) and the value under scrutiny (SIMCE results), this chapter analyzes the interpolation of the “2009 SIMCE score” variable within the studied area. This is done in order to find concentration-dispersion patterns that lead us to the identification of macro-zones susceptible

to large macro-zones that concentrate specific sectors of La Florida, La Granja, El Bosque, La Pintana, La Florida, and Puente Alto; configuring the academic performance pattern of the southern area of the city.

2. On the contrary, Zone B shows a concentration pattern that extends over a smaller territorial space. This zone includes parts of Pudahuel, Lo Prado, Renca, Quilicura and Conchali, thus characterizing the northwestern area of the city.

The complementarity between these two geographies — as described above — is of great importance as it shows the relationship between the urban spaces that concentrate problems and other spaces with extended effects at educational level. In this sense, the former spaces should be understood as the result of socio-territorial dynamics different than those affecting extended spaces. Therefore, there is a challenge in properly identifying both urban and educational geography, with an emphasis on the geo-reference of the total number of schools.

Provided that the Chilean educational system allows the selection of schools, it is not possible to point out that all institutions only accept students from closer neighboring areas. On the contrary, it is clear that some schools favor integration regardless of social class and urban origin while others do not. However, this scenario is unlikely to occur in the socio-economic extremes and, consequently, in the communes and schools that home these groups. It is at this point that the “scale paradox” (Sánchez 2009) emerges, which is a confrontation between the scale related to the administration of territory and the functional scale related to socio-territorial issues. In other words, the municipal scale lacks the capacity to efficiently address educational issues.

Conclusions

The goal of this chapter is to attain progress on the study of the geographic forms adopted by exclusion process within the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (MAS); to do so, this research analyzes the selection mechanisms of intervention spaces in relation to two public policies, namely, the neighborhood regeneration program and the initiative intended to improve learning achievement.

Through the identification of key concepts and a further territorial analysis, this chapter highlights two topics of interest: i) How social integration gaps are found not only in the material sphere, but also in socialization spaces and domains related to the construction of social and political relationships such as the school and the neighborhood; and ii) How public

policies address the territorial complexity behind intervention programs, which, apart from requiring tailored and precise territorial diagnostic mechanisms, demand strategic capacities to conduct multi-level analyses and the ability of the State to have a rethink on the construction of socio-spatial geographies that challenge the already existing institutional definitions.

In this sense, the social construction of geographic scales of social exclusion emerges as a dynamic process. Based on research conducted by Lefebvre and Marston, it is clear that both the urban space and the geographic scales are produced by society. This chapter describes how the geography of socio-urban exclusion within the MAS gives shape to a scale-based form that is not restricted to neighborhood or urban scales. On the contrary, these new geographic forms of exclusion are governed by extended patterns of an intercommunal nature. They alternate within different parts of the city, in which concentration zones, extended zones and interstitial spaces emerge as the most common forms of socio-urban exclusion.

Therefore, the analysis of the challenges of neighborhood recovery is a point of reference in understanding the socio-territorial interventions related to the replenishment of intangible goods such as: social capital, civic participation, mobility, school achievement, job qualification or re-qualification, etc. These should have a decisive impact on the decrease in socio-spatial segregation and reduce the intensity of socio-urban exclusion. On the other hand, a sustainable strategy focused on the improvement of school performance depends on the capacity to understand the territory as an element that links both problems and solutions. It is impossible to think on the continuous improvement of school achievement in isolated institutions within the neighborhood space without analyzing the socio-spatial dynamics they generate and, at the same time, give shape to them.

According to the territorial analysis, the recovery of neighborhoods within the MAS shows a different but complementary spatial pattern in relation to low-performing schools. From a perspective that goes beyond the communal level, it is possible to observe that both policies are sensitive to macro-zones that concentrate social problems. However, a more detailed analysis of school achievement clearly reveals that there are differences and realignments within these macro-zones; this leads to the emergence of: i) concentrators zones, ii) extended zones and iii) connection spaces.

There are no concerns that the capacity to supplement neighborhood intervention with

school intervention has a strong synergistic potential.¹⁰⁸ For this reason, it is imperative that these policies exchange information in order to define their “intervention spaces” and “fields of action”. Then, neighborhood regeneration programs should include school performance when defining the area that is going to be intervened and consider the tools to operate in such a dimension. On the other hand, the selection of schools should include vulnerability elements related to their urban location in — at least — two fields: i) the socio-spatial conditions that may exacerbate school issues and ii) the territorial dynamics of students from local and neighboring institutions, which may have an impact on school performance due only to relocation effects.

The exploratory findings of this research provide enough evidence to address at least two widespread hypotheses regarding the geography of exclusion within the MAS. Firstly, there is the idea that segregation has decreased in the metropolitan area. According to the findings of this chapter, the “experience” of living in segregation and the urban structure of excluded social groups at residential and school level, what has been called socio-urban exclusion, it has not decreased at all. The territoriality of exclusion tends to show a “concentrator” scale in the northwest area and an “extended” scale in the southwest area. These “concentrators” areas and the so-called “connecting spaces” provide evidence to suggest a reduction in the scale related to segregation. Such a decrease, in terms of space, would be extremely localized and would not reflect the entirety of this phenomenon at metropolitan level.

Secondly, school problems are resolved at school, particularly in the classroom. Institutions with poor learning outcomes are not an isolated phenomenon in space-time terms as they are a response to a differential geography of exclusion within the macro-zones of the MAS. Therefore, the clustering effect resulting from location and relocation is an element that should be considered in future integral interventions in order to achieve sustainable results. In this line, the idea of creating schools of “excellence”¹⁰⁹ may be a misguided policy as it fails to recognize the geographic nature of educational problems. Institutions with high social vulnerability or poor learning achievement witness the loss of good students, who are drawn to the stimulating environment offered by the schools of excellence. In general terms, it can be said that the Chilean society has constantly acted through public policies without focus on socio-spatial dimension. This situation leads to the impossibility to address the real geography

¹⁰⁸ For a reflection on the concept of sustainable neighborhood regeneration in relation to the Spanish large multi-unit housing complexes, see Pareja and Simó (2010).

¹⁰⁹ Bicentennial Schools is an educational project promoted by the center-right administration; this initiative aims at generating schools that concentrate the best students from middle or low socio-economic backgrounds. For further information see http://www.mineduc.cl/index1_int.php?id_portal=57&id_seccion=3987&id_contenido=17572

of urban exclusion that has been consolidated in the MAS over the last four decades.

From a holistic perspective, it would appear reasonable to expect that the intervention of neighborhoods and schools acknowledges a complementarity potential at diagnostic and intervention level. On this basis, it is only to be expected that the magnitude derived from the social exclusion phenomenon within the MAS — which has been observed from the traditional spaces of social inclusion such as the school and the neighborhood — encourages policy makers to define the right intervention territory. This chapter questioned the selection of neighborhoods and schools as the proper geographies to develop sustainable improvement processes in socio-urban exclusion. It only remains to be seen whether these programs evolve during 2014, rethinking the right territory to conduct interventions intended to enhance and to improve their impact.

Chapter Five: Social Strategies of Exclusion in the City

School Selection as a Legitimated Mechanism for Socio-Urban Exclusion in Santiago de Chile

Overview: Researchers in education highlight the increasing level of school segregation in the country. Observing the high levels of segregation, public policy analysis has become focused on the structural conditions of the Chilean educational system as the major cause of social exclusion. “Poor people study with poor people while wealthy people study with wealthy people”, resound as recurrent phrase inside public opinion. Nonetheless, this problem, until now, has never been systematically addressed as the active consequences of people’s decisions. This chapter analyzes school selection in Santiago de Chile as an active practice deployed by parents for their children. Through a qualitative approach I seek to reconstruct i) the school experience, ii) the working trajectory as well as iii) the past and present social conditions of parents.

The results show that school selection is not merely a way to choose schools for children but a mechanism of social delimitation and an active way to reinforce socio-urban exclusion. The high levels of social exclusion experienced in the city of Santiago de Chile is not understandable only by accounting for spatial mismatch between different social groups. Social exclusion is based on practices and discourses of people and families along time – decades-, and not only a result of structural determination. In other words, it is the agency capability of individuals that is responsible for the missing capacity for integration shown by socio-urban institutions in Chile during the last 40 years.

Introduction

In Chile, research on school segregation has gained prominence in recent years¹¹⁰. It is possible to observe that segregation in the educational context is represented according to the access to and composition of different types of schools: i) private schools; ii) semi-private schools; and iii) public schools¹¹¹. However, many of the reflections on school segregation are based on major social phenomena such as the neo-liberal orientation of economy, the high degree of urban segregation in Chilean cities, or the school funding system. Considering this, the academic and public policy analyses of school segregation is associated with structural issues that affect the education system, thus excluding references to subjective dimension. As a result, intervention on educational issues has been almost exclusively focused on addressing the structural dimension of the problem. This is why I believe it is important to propose a different perspective of analysis based on socio-urban exclusion, which shed light on the relationship between individual and institutional processes.

This chapter argues that school segregation research should be expanded to study of socio-urban exclusion processes. From this point of view, exclusion in Chilean schools is not only the result of an education system that favors the concentration of individuals with similar socio-economic backgrounds. Likewise, this situation cannot be explained in deep without considering the individual actions taken by Chilean families when it comes to considering the education of their children¹¹². As for these decisions, exclusion has become a legitimate form to articulate not only public policies, but also the different representations made by people about their relationships with other individuals within the city.¹¹³

This chapter aims to make headway on the description of the subjective strategies —both

¹¹⁰ Segregation refers to a structural condition based on the distance between different social groups either in the city or within the school space. On the other hand, socio-urban segregation reflects the lack of significant social contacts with different individuals; therefore, this concept is rooted at the individual level, either in the biographical or daily dimension.

¹¹¹ In Spanish the second type are called particular-subsidized schools (Escuelas particulares subvencionadas), and the third public-municipalized (Escuelas públicas municipalizadas)

¹¹² When this chapter was concluded, two media reportages describing qualitative studies about parents' school selection were published. The first was conducted by the University of Chile "*Why it is chosen private subsidies schools*" (see: <http://ciperchile.cl/2014/12/01/por-que-se-elige-particular-subvencionado/> retrieved on 03.01.2015) and the second implemented by the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and Helsinki "*Contrasting Dynamics in Education Politics of Extremes: school choice in Chile and Finland*" (see: <http://www.elmostrador.cl/pais/2014/12/23/los-padres-buscan-escuela%20>) Both studies show parent's representation of other people and expectation for the school environments of children as based in exclusion practices. A sort of constant mechanism of intragroup differentiations seems to regulate most decisions.

¹¹³ In this line it is possible to understand the analysis conducted by Bellei (2014) on the consequences of the market-led approach adopted by the Chilean education system. This reflection provides evidence of the effect of this transformation in terms of social integration and educational equity.

at individual and family level— underlying socio-urban exclusion in the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (MAS). This can be achieved by understanding that social institutions are the spaces that mediate between the individual decisions aiming at generating exclusion-inclusion and the socially widespread forms of exclusion-inclusion that operate in the city. The underlying assumption is that the high level of socio-urban exclusion within the MAS is largely the result of individual decisions that gradually shape the capacities of social institutions to generate social integration or, conversely, turn them into mechanisms of exclusion through their redefinition (see chapter two). Such an empirical perspective is based on the identification of complementarities for the analysis offered in the previous and following chapters, referring to the geographies of exclusion and the analytical autobiography about forms of school and neighborhood inclusion-exclusion practices, respectively. It can be argued that the theoretical perspective that addresses the spatial forms of relegation, as explained in the previous chapter, is complemented with the study of the underlying social practices at individual and family level. In the same vein, social strategies of school selection are further explored from an intergenerational perspective by means of an autobiographical exercise. Overall, chapters four, five and six aim at revealing the socio-urban elements and the everyday grounds upon which exclusion is based.

Suggesting that individual decisions or social practices can highly influence and eventually give shape to some institutions does not imply that people make decisions by doing abstraction from their social, material or cultural restrictions. It is easy to argue and accept that different individuals have unlikely capacities for choosing in different contexts. This is quite obvious in the case of the Chilean education system, which comprises a large number of private schools. In such a case the maxim is simple “he who has the capacity to pay, has the power to choose”. This situation, which can be abstractly labeled as “differential selection capacities”, reveals the difference between the “strategy” and “drift” concepts. In this sense, strategy refers to the situation in which an individual or a group of people is capable of making instrumental choices to achieve a given purpose. On the contrary, drift describes a situation in which people or groups of people have a limited capacity to choose a given element and have to resign themselves to the immediately available possibility. In these cases, there exist medium- and long-run consequences, in which current individual and family decisions would fail to reinforce future expectations and scenarios.

Through open interviews, this chapter reconstructs the experiences of parents throughout their educational and career paths and gives an account of the educational and social

aspirations for their children. Likewise, the relationship between both dimensions —the experience of parents and the aspirations for their children— will provide information on how the selection of schools operates as a “mechanism” of socio-urban delimitation. The line of argument of this research will also reveal how the different forms of socio-urban delimitation are always present in individual and family decisions. However, only in certain cases these delimitations turn into forms of exclusion. Therefore, the analysis is focused on how and when this phenomenon takes place.

The analysis of interviews has resulted in the identification of a series of noteworthy discursive elements: i) the definition of categories related to the construction of the “own” and “other” spheres within the educational and urban space; ii) the meaning and value given to the school space in social and urban terms; and iii) the different forms in which individual action operates in the urban-school field. These dimensions make it possible to define school selection as a subjective mechanism that operates within the framework laid down by both, the social structures and the territorial expression of the education system. From this perspective, this research critically analyses the widespread assumption that the education system and its social orientations have been constructed without regard to individual decisions. In this sense, this chapter identifies three general forms governing school selection: i) biographical un-anchored¹¹⁴; ii) social retraction; and iii) polarization of representations. Then, it is described how these forms of individual action are affecting general institutional logic of the school institution, this being a process that involves three variables: i) the loss of the integrative role of schools; ii) the definition of the school as a space that concentrates individuals from same backgrounds; and iii) the identification of schools that would never be considered an educational option -within strict urban boundaries related with social status and life’s style. Therefore, the conclusion is that the legitimization of segregation on the part of individuals and families is responsible for undermining the integrative promise offered by the school and the city. This is because socio-urban institutions are both eroded and remodeled by medium- and long-term individual strategies that favor exclusion.

Socio-urban exclusion through social institutions and the capacity for individual action

The introduction to this chapter does not explicitly address the question as to why analyze social-exclusion as urban phenomenon by doing focus on the dynamics of the education system. This situation may be regarded as counterintuitive since the urban concept is

¹¹⁴ As I state in the introduction: “un-anchored” is presented as concept in the line of “detachment”; the selection of un-anchored was because of its major uses in Spanish sociological vocabulary, but its uses may not be fully precise in English.

commonly associated with social phenomena related to the city, while excluding all sectorial allusions but those related to housing, infrastructure and mobility—to name just a few. The following pages provide some references as to why exclusion within socio-urban institutions, especially schools, is one of the most significant urban phenomena in contemporary Chile.

Paola Jirón (2007) suggests that studies on residential segregation in Chile, especially in the case of Santiago, are mainly hindered by their static nature. The observation of the residential location of the different social groups does not explain the dynamic essence of the urban experience, in which daily mobility—understood as the movements to the places of study, work and recreation—emerges as a key element. This chapter seeks to combine the concept elaborated by Jirón with the idea that “the dynamic nature of socio-urban exclusion”, apart from referring to mobility, should reflect what has happened within the institutions and the institutional environment that favor interaction between different individuals.¹¹⁵ I claim that this is another form to engage the dynamic condition, in this case not of segregation but socio-urban exclusion.

The argument that supports this stance is quite simple: socio-urban integration is not generated by physical nearness.¹¹⁶ While the residential proximity among social groups or the social composition of a group of students implies the possibility of contact, the indicator provided by such condition is less reliable than the effective relationship among different individuals within spaces where material and symbolic exchanges take place. At the same time, socio-urban integration is not properly achieved due to the contact among people from different income levels. Although it may sound trivial, it is important to highlight certain considerations. For instance, income differences between poor and non-poor individuals are

¹¹⁵ Concerns about social interaction among people from different social, economic, ethnic and/or cultural backgrounds are a recurring theme in Latin American social sciences. Between the 1950s and the 1970s the concern was focused on overcoming the duality between development and underdevelopment in Latin American societies. Such an approach was a response to the diagnosis of the dependency theory—attributed to ECLAC—and the political impact that would result in the elaboration of a modernization-oriented model of industrialization. This concern about social integration disappeared after the emergence of the neoliberal policies promoted by authoritarian regimes between the 1970s and the 1980s. In this context, the extreme gap between the rich and poor is seen as necessary by those in power (Faletto 1999). Despite this, studies on marginality and social exclusion reemerged at the end of the 1990s; thus returning to the center of social and urban debates. This is the case of Larissa de Lomnitz’s influential book: “*Cómo sobreviven los marginados?*” (*How do the excluded survive*), first published in 1975 and continuously reedited until the 2000s. In this work, the author provides a detailed depiction of the ways of life and the relationships of subsistence within a Mexican slum (Lomnitz 1975). The question of this chapter is related to social integration within the urban space, but with focus on the social institutions that promote inclusion. In this way, the field of research of this study is schools rather than on neighborhoods or informal settlements.

¹¹⁶ In “*Das Ding*” (Heidegger n.d.) it is possible to find evidence to assume that “overcoming distances does not necessarily mean finding closeness”. This simple statement had no significant impact on neither urban studies nor human geography. It was not until the end of the 20th century and the second cultural shift (Werlen 2003) that these disciplines became detached from spatiality and repositioned the subject and his practices within significant territorialization processes. The concern about i) a geography centered on the subject, ii) city in continuous movement, and iii) daily life (Lindon and Hiernaux 2010) provides the general framework for advance a proposal which analyze the impact of individual and family decisions on the social institutions of the city.

not always factually significant. Despite the fact that a large number of studies on segregation make distinctions between poor and non-poor individuals, there are actually no considerable socio-cultural differences between those living a few dollars under the poverty line and those living a few dollars over the poverty line. Therefore, a quantitative distinction at income level should not be considered as automatically generating qualitative distinction at the level of socio-urban people's practices and experiences.

School selection and the type of social contact resulting, it gains relevance as a demarcating process at the individual level. According to the interpretation made by Ball and Carol in respect of the work of Bernstein, this kind of choice becomes an element that strengthens the identity of a group; in this line, the authors point out that “[...] we may find that school selection on the part of families is related to concerns regarding the strengthening of (classification) frontiers and the forms of interaction and control (defined) by educational adjustments [...]” (Ball and Carol 2007). The strengthening of the identity of a given group is not only related to school selection, but also to how this kind of choice becomes territorialized through specific urban practices.

However, the general trend of the public debate on Chilean education has been focused primarily on the structural dimension of the problem. From this point of view, school segregation refers to the pros and cons of the Chilean education system for promoting social mixture within classrooms, and researched under the notion of socio-economic segregation and academic segregation (Bellei, 2013). In this context, the current mixed system—which comprises private, semi-private and public run schools—has been identified as the main source of social exclusion within schools. Likewise, an important number of scholars (Mizala and Torche, 2012; Corvalan et al., 2009; Valenzuela et al., 2008) describe how the shared financing system (between the State and families) may already be exacerbating school segregation in Chile¹¹⁷. This situation may suggest that there is an academic consensus on the issue.

The abovementioned studies do not mention that, beyond the structural conditions of the education system, there are people and families making decisions and that these decisions are

¹¹⁷ The approach of the NGO “Educación 2020” follows this argumentative line. According to education experts, “shared funding exacerbates social segregation within the Chilean education system, reduces the possibilities of families to choose the proper school for their children (as they are classified according to their capacity to pay) and strengthens the selective and exclusionary nature of school communities. This funding system has failed to either improve the quality of education or achieve educational equity—regarded as priority objectives of educational policies.” [...] “This is why we propose the (gradual) elimination of shared funding insofar there is an increase in school subsidies. Inclusive education will only be ensured if the right to school education is extended at no cost to all Chilean children” (see. <http://www.educacion2020.cl/noticia/la-segregacion-escolar-que-es-y-como-se-agudiza> Retrieved on 05.09.2014)

never irrelevant. When sociological research analyzes the educational decisions made by families, it is revealed that no social group seeks to achieve integration (Elacqua 2004)¹¹⁸. Therefore, public policies intended to eliminate shared financing due to its alleged segregating effect face an unidentified fact: there is a complete lack of individual, family and collective actions aimed at achieving integration in Chilean schools; and this can be extrapolated to the rest of socio-urban institutions. In this context, integration would only be incorporated into the education system as the side —collateral— effect of structural transformations and not as the result of the conscious and consistent decision taken by individuals and families. This is why it is paramount to ask: What do people look for when selecting the school for their children? And how do subjective strategies related to school selection maintain and strengthen socio-urban exclusion?

It can be argued that families with high and low socio-economic status share the loss of motivation to achieve integration with “different” individuals. This means that, for families, socio-urban integration is no longer an element to be considered when deciding on the education of their children¹¹⁹. I would once again point out that the loss of “integrative actions” related to schools, neighborhoods and other socio-urban institutions, is one of the major drivers of social exclusion within the city of Santiago.

In his book entitled *The Return of the Subject*, Spanish sociologist Jesus Ibañez proposes that in order to be subjects [individuals] we, people: “have to embed ourselves in the symbolic order: a dimension that includes social metabolism, the exchange of objects, subject and messages. In order to become a subject, we have to be transformed into subjects by this dimension [...] by embedding ourselves in this dimension the subject is divided into the subject of expression and the subject to be expressed”¹²⁰ (Ibañez 1991: 85). This quotation shows that practices and discourses are “attached” to a space —symbolic or material- provided with shared meanings. From this perspective, the subjective [individual] sphere —in what regards to school decisions may by individuals as well as families— has the ability to report

¹¹⁸ In this article the author describes the method used by parents when choosing the school for their children within Santiago, Chile. From a quantitative perspective it is possible to observe that, while parents regard academic quality as the most valued feature offered by schools, only a quarter of them enroll their children in the institution with the best educational performance. On the contrary, 90 percent of parents enroll their children in schools with similar demographic and social conditions.

¹¹⁹ From a school perspective, Mena and Corvalan (2010) explore the mechanisms of school selection. They describe the exacerbating effect of this practice on segregation and the consequences of such increase in the school paths of vulnerable people. Likewise, Raczynski and Hernandez explore the school selection methods used by parents from middle- and low-income groups and point out that “selection strategies and the behavior of families are deeply related to their social status and their cultural-economic capital; therefore, in a society with as many inequalities as Chile, they are exacerbating and strengthening social segregation at school level and thereby hindering the reduction of inequality within the social structure”. (Raczynski and Hernandez 2011: 44)

¹²⁰ Translation by the author

on the current status of the education system as a whole. In other words, individuals create an understanding of the social conditions connected to the practices deployed in the school system. Through the actions and discourses reported by parents, I can approach the reconstruction of the “symbolic order” one very relevant urban institution.

The symbolic order is not stable in nature; on the contrary, it changes over time and at the same time modifies subject [individuals] (Ibañez 1991: 86). Therefore, social change faces a paradox: the actions and discourse of people modify the symbolic order; however, symbolic order in its transformation is not conditional on –conditioned to– any individual actions or expressions. It is at this point when becomes useful referring to Durkheim and the preface to the first edition of *Rules of Sociological Method*: “Thus our method is by no means revolutionary. In one sense it is even essentially conservative, since it treats social facts as things whose nature, however flexible and malleable it may be, is still not modifiable at will” (Durkheim (1964 [1895] [2006]: 9). Durkheim suggests that intermediate corporations and institutions may mediate differences between individuals and the social order. This would ensure the fulfillment of the social welfare functions required by the State (Köhler and Martin 2007: 97).

Symbolic order is mediated by social institutions; however, it can be affected by structural conditions and individual practices. These two dimensions are explored by François Dubet and Danilo Martuccelli in the book: “*At School: Sociology of School Experience*”¹²¹ (Dubet and Martuccelli 1998) when they suggest returning to the classical relationships of sociology, such as those established between socialization and individualization or social integration and autonomy. This reinstates the coextensive development of social actors integrated to social standards and autonomous individuals within schools institution. However, changes in the education system are not only the result of structural social transformations, as in the case of the massification of education. Within the subjective [individual] dimension, the ability to gain experience and give meaning according to the different school paths of teachers and students, it is the ground in which agency capacity of individuals prevails (Robinson 2012).

This chapter aims at providing empirical and theoretical evidence about how agency capacity of individuals can affect the existing institutional environment. Addressing socio-urban exclusion from the individual perspective implies reconfiguring the ability of people to achieve influence on social life or, in other words, their transformative power to modify the

¹²¹ The reference is to the Spanish version of the book: “En la escuela: Sociología de la experiencia escolar”

institutional level. The empirical part of this chapter argues that the transformation of the integrative role of socio-urban institutions can be properly studied through the analysis of biographical-narratives of families. The concept of institutional integrative role is understood as the ability of institutions to embrace individual initiatives intended to achieve social integration, convey values, recognize other individuals, ensure the equality of rights and duties and, ultimately, enact the republican notion of citizenship. This definition helps to specify the notion of integration from a citizen-based perspective; therefore exclusion is seen as the failure to recognize individuals as part of a community.¹²²

Methodological considerations

Within the study of the individual dimension of socio-urban exclusion, the autobiographical narratives of parents of school- and pre-school-aged children are compared. The aim of this exercise is to identify continuities and discontinuities in the relationships established between individuals and families regarding school's institution. In other words, this comparison involves observing if parents actually experienced the school as an integrative institution; likewise, they refer to the experience of their children and the current status of schools, the latter being regarded as mechanisms intended for the reproduction of capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979). For the purposes of this research, a total of 10 biographical interviews were conducted within the MAS between May and November 2014.

Before proceeding with the analysis of interviews, this paper offers an examination of media reports on social exclusion in schools released over the last four years. These journalist articles were not compiled according to quantitative sampling, but rather they comprise a collection of pieces of news that roused public opinion. The first article shows the concentration of key political and business posts on former students from a handful of schools. The second report describes, in the view of an ambassador, how Chilean society constantly uses the question regarding the kind of school attended as a mechanism of social classification. The third and fourth articles refer to the schools attended by the children of some of the closest associates of Chilean President Michelle Bachelet and members of the education commission of the Chilean parliament, respectively. It is worth mentioning that those involved in this commission are key players in the educational reform that is currently being debated nationwide.

¹²² The concept of co-citizenship or citizen-based perspective is understood by referring to Charles Taylor in *"Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition"* (Taylor 2001). The idea is to recognize the particular identities that many are artificially diluted in the orientations of the prevalent community. According to the work of Taylor, this means the emergence of a social project that has nothing to do with the liberal project but with the respect to the multiple identities coexisting in contemporary societies. Nevertheless, it is possible to state the liberal project is the one that embraces the current Chilean education system.

Turning to the interviews, they do not represent socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, socio-economic level or residential location. On the contrary, selection criteria were based on the saturation of significant forms of relationship between the educational paths of parents and the path they expect their children to follow. Therefore, it is not easy to non-Chilean readers realize the idea underlying the notion of “educational path”. The following paragraphs aim at providing a brief description of such a concept.

Before the 1980s, Chile —as well as other countries of the region— had a mixed education system in which the private education provided by the Catholic Church coexisted with State-run education. Within this mixed system, the public-secular/private-catholic distinction did not necessarily imply explicit social differences. Equally, there were elite public and private schools as well as public and private schools devoted to provide education for vulnerable groups. It is important to point out that in Chile, universal and compulsory primary education was established as a civil right and State duty in 1920. However, for decades, the school represented a major driving force for integration, mainly because social exclusion was the result of the lack of access to education or school dropout. It was not until the military regime period that education was liberalized; this meant that any private actor was able to generate school education projects and receive governmental support. At the same time, school provision became market-oriented (Bellei 2014).

In order to promote the participation of public actors and stimulate those who were already in the market —the Catholic Church—, the State created a subsidy scheme that meant the emergence of semi-private schools in the 1980s. As of 2014, this model is still being used, thus becoming one of the main claims of the student movement, which has demanded the elimination of State support for this type of schools for over the last seven years.

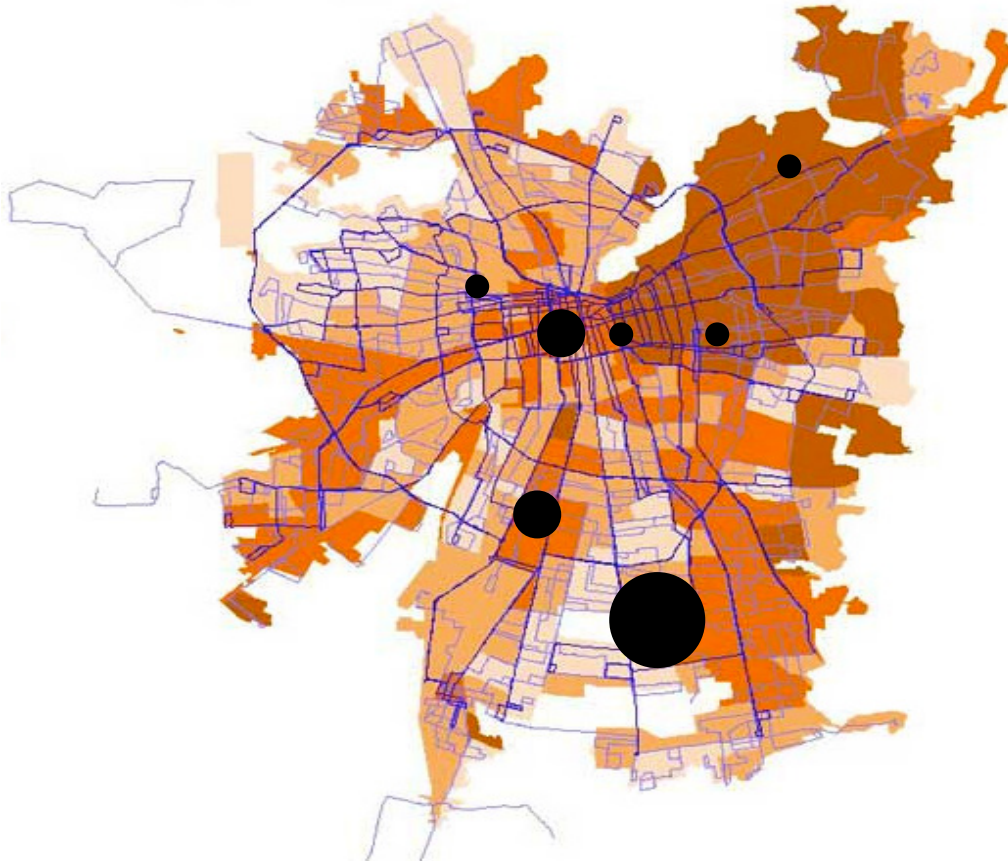
These historical references do not make it possible for readers to become acquainted with the social values related to the different types of school in Chile. In general terms, private schools consolidated their position as elite institutions during the 1980s. This occurred to the detriment of the privileged status held by some “traditional” semi-private schools and a few “flagship” public schools¹²³. A relevant fact in this situation is that the first four presidents elected to office after the end of the military regime studied at those “flagship public schools” in Santiago. However, these presidents did not apply the same selection patterns for their children, who were educated, all of them, in elite private schools. Flagship public schools have been mostly affected by the changes in the way they are socially evaluated. Despite

¹²³ The names given to this schools in Chile are: colegios emblemáticos y tradicionales

being still attractive due to their good academic performance, these schools are no longer regarded as spaces of interaction for different social groups as it was the case one or two generations ago.

Turning to selection criteria, this process has been focused on reconstructing differential school paths between parents and their children. As it was previously stated, it is quite difficult that someone who was educated in elite schools ignores this condition and thinks about social integration when deciding on the education of his children. Likewise, it is also difficult for someone who was educated in public schools with low academic results could enroll his children in an elite school. Observing both scenarios above, the research privileges reconstructing the conditions under which parents who studied at traditional schools decide to educate their children in elite, segregating schools; or why people educated in flagship public schools decide to enroll their children in semi-private schools to prevent them from interacting with individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds. In this sense, this research has given priority to paths that actively recompose exclusionary school's selection.

Biographical narrative is an appropriate method to explore the individual descriptions made by people about their experiences in terms of events and also valuations. This approach provides access both to the discursive and practice dimension, which are deployed with intention to stabilize certain forms of action. These actions are ultimately the materialization of individual's agency capability to affect institutional logics. As it was previously stated, social institutions such as schools are not static social forms, but rather they are modified in the medium- and long-run by individual agency. This transformation follows the form of a narration; therefore, it can be explored through biographical narratives of individuals and families. The following chapter addresses the analysis of media reports and the main findings of the empirical research; but before proceeding, below is a brief description of interviews conducted for this study.



Map5: Interview general location with map of Santiago de Chile Socio-Economic Level
 Source: Based on Laboratorio Urbano (see. www.geo.pu.cl)¹²⁴

Interview	Quantity
Children attending private schools or elite private schools	3
Children attending semi-private schools	4
Children attending public schools	3
Parents who attended private schools or elite private schools	2
Parents who attended semi-private schools	2
Parents who attended public schools	6

Table 2. Interviews characterization¹²⁵

Socio-urban exclusion within the context of public debate on education

In order to understand the Chilean education system, this research proposes as perspective a transition in which school has been transformed from being an official

¹²⁴ White and light colors represent low Socio-economic level, while the opposite applies for high levels. The Black dots represent interviews approximately locations.

¹²⁵ Observing interviewees selected becomes clear how the school trajectory from being educated in public school, which represent the majority of the cases in parents, shift to semi-private or subsidized school in the children situation. The elite or private schools remain as a stable trajectory within the cases. I believe these conditions of my interview sample are reflecting accurately with will be observed in extended quantitative analysis.

institution promoting social integration into a private space intended for the provision of knowledge and social contact for students. Within this transformation process, it has become increasingly common to observe that parents regard the school as the opportunity to provide and increase social capital for their children (Bourdieu 1997)¹²⁶. Similarly, parents as social actors, they seen as a deprivation and even a setback not to use the school as a place for increase social contact among their children.

I argue that no social actor involved in this process directly referred to it as forms of exclusion. In other words, it may be assumed that nobody aims to produce, consciously, exclusion in the school institution. In this line, it is proposed that social contact and integration have been redefined as an upwards relationship at the individual level; that is to say, integration is only associated with the search for contact with people from higher socio-economic backgrounds. In this sense, parents relate the diversity offered by schools to the concentration of individuals from higher social, economic, and cultural classes. The discourses provided by these actors do not even consider the idea that schools attended by individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds may offer more diverse and enriching experiences for their children. In sum, parents see no benefits in allowing their children to share with students from lower-income groups; however, they identify a large number of benefits in allowing their children to share with students from higher-income groups. This movement, which operates over the social configuration of integration, represents a radical change in the individual and family practices and discourses associated to school as a socio-urban institution. This sort of monopolization of the “interpretative regime” related to school institution has contributed, extensively, to the legitimization of school’s changing role regarding social integration¹²⁷.

There has been particular public focus on school segregation over the last years. Many media reports have revealed the concentration of key political and business posts on former students from a handful of elite schools, most of them located in Santiago. Through statistical data, the article “Which school did you go to?” Released by Chilean newspaper *La Tercera*¹²⁸ on Sunday, 02 March 2014 shows statistical data on this regard. In 2013, 82% of top-level

¹²⁶ See specially the three form of capital in Bourdieu: economic, cultural, and, social capital, as well as their forms of reproduction. Presumably, Chilean schools operate as a mechanism that reproduces each of these types of capital.

¹²⁷ Exclusionary practices within the education system cannot be detached from the constitution of an educational market in Chile, nevertheless, thus cannot explain the current situation in detail. Within a market-oriented education model, the subjectivity of people and individual decisions, they have a large capacity to exert influence over the institutional environment. It can be argued that individual dimension has enabled the legitimate reproduction of social exclusion; thus modeling in deep the development of the education system over the last three decades.

¹²⁸ En qué colegio estudiaste? See: <http://papeldigital.info/lt/?2014030201#> retrieved 03.02.2014

executives and 85% percent of CEOs from the most important Chilean companies had attended Private Schools. In the same line, only 10 elite schools accounted for the education of 32.4% of top-level executives and 51% of CEOs. As for politicians, 18.5% of senators had attended only three elite schools in Santiago and 55% of deputies had attended six elite schools—which include the three schools attended by senators. Apparently, this situation has been on the increase over the last 30-40 years.

In an interview with a radio station, the former British ambassador to Chile referred to school and urban segregation as a striking issue that is difficult to understand. Other media reproduced part of the interview to highlight the reaction of the diplomatic when hearing — on a daily basis— the question regarding what kind of school was attended. In words of the ambassador, this is a “classist” and “discriminatory” question intended to identify the social status of people. Below is an extended reproduction of this interview.¹²⁹

BA: Classism and certain discriminatory attitudes are what I like least — about Chile— [...] I find it striking that in Chile, when two people meet for the first time they ask what school they went to in order to know their social backgrounds.

E1: Does the same happen in England?

BA: Nobody has asked me about the school I attended when I was 15 for at least 30 years. Nobody cares about it.

E1: But—in England— those from better-off backgrounds who studied at “Eton” do not claim they attended “Eton College”... E2: The fact that this happens in England does not mean that the ambassador is not bothered about this issue [in Chile].

BA: This kind of thing has changed dramatically in England. I was raised in a poor neighborhood in London and I did not study at an internationally recognized university; however, I joined the diplomatic service through an open competition. I have to confess that for the British this [ambassador career] would have been unthinkable 40 years ago. However, things have changed. Nobody has asked me about the school I attended since the 1970s, nobody cares about it; this is not a significant method to judge people.

E2: There is a book [...] written by an American author entitled “How to Survive in the Chilean Jungle” in which he says that this (Chile) is the only country where people add the school they attended to their CVs. This is quite strange.

BA: Another example is that each year we organize a party for the children

¹²⁹ BA refers to the statements made by the former British Ambassador in Chile while E1 and E2 refer to the questions posed by the interviewers.

of staff members at our house located in Las Condes [one of the highest-income communes of Santiago] and we invite students from a school located in La Legua [one of the poorest areas of Santiago]. One of the teachers of this school told me that 90 percent of her students had never been in Las Condes and other person added that, probably, all of the inhabitants of Las Condes had never been in La Legua. This is somewhat concerning for me. In London, as in any other city in the world, there is a gap between rich and poor people, but what definitely there is, it is a complete mobility among all of the neighborhoods of the city (Radio Duna 89.7).¹³⁰

The third situation that brought school segregation to the center of public debate was the article “VIP Schools Dominate the Political Group Led by Bachelet”¹³¹ released by Chilean online newspaper *El Mostrador*.¹³² This media report identified that the schools attended by the children of some of the closest associates of the then center-left presidential candidate and current reelected President replicate the exclusion, segregation, and classism tendencies shown in the previous examples. In other words, children of top government officials are not educated in State-run schools, added to this is the fact that they do not use the State health-care system and do not live near social housing projects. Their life paths have almost no contact with individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds; then, as a result, they live in a city that is only shared with their social peers. In this line, the statement made by one of the main economists of this political group and current chair of one of the most important State-run companies is most revealing.

“I enrolled my children in the best school in Chile. I wish that all public schools would be like this one and, therefore, I wish that the State expenditure per student would be the same as that of this school and that the salaries of public school teachers would be the same as those offered by this school”. When recalling his childhood, the interviewee says that the infrastructure of the English public school was not dissimilar in nature to that of the “Grange School”. The difference is that education in the public school was free of charge while education in the second school implies the payment of monthly fees equivalent to 2.6 minimum monthly wages. “Why did I enroll my children in the Grange School despite being in favor of public education? The answer lies in the same reasons behind the reformation and improvement of public education: I am not satisfied with its quality and although I would like my children to study within a socially diverse environment, the current education system forces me to

¹³⁰ Available in podcast version at <http://www.duna.cl/programas/hablemos-en-off/2012/09/14/jon-benjamin-me-llama-la-atencion-que-en-chile-cuando-dos-personas-se-conocen-se-preguntan-por-el-colegio/> (visited January 3, 2014).

¹³¹ “Los colegios VIP arrasan en el comando de Bachelet”

¹³² Available at <http://www.elmostrador.cl/pais/2013/08/05/los-colegios-vip-arrasan-en-el-comando-de-bachelet/> (visited January 3, 2014).

make decisions. There is also another reason: I do not think that my children have to bear the burden of my political convictions. They are not aesthetic objects intended to satisfy what is politically correct, they are individuals with the right to have their own life, with a parent taking realistic decisions focused on providing the best for their future in present day Chile” (El Mostrador).

This quotation demonstrates that for the families with higher social and cultural capital, the idea of sending their children to public schools seems to be a sort of punishment. In the words of the interviewee, no single false idea about “political correctness” —a concept understood by this research just as the concrete and effective decision aimed at favoring social mixing— will prevent him and his family to send their children to a given school. According to this government official, if all public schools were like this so-called “best school in the country”, he would have no problem in participating in public education. However, given the impossibility of this scenario, choosing a type of education different to that offered by elite private schools means a setback for his children.

A similar report entitled “Where Do the Children of Members from the Education Commission Go to School?”¹³³ was released at the website of *Radio Cooperativa* on Friday 09, May 2014. This report reveals that, from a total of 15 members of this commission with school-age children, only one chose to educate his daughter in a public school; two members enrolled their children in semi-private institutions; and the 12 remaining members opted to send their children to private schools. The reasons why these members chose private schools are i) the poor quality of the public system and ii) the selection of a particular “educational project”. Normally, this project is associated with the provision of catholic and bilingual education; these being features that cannot be found in the public system. In all of these cases, social mixing is not regarded as an important issue. In fact, one of the members of this commission pointed out that he wanted his children to be educated in “flagship” public schools; however, according to him, this would prevent those who cannot afford to pay school fees from enrolling in these schools.

The combination of these four examples makes it possible to state that high levels of segregation has turned Chilean schools into one of the most widespread forms of maintenance and reproduction of economic, social, political and cultural capital. This may be the reason

¹³³ Dónde estudian los hijos de los parlamentarios de la comisión de educación? Available at <http://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/site/artic/20140509/pags/20140509161444.html> (visited September 5, 2014)

why —apparently without a doubt— all those who can afford to pay for education choose to enroll their children in elite private schools. This choice —which in other contexts may be regarded as anecdotal— is reinforced by the life paths of each individual. In this sense, these paths witness the intense and continuous reproduction of conversations and social practices in which references to the kind of school attended are key elements of social classification.

In this vein, even those individuals from higher economic social and cultural backgrounds use the school as the main vehicle for the reproduction of economic, social and cultural capital for their children. As for this practice, and the discourses related to it, the only valuable social relationship is that established with individuals from higher socio-economic backgrounds. The possibility of thinking that there is any value in studying and sharing with people from lower socio-economic backgrounds, as well as learning from them and interacting with them, seems to have no social value. For Chilean families, the idea of their children mixing with people from lower socio-economic backgrounds is seen as a sort of punishment. This theme cuts across different social groups and is not restricted to any them.

The following pages deliver some of the main conclusions derived from the interviews' analysis. The aim is to advance on the description of how parents represent, justify, and legitimate socio-urban exclusion in Santiago through school institution. These interviews were conducted in order to find remarkable cases within the relationship between the education received by parents and the educational aspirations for their children.

Social retraction and institutional transformation as horizon of understanding extended processes of socio-urban exclusion.

In *Encountering Development*, author Arturo Escobar points out that “reality [...] has been colonized by the development discourse” (Escobar 1995: 5). The suggestion made by Escobar states that, irrespective of the evidence about the worsening in the conditions of people living in developing countries, the pro-development discourse remains undisputed. In this line, it is interesting the connection between this argument and the research of Michel Foucault on the regimes based on veracity (Foucault 1992). In modern times, these regimes are constructed upon evidence and the ability of people, organizations, and institutions to provide proof of the adequacy and veracity of their actions and discourses. Educational policies in the same vein than development policies seem to be “protected” against proof; in other words, their ability to exert power places them “beyond” the reach of these evidences. This process, labeled by Escobar as the “colonization of reality by discourse”, implies retraction, delimitation and withdrawal at discursive and practical levels. This fact runs

concurrently within social institutions, which are transformed as the result of the action of individuals and their agency capabilities over middle and long periods of time.

The current state of Chilean education seems to be colonized by relegation and exclusion in terms of discourse and action. In this context, social plasticity, understood as the ability to interact with individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds, is completely undermined. Therefore, it is not difficult to observe how individuals belonging to the same area of the city and socio-economic reality are “attracted” to each other in socio-urban places that involve variations in socio-economic terms of people, such as universities. In this sense, socio-urban exclusion, in the form of constriction and relegation, has colonized different institutions, but especially schools. This colonization does not appear to be influenced by evidence that continuously reveals the negative effect of marginality.

Selection strategies¹³⁴

i) Biographical un-anchored as a selection method¹³⁵

Those interviewed take part in the explicit or implicit denial of social contact within the education system. This occurs through a sort of mechanisms and strategies. Some parents cherish the school they used to attend and others clearly do not. Similarly, some believe that their former schools are at the basis of academic discipline and professional success while others; however, think that their schools did not lay the foundations for any future learning. Beyond these differences there is a global mechanism that we called “biographical un-anchored” underlying. This notion refers to the inability of people in negotiate the biographical interpretation made about their own educational-career paths as a something desirable or even acceptable for their children’s experience. In this sense, the recognition by parents of certain ability to “move forward” —crossing of social boundaries— within their own educational-career paths loses relevance. In this sense, biographical evidence it is un-anchored and non-relevant for future decision. Put more simply, the experiences of parents are not relevant when building the expectations for their children. This research proposes that biographical un-anchored occurs in all processes of institutional erosion and it is a

¹³⁴ All interviews are translated to English with the intention to reflect the Spanish informal language used by the interviewees. Major language mistake may be present, but the closeness to the original formulation was my prevalent intention. No references and no names are given before and within the extracts, this due to privacy restriction. Every interview start with an “I”, thus, points out different people speech and help the reader to differentiate between different sources.

¹³⁵ As it was previously mentioned, this biographical detachment process is not unrelated to the global transformations undergone by the education system. The Chilean education system adopted a market-oriented approach at the beginning of the 1980s. Therefore, it is in this context of institutional transformation that individual strategies become meaningful and important. However, this global change in the education system does not explain the effects and impacts of individual and family discourses on the education system. The idea is not to identify the proper perspective, but to reveal its crucial complementarity.

precondition for increases in socio-urban exclusion.

I: “The school was very demanding; you must have a strong discipline. Discipline, which regards to such a things as formal appearance –external discipline- but also, also self-discipline concerned with learning –internal discipline¹³⁶. I do not remember to study for college or university as much as I did during school time. I stay very late at night just to achieve a 5.0¹³⁷”

The school was very, very demanding and very, very large, 600 students by level and more than 4.500 students in total. Thus, there was a high degree of impersonality”.

And how you experience the socio-economic level of your classmates?

“It was well varied and you have the opportunity to interact with people from different socio-economic background. The school was a real space offering equal opportunities, beside the social origins of students. The most respected on the class was usually the smartest, which one many time the son of the “nana”¹³⁸ [...] all we knew that the “Instituto Nacional” was a real opportunity for social improvement”.

But then why you would not chose this school for your kids?

“Because I want something different for my kids, I want what I did not have. For example, a small school, not such an impersonal organization in which nobody remembers your name. We live as a family a year in Australia and for me was very hard to cope with the language. I don’t want my daughter have this experience, if I can do something against it”.

The interview extract shows this an-anchored condition presented in the school selection of parents. Somebody who studies in one of the most traditional public schools of Santiago, under no situation will replay this selection to their own kids. This lead me to propose that the biographical situation, related to the social background of parents, does not provide evidence of who they are today. In this sense, un-anchored is coextensive with a sort of social retraction. In other words, this biographical un-anchored coexists with two situations that are worth analyzing. On the one hand, this un-anchored is based on the widespread idea of providing a better life experience for children. Discourses such as “delivering the best for our children” or “do not experiment with their lives” are common ways of legitimizing the social exclusion strategies that parents develop. In other words, it is essential to highlight the

¹³⁶ Mandatorily in Chile, student must wear uniforms. Chilean school systems is very much conservative in terms of clothes and behaviors.

¹³⁷ In German scale 3.0

¹³⁸ Domestic work or service

“classist sense” that lies behind these discourses since “delivering the best for our children” has always been, for the Chilean case, a strategy based on upwards social relationships that refuse social contact with individuals from lower socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, there are biographical accounts in which there is no biographical un-anchored, especially in the case of people who did not complete formal education. In these cases, work difficulties become the evidence used for parents to do what it takes to ensure that their children complete formal education.

I: “I have the chance, because of *the Mrs.*¹³⁹, that my son attends the school where she was the director. This was a great opportunity. I want, by every mean, that my child finish the education. For me has been always important that he ends up with a title and he gets a better job”.

The biography of parents provides proof of what they expect for their children. By extrapolating the abovementioned case, it can be argued that un-anchored and anchored are not always excluding categories inside discourses and practices. These selective anchorage processes may emerge in any kind of decision. However, from a global perspective, In Chile parents do not believe children should be educated in the same socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts experience by them. The stability of this type of decision in the medium- and long-term is at the basis of the consolidation of segment-oriented schools in Chile.¹⁴⁰

ii) Social retraction as a form of exclusion

Apart from biographical un-anchored, there is another form intended to reduce social contact among different individuals within the Chilean education system. In this case the strategy has been labeled social retraction or social contraction. Both concepts refer to the willingness of families to coexist with individuals from the same socio-economic or socio-cultural backgrounds.

Parents interviewed may come from wealthy or poor families; however, they always relate their social condition with regard to the current situation, thereby losing track of the individual and family biographies of them own or those close to them. This is the first form of social contraction identified during the interviews. Therein, it is possible to note how social retraction operates in conjunction with biographical un-anchored. Consequently, it is easy to

¹³⁹ In Spanish language a form to refer to the employer by domestic work

¹⁴⁰ In parallel to the emergence of the aforementioned market-oriented approach, it can be observed that schools aim at particular groups. In this sense, the term segment-oriented school is used to refer to those institutions that deliver education to specific target groups according their needs and their capacity to pay.

argue that schools reflect the social expectations of parents, thus becoming consumption products aimed at specific socio-economic and socio-cultural groups. Irrespective of the fact that parents may come from families led by professionals, non-professionals, workers, employees or parents working on a casual basis, the socio-economic level is always defined by the current socio-economic status. In this sense, only those life paths similar to that of parents are valued.

I: “You know, I came from a very poor family. Now I have my profession, I study in Chile and Spain, I can live by my own and pay for me and for my daughter, but my father, he lived, and he still lives, in extreme conditions of poorness [...] I came from a very poor neighborhood¹⁴¹ [...] for me was important to live in the center (downtown) because then I was able to live with my daughter alone, and I would not have to rely on my mam or my grandmother to take care of Emilia. I wanted to have our own life. This was one of the reasons to choose a school here close to our house”

And how are the kids and the parents in the school. I mean their social or economic condition [...] You have relations with people like you?

Yes, we relate to people like us. The other parents in the school have similar life histories. They come from poor families and with their studies are now better”.

Then your daughter share and interact in the school with peers?

“Yes, people that live here in the center (downtown); children go from one house to the other, and the houses they visit are all similar to ours. There are no major differences”.

I: “My son attend an school here in the neighborhood, close to our house [...] I came from the country side, in the south of Chile. I was in a rural school I did not finish all the classes [...] I will not like that my kid is in an school only with immigrants¹⁴², but I don't know if I would like that he is going to an school with very rich people”

Why not?

“I work in “San Carlos de Apoquindo” in this very rich neighborhood as domestic services. I work with a very nice family, the kids are also very nice and fond [...] but children in the school, they can be very cruel. I will not like that other kids laugh on my son, because of my work”.

¹⁴¹ The notion in Chile is “población”

¹⁴² In the case of this neighborhood in Santiago de Chile, immigrants are mainly Peruvian and Colombian.

Both interviews shows how people seek to establish contact with peers within a growing retraction of previous social spaces for interaction, rejecting those, which embrace social and cultural differences. In this context, it comes as no surprise that schools increasingly lost their integrative role. In some senses, “social retraction” always operates on the basis of searching for “peers” and the construction of an undesired “other”. The notion of frontier is a very meaningful expression, this is because parents have just crossed social boundaries and are looking for new social peers; or because parents crossed these boundaries and are looking for people who have already done that and thus sharing with them; or because parents have not crossed these boundaries and do not want to coexist with people from even lower backgrounds. In any of these cases there is a double frontier that refers to the upper and lower limits that separate these individuals from those they do not want to be with.

In general terms, those interviewed place a very high value on what they could not obtain in their school spaces, such as bilingual education. This becomes the central element when it comes to selecting the school for their children. Such a selection criteria reinforces the segment-oriented nature of schools in a market-oriented context. Virtually all of the interviewees operate in order to obtain educational benefits for their children and look with suspicion and fear on those individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds. This leads to the idea of living separated from marginalized people. In this way it is possible to observe that any of the proposed definitions is static and that the relationships between biographical un-anchored, social retraction, and polarization of representations are constant and necessary.

iii) Polarization as the image of social contact

Finally, the third exclusionary strategy in school selection processes is related to the denial of differences. This situation operates as a social motivation that un-anchored the biographical experience of people and reduces the limits of social contact. In this way, social differences are not considered in any social discourse as a source of benefits. Regardless of the economic status of parents, they always want their children to study with people from the same backgrounds.

Middle- and lower-middle-income families are afraid of marginality within disadvantaged sectors and the exclusion that may be found in better-off places of the city. In this sense, most of people act according to radical imaginations or simplistic abstractions in which there is only contact with individuals at the top and at the bottom ends of social scale, represented by people living in extreme marginality and individuals living in opulence, respectively. This image does not help to elaborate realistic representations where the socio-

economic level is not a synonym to marginality or opulence. Even in a large city such as Santiago¹⁴³ there are few spaces for social contact between groups located at the extreme ends of the social scale. Therefore, the “imaginary” construction of marginality and opulence does not represent realistic conditions within the education system.

I: “The neighborhood where we live is not the best, there are some problems, not all the people finish the school, not many are working, there are a lot of parties and stuff [...] my son has a good chances to study in a school out of this place. At the beginning was not easy, he has not the basis from the previous school”.

I: “ I don’t know, I think I will not have a problem that my daughter goes to my own school. It was very good, I did not have problems with learning at the University, but I feel the different with languages. It was very clear who attend which type of school seeing their English level [...] It is weird, I will not bring my daughter to a “población” but I also would not bring her to a very elite or alternative school. I think both cases are even part of the cities, in which I will not feel my self comfortable”

The two extracts show the idea of social polarized representation, which are not only socially but also urban rooted. Deviant people in the top or bottom of the society are clearly located. From this perspective, interviewees constantly talk about places of the city and schools that they do not want for their kids. In these narratives always appears marginality or luxury. No body seems to be aware that the socio-urban range of schools options is much more diverse. In this diversity, there are schools that promote interaction between different peoples, while other are becomes peers enclaves. In the following pages I will provide qualitative evidence about how discursive and action strategies that give shape to social un-anchored, social retraction, and polarization of social references, affect the whole school system. The follow three conditions consolidated by the school system, are perhaps the clearest expression of individual as well as family influences over a socio-urban institution.

¹⁴³ For further information about results in this dimension refer to chapter 4.

Changes in the institutional orientation¹⁴⁴

i) Schools facing the loss of their integrative potential

Regardless of whether there has been an increase in residential and school segregation in Santiago over the last years or not, the qualitative dimension suggests that those schools that favored social mixing are losing that condition. This is the case of the so-called “flagship schools”, which despite being public in nature were attended by most of the public figures of the country up until the 1970s.

Today, most of their former students, notwithstanding acknowledging the quality of the education they received—which even allowed them to improve their social, economic and cultural conditions—, reject the idea of enrolling their children in one of these institutions. This rejection occurs for a large number of reasons, these ranging from: favoring the proximity of schools to the homes of students, the idea of not using a vacant post in order to ensure the access of those who cannot afford to pay for education, the search for personalized schools where the name of the student is remembered by teachers, or the search for bilingual schools.

Whatever the reason, it is possible to argue from a qualitative perspective that these schools have been losing their capacity to concentrate individuals from different backgrounds and seem to move towards their transformation into segment-oriented schools. Although this hypothesis requires quantitative evidence, the qualitative approach shows robust selection criteria on the part of parents. This change in the actions taken by individuals implies that the values transmitted by a given institution are no longer important today. Public education, social mixing, academic discipline, tolerance to failure, perseverance and effort—among others—are no longer appreciated within the educational process. Therefore, those aspects that were not experienced by parents such as foreign language, personalized services, a nurturing environment within the learning process and the allocation of greater infrastructural and extracurricular resources, among others, have taken on great importance. This change in valuation terms is at the basis of the radical transformation of the Chilean institutional environment.

ii) The school as the space for peers

From the qualitative logic of this analysis, the Chilean education system seems to move towards a polarization in which schools are transformed into institutions aimed at specific

¹⁴⁴ The analytical description offered in this section remains very close to the information collected by the interviews. I consider not necessary to bring the direct references. People was asked and they talk openly about the three transformation described for the whole school system in Santiago de Chile.

socio-economic and socio-cultural groups. Parents with the capacity to pay have the option to choose the school that meets their requirements and social valuations; thus, as there is progress in terms of economic, social, and cultural capital, features such as personalized service, extracurricular activities, networking, command and leadership abilities become more valued and frequent. Likewise, parents with limited capacity to pay operate in a somewhat similar way, as they prevent their children from attending the low-quality schools located near their places of residence; in this case exclusion emerges when parents do not want their children to be educated with “marginalized” people. In this sense, parents look for values such as discipline, learning habits and socially accepted patterns of behavior.

The vast majority of parents seem to select the schools located near their places of residence; also, there has been a decline in —daily— mobility practices related to the schools that used to concentrate large numbers of individuals from different backgrounds —most of them located in the central and east-central zones of Santiago. Parents, either from the perspective of school selection as an active strategy or a passive drift, seem to be motivated by different interests that do not include social integration as a priority. In this way, it is understood that school is being transformed into a space for interaction among social peers and not into a place for the encounter of different realities. The important aspect of this argument is the description made about transformation in the institutional environment as consequences of individual practices.

iii) Spaces that would never be considered as a place to live and schools that would never be considered an educational option

Establishing residence in the city is the consequence of a series of circumstances and family decisions. A large number of families decide to live in a specific area due to their closeness to other relatives; others choose their place of residence because they want to share a style of life; and there is another group that has no other option but choosing among the available options at a given time. However, given the array of possibilities, the biographical paths of people are essential when it comes to choosing the place of residence. The idea is to maintain or progress up the social ladder in relation to their homes; moving down the social ladder is not an option.

Interview data provide a significant qualitative piece of information: when asked about the schools that would never be considered an educational option, parents do not directly refer to a given type of establishment but to a certain urban lifestyle. This combination of urban lifestyle and the type of educational institution reveals the transformation of socio-urban

institutions over the last 30 years. Parents would never enroll their children in schools located within what is known in Chile as “población”¹⁴⁵. This situation is repeated when referring to “extreme elite” schools or institutions that offer “alternative” educational projects. In the former case, parents would never enroll their children in this type of schools because they represent an unreal world resulting from extreme caring and advantages. In the first case, marginality, crime, drug abuse and the prevalence of deviant behavior are the reasons why parents would never enroll their children in a school located in those settlements.

There is an additional problem for low-income groups. Parents search for schools in which their children are not humiliated because of the activities they carry out. This is particularly significant in the case of mothers engaged in domestic works as they recognize that, even if they had the economic resources, their children would never be enrolled in schools aimed at individuals from higher socio-economic backgrounds.

This sort of definition of the urban spaces that would never be considered as a place to live and the schools that would never be considered an educational option runs concurrently with the idea of the polarization of social representations. In other words, the definition of residential places and school spaces are, in a way, it is governed by the representations of parents regarding “marginalized” people or individuals belonging to “elite” groups living in those places. This double relationship of the spatial limits of the “own sphere” and the construction of a polarized representation of the “otherness” is essential to understand how the urban institutions are losing its integrative capacity within the city. In this sense, social representations exert such pressure on socio-urban classifications that integrative actions do not have spaces to operate. There are no schools and neighborhoods that may provide a space for diversity in Santiago of Chile today.

Conclusions

This chapter discussed the selection of schools on the part of parents as one of the most significant phenomena in the study of socio-urban exclusion in Chile nowadays. The agency capability of families serves as the methodological key to understand social dynamics within the school system. In this way, the analysis of educational policies is complemented with an urban-territorial studies perspective, thus enhancing the structural orientation that seems to dominate the approaches to education. On the other side, the urban and territorial approach is

¹⁴⁵ In general terms, the idea of “being” or “living in a marginalize area” connected to the notion of “población”, it may refer to a socio-urban condition that is not related to informal settlements but to poverty and “deviant” behavior that include crime, promiscuity, drug abuse, school dropout, etc.

addressed by highlighting the action and discourses driving by individuals and families in the school institutions, which is also an improvement.

School selection emerges as a social practice that has important consequences on the reorganization of the socio-urban space, thus through its influence on institutions, which are transformed to re-produce new forms of social binding. These specific forms of social interaction—as well as the lack of them—should be the objects of future research focused on socio-urban institutions. The loss of the few spaces for social mixing within the education system, the school as the exclusive place for interaction among social peers, and the strong delimitation of neighborhood to live and school for children's education are three socio-urban processes related to the transformation of our city. These modifications are based on three action and interpretation strategies at individual-family level described as biographical un-anchored, social retraction, and polarization of representations.

This double narrative, which describes changes in the socio-urban institutions and subjective forms of intervention at school level, enables access to new sociological orientations related to socio-urban studies. The analysis of interviews revealed that the changes in the school institution and the new strategies of individual's school selection, both act in the form of limitation and resources for the deployment of agency capabilities by individuals. This interpretation has been achieved because the transformation in the school institutions and in the individual strategies of school selection are both promoting and hindering the emergence of sociability, inclusion, and integration. In this line, inclusion and exclusion cannot be regarded as different phenomena derived from structural changes affecting contemporary city. Conversely, they should be analyzed by different studies focused on providing a double description of the changes within socio-urban institutional environment and the transformation in the individual motivation for action.

The re-reading of school selection within the historical context, through the reconstruction of a complex chain of events and interests behind recurrent forms of social exclusion, it is key element for the analysis of urban reality in Chile. This novel analysis implies a series of methodological and theoretical challenges, in so far as it reveals the dynamic condition of the socio-urban construction as well as the importance of motivation, decisions, and actions taken by individuals and families in the middle- and long-term. Finally, it is important to point out that identify social processes at the basis of the transformation of schools social orientation as institution rises a new field for public policy action in educational and urban contexts.

Chapter Six: Socio-Urban Exclusion from a Biographical Perspective School and Neighborhood in the Tension between Belonging and Relegation, an Autoethnography

In pursuit of an exhaustive way to approach to the dialogical relationships between the individual and the socio-urban institution, I propose the elaboration of an autoethnography about my educational experience. The focus of this exercise is on showing the intergenerational construction of a selective process of belonging and relegation within the school and neighborhood spaces, thereby addressing the process I refer to as socio-urban exclusion. This self-narrative has the capability to illustrate a larger cultural and social phenomenon, namely, how Chilean schools have become devices for the social exclusion of the “other” and for the social reproduction of capital between “peers” over the last four decades.

In this biographical account I describe, from an analytical perspective, the chain of events and processes connected with the schools chosen by my parents for us, their children, the reinforcement of the study discipline, the reduction of neighborhood contacts and my actual social path/career —as well as those of my brother and sister. The special feature of the analytical autoethnography is that it aims to make a broader sense of the socio-cultural processes experienced by individuals rather than only providing a description of events. With this goal in mind, I address some relevant biographical constellations of my family history under the notion of: i) the encounter of two cultural universes; ii) the central role of the school life; iii) the school as an enlightened space; and iv) the crossing of social frontiers. I kept one consideration while doing this ethnographical self-process, namely, the simultaneous engagement of the temporal-biographical and the urban-territorial dimensions of the social relationships built between the school institutions and myself. In this way, I approach in my personal career with the intention replenish an individual sociological perspective within urban sociology studies.

Introduction

There is a television series that, for over seven years, has been drawing the attention of hundreds of Chilean people who get together to watch and share a new episode of this drama every Sunday night. Such a series is simply called “*Los 80*” and tells the story of an ordinary family in 1980s Santiago de Chile.

Throughout seven seasons, the Herrera¹⁴⁶ family has grown, changed, suffered and had happy moments while at the same time Chile experienced landmark events such as the 1982 FIFA World Cup in Spain, the great 1985 earthquake, and the 1988 plebiscite. However, it was the esthetic of the series, rather than these historical episodes, the aspect that created a sense of ownership among viewers. The setting of this drama does not lose sight of the fashion elements and music from that period, nor of the mass consumption goods that could be found in middle-class households. Taken together, these factors are essential for the reconstruction of the atmosphere of 1980s Santiago.

However, the circumstance that led me to make the abovementioned reference is a conversation between the parents of this family, which caught my attention and took place during the last season of the TV show. The reason of this telephone dialog is the selection of school for Anita, the youngest daughter. Apart from the parents, the Herrera family is composed of two young adults —a daughter and a son—, a teenage son, and five-year-old Anita.

After finishing her school day, Anita was picked up by her sister and the teacher tells her that, in order to be fully accepted at school, the parents of the young girl should attend a marital interview. The problem is that the marriage was already dissolved —divorce was legalized only in 2004 in Chile— and the school attended by Anita is a catholic-based institution. The full telephone conversation is reproduced below:

¹⁴⁶ A very common last name in Spanish language



Photo1: Los 80s TV Show

Source: <http://www.13.cl/programas/los-80-temporada-final>

Ana: Hello Juan,

Juan: Ana, hello, has anything happened? Are the kids OK?

Ana: The kids are OK, I need to talk to you.

Juan: Does it have to be now? I am leaving now.

Ana: Please, it is important.

Juan: All right, tell me, Ana please tell me, I am in a hurry; I have to go to Cajón del Maipo and then, in the afternoon, I have to see the girl –Anita-.

Ana: Look, I need you to go with me to a marital interview, this is the last procedure she needs to be enrolled at school.

Juan: A marital interview?

Ana: I thought that once accepted it would not be important, that I could get by. Look it is only half an hour. I did some research and they ask easy questions: how did we meet, the kind of activities we like to do, just trivial things...

Juan: Ana, I do not understand what you are saying, because if you want me to go there and talk to that nun and tell her that we are not together because of the girl, I would do that. But, do you want me to lie... to tell her that we are still together?

Ana: Juan, if we do not do that the girl might not be accepted. This is a catholic school. I also dislike the idea of lying, but this is for the future of Anita. Juan, this is a good school, there is a swimming pool, an auditorium, a gym. All the girls who complete their education there succeed at the aptitude test –test for university admission.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Until 2002, the national entry test for students who seek to enroll in university was known as Prueba de Aptitud Académica (PAA). From 2003, this test was replaced by the Prueba de Selección Universitaria (PSU). These exams are regarded as the indicators of the educational quality of schools.

Juan: The heck with that test, Anita is just in kindergarten, kindergarten...

Ana: It is so difficult to be accepted into that school. This is a once in a lifetime opportunity, Anita is already attending there and she loves it.

Juan: Look, we have three children that managed to succeed without the need to attend these posh schools and, most important, they were honest and had no need to lie. You are not the same anymore. Or maybe you were always like that and I was never aware of it.

Ana: There is no need to treat me like that.

Juan: Well, if you do not want me to treat you in that way, do not ask for stupid things.

This dialog clearly illustrates the issue I intend to address, which is: *the social emergence of devices of selective inclusion in the school institution in Chile within a process that resulted in a socio-urban change where “selective integration”, for over three decades, was gradually consolidated as a legitimate and persistent form of social exclusion.* Then, my focus is on three elements represented in the television series that I understand from a social and historical perspective: i) the transient nature of selective selection in the school space as a socially widespread practice in Chile since the beginning of the 1980s but consolidated during the second half of that decade; ii) the decline of public schools as the spaces for social reproduction and integration, which is reflected in the type of school attended by the youngest daughter in the series; in this sense, private and religious schools are regarded as the best learning spaces; and iii) the impact of selective inclusion—in terms of school selection on the part of parents— on the whole school institution; the result being the generation of widespread forms of exclusion. Taken together, all these elements suggest that the Herrera family makes a great economic effort to maintain that school decision throughout the life paths of Felix and Anita, their youngest children.

In what follows I propose an autoethnographical approach to my own school experience which, as in the case of the television series, is marked by the access to a semi-private catholic education institution. This school selection process is significant in socio-urban terms as it is a strategy intended to reduce neighborhood contacts and promote social relationships at school level. In other words, the school selection process conducted by my parents—and many other parents from the 1980s onwards— affected the social and urban components of my life path and career. The latter was achieved through the reduction of certain types of contact and the promotion of relationships with other people. As I discussed in the previous

chapter, the actions and representations related to the school have urban consequences due to, at least, two reasons: i) they build the everyday territoriality of people; and ii) desired social contacts are selected according to school, neighborhood, and urban information.

From the first half of the 20th century to the 1970s, my former school was attended by most of the political, cultural and economic elite of the country. Such a situation changed during the 1980s. This school was —and still is— underpinned by social prestige; however, the Chilean elites are no longer educated there. During the 1970s, and given to its location in the downtown area, this institution ceased to be regarded as an attractive place for the provision of education by a high-income class that was already moving towards the eastern part of the city —in the area known as the high-income cone¹⁴⁸. In this urban context, in which high-income groups changed their location within the city, the school made a strategic adjustment and focused on the strengthening of social mixing. This action enabled the institution to maintain its high academic performance and favorable social contacts while at the same time reaching new social groups. This is why during the 1980s and 1990s the school received financial aid by the State and implemented a differentiated tariff for tuition payment and monthly fees regarding family incomes.

Bearing this contextual information in mind, I expect this autoethnographical exercise to provide a thorough description of the individual experience in the school institution and its impact on urban relationships. However, despite being based on the individual condition, this account attempts to reconstruct the historical dimension or the chain of events that prompts young parents to insert their children into an educational environment different from that of the neighborhood and the recurring decisions made within other family members —extended family context. Likewise, this exercise explores the consequences of school decisions on the future social mobility of children. The biographical goal of this autoethnography is to understand the individual -and family- experiences as related the major elements of the social and cultural dynamics, in my case study, socio-cultural elements built around the school institution in Chile over the last three decades. Such a process has a certain methodological similarity to the historical reconstruction of the abovementioned television series. In this sense, both, the real autobiography and the fictional television story seek to reconstitute the relationship between individual-family and socio-cultural environment. From an analytical perspective, this chapter is composed of two parts:

¹⁴⁸ See references to this topic in Chapter five

i) The reconstruction of the chain of events and the process that led my parents to choose a specific school for their male children, this being an unprecedented education-related decision, when compared with the one made by close relatives of my parents. Such a selection process is divided into three analytical episodes: i) the encounter of two cultural universes; ii) the central role of the school life; and iii) the consolidation of heritage. As I previously stated, this reflection is only meaningful within the context of urban studies as it deals with social decisions and their territorial consequences —or with the “everyday regionalization” process described by Benno Werlen (1993, 2004a, 2004b). Therefore, my intention is to reveal that school selection is a traceable and identifiable form to elaborate an urban dynamic which, ultimately, is at the bottom of my thesis’s argument of re-shaping city’s life from the individual agency capabilities.

ii) The description of the everyday reinforcement of school and study habits during the first decades of my family life; these dimensions were not only regarded as academic processes but as the possibility of gaining access to a known —yet somewhat distant— socio-cultural world. Indeed, the plasticity of socio-cultural worlds, as accounted in the family biographies of my parents, has its territorial counterpart. My family moved, in a short period of time, through different spaces of social interaction, diverse communes within Santiago, and very particular regional spaces surrounded by vast “haciendas” and exclusive winter sports centers. Each of these places offered the opportunity to establish extensive and varied social contacts. Therefore, it is possible to say that mixed socio-cultural universes have a specifically determined territorial condition in my family’s biography. In connection with the previous argument, I can argue that school decisions are always active in urban terms as they strengthen social practices, which are at the basis of territory enactment - territorialization.

The reinforcement of the sense of belonging to the school space —both at physical and social levels— through the promotion of academic success is part of a strategy for socio-urban inclusion. As for my case, my parents were probably never aware of the inclusive aspect of such an approach. In this sense, I propose the exploration of these processes by means of three analytical perspectives: i) the rhetoric of study and its influence; ii) the school as an enlightened space; and iii) the crossing of social frontiers. According to Paul Pasquali (2014) and his thought about the need to build participation within an alien cultural universe as the essential element of ascending social mobility in the context of French *Grand Écoles*, my focus is on interpreting the constant reinforcement —on the part of my parents— of

academic performance as the key element of social integration and complete participation within a cultural universe. The latter should not be regarded as a simple academic resource to pursuing further studies.

Socio-urban exclusion within the context of a chain of biographical events

The choice of parents to enroll their children in a given school is part of a chain of events that affects the history of a family, no matter whether this is a conscious decision or a determination motivated by the lack of options. School selection and the family-school relationship have concrete urban impacts; in other words, they affect the social relationships and territorial forms built around them. However, researchers involved in the Chilean discourse on school issues come from middle- or higher middle-income socio-economic backgrounds and, as a result, they address this topic from their privileged social, economic, educational, and urban perspective. In this way, research on this issue favors a vision that is divided into temporal, spatial, and social segments when it comes to addressing educational issues; this is because researchers only “visit” these “vulnerable” —as referred to by public policies— school and urban spaces.

A perspective that is gaining ground in the educational debate is that related to a structuralist approach to the effects of the market-oriented logic on the quality and equity of education (Bellei 2014). However, the experiences and suffering of those affected by school reorganization —both at macro and micro levels¹⁴⁹— reveal a constant vulnerability that is not properly conveyed.¹⁵⁰ For these individuals, who belong to the lowest social or symbolic background, the school is nothing but a nursery, a fairly secure confinement space.¹⁵¹ This change in the school institution is not a transformation resulting from the sole implementation of a market-oriented logic within the education system, nor is the consequence of the neoliberal policies put in force by the military dictatorships or authoritarian regimes. People from problematic areas are aware that their schools are spaces of relegation and they are also aware that the schools attended by education researchers are exclusionary in nature; in other words the latter spaces are forbidden to them. In this way, socio-urban exclusion becomes a

¹⁴⁹ Macro refers to the transformations experienced by the education system, as well as the prevailing logic; micro refers to the individual experiences of people.

¹⁵⁰ It is important to point out that the words “suffering” and “affected”, as they substantiate narrative, biographical and reflection-based expressions of social sciences —especially in sociology and anthropology— have been associated with the approach to extreme emotional experiences in terms of suffering and spatiality. For further information about the case of emotions and introspection regarded as a means of relationship between individuals and society, please refer to Ellis (1991); for more information about the studies of suffering caused by disease, please refer to Frank (1995, 2000) and Illich (1976); for further literature on urban marginality, which is connected to the Chicago school of sociology, please refer to “*The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man*” (Anderson, 1923), “*Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*” (Whyte, 1943) and “*Ally’s Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men*” (Liebow, 1967 [2003]).

¹⁵¹ In this case, please refer to “*Prisons of Poverty*” (Wacquant, 2009) and his reflection on jails; please also refer to the reflections of Auyero and Berti (2013).

general process as it develops ways of life related to institutions that are weak in terms of integration and effective as far as selection-integration are concerned.

However, the institutional transformation that involves the mixture of structural changes to the system and a new set of guidelines for individual and family action did not happen overnight. Its form, scope, and specificity cannot be described by observing only one situation or dimension. Its temporal nature, the way it emerges and its evolution requires a diachronic or biographical approach. In this way, there is a need to make sense of actual relegation experiences, which are ambiguous and blurred. This is because different forms of exclusion always involve a double belonging-rejection relationship. Such a condition is wisely described in *The Ghetto*, in which author Louis Wirth (1998) highlights the social function of the European Jewish ghetto and its secluding and protecting features. In this line, it is worth acknowledging that, despite the coexistence of exclusion and integration, there are no special considerations for relegation. Then, we can recall the criticism leveled by Loïc Wacquant at the approach of Wirth to the American ghettos inhabited by European immigrants: “White immigrants from different peripheral origins (Italians, the Irish, Poles, Jews, etc.) initially lived in heterogeneous *ethnic neighborhoods* which, despite being slums, were intermediate and mostly temporary stages in the path towards integration into a complex white society; may Wirth forgive me, but these were no ghettos in any sense, except from an impressionist or journalistic viewpoint” (Wacquant 2001: 47).

Therefore, when we talk about selection forms, that is, a belonging-rejection relationship, any biographical path provides relevant information. Every biography, in our case an individual-family biography, provides information to understand the complexity of the transformations that take place within the school system as well as their impacts on the individual and collective levels. This allows us to put forward our first proposition, which is intended to serve as the guideline for the study of biographical paths related to school selection. Every path reveals selective exclusive-inclusion processes as the result of its ambivalent nature. This is because any form of belonging to a given order—even to social mixing—implies a certain level of rejection generated to other potential forms/spaces of integration. This does not mean that integration, or even the increase in integration levels at schools, is an impossible task for public policies. On the contrary, it is empirically demonstrated that integration models are selective in nature. Therefore, it is the job of society to decide the minimum social requirements to prevent selective integration from becoming explicit mechanisms of exclusion.

The access to desired and mandatory relegation biographies is an attempt to unveil the experiences of people and their expectations, fears and contradictions. This would allow us to return to the discussion on the individual component of social processes and its relationship with the institutional changes contained within urban transformations. However, there are two questions that should be answered: i) what does it mean to talk about chains of events in terms of school selection? And ii) how can a school selection biography help clarify urban phenomena?

The chain of events concept is an approach adapted from the study conducted by Auyero and Berti (2013), entitled *La violencia en los márgenes*. This ethnography, jointly conducted with a school teacher and a sociologist, proposes that in order to understand the forms of violence within a marginal neighborhood located in Greater Buenos Aires, there is a need to transcend the representation of isolated events or “settling of scores”. This anger-driven conduct creates and links seemingly disconnected events in the form of a chain of events, and thus becoming the key element to analyze the continuous —temporary— and extended —spatial— dimensions of violence. This situation is eloquently embodied in the following excerpt:

“When a drug dealer forces his way into a house, he points his gun to the head of the mother of an addict and, disregarding the presence of boys and girls that witness the use of guns and physical violence, demands a payment. Then, the mother threatens to “break the fingers” of her son (or hit him until “blood pours out of his face”, or call the police —which is suspected of taking part in drug trafficking activities— to take her son to prison because she does not know what to do with him) in order to prevent him from stealing objects from her house —a crime that involves the stealing of items such as a television to finance the addiction of the assailant. However, the television does not belong to his mother but to the second husband of hers who, drunk and angry at the stealing of his device, punishes the mother with kicks and blows. Then, in these cases, there is a need for a better and more comprehensive image to provide a detailed account of the forms and uses of violence in the borders of the city. In this case, the notion of chain and spillage seems to be more useful than simple retaliation. We will explore this argument —that is, the violence that transcends reciprocal retaliation to become a spillage-like event— through empirical demonstration and focusing on *practical* rather than *theoretical* aspects. Before stating and claiming that different types of violence are connected to each other, we want this ethnographic material to *provide a picture* of how these linkages are generated in a real space-time context. We have

been there, at school, in the neighborhood, in the community kitchens and now we are here, reconstructing what we have seen, heard, witnessed [...] Each violent episode should be identified within a wider structural context, as well as within a more specific situational context. Certainly, this is easier said than done” (Auyero and Berti 2013: 25-26).

Unlike the different forms of physical violence, school selection represents the hopes and illusions of parents who seek a brighter future for their children. However, hope does not mean that school selection is a non-violent process; even though this situation is not part of my reflection, it should always be borne in mind that the desired living conditions for children —described by interviewees during the development of this research (please refer to chapter five)— are always achieved to the detriment of hundreds of thousands of children in Chile.

The chains of events that make sense of school selection are not restricted to time-isolated events, such as the entrance into schools. On the contrary, the task is to regard this event as a process, in which the reasons underlying the school decision, as well as the maintenance and conclusion of such a determination, can be “build” through biographical evidence and the discourses that people elaborate around their lives and experiences. In order to be effective in the long-term, early school decisions should be reinforced by a series of everyday practices. This self-explanatory statement is not spontaneous. The concentration of all the children of a marriage in a better school, after the successful enrollment of the first of them, seems to be a possible practice for the stabilization of school selection along time. Another strengthening mechanism is the construction of school responsibility and study habits at an early age. A third practice is based on turning the school and its way of life into the lynchpin of the social and urban experiences of students.

In this sense, I propose that school selection should continue over time and become an effective practice and a consistent way of life. To that effect, and as described in the previous chapter, biographical un-anchored or social retraction processes should come into play. It can be observed, then, that social retraction emerges as the result of the prioritization of school links to the detriment of neighborhood bonds; this suggests the presence of everyday enactment mechanisms. The school path that I am describing through this autoethnography is related, on the one hand, to the search for inclusion in elite schools containing important levels of socio-economic mixing and, on the other hand, to a desired seclusion practice as far as neighborhood contacts are concerned. In this context, the constant reinforcement of academic success transcends the educational sphere and becomes an effective form of access

and belonging to a specific socio-cultural universe. In other words, the school becomes the center of the urban, social, economic and cultural life and, through this dimension; individuals are able to gain access to socio-cultural spaces different to those of the neighborhood and extended family.

The above paragraph sheds some light on the answers to the second question previously raised —namely, how can a school selection biography help clarify urban phenomena? In saying this, I want to highlight two perspectives that provide clues about this relationship: i) school paths are a form of socialization with a territorializing capacity within the everyday context; and ii) everyday territorialization acquires the ability to transform urban forms once it transcends the individual sphere and becomes part of the collective dimension.

As for daily episodes, and according to the classical proposal made by Torsten Hägerstrand (1970), the school shows specific space-time experiences. For a student, the day is divided into the time spent in the place of residence, while commuting to school and at school —the latter being regarded as the organizing element of daily routines. Calculating how much time is spent at school, while commuting, in the neighborhood and at home is a good way to refer to the space-time relationship achieved by the school experience within the context of individual life paths. Then, it not surprising that, when asked about school experiences, respondents describe episodes related to “school daily mobility”, the parts of the city or rural areas they travelled across while commuting and the means of transportation used to “travel” to school. Thus, people living in the outskirts of the city or in rural areas recall their long walks to their educational institutions. Likewise, waiting at public transport stops or the rush to catch the bus, tram or train are recurring events. In my case, I commuted to school by subway for more than ten years; this is something that it is impossible to forget. Even today I can perfectly remember the name of the five stops on my journey to and from school.

When analyzing the territorialization process resulting from the collective action of the school institution, it is possible to note the strengthening of neighborhood and urban structures within concrete or delocalized geographies. Unlike the case of France, Germany and Sweden, Chile has no “catchment areas”¹⁵² for schools and their students; this is why many people say that schools have no “neighborhood-building capacity”. Then, if the building of a neighborhood dictates the reinforcement of integrated and socially mixed

¹⁵² “Catchment areas” define the public policy which places individuals from a neighborhood in the local, closer, public school. This policy was highly important in Europe and North America; however, it has been weakened by private schools and the liberalization in the school selection process.

residential places surrounded by a pleasant developed environment, Chilean schools—in many cases—have been negatively affecting those territories abandoned by public policies or deteriorated as the result of the loss of their economic function. However, the changes in the school institutions have been modifying the complete appearance of the city of Santiago; this is because the changes in the school institution—both at micro and macro levels—have resulted in differentiated forms to build a territory. Elite schools sell their urban lands at a high price and relocate in peripheral high middle- or higher-income areas, in which, despite the elevated price per square meter, it is not enough to match the offer made by urban speculation for these old territories. This is one of the territorialization mechanisms used by schools, which is closely related to the reinforcement of socially differentiated—and easy to locate—lifestyles within the city of Santiago. Since not all families have no resources to move house and relocate in other area, those parents with ascending social aspirations for their children send them to semi-private schools located outside their neighborhood. This an example of territorialization enacted by the school institution. Spatial concurrence is a third form of territorialization, which, as discussed in chapter four, can take different forms and spatial features such as extended urban zones, interstitial zones and local spaces that connect neighborhood and vulnerable schools. In this context, school territorialization exposes spatial concurrence to different forms of vulnerability.

On this basis, one might assume that these three situations are the result of the inclusion of the market-oriented logic into the education system; however, such a supposition would ignore the detailed description of the way people make sense, use, understand and give meaning to exclusion. There are stigmatized schools operating in marginal neighborhoods, thus affecting the urban structure through the exacerbation of exclusion and relegation. Likewise, the city is running out of school spaces aimed at concentrating individuals from different neighborhoods and socio-economic backgrounds. Nevertheless, these institutions could be found in the downtown area of the city between the 1960s and 1980s. Added to the existence of these inclusionary schools is the presence of the so-called republican institutions such in the surrounding as courts, ministries, unions, the National Library, the Santiago Municipal Theater and the Museum of Fine Arts, to name just a few.

The two dimensions that have been territorialized by the school institution are: i) the everyday and the individual-family scales; and ii) the middle term and the collective-social scale. These two spheres are connected with school paths through biographical chains of events. In this manner, these chains of events and school territorialization involve the

strengthening of current social processes and urban transformations. In what follows, this chapter offers two autobiographical sections: i) the school decision made by my parents; and ii) the effect of daily-based reinforcement efforts within the educational context. Before starting this analysis, it is worth making a brief reference to the concept of autoethnography and its methodological advantages.

Methodological Considerations

Autoethnography is a qualitative methodology that stresses the individual perspective to make sense of major social or cultural processes. There might be variations in the focus given to the individual or cultural dimensions of the account. In this connection, Carolyn Ellis points out that “autoethnography is an autobiographical genre of writing and research that display multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural. Back and forth autoethnographers gaze, first through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of the personal experience; then they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract and resist cultural interpretations” (Ellis 2003: 739). From an epistemological perspective, this means that researchers are not separated from these events but embedded into the processes and transformations experienced by society. Referring to an interview of Franco Ferraroti, Mercedes Blanco expresses her concerns about the forms of relationship between individuals and culture by stating that these links are mediated by the social environments that surround people: “The central thesis is about the possibility of interpreting a society through the elaboration of a biography [however] the individual does not directly totalizes a global society. The individual mediates his immediate social context and that of the limited groups he is involved in [...] Likewise, society totalizes each specific individual through mediating institutions” (Ferraroti [1983] 1988: 94 in Blanco 2012: 55). This is a revealing quotation as it suggests the central role played by what I call institutional environments and emphasize their mediating capacity around the relation between individuals and society. Therefore, the autoethnography is the proper method for the analysis of the space that is constantly built between individuals and society. In other words, this approach helps clarify the prevailing logics within institutional environments as well as their emergence, consolidation, and transformation.

In this sense, “social distance” —as the proof of objectivity suggested by quantitative approaches— is replaced by the acceptance of the existential proximity regarding the analyzed phenomenon. The latter does not mean that the autoethnography is an accurate and

dense description of the individual and social experiences of the researcher. In my case, I chose the analytical variation suggested by Anderson (2006) to observe the individual and family practices within the school environment and confront analytically their capacity to turn the school institution into a selective inclusion-exclusion mechanism.

This analytical variation implies making a conceptual sense of the processes narrated by the autoethnography.¹⁵³ This method is composed of two dimensions that are worth emphasizing: i) on the one hand, there is the diachronic dimension, which is based on the description of the processes experienced by the author; and ii) on the other hand, there is the narrative dimension, which is based on the account of the situations experienced by the author.¹⁵⁴ Then, narrative and diachrony are the elements that turn this method into the proper instrument for the analysis of the temporal dimension of the school selection process and its further stabilization. At the same time, the combination of the narrative-diachronic element with an analytical approach enables the detailed observation, at different times, of the socio-urban component of the analyzed process.

The school selection made by my parents

The following section aims at reconstructing the chain of events that led my parents to choose a specific school for their male children. Such a decision did not replicate the school selection made by close relatives –as was mentioned above–; nor is it the continuity of the school selection made by my grandparents. In order to understand the decision made by my parents—and before discussing the analytical dimension involved—there are some historical events and territorial relocations in the lives of my father and mother that should be taken into consideration. All these situations took place before my parents met.

My mother spent her childhood and adolescence in the city of Santiago, specifically in the commune of “La Reina”. Back then, this commune was located in the outskirts of the city of Santiago; today, however, La Reina lies in its entirety within the limits of the city. In this sense, my mother recalls that public transport did not operate beyond “Plaza Egaña an important city’s square”, which is located a few kilometers from her former place of residence at Catalayud St 4033. At that time, La Reina still presented some remnants of the

¹⁵³ Anderson proposes the term analytic autoethnography to refer to “research in which the researcher is (1) a full member in the research group or setting, (2) visible as such a member in published texts, and (3) committed to develop theoretical understanding of broader social phenomena” (Anderson, 2006: 373)

¹⁵⁴ A large number of authors adhere to this narrative expression and many of them associate the writing exercise with the essence of research. There are extensive references to this approach; for an organized reference in Spanish language, please refer to Bernasconi (2011a, 2011b). For further information about writing techniques in social sciences, especially in the case of autoethnography, please refer to Feliu (2007). For references in English language, please refer to Clifford and Marcus (1986), Richardson (1994).

old Chilean countryside and did not concentrate higher-middle and higher income socio-economic groups. Despite this, my mother recalls that most of the kids in her neighborhood were children of public officials or professionals. However, apart from the location of the place of residence, my mother was educated at the “Liceo 1 de niñas”, which is located in downtown Santiago; this school is regarded as one of the most important educational institutions in Chile. This type of “intercommunal” mobility within the education context was common to my mother as most of her classmates lived in the same neighborhood.

After completing her school studies, my mother pursued an associate degree. Her qualifications allowed her to find a job just when my grandfather was made a political prisoner; this episode became the most traumatic event in the family history of my mother. A year after the coup, my grandfather was arrested by the civil-military dictatorship as a result of his being betrayed by one of his neighbors, who revealed his affiliation to the Chilean socialist party. My grandfather remained in prison for two years (1974-1976). Once released from confinement, he decided to move to another neighborhood. Then, he sold his house in La Reina and moved to Estación Central. After marrying my father, my mother purchased a house next to that of her parents. However, on more than one occasion, my mother regretted not having purchased the house she was raised in.

My father, on the other hand, spent his childhood and adolescence in a town located in the pre-Andean area of Rancagua, 100 km away from Santiago. There, my grandparents enjoyed a middle-class lifestyle within the rural hierarchy. My father and his family lived in an area governed by a social structure common to all Latin American countries. In this sense, such a model was composed of the owners of big “haciendas”, which belonged to the upper, landowning class¹⁵⁵ and the tenants, who lived and worked inside these lands. Since this situation suggested a social domination on the part of landowners, the United States implemented a modernizing project intended to dissolve this kind of social structure; this initiative was known as the “Agrarian Reform”. In this regard, it should be noted that there was a third part between the two aforementioned social classes. This group was composed of middle landowners who had their own lands either for agricultural or leasing purposes, as well as a staff of tenants and employed temporary workers. As for education, the school experience of my father — and that of his brothers— was limited in nature due to the need for

¹⁵⁵ At the turn of the 1970s, the Chilean countryside experienced a process known as the agrarian reform. This meant the expropriation of a portion of land from large estates and its handover to tenants. Given that the lands owned by my family were smaller in size, they did not experience —but witness— this particular moment in the lives of a number of Chilean people. With the civic-military regime a process of counter reform was initiated restoring some of the land to previous owners. For major details of this process and its impacts in the urban condition, see Villela (1979)

manpower in agriculture. However, it is worth noting that, despite the fact that family life was focused on agricultural labor or the continuity of the agricultural activity, neither my father nor his brothers are still involved in this business. This situation has triggered some kind of regret in my father, who wishes to spend his final days in the countryside. However, the three male brothers of my father as well as his sister ended up living in Santiago. The same happened in the case of my grandparents, especially my grandfather, who moved to the capital to treat his Parkinson's disease at the end of the 1960s.

After these two processes, my maternal grandparents ended up living a few blocks away from the place of residence of my paternal grandparents in the second half of the 1970s. However, my parents did not meet within a neighborhood context, but in "Portillo", one of the most famous ski resorts in the southern hemisphere located near "Los Libertadores" mountain pass in the Chile-Argentina border. In this sense, for my parents, the neighborhood is not a place for meeting or daily coexistence; hence the attitude of my mother towards this place, as she did not want her children to daily interact in such an environment. Added to this is the fact that my mother regarded the change of residence on the part of my grandfather as a socially-backward step within the urban context. In this connection, my grandfather, after two years of confinement and torture, decided to move in order to meet new people with the similar political concerns. This constituted an approach to the so-called "popular movement"¹⁵⁶. This movement was brutally dissolved by the dictatorship as well as the social sciences studied on the topic, existing prior the military coup.

It is worth mentioning that a Jesuit Catholic church stands near these residences. This place of worship is named "Parroquia Jesús Obrero" and is characterized by its simplicity and absence of luxurious decoration. Somehow, and despite his atheism, this church represents the type of social contact pursued by my maternal grandfather after his confinement. His idea –in words of my mother- was to share with workers, laborers and grassroots who, despite suffering on a constant basis, show resilience to social injustice. My parents used to attend this church and when I had to enter school in 1985, Priest Ignacio Gutierrez convinced them that I should apply for a vacancy at "Colegio San Ignacio", which is located in the downtown area of the city, just a few meters away from the Governmental Palace. After my successful application and subsequent enrollment, my brother also applied for a vacancy at this school

¹⁵⁶ Please refer to "*Movimientos sociales urbanos*, especially the chapter *De la toma de la ciudad a la toma del poder: Lucha urbana y lucha revolucionaria en el movimiento de los pobladores de Chile*" from Manuel Castells (2004 [1974]). In a footnote, the Spanish author clearly states that: "'pobladores' [grassroots] are not only those who occupy a space of property. This notion has also another political connotation that this analysis is intended to uncover". See also chapter one and three of this thesis, in which urban social movement are extensively analyzed.

being accepted just a few weeks later.

i) The encounter of two cultural universes

The analytical approach I used to explore the school selection made by my parents is the encounter of two cultural universes. To my surprise, when I conducted a separate and “spontaneous” interview with my parents, they immediately regard themselves as identical to each other. However, it is hard for me to believe that the son of a middle-class landowner and the daughter of a public official are equal in socio-cultural terms. When they mutually regard themselves as peers, they talk about their social condition within a sort of “middle-class” context. It follows that from this condition they do not have restrictions to participate in exclusive neither vulnerable contexts as they always say: “I do not have problems in sharing with different people”. However, they were not as identical as they claim to be. My father was born to a rural catholic family and my mother was raised within an urban and politically-engaged environment. There are considerable differences; this meant that they had to elaborate representations and plans of action intended to merge their different cultural universes. This adaptation is not longer a need because has been stabilized through time. At the same time is not easily traceable within the biographical account because, as the result of my parents’ quotidian cohabitation, differences has been slowly disappearing and allow them to mutually regard themselves as peers today. Nevertheless, there were many points in which the two cultural universes must to coincide, one of these articulations has to do with gender roles, which are not properly defined in the case of my parents. My father, in an important difference with his brothers, cultivates a balanced and equaled relation with my mother. Something that was very unusual in the Latin American context forty years ago. Another adaptation is related to religious catholic observance and the involvement of my parents in church-related activities. There is also a third adjustment, which, in this case, refers to education, school and professional aspects.

As the result of the biographical restrictions experienced by my parents during their educational paths, the education of their children became the first family priority. This decision made by my parents three decades ago meant the prioritization —since pre-school learning— of a private, catholic and socially recognized institution. Such a choice implied a great economic effort; on some occasions, school expenses were beyond the capacity payment of my parents. However, this is one of the most important dimensions derived from the encounter of these two universes and the subsequent establishment of values and stabilized practices. These situations, which may go unnoticed, enable the encounter —rather

than the clash—of two different cultural universes.



Photo 2. My Brother, my sister and I before going to the school¹⁵⁷

ii) The Central Role of the School Life

The central role of the school life as an analytical dimension sheds some light on how the school decision made by my parents gained stability over time, being reinforced not only by practices but also by the decisions made by my siblings and I over the course of our school path. The school was the core element during our childhood and adolescence. This meant that school became the urban space for the development of extracurricular activities and the establishment of bonds of friendship. The central role of the school during my childhood meant that, between March and December—which is the length of the Chilean school year—we no longer went to the neighborhood or visit our neighbor friends, we just focus on school-related activities: homework, reports, reading, and exams. Over the years, this central role shifted towards the development of activities such as workshops on arts and painting, summer works and student council, among others. During the winter and summer break, my siblings and I spent our time in school related activities such camps; as a result, this space became the central element of our daily routines and the lynchpin of our urban experience. Today, most

¹⁵⁷ My family does not collect many photos recording important moments of our biography. I do believe that this photo was perhaps just the outcome of finishing a photographic roll to a future development. In any case, it is eloquent for me, to observe and remember the centrality that has the breakfast time just before to go to the school. The photo portrays all the symbolic conditions of these moments. It is easy for me remember my father preparing breakfast, the smell of his shaving lotion in my bread, and his constant questions about what we were learning at the school and how much effort we all should put on learning. I see my brother Luis, in the photo, proudly standing, hugging Verónica and holding “the Iliad” or “the Odyssey” from Homer, I cannot remember exactly. This scene shows how central was the school in our family life for so many years.

of the activities I am involved in Santiago, are either central or remote in relation to the distance between the house of my parents and my former school. I am usually around my school and I am still involved in activities carried out in its immediate vicinity.

Through a series of recurring actions taken over the last decades, the urban space provided by the school became the central element of the territorial, social and academic dimensions of my life. This central role of school was built by my father —through the reinforcement of study habits— and my mother —through the reduction of neighborhood contacts. In the words of my father, there was always a need to study, reinforce or improve a given subject. This meant that the time I spent studying at school exceeded that of a normal student. As for my mother, while she also stressed the reinforcement of study habits, she emphasized that we belonged to our school and classmates, not to our vicinity and neighbors. These orientations were assimilated by my siblings and I during our adolescence. This is why our closest ties of friendship were built at school or at the university rather than in our neighborhood. The central role of school clearly describes how school decision can be highly active in socio-urban terms in the case of Santiago, Chile.

iii) The consolidation of heritage

The third analytical dimension that allows the understanding of the school selection made by my parents is the consolidation of heritage. In this sense, and as many other parents within the Chilean context, they are the responsible for the provision of education for their children; this implies the payment of school- and university-related fees. The concept of educational heritage becomes meaningful within a social context in which education is not free. In the case of my parents, the fact that my siblings and I pursued a university degree meant the access to a comfortable socio-economic life.

However, it is important to point out that the consolidation of heritage does not refer to the availability of material or economic resources. None of my parents forced us to pursue a highly profitable degree. However, the fact that my siblings and I earned doctorate degrees in countries with a strong academic tradition implies that material conditions will be better than those experienced by my family during the 1980s. But, once again, this reinforcement is not focused on material heritage but on the earning of social and cultural capital, which may be taken with us wherever we go. Therefore, I use this perspective to explore the way the everyday reinforcement of education leaves the academic dimension to become an action endowed with a socio-cultural sense of ownership.

The everyday reinforcement of education and its consequences

My parents used to constantly repeat the impersonal and generic phrase “you have to study”. This elocution has an interesting ambiguity since “to study”, in Spanish language, refers to both learning a given topic and pursuing an academic degree. Then, “to study” may equally mean, “you have to study in order to succeed at the test” or “you have to study in order to succeed in life”. In any case, the central role of study and the series of practices that enact this activity in a daily basis have been an essential part of our life paths. This being said, I think that this stability will always be present in our lives and will certainly be used as a reinforcement resource for our children. Likewise, the stable nature of this practice has prompted me to speculate that its scope may not only be restricted to the search for academic success. This is why I propose to expand on this reflection through the tree notions described below.

i) The rhetoric of study and its influence

The rhetoric of study has always been present in the biographies of mine and those of my siblings. Though with different degrees, we all have succeeded at academic level. My sister graduated first in her class in Chile and today is part of group of honor students at her current university in the United States. My brother was awarded his doctorate with the highest distinction; this rarely happens in France, since the awarding of such an honor should be unanimously agreed by a committee composed of five members. In my case, I was the best student at school and I was awarded the Presidente de la Republica scholarship to pursue a doctorate degree at a foreign university. Beyond this biographical data, it is important to bear in mind if this educational reinforcement was exclusively related to academic performance. I think this was not the case; then, I would like to put forward a different argument. Academic success suggests the possibility to actively participate in known —yet somewhat distant— socio-cultural universes.

As I previously stated, this family biography moves through different socio-cultural spaces in which the school is a central, but not unique, institution. My parents worked in exclusive winter resorts; this allowed them to share with people from higher socio-economic backgrounds. Since they occupied important posts, these socio-cultural spaces were common to them; however, they have an access not obtained due to their economic incomes. Their active engagement in these spaces is not exclusively restricted to the ability to pay or not, but to some socio-cultural aspects. In my opinion, this is what my parents sought to achieve — either consciously or not— through our academic success. In other words, being a university-

trained professional with a doctoral degree earned in a foreign institution will mean social prestige and a life experience that will ensure participation in any socio-cultural space. Academic success was the mechanism used by my parents to maintain and improve the socio-cultural condition of the family.



Photo 3. My kindergarten's teacher and I¹⁵⁸

In this sense, academic success became the social device to transcend social frontiers. Another dimension underlying this reinforcement is the process of individuation and autonomy, in which academic success was not associated with the pursuing of a specific degree or materialistic achievements. The freedom to pursue and successfully complete any proposed university program is a narrative told by my parents and many other Chilean families. Therefore, in order to connect this statement with the previous paragraph, the crossing of social frontiers is associated with two coextensive aspects since integration goes hand in hand with exclusion; in our case, this proposal was reflected in the detachment from the neighborhood and the central role given to the school life.

¹⁵⁸ The rhetoric of study is not something deployed in my family at a rational or strategic level. In my particular case, but also in the one of my sibling, my parents reinforce learning skills from the first moments of our school careers. My parents commonly and proudly narrate a story that I cannot remember consciously. They say that in an ability test applied by one important university of Santiago in my school, when I was perhaps 5 or 6 years old, I achieve an outstanding result and my teachers were just “fascinated” with me. I cannot give testimony of the accuracy of this story, but I definitely can report caring, recognition, stimulation, and positive feedback in all my primary education.

ii) The school as an enlightened place

It is common to see that a great number of children and adolescents do not relate academic success or the school place to social integration and mobility. This is the recurring case of vulnerable students who attend segregated schools. In these educational and urban-territorial environments the school does not act as the means for social integration, thus becoming—in the Chilean case and according to the discussion in the previous chapter—a widespread form of exclusion. This was not the case of my school, which is regarded by me as an integrative space due to its practices and formal condition. In this specific context, the notion of formal condition refers to the urban-physical features of my former school: large halls, artwork by renowned plastic artists, a simple but detailed architecture, the most beautiful churches of the city, a theatre intended for official activities that was attended, regularly, by different presidents, a library that boasts the same literature read at the university level, and so on. The physical infrastructure and the urban condition of the school represent, since my childhood days, the house of knowledge. A place to belong and become part of society. An enlightened place.



Photo 4. Class annual photos¹⁵⁹

During the interviews conducted to understand school selection, a great number of parents referred to situations similar to that described in the previous paragraph. In these accounts, and in the words of some interviewees, the school was a republican space. In this sense, the adjective “republican” means that there are no distinctions based on socio-economic backgrounds or the activity carried out by parents. According to those interviewed, “we are all equal, we all can succeed at academic level and move forward”. Within the

¹⁵⁹ One important tradition in my school was the annual photography of the class. I remember that this moment was not important for us as children, but was strictly organized by our teachers. In many opportunities that location selected was the school’s Church, just in front of the “altar”, place that was almost forbidden for a child without the first Holy Communion. This was the case of all of us in the right photo. The photo in the left shows us, with maybe 8 years old, wearing an extremely formal school uniform. During common days was mandatory to wear an overall covering the uniform.

context of the search for the reinforcement of academic performance, I refer to this type of relationship as “the school as an enlightened place”. However, this notion is perfectly compatible with the idea of the school as a republican space. To summarize, all these approaches show that, at the material and social practice levels, the message conveyed from the “school institution” to the student is not related to social injustice or relationship troubles, on the contrary, to a world that has been built upon knowledge, reflection and, the tradition of “reason”. Therefore, according to my personal experience, academic success meant being part of the school environment and the establishment of relationships with classmates and teachers within a context marked by knowledge and enlightenment.¹⁶⁰

iii) The crossing of social frontiers

The search for an ascending socio-cultural sense of belonging by means of academic success, along with my individual quest to belong to the university world —by means of the same mechanism—, imply the crossing of social frontiers. The notion of frontier and its crossing means, in the first instance, socio-cultural distinctions that emerge when observing different ways of life in the city. Therefore, since the everyday nature of these ways of life has “spatializing” and “territorializing” features and abilities, social ascendance can also be regarded as an urban phenomenon. On the other hand, and in the case of Santiago de Chile, the concept of frontier refers to social and territorial dimensions, as there are clear distinctions about the ways of life of each part of the city, and the school located there.

The crossing of frontiers between social groups is not achieved through the increase in income alone. There is also a need for learning the social aspects governing each context. In the previous section, we referred to this action as the constant reinforcement of academic success. The latter is related to our significant participation at school and at the university. Urban frontiers also involve the possibility of relocation within the city both at professional and recreational terms. The crossing of these borders means that individuals have fully accessible socio-urban spaces. However, this is not the case of some inhabitants of Santiago, who are immediately excluded upon leaving their everyday places. Despite the discussion on the increase or decrease in segregation level and its territorial scale, the qualitative dimension suggests that, in Santiago, social and urban frontiers are difficult to cross. Again, my argument is that school selection, academic success, being trained abroad, and the possibility

¹⁶⁰ It is also important to bear in mind that, within the catholic context, an important number of authors think that the European enlightenment arrived to the Hispanic world through the Jesuits —who are strongly oriented towards knowledge and philosophy. The role of this order is of great importance in Latin America; this gives a broader historical sense to the concept of the “school as an enlightened place”.

to become a lecturer, all these conditions together are not just a professional career but they ensure access to an exclusive socio-cultural universe. This situation emerged as one of the most important reasons that guided the decision of my parents as far as the education of their children was concerned.

Conclusions

The observation of the academic paths of my siblings allows me to identify a clear ascending socio-urban path. In our case, we all decided to pursue a doctoral degree, which, within a social context, draws the attention of those around us. In this connection, it is common to be asked about what my parents did to ensure the academic success of their children. However, during private conversations with my siblings, such a decision is regarded as economically unviable but steeped in biographical meaning.

I would like to stress that this academic decision was not only driven by job opportunities, but also by its deep socio-cultural impact on the social and urban dimensions. Personally, the fact that my brother, my sister and I successfully completed our doctoral studies in France, the United States and Germany, respectively, gives rise to the emergence of a sense of belonging. According to Bourdieu and Passeron, it can be argued that “every school and academic path can be understood as an imposition and inculcation of meanings that deserve being reproduced by their own selection and exclusion mechanisms” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979: 48). For the purposes of my analysis, this confirms that the academic path can be analyzed in terms of integration and social exclusion and not only from a professional development perspective. More deeply, the importance placed by my parents on education through their discourses and recurring practices for over three decades prompted my siblings and I to become lecturers. In Chile, a great number of parents want their children “to go to the university”; in this case they use the verb “to go” because they—the parents—failed to achieve such an opportunity. This is an important social shift in present-day Chile, in which a considerable number of individuals are the first generation of their families who pursued a university degree. It is possible to think that, within the array of meanings conveyed by my parents, they wanted us not only “to go” to the university, but actively participate in academic activities and maybe never leave this place, by becoming lecturers.

According to Bourdieu and Passeron, “pedagogical action denotes a symbolic violence” (ibid). In the case of the biographies of mine and those of my siblings, this phrase may be reinterpreted as: academic success, within the context of the pedagogical action we were

exposed to, suggests the free access to known but at the same time distant symbolic worlds and socio-cultural universes. Then, my intention is to reveal the meaning and concrete effects of the social segmentation strategy adopted by my parents, as well as the type of social relationships modified by such an approach.

In order to answer the questions above, I focused on two essential biographical dimensions, i) the school selection made by my parents and its stability throughout family life; and ii) the constant reinforcement of learning and academic success, which have consequences beyond the school and university spheres as they ensure the access and belonging to known but distant social spaces. Despite needing further elaboration, this research explores the autobiographical narrative to provide a robust description of the events that, given their temporary stability, became the central element for individual and family actions. The school decision made by my parents was selectively conducted according to exclusion-exclusion criteria. Likewise, they prioritized our inclusion into academic spaces through the reinforcement of school life and learning. The emergence of details allows reconstructing the socio-urban aspects of a decision that marked my life and the lives of my siblings. The stability of such a decision will extend to the next generation. “Your grandparents always stressed the importance of learning”, I think this is what Luis, my brother, will constantly repeat to his soon Manuel, who will be born while I am finishing this dissertation.

This last chapter is dedicated to Luis and Dina: “To my parents, who merged two cultural universes to ensure our education and initiated a chain of events that brought me here today. This work is warmly devoted to them in gratitude for the recognition and autonomy I received as well as for their constant support. This is a debt I will never be able to repay”. And to my nephew Manuel in his first day of life. Weimar, January 10, 2014

Thesis Conclusion

To raise the question of the possibility to conceive of an urban sociology organized around the individual's perspective seems to be excessive and ambitious for both a doctoral thesis and an academic career. William Flanagan, pointing out the wide varieties of possible orientations in the sub-discipline, states: "a single narrow aspect of urban issues is quite enough to provide a lifetime study for any one individual" (1994: 4). He is definitely right. To submit the question above appears ambitious and any answer would prove insufficient, but doing nothing at all could be worse. Indeed, from my perspective, there is always some advancement in transforming immaterial thoughts to tangible writing. This thesis is the result of this effort.

My main arguments arise out of an uncomfortable dissatisfaction with the conventional references to individuals in urban sociology. It is common to describe approaches to individuals in the sub-discipline relaying in studies of i) psychological adaptation especially of marginal persons, ii) social actors involved in interest struggles for urban development, or iii) social movements easily classified inside class or political conflicts. Such research orientations, very relevant in their own social context, are yet not very useful for engaging an exploration in the intensification of socio-urban exclusion from the individual perspective in the Latin American metropolis.

The thesis has been organized as a gradual approach to the theoretical, epistemological, historical, and empirical possibilities of an individual urban sociology within the Latin American context. This sociological perspective is concerned with the relationship between peoples and institutional environments as one crucial driving force in urban change. In particular, evidence has been gathered during the empirical stage to support the claim that social exclusion is characterized, and socio-urban exclusion intensified, by individual agency acting over institutional logics (also called institutional orientation) in the middle and long run. Under collective tendencies to what I call "selective inclusion" in socio-urban institutions, orientations towards social exclusion are enacted. This proposal is very much coincident with the argumentation proposed by Savage and Warde: "Many so-called urban problems arise precisely because of the simultaneity of opportunity and insecurity" (1993: 192). Readers may probe the argument simply by changing the words opportunity for inclusion and insecurity for exclusion.

The same authors engage a discussion of the status of urban sociology, and certainly advance assessment. Our sub-discipline is fragmented and unstable “because many of the key practices of everyday life are contextual and configurational. It is context –the social interaction of individuals and groups- that is the backcloth to action” (ibid: 193). A focus on individuals brings up this theoretical difficulty that actions are sensible to the social constellations that configure the urban, and simultaneously, actions are enacting the subjective form of individuals. This double condition of urban sociology was addressed in chapter 1 by describing two pre-requirements for the sub-discipline: to make sense of the major social constellations, and to describe a social actor. In summary, specific features of urban phenomenon place urban sociology in a middle point between agency and structure¹⁶¹. But what would happen if the social constellations of society were no longer referred to society but were to shift toward the individual, as has been proposed by Danilo Martuccelli elsewhere¹⁶²?

This is the place within urban sociology for research, as has been proposed by Javier Auyero and Maria Fernanda Berti, “*La violencia en los márgenes*”¹⁶³ that describes an ethnography of the chain of violence present in a marginalized neighborhood of Buenos Aires. The type of urban sociology of Loïc Wacquant “*Body and Soul*” may be considered as an auto-ethnographic intent to understand the degradation of the Chicago black ghetto through his experience as boxer apprentice. The Latin American sociological works about urban social movements in their intents to comprehend their social organization, role, and meaning in a specific historical moment can be classified in such a branch of urban sociology. These questions are a constant motivational source for this research, as I believe each of these studies point clearly to the novel orientation for urban sociology through individuals. I wish to become a participant within this orientation.

Latin American urban sociology engaged with the study of urban social movement at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s; if we agree that something like that factually existed, it was short-lived. Civil-military dictatorships do not only stop social research in

¹⁶¹ See the reference to Giddens sociology in Werlen (2012: 147)

¹⁶²In an interview given by Danilo Martuccelli in Chile (2010) he explains this sociological shift from the idea of society to the one of individual: “A part of the current sociology begins with the idea (I think one of the first to express it was Touraine in 1981 and later it was renovated by many others) that there is a crisis of the [same] idea of society, of the institution ability to produce social cohesion, and from this moment on, when [sociology] breaks with the idea of society it must be produced new macro-social interpretations. And of course it is not so easy to propose alternative interpretations. [... There is one interpretation] which is based in the notion of individuation, with dissimilar readings. Basically, it notes that in the same way that society was given theoretical unit sociology before, today [this role is played by] the process of individuation. Translation by the author.

¹⁶³ The title could be translated as “Violence in the fringes”

*“campamentos”*¹⁶⁴, moreover, their institutional violence dismantles the social phenomena of *“movimiento de pobladores”* as such. This violence exerted on urban social movement was not enacted against abstract or sociological “social actors”, but over real people. Concrete individuals were arrested, tortured, and disappeared. Some Latin American sociologists, at that time, left their comfortable desks at the United Nations’ Commission or at traditional Universities to make research in hiding, and published the social transformation in city and countryside under pseudonyms. In these extreme life conditions for people (including researchers) the boundaries between research and commitments disappear. Sociologist supported social movement, comforted human suffering, and denounced human rights violations.

Again the question, how to understand the significance of sociology going inside a marginalized neighborhood in which life and death seems to be interchangeable and violence not for quotidian become less tragic. In these few moments the sociologist seems to reject the effort of abstract conceptualizing and becomes a participant of the social situation in which they are just other participants. Consequences in these moments are not innocuous. In the Chilean experience, there were not just a few cases of sociologists imprisoned by the dictatorship while they were visiting *“campamentos”* or studying the “agrarian reform”. There were not just a few sociologists adding to the list of the political exonerated. Under these conditions, sociology is somewhat more than merely an analytical instrument for research. It is, at least in part, a result of moral principles and life convictions of individual researchers. Throughout this conclusion one could discuss extensively, the individual, agency, structure, political economy and it means to have an individual perspective in urban sociology but a simple answer is this: the sociology engaged with peoples’ life, interested in peoples biographies, recognizing them in their dignity and suffering; that is an individual sociology.

However incomplete, my attempt has been to explore the individual perspective within the theoretical approach to socio-urban exclusion in the Latin American context. This context was addressed historically as well as analytically. It was my intention to recover the question for the role of the individual and institutional environments in the pervasive and persistent conditions of marginalization within the region. Thereafter three case studies reported

¹⁶⁴ “Campamentos” as was presented in chapter one and three are informal settlements originated by a land squat. Nevertheless the use of the word “campamentos” for the Chilean case have two bases: i) the military temporal settlements, and ii) mining settlements. In both cases, as well as in its urban conditions within the urban social movements, “campamentos” address the strict internal logic of social organization.

different perspectives on the processes of socio-urban exclusion that are provoked by the educational institution in Santiago of Chile. The empirical section shows how systematic research on socio-urban exclusion and socio-urban change can be satisfactorily conducted from this perspective. Willing to avoid repetition and delivering a summary of the thesis, I will organize the final section of the conclusion to focus on a review of some outcomes of the research and to address some theoretical considerations.

I suggested first to develop an adequate place for an individual perspective in urban sociology; that a turn toward individuals motivated only by the incapacity of structural trends to account for the variability in local cases is both insufficient and unsatisfactory. Flanagan proposes the emphasis on agency and locality as a “reaction to what are interpreted as overly deterministic theories, theories that emphasize the power of social structure over individual choice [...] in this view it is obviously that local variables can sometimes override the effects of global circumstances, and that we must include among the relevant considerations of how change is determined the choices made by local elites and average citizen” (1994: 9-10). The American author is correct when describing the conditions for the historical emergence of a novel concern for agency at the local level, but he confuses those conditions with the reach and significance of this theoretical change. The troubles of the structural perspective to account for the local cases are everywhere. It is almost a singular field of urban research, regardless of whether global cities, in the formulation of Saskia Sassen, always lead to social polarization. Cases in Holland’s cities are presented elsewhere as evidence of a different, even opposed, tendency (see Hamnett 1994, Van der Vaal 2009) while cases in Asia and Africa may confirm the trend. But again, problems of structural analysis are not foundation enough for a turn toward individuals.

The individual perspective in general sociological theory and in urban sociology as well appears as the result of a novel societal constellation, a different form of society’s organization in which individuals becomes the “horizon of meaning”. Individual sociology is an intellectual and existential sensibility postulates Martucelli and de Singly and (2012), while Savage and Warde, confronting the tension provoked by capitalism and modernity over the urban, express “dramatic episodes of everyday life are the fundamental and common characteristic of the experience of modernity” (1993: 193). Everyday life, in its dramatism and heroism (Berman 1982, 1984), is only individually approachable. To give a safe foundation to the last sentence represents a major part of this thesis theoretical argumentation.

To encompass an idea of how urban sociology describes a turn to the individual, I propose a focus on the particularity of Latin American urban research between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. This movement, I suggests, is twofold. On the one hand, it means to broaden the traditional centers of urban sociology restricted to Europe and North America to the sub-continent in an enlarged view. On the other hand, it represents recovering the local specificity in empirical analysis of concrete social configurations. Latin America was the third region engaged by Manuel Castells's analysis on urban social movements beside Europe and North America. His internships as a researcher in Santiago of Chile and Latin America are coincident with a wider social discussion on the so-called problems of development. The empirical research on urban social movements find a space for dialogue on "*Revista Latinoamericana de estudios urbanos y regionales*" (*EURE*) with the broader conceptualization on dependency theory and marginality theory.

Urban social movements are an important chapter of urban theory, and their role inside the Marxist approach has almost become customary. My intension is not to reject this interpretation but to call for serious attention to historical descriptions. Castells, Vanderschueren, Quijano, Corragio, Sunkel and CIDU¹⁶⁵, may be considered Marxist oriented social scientists, but their research on urban social movements in the Latin American context was an inquiry into the empirical organization, formation, role, self-representation and significance of the "*movimiento de pobladores*". In other words, they did not subsume grassroots movements in the Marxist explanatory matrix, in their research works before the Chilean coup d'état in 1973.

In its historical accounts urban sociology has depended perhaps excessively on a predefined interpretation of what makes a structural-Marxist or a local-cultural account. We might start to reconsider how to create theoretical bridges that enrich these frameworks, when the aim of urban sociology is the individuals. To understand what studies on urban social movements represented in Latin American history do the label "Marxist" falls short. My argument, not fully explored in the thesis, sustains that urban social movements were the seeds of an individual perspective in urban sociology.

In the aforementioned argument I am not alone. There are more than a few reviewers within urban sociology who show how Anthony Giddens's relevance given to urban conditions in his structuration theory, which represents one possible way to incorporate agency and action in urban sociology, rests in his admiration for Marxist work in authors such

¹⁶⁵ Centro interdisciplinario de desarrollo urbano

as Castells, Lefebvre, and Harvey (see Werlen 2012). Another aim in the theoretical section here was to generate a dialogue between urban social movements and individual sociology, considering the previous from the perspectives on action and agency. Latin American studies on urban social movements were always two fold: On one side, trying to catch what could be for scientific relevance on these novel urban and collective social formations. On the other, to cast light on the drama lived by so many people belonging to the emerging social movements all around the world. Studies in urban social movements are marked by scientific objectivity in their intense search for empirical data about social organization in “*campamentos*”, and by political engagement, in their believe that “*campamentos*” are a political, social, and territorial alternative, and which challenges the capitalist city. In order to apprehend this double condition of the research on urban social movements, we must realize that the account of social actors is always a glimpse of reference to individual life, hope, and fears.

Latin American urban sociology represents not only an alternative for structural urban sociology, but also a contribution to the understanding of social exclusion and socio-urban exclusion in a historical context outside of the developed countries. An important part of the theoretical reflection was to advocate support for this argument. The originality of this approach was based on an observation of how the social, economic, and cultural conditions in Latin America at the end of the 1960s and the 1970s resemble the situation of deindustrialization in Europe and the erosion of the traditional forms of social integration. However, the argumentation strongly criticizes a misleading identification between specific historical social phenomenon and general sociological concepts. In this sense, social and socio-urban exclusion cannot be restricted, neither described as such, only with reference to the European characteristics of the phenomenon. This brings the argument into an extensive discussion of modernity theory and contemporary reflection on Latin American modernity.

Socio-urban exclusion has a longstanding presence in Latin America and is a very pervasive condition. People live their own life and family biographies inside persistent conditions of social exclusion. To reveal the mechanisms that transform the dynamic conditions of social exclusion in a persistent situation was one of the major goals presented by the empirical analysis here. Nevertheless, even when the empirical analysis seeks a focus on the individual, it is important to realize that structural orientations are prevalent in the academic approaches to social exclusion. This is clearly the case when Chilean social sciences confront school problems and urban inequalities. A first step in the empirical analysis was connecting both phenomena proposing that the socio-urban relegation in the

school institution is coextensive to growing socio-urban exclusion in the big metropolis of the country.

Sociology and urban sociology seems to observe institutions as produced by general transformation in society. In this sense, many accounts on school and urban exclusion begin with the social re-organization produced by the civic-military dictatorship and maintained in the democratic transitions (1973-2006). Authoritarian regimes bring up capitalistic and exclusionary logics inside traditional integrative institutions –work union, school, neighborhood- and by this way, lives are affected by those experiences. Without dismissing this, the empirical research offers an alternative by observing how socio-urban exclusion is enacted on a daily basis and over long periods of time by individual and familiar decisions and actions. I offer three study cases to analyze the relationship between individuals and school institutions in the Metropolitan area of Santiago de Chile (MAS).

The way in which people, in their biographical careers, enact their own representation of integration imprints changes on the institutional orientation, and by this way, contributes to reorganizing of urban life. The high levels of social exclusion in Santiago de Chile is not accountable without a consideration of transformation in all social institutions of the city, especially the school. No family considers social integration with people from a low social, economical or cultural background as relevant orientation for school selection. This particularity of the Chilean social reality is not derivable from any big capitalistic or modernization processes impacting our cities.

The empirical research in the first chapter shows a qualitative mapping of the socio-urban exclusion in Santiago by connecting information available regarding State intervention in neighborhoods and schools. The notion of qualitative mapping addresses my intension to show and to understand the form and extent of socio-urban exclusion in MAS. Narrative biographies applied to parents with children attending primary school, and by using autoethnography to describe my own parents' school selection, contribute to reveal the social and temporal dimension of this process and how to better approach selective forms of integration to institutions that are coextensive with increasing levels of exclusion. The schooling decisions taken by families, as a collective action, have reinforced the transformation of the school from a place for social integration to an exclusionary device. The autoethnography portrays in great detail the temporal dimension involved in the stabilization of familiar action toward school and neighborhood. Thus, highlighting their role as mechanisms of selective urban integration-exclusion throughout long periods of time.

The empirical study also makes the case both conceptually and substantively for a critical assessment of what I call selective integration-exclusion in the educational institution and city. Individual freedom to choose a particular form of integration to the socio-urban space is part of everybody's autonomy and self-determination. At the same time, individuals' decisions impact the lives of others as an unavoidable consequence of the same freedom. This is the non-thematized side of Chilean socio-urban exclusion, which provokes exclusion and integration problems for thousand of youth.

People –parents, children, adults, and youth- suffer from those experiences of exclusion but no one person seems to be accountable for the particular. In my perspective, there exist boundless socio-urban exclusions running beneath each of our institutions, and enacted by concrete individual actions. Nevertheless, global trends and structural forces, coming from outside and above, are the driving forces impacting and transforming everyday life in almost every account of social science. Individuals can speak about, or even complain of, Chilean society as a witness to this situation. Social sciences seem to be satisfied with collecting subjective opinions on objective events. I have attempted throughout the thesis, not without difficulties, to argue just the opposite. Individuals are productive agents in shaping their institutional environments and in this ways animate a chain of events that will impact the life of others.

My research has argued that this perspective is not something new in Latin American urban sociology, but its omission in the last 30 years of scholarship is becoming usual. Socio-urban institutions and their logics are enacted by individuals, families, and collectives, which are not merely “choosing” for one or another option. People make decisions about things they consider relevant, and those decisions are deployed as a chain of actions, bigger or smaller, daily or unique, but always with the intention of bringing about stability and productivity across time and within life trajectories. My research deals with socio-urban institutions and the socio-urban transformation enacted and legitimized by individuals, and it is at this point I consider it to offer some contribution to the socio-urban discussion in Chile and I hope that it may inform discussion in Latin America.

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Appendix I

Chapter five; Social strategies of exclusion in the city School selection as a legitimated mechanism for socio-urban exclusion in Santiago de Chile

Interviews' thematic guidelines in Spanish Language

Pauta General, Entrevistas “biográficas-narrativas”

El siguiente grupo de temáticas constituye la forma de aproximación histórico-biográfica al proceso de selección de escuelas por parte de los padres para sus hijos en el gran Santiago. Los temas que se presentan a continuación, buscan vincular la historia de los padres a las expectativas que tienen para sus hijos, de manera de profundizar así en la comprensión del proceso de selección antes mencionado. Es importante mencionar que las preguntas son solo indicativas y tienen que ser adaptadas a los contextos socio-económicos y socio-urbanos en que se preguntan. Es más, se puede señalar que para muchos contextos socio-económicos el fraseo no *diste de ser* el adecuado al aproximarse a los padres entrevistados, por tanto, se necesita adaptación.

Tema 1: Origen socio-urbano de los padres

Esta sección de la entrevista tiene por objetivo conocer el origen socio-económico a los padres entrevistados, cuyo único requisito para participar de la entrevista es tener niños en edad escolar. La idea de este tema es generar un cuadro en el cual se vea la situación socio-económica actual de los padres, pero en relación a su situación de origen y como ello constituye un cambio respecto de sus personas cercanas, familia de origen y/o amigos. El nivel socio-económico se rastrea como un proceso biográfico en oposición a una condición estática. Algunas preguntas pueden ser:

- Cuál era la ocupación de sus padres y el nivel socio-económico en tu familia de origen, por ejemplo, en relación a los padres de tus padres.
- El lugar de residencia: dónde vivieron en su infancia, adolescencia y juventud.
- Cuando te fuiste de la casa paterna y a dónde te mudaste
- Dónde estudiaron tus padres, en qué colegio, qué nivel educacional lograron.
- Qué tipo de establecimiento era y cuál es en tu opinión –en la actualidad- la condición socio-económica y nivel de calidad del colegio en qué estudiaron.

Un punto importante en esta parte de la entrevista es ahondar en la descripción socio-económica que las personas hacen de sí mismas. Cómo se consideran ellos en términos de exclusión-integración, marginalidad-participación, social. Una pregunta sería:

- En tu opinión, cuál es tu nivel socio-económico y cuál es el nivel socio-económico de la familia que formaste. (puede ser necesario re-frasear, o sea, cambiar la frase para referir de una manera más coloquial al “nivel socio-económico”)
- En esta temática puede ser relevante exponer diferencias entre padre y madre y al mismo tiempo acceder a una evaluación subjetiva respecto de si ellos se consideran en una mejor condición al observar sus familias de origen, ya sea referente a sus padres –abuelos de los niños- y a sus hermanos –tíos y tías-.
- También es del mayor interés indagar en las expectativas que los padres visualizan para sus hijos.

Tema 2: Convivencia socio-urbana de los padres

El objetivo de esta temática es reconocer los grupos sociales con- y los lugares urbanos donde- los padres conviven a diario. La idea fundamental es saber si las familias están comúnmente en contacto con personas de igual nivel socio-económico o bien resulta ser que conviven con distintos grupos sociales en una situación más variada. De la misma manera, es importante destacar si la persona se mueve en un espacio acotado de la ciudad, su barrio por ejemplo, o bien, ellos tienen una movilidad más amplia.

En la conexión de ambos temas, se puede pensar en preguntar por la localización de su vivienda en la infancia y la localización de su vivienda actual. Describiendo trayectorias urbanas y la significación que las personas le entregan respecto del contacto con otros grupos sociales. Preguntas tipo pueden ser:

- Usted convive en su trabajo con personas de igual nivel socio-económico
- Existen espacios de contacto social con sus jefes, superiores, etc.
- En sus actividades de esparcimiento o recreativas, comparte con personas de diferentes grupos sociales
- Considera que su barrio es variado en términos socio-económicos
- Donde vivió en su infancia y donde vive ahora ¿han habido cambios en su opinión, respecto del contacto suyo con personas diferentes a usted o de otros grupos sociales?
- Dónde vive y dónde trabaja

- Dónde desarrolla compras o paseos en la ciudad
- Dónde está ubicado el colegio de sus hijos
- Su movimiento en la ciudad, por actividades cotidianas, lo considera amplio o reducido
- Sabe tratar con personas de diferentes clases sociales –mayores y menores niveles socioeconómicos-

Tema 3: Selección de establecimiento educacional para los hijos

Esta dimensión busca hacer explícito el proceso de selección de establecimiento educacional para los hijos. Dado que en general el sistema educacional chileno permite tanto la selección de los padres de establecimiento educacional, como de las escuelas a sus alumnos, se buscará primeramente indagar en la capacidad de selección que existió en el proceso. Los límites a la capacidad de selección también son relevantes y su reconocimiento por parte de los padres. No obstante lo anterior, asumiremos que no existe una situación objetiva de selección estratégica *¿o deriva donde la selección es limitada a las posibilidades existentes en el entorno?* Por el contrario, cualquier consideración en esta dimensión es subjetiva. Son importantes preguntas como:

- Hubo capacidad de selección; se escogió un colegio por requerimientos especiales;
- Se seleccionó un colegio en el contexto de haber sido rechazados en otros;
- No se considera tan importante esta selección y se opta por lo que está disponible cerca de la vivienda;
- Por el contrario, se elige un colegio fuera del radio del barrio, etc.
- Una pregunta en esta dirección es saber si la convivencia con otros grupos socio-económicos, otros niños, otros padres, juega un rol relevante en el proceso de selección de la escuela. Aquí se buscará destacar si lo que se considera “otro” es nivel socio-económico mayor o menor.

Otro set de preguntas dentro de esta dimensión estará referida a hacer evidente los elementos que se privilegian a la hora de elegir un colegio para los hijos. Preguntas relevantes estarán orientadas respecto:

- Qué buscaba en el colegio en términos académicos,
- Qué buscaba en el colegio en términos humanos para su hijo
- Que valor le asigna a que su hijo conviva con personas de distintos niveles sociales
- Por último, dependiendo de lo que haya explicitado el o los entrevistados, es importante hacer la pregunta concreta: por qué se eligió o no se eligió el mismo colegio en que estudiaron los padres para los hijos.

Tema 4: Nivel socio-económico del colegio de los hijos, la referencia a lo “propio” y lo “otro”

Una temática que se debe rastrear en este apartado es saber si desde la perspectiva de los padres –y por tanto, descansando solo en su propia valoración- sus hijos asisten a un colegio donde los estudiantes son del mismo, de menor o de mayor nivel socio-económico en términos globales. En esta línea se puede iniciar este tema preguntando:

- ¿Considera que la escuela les resulta a sus hijos un lugar propio?
- Otras preguntas pueden ir en la siguiente línea:
- Si te pidiera que imaginaras un colegio al cual NO enviarías a tus hijos, qué dirías.
- Dónde NO te gustaría que tus hijos estudiaran
- Dónde NO te gustaría vivir
- Dónde vivirías si tu situación socio-económica empeorara
- Dónde enviarías a estudiar a tus hijos si no pudieras pagar por la educación

Tema 5: Asignación de sentido y valor

La intención de esta dimensión es abordar de manera un poco más explícita, una suerte de “crítica social” a la manera en que las personas seleccionan colegios en Chile. En este sentido, se pregunta por la forma en que la familia genera valoraciones respecto de la escuela y el barrio, así también el modo en que ellos creen otras personas hacen esto mismo. Preguntas posibles en esta sección son:

- Cómo o qué privilegios tú a la hora de elegir un lugar donde vivir
- Cómo o qué privilegios tú a la hora de elegir una escuela para que estudien tus hijos
- Cómo crees que las personas en general seleccionan el barrio de residencial y la escuela para sus hijos
- Cómo piensas tú que tus amigos o tu entorno cercano seleccionan el barrio de residencial y la escuela para sus hijos

Tema 6: Estrategias subjetivas

La intención de este apartado es observar el rol que juegan las decisiones individuales y la agencia en el proceso de deterioro o en la pérdida que la institución escuela tiene de su potencial integrador. Preguntas posibles en esta sección son:

- En términos muy generales, cómo crees que está el tema de la educación en Chile. Cuáles son sus principales problemas, cuáles son sus principales virtudes.
- Cuál es el rol que le cabe a las personas y sus decisiones en la situación del sistema educacional chileno.

- Cómo ves, desde tu perspectiva, que se relaciona la situación del sistema educacional a los cambios que ha vivido la ciudad en los últimos treinta años. (¿Cuidad entendida como espacio, como la gente que la habita, o ambas? Como cualquiera de las dos... si la gente habla solo de espacio está bien, si habla de personas también, y si habla de ambas ídem... ahora, depende del entrevistado)
- Qué prácticas o experiencias ha vivido en su escuela en cuanto a las transformaciones o problemas educacionales en Chile.
- Qué practicas o experiencias ha vivido respecto de las transformaciones en su barrio y la ciudad.
Para finalizar una pregunta interesante puede ser:
- respecto de estos problemas del sistema educacional, qué es lo que puede hacer usted.
- qué capacidad de transformación tienes tú como persona y familia.

Resumen:

Las entrevistas son de tipo abiertas, no hay preguntas que deben ser hechas, ni tampoco restricciones a cómo se debe formular la pregunta. La idea es pasar por cada uno de los seis temas: i) origen socio-urbano de los padres, ii) convivencia socio-urbana de los padres, iii) selección del establecimiento educacional para los hijos, iv) Nivel socio-económico del establecimiento educacional, lo propio y lo otro, v) asignación de sentido y valor a la selección de escuela y barrio, vi) estrategias subjetivas. Es importante reportar los discursos subjetivos que los padres construyen de cada uno de estos temas, no es tan importante caer en la cuenta de si dicen la verdad o no. La entrevista es totalmente valórica, en tanto interrogamos a los padres por el proceso de selección de establecimiento educacional para los hijos y para que esto haga sentido se busca retratar las expectativas –para los hijos- en el marco de la experiencia de vida -de los padres-

Interviewees major characterization in Spanish Language

(Every interview was authorized in writhing in the form of an informed consent)

Entrevista do	Localización en la ciudad	Referente	Educación padres	Colegio Hijo	NSE Origen	NSE actual
1 HFC	Norte Oriente	Francisca	Privada elite	Privada elite	Alto	Alto
2 AFM	Centro Oriente	Fernanda	Privada elite	Privada	Alto	Alto
3 APP	Centro Oriente	Paula R	Publica alto	Privada	Medio	Alto
4 TFR	Centro Oriente	Francisco	Publica alto	Subvencionada	Medio	Alto
5 IIV	Centro	Ignacia	Publica bajo	Publica bajo	Bajo	Bajo
6 VFC	Centro	Cynthia	Publica bajo	Subvencionada	Bajo V	Medio
7 CFM	Centro	Fernando	Publica NT	Publica	Bajo	Bajo
8 MJL	Sur Poniente	Melany	Publica NT	Publica	Bajo V	Bajo
9 CFC	Sur Penitente	Rodrigo	Subvencionada	Subvencionada	Bajo	Medio
10 ACT	Norte Centro	Macarena	Publica	Subvencionada	Bajo	Medio

NT indica Educación formal no finalizada, mientras que alto, bajo en términos de educación refleja la evaluación que los padres hacen de la calidad de su escuela, que mayoritariamente es pública. Niveles socio-económicos los clasifique como Alto, Medio, Bajo y Bajo V cuando existen niveles altos de vulnerabilidad y pobreza.

Appendix II

Thesis exposé English

1.- State of Art and Methodological Approach

This is a work concerned with the increasing processes of social exclusion in cities nowadays. In approaching this phenomenon, the research highlights how people interact with their institutional environments. This is also, perhaps centrally, an investigation into the possibility to engage an individual perspective to understand the transformation in urban experience, which is orienting society to new uses and forms of exclusion¹⁶⁶. Following the perspective deployed by the so-called “sociology of individuals” in French sociology¹⁶⁷ or “reengagement of agency” in the Anglo-Saxon world¹⁶⁸, I claim that individuals as well as collectives are gaining increasing power to question and re-organize institutions¹⁶⁹. This re-organization, in the case of socio-urban institutions, is no guarantee for major levels in integration, cohesion, and equality. Unfortunately, social institutions are becoming hard in its exclusionary capabilities under people intervention during the last four decades.

I believe that urban sociology is a field of struggle between different perspectives competing to “make sense” of social phenomena in cities (Flanagan 1993, Savage and Warde 2003). The orientation supported in this research is just one on many and it follows the roots of people and their life experiences within cities and influencing the processes that shape the city. The last formulation is possibly not the clearest, because as we all know, references to “inhabitants” are presented in every variant of urban sociology¹⁷⁰. Nevertheless, there are not many variants focusing on peoples’ capability to influence institutional environments and by this way affecting the urban condition in which they find themselves. The particular institution selected for this study is the “School”.

This thesis is organized around two parts: part one includes the conceptual framework, methodological approach, and historical contextualization; part two describes three case studies produced to analyse the forms of and the relations between individuals and school institution. Part one starts from a premise: within the context of declining welfare State in the case of industrialized countries, an important part of urban studies focuses on economic and spatial restructuring (Sassen 1991 [2001], Brenner 2004, 2009). Confronted with the same situation, a part of social shifts to the individuals agency and social uncertainty (Martuccelli

¹⁶⁶ The notion of “uses and forms of exclusion” is taken by the ethnographic description about violence made by Auyero y Berti (2011) and represents an approach to the daily bases and biographical extension of violence in an excluded neighborhood of Buenos Aires.

¹⁶⁷ “Sociologies of the individual” is the notion elaborated by Martuccelli and de Singly (2012). Other authors in this line of thought could be Alain Touraine (1992), Bernard Lahire (2004), Jean-Claude Kaufmann (2001, 2004) Pierre Grelley (2008) between others.

¹⁶⁸ The major approaches to individual, agency and their relation with social structures are found in the works of Anthony Giddens (1984 [1986]) and Margaret Archer (1995, 2004). Other lines of research close to an individual sociology are the notion of enacting, see Law and Urry (2003)

¹⁶⁹ The capability of individual to affect institutions is presented in the work of Revel (2005). Thus is very much in the line of Durkheim’s “intermediary corpus” (1964 [1895] [2006])

¹⁷⁰ References to the individual in urban sociology are commonly connected to the Chicago School and the question for people integration to the novel industrial urbanized society. This perspective is not addressing the creative capability of individuals, in other words, it agency capability to affect institutional environments.

and de Singly 2012). This research is embedded in the theoretical space above described, thus, because it tries to observe urban processes from the perspective of the individual and outside of developed economies. In this sense, Latin America represents a fundamental reference because urban conditions are historically marked by weak institutional arrangements to integrating people and large levels of marginality and exclusion among population¹⁷¹. In this scenario individuals' practices around inclusion-exclusion are an essential for everyday life.

Part two offers three study cases in which the relation between individuals and school institutions has been analysed for the Metropolitan area of Santiago de Chile (MAS). Using different methodological resources¹⁷² an exhaustive account on three levels is presented: i) geo-referencing State intervention in public policies connected with neighborhood and schools to understand the form and extent of socio-urban exclusion in MAS¹⁷³, ii) narrative biographies¹⁷⁴ applied to parents with children attending primary school, in order to reconstruct the familiar process of school selection and describing its impacts on the stabilization of school as an exclusionary device, and iii) autoethnography¹⁷⁵ to describe in detail the temporal dimension involved in stabilizing actions which reinforces social mechanisms of urban integration-exclusion during the last three decades in Chile.

A key argument advanced by this research proposes that: the way in which the idea of integration is enacted by people in their biographical careers imprints changes on the institutional orientation and by this way, contributes to the reorganization urban life. The high level of social exclusion in Santiago de Chile is not accountable without considering transformation in all socio-urban institutions, especially the school. No family considers social integration with people from a low social, economical or cultural background as relevant orientation for school selection. This particularity of the Chilean social reality is not derivable from any big capitalistic or modernization processes impacting our cities.

The re-emergence of social and urban movements in 2010, under the “Arab Spring” or the “Chilean Student Movements”, is not only a demonstration in the public space as result of major global trends. These situations are in essence, for this research, individuals gathering together and calling for recognition and autonomy¹⁷⁶ inside institutional environment that tends to reject them. Similar situation was the focus of the Latin American urban sociology research, within the focus on grassroots and urban social movements at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s¹⁷⁷, which is the broad historical reference that the thesis uses as contextualization.

2.- Research Question and Objective

¹⁷¹ See in extensive the two major sociological theories of Latin America, dependency, specially Cardoso and Faletto (1969) and José Nun et al (1968)

¹⁷² This approach could be presented under the notion of multi-methods (Bryman 2012) or mixed-methodologies (Denzin 2010, Pacheco and Blanco 2002)

¹⁷³ For a similar type of analysis see Sánchez (2009)

¹⁷⁴ The narrative studies are a rapid growing field in social sciences. My direct reference is to the work of Bernasconi (2011a, 2011b)

¹⁷⁵ Autoethnography has multiples references, see specially Ellis et al. (2011), Wall (2006), Blanco (2012) and Anderson (2006)

¹⁷⁶ See Wagner (1994, 2001), Castoriadis (2008 [1990]) and Larrain (2011) discourses on modernity and Latin American modernity. There are the theoretical foundations to claim peoples are demanding autonomy, self-determination to social institution. Recognition is generally found in the proposal of Charles Taylor (1989)

¹⁷⁷ See Castells (1973 [1974], 1976, 1983), Vanderschueren (1971a, 1971b), CIDU (1972a, 1972b) among many others

With the intention to deliver a general picture on the sociological object of research, I propose the following argumentative line: i) social institutions in general, and schools in particular, are becoming progressively sensible to the individual orientations, ii) individual orientation are concerned with the search for autonomy inside their institutional environments, iii) under this pressure coming from the individual, familiar or collective level, institutions are reshaped in the direction of individual autonomy, iv) this novel orientation imprinted over the institutions may lead to processes of selective inclusion-exclusion, which becomes generalized when institutions materialize “group interest”, v) in the case of Chile, the search for autonomy on one group brings up as a result the relegation of a large number of children and youth in the school system and city.

Research Question: The general question this research aims to answer can be presented as: How to address the increasing levels of exclusion in cities outside developed economies from a perspective based on the relations between individual and institutions? This formulation assumes that the socio-urban processes of exclusion have a particular condition outside of the north Atlantic economies, and at the same time, that traditional structural approaches are falling short in accounting for the experiential bases of urban exclusion. At the same time there is a methodological question: What could be a plausible orientation to approaching socio-urban exclusion from an individual perspective? And also an historical inquiry when asking: Which are the specificities of Latin America context that make it relevant to ask for a singular perspective to approaching processes of socio-urban exclusion within the region?

It is not likely to state that inequalities in the city lack for a systematic approach in social sciences, but it is reasonable to sustain that peoples experiences of exclusion, as producer and products of the individual agency, has been losing relevance as theoretical and methodological perspective to account for socio-urban inequalities. In the following I address the research objectives.

General Objective: To describe socio-urban exclusion as a form of relation between individual, families and collectives within their institutional environment. Specifically, portraying the process that bring about schools as devices for socio-urban exclusion in Chile during the last four decades.

Specific Objectives: 1. To construct a theoretical space and a methodological perspective in which to place an individual approach to socio-urban exclusion in relation with institutional environments inside the urban sociology debates.

2.- To highlight the connection of this individual approach with the urban sociology variant that influence social sciences debates in Latin America during the 70s; that is the Marxist approach in the work of Manuel Castells.¹⁷⁸

3. To describe the particularities of an “individual sociology” concerned with processes of socio-urban exclusion in contemporary cities and to track its theoretical and epistemological foundations.

¹⁷⁸ A turn in urban sociology connected with the individuals’ perspective may sound easier in theoretical terms using as starting point the Chicago school approach, but problematic because this school of sociology did not play a relevant role in the social and urban discussion deployed in Latin America during the 1960s and the 1970s. The effort to connect Marxist urban sociology with the individual perspective found basis in the focus made, principally by Manuel Castells, but also for an important group of social scientist in the region, in the topic of urban movements as social actors. I do not propose that the reflection about social actors is the same that the individual sociology. Historically they could be considered even as opposed, but I believe there are important lines of convergence between both, as was presented in chapter 1 of my thesis.

4. To set the contemporary concern about socio-urban exclusion in relation with the Latin American social theories and debates existing from the 40s on. These debates were focused on the theories of dependency and marginality, which resembles very much an approach to socio-urban exclusion.

5. To analyse public policy implementation territories to describe the extension and form of socio-urban exclusion in Santiago de Chile.

6. To describe and analyse the transformation in the school institutions, which passes from being a place for social integration to becoming a device of socio-urban exclusion in the last three decades in Chile.

3.- Results and Further Research Possibilities

The way in which people, in their biographical careers, enact their own representation of integration imprints changes on the institutional orientation and by this way, contributes to reorganizing urban life. This is one of the major finding of this thesis. The high level of social exclusion exhibited by Santiago de Chile is not accountable without considering transformation in all social institutions of the city, especially the school. No family considers social integration with people from a low social, economical or cultural background as relevant orientation for school selection. This particularity of the Chilean social reality is not derivable from any big capitalistic or large modernization process impacting our cities. On the contrary, it is approachable through narrative and autoethnographic methods that emphasize the chain of action that give temporal stability and social power to individual and familiar decisions.

One main concern during the research was to show that socio-urban institutions are constantly re-shaped as a result of individual action. Difference comes from the spirit that we all, socially, imprint over socio-urban institutions in terms of inclusion or exclusion. Latin American urban sociology during the ends of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s offers a similar approach when researching urban social movements. This research approach, observed from today, represents not only an alternative for structural urban sociology, but also a contribution to the understanding of socio-urban exclusion in a historical context outside of the developed countries –temporarily and geographically. One contribution of the thesis was to observe to which extent and under which conditions socio-urban exclusion can be applied to context other than developed economies. This discussion led thesis to an extensive dialogue about modernity and Latin American modernity, which, certainly, enriched the thesis argument.

Within the light of the thesis findings, I conclude that socio-urban institutional logics must be reassessment under the influences of people actions and representations. I also propose to consider major complementarities between urban studies and urban-institutions analysis. The school institution is not just a sectorial field reserved to the researcher in education, on the contrary, it represent a key entrance to address people's experience in urban environments as well as a strong device for enacting integration/exclusion within the city. Studying socio-urban institutions in the context of everyday life and inside enlarged temporal frameworks is both, a finding of the thesis and a research line for future work.

Eidesstattliche Erklärung / Statutory Declaration

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich die vorliegende Doktor-Arbeit (Dissertation) selbstständig verfasst habe und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt habe.

Alle Stellen, die ich wörtlich oder sinnlich aus Veröffentlichungen entnommen habe, sind als solche kenntlich gemacht.

Die Master-Arbeit wurde bisher in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form, auch nicht in Teilen, keiner anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt und auch nicht veröffentlicht.

I hereby affirm that the Doctoral Dissertation at hand is my own written work and that I have used no other sources and aids other than those indicated.

All passages, which are quoted from publications or paraphrased from these sources, are indicated as such, i.e. cited, attributed.

This thesis was not submitted in the same or in a substantially similar version, not even partially, to another examination board and was not published elsewhere.

Weimar, 12 January 2015

Fernando Campos-Medina