

# Families between educational and economic ends. The case of Chile

## Las familias entre fines educativos y económicos. El caso de Chile

Study

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### Abstract

This article is part of the process of problematization on the privatization of education in Latin America with a special focus on the Chilean case. It analyzes elements of the Latin American context in the middle of the 20th century when States promote the idea of human capital through the growth of their education systems and productivity as a State reason. The families of the continent grow the promise that through access to education the long-awaited social mobility will be achieved. We confirm that at the beginning of the 21st century this promise falls only on the shoulders of families being left to the market.

We hold our argument under the analysis of various regulations affecting the Chilean educational system in the period between 1860 and 2008. In these we observe in particular the regulations in Educational Evaluation, which is marking this transit as a mechanism of government of the population, regulating social flows, transferring through market tools, responsibility to families to choose between training purposes and academic results.

Finally we conclude with some scope resulting from this phenomenon that forces the families to a double resignation. The economic waiver imposed

by investment in education over other alternative projects. And the renunciation of leaving their own significant ways of relating to the interior of families, by adopting a culture of school success. This election reaffirms the matrix of colonial government installed on the family and at the same time makes it an efficient productive unit on an idea of neoliberal merit transmitted through assessment.

**Keywords:** Society, culture, education, family, Chile, assessment educational, decolonial.

### Resumen

Este artículo problematiza la privatización de la educación en el contexto latinoamericano de mediados del siglo XX, cuando los Estados promueven la idea del capital humano por medio del crecimiento de sus sistemas educativos y la productividad como una razón de Estado. Las familias del continente creen en la promesa que les asegura que por medio del acceso a la educación se encontrarán la ansiada movilidad social. Confirmamos que para el inicio del siglo XXI el cumplimiento de esta promesa recae únicamente en los hombros de las familias quedando estas entregadas al mercado.

Sostenemos nuestra argumentación bajo el análisis de las diversas normativas que afectan al sistema

educativo chileno en el periodo que va de 1860 a 2008. En ellas observamos particularmente la normativa en Evaluación Educativa, que va marcando este tránsito como un mecanismo de gobierno de la población, regulando los flujos sociales, traspasando, por medio de herramientas del mercado, la responsabilidad a las familias para escoger entre fines formativos y resultados académicos.

Finalmente concluimos con algunos alcances producto de este fenómeno que obliga a las familias a una doble renuncia: la renuncia económica que impone

la inversión en educación por sobre otros proyectos alternativos; y la renuncia que implica dejar sus propias formas significativas de relacionarse al interior de las familias, por la adopción de una cultura del éxito escolar. Esta elección reafirma la matriz de gobierno colonial instalada sobre la familia y la vez la convierte en una unidad productiva eficiente sobre una idea de mérito neoliberal transmitido por medio de las evaluaciones.

**Descriptores:** Sociedad, cultura, familia, Chile, educación, evaluación educativa, decolonial.

## The Latin American promise or “the inherited cannot be taken”

It was a dark winter day; the trip home that afternoon was one of the most difficult journeys in my early youth. I was crying in silence, feeling ashamed and embarrassed. My father would come from his first meeting of representatives of the emblematic high school in which that year I had been enrolled to start the way to University. Why was I crying? I knew that he would come with the grades and that I had disappointed them.

My father arrived and, after talking briefly with my mother, he made me sit down in front of him and he told me two things that are still with me: first, you are punished for the rest of the semester and second, I want you to understand that it is for your good, since education is the only thing that we can leave for your future. Author's story.

Perhaps many of the readers have been portrayed in this small family clipping that reveals some aspects of Latin American identity, in order to illuminate the specific problems that this promise of overcoming through education has for families and, denouncing the implicit renunciations of the act of trusting that promise, observing the economic and cultural costs that for many years the mass education has been concealing, on the basis of an unfulfilled promise and nourished

by a legitimate desire to create a good life for their loved ones.

In the case of Latin America, such a promise of overcoming through education becomes an accepted but emptied account of reality, given the evident gap of inequality and economic concentration that covers the globalized world and which, in particular, shows itself with some indolence in the Latin American reality. According to ECLAC figures (2011, 2013) the level of inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean is quite alarming. It is considered that the income of the richest fifth is 19.7 times greater than the income of the poorest 20%; In this context, one in three people is poor, with variations ranging from countries where the poor exceed 50% of the population, such as Bolivia, Paraguay, Honduras or Guatemala, to others where the percentage of poor is less than 20% Like Costa Rica, Uruguay and Chile. Moving forward the development of the article, we affirm that this aspiration for overcoming through access to education has only provoked an expansion of the educational market and has left on the shoulders of families the costs of such a precious promise. Families were invited to join the desire for coverage in primary and secondary education, and today they also do so as tertiary education applicants; Demand well received by the private educational system, since in this way a growing market starting from the reinstitutionalization of the Universities consolidates (Bernasconi and Fernández, 2012) to cover



the demand. This problem has a deep root in the neoliberalization of education systems, which take advantage of this demand surge, leaving the bulk of the investment in the hands of families, as indicated in the report OECD Education Indicators Panorama 2014.

This report notes that investment in education is highly profitable (note the language). For a man his investment in education would have an economic return of US \$ 100,000. It would not be the same for a woman since her return would be US \$ 60,000, which already constitutes a gap of inequality. In addition it is affirmed that:

The educational level influences the work opportunities and the income, which in turn affect the level of health. Education can also improve knowledge about how to live a healthier life, leading to better choices about the use of time and goods that affect health (OECD, 2014, p.35)

What the report does not say is that in countries such as those in Latin America, levels of precarious work have increased and services such as education, housing and health are not subsidized by the state, that is, people, individually considered, are those who have to pay them from their pockets.

This report places Chile as the country with the highest percentage of private expenditure in all educational levels within the member countries of this economic organization: 40% of the expenditure on education from families, a figure that rises to 76% in the Tertiary education (OECD, 2014b). Likewise, this policy of disempowering states falls on the most sensitive sectors of social and economic life. This is part of a policy that has as a slogan, less state and more market, affecting the basic areas of life of the population: health, housing, public transportation, old age pensions, among others. In Chile, in the case of education, a multi-segmented educational market is generated, since not everyone can afford private schools, that is, those who have more can pay more, those who have little, access to little and those who have less than little, go to public education.

It can be observed as a consequence a deregulated educational market, or rather a kind of maximized application of the “invisible hand of the market”, which leaves Chile not only as the country with the largest private expenditure on education, but also as one of the countries with the greatest social and economic inequality (OECD, 2013; ECLAC, 2011). Chile, according to the latest inequality report issued by the OECD (2014a) is the country with the highest inequality index of the member countries of this international economic organization with a 0.53 in the GINI coefficient, where the value 0 indicates greater equality and 1 is the value of greater inequality.<sup>1</sup>

All of the above, not only generates inequality in relation to the possibility of payment of education, but also generates a sort of *social ethos of competition*; reaffirming the idea that only with individual virtues can one ensure the desired social and economic progress, confirming the sense of neoliberal merit.

Understanding the dimension of our concerns will be addressed in a first section where we will place the emergence of this promise of education as a way of improvement that marks the lives of families in Latin America. Secondly, we will seek in the relationship between education and evaluation a methodological way of exploring regulations in the field of education and, in particular, its evaluation regulations, which guide the conduct of families up to the present time, in which they are left to the fate of the market. Finally we will offer reflections on the implications of this privatization process.

## Basis: Latin American education, an inherited promise

In order to better understand the emergence of this socio-cultural narrative that we have called “The Latin American Promise,” one

<sup>1</sup> See more at <http://data.oecd.org/inequality/income-inequality.htm>



must look to the generation of the sixties who grew with Latin America from the late developmentalist project promoted by the United States (1961) in the region, which proposed a program of economic and social assistance called "Alliance for Progress", in response to the leftist Cuban revolution; It considered improving the living conditions of the population and was based on a rigorous systems of social planning:

Already in the sixties and extending throughout the following decade, the thought of the theory of human capital is created and diffused in the context of the United States and Europe, which undoubtedly marks the priorities of the time. To put it very simply, this theory attempts to link investment in education and its performance, defining education as a service with economic value (Carlino, 1999, p.51).

Given this political, economic and social context, the delegates of all member states of the Organization of American States (OAS) agreed at the Punta del Este Conference (1961) to join the Alliance for Progress; Excluding Cuba, who refuses to sign the pact glimpsing the geopolitical conditioning that frames the situation of Latin America until the present time.

The economic policy begins to cover all the spaces of daily life and a national regulation policy promoted by a state that implements driving strategies based on modern regulatory principles is initiated (De Sousa, 2011, 2013), marked by the duality totality/ individuality that are applied in economic matter. It is the promotion of welfare state or benefactor (totality), who is assumed as an engine of investment creating strategies of full employment, boosting national industry, services and state administration, while citizens (individuality) who participate as workers in the Market will now also do as consumers. A system of truth recognized is produced by the citizens, who accept the modern promise to integrate themselves into the world of work and overcome economic inequality, and through the education and social policies of the State, can be

integrated, thanks to their Family efforts, to this small built totality.

The school will assume the challenge of overcoming inequality and exclusion, consolidating itself as the largest regulatory institution of the state. This situation is expressed in the reform of the sixties, under Decree 27.952 of 1965, a reform that will be stopped by Latin American dictatorships. It is a time of economic recession, political violence and dictatorships in the Southern Cone, including of course the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile (1973-90). It is time to turn towards neoliberal policies, then, the Latin American promise will have a different flavor, although maintaining its original stamp, faith in education. . What is distinctive is that Latin American states are now going to assume a role as promoters of the educational offer, as defined in the Chilean Constitution of 1980<sup>2</sup>, where the State must guarantee the right to education, that is, to flourish the educational market. It changes the role assumed by States: from a providential state (Santos, 2003) that assumes the direction of the developmental project, to a state that mediates between the market and citizens.

By the end of the twentieth century, the orientations emanating from organizations of different natures will have a powerful influence in the design of educational policies both in Chile and in all the countries of Latin America. An example of this regional policy is the *Productive Transformation with Equity* (ECLAC-UNESCO, 1990) and *Education and Knowledge: the axis of productive transformation with equity* (ECLAC-UNESCO, 1992), which express the relationship between the education system and the productive system, leaving a marked economist tone to understand the educational phenomenon as a process that should maximize its results at the lowest possible cost.

After the dictatorial night of the eighties (in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil), there comes a time of great agreements in the countries

<sup>2</sup> See more in <http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=242302>



of the region to consolidate their democratic systems through the investment in their educational systems. It is a period of full neoliberal influence in educational policy that shows the inexhaustible relationship between the political economy of educational financing and the links between education and accountability. In the case of Chile, the dictatorship of Pinochet ends with a process of great social mobilization that causes a referendum in 1988 to give way to a return to democracy. In March 1990, the Dictator did not surrender power without first leaving the last of the so-called "mooring" laws; the Constitutional Organic Law of Education (LOCE, 1990) promulgated a day before the transfer of command.

Summarizing this section, the Latin American promise emerged in the 1950s and 1960s along with the developmentalist project associated with the idea of "human capital", inherent to the hegemonic strategy of the United States and Europe, to consolidate its Geopolitical control in Latin America. Later on, is established the trust on the market and its productivity are based on an economic rationality that the States will pick up on a firm footing, developing an economic policy applied to the life of the population, impacting with special precision in the educational field, associating it to the fickle idea of social promotion for those who participate in this promise.

## **Methodology: evaluation in a privatized promise**

Such a bet in its beginning is promoted by the Latin American states based on strategies of government of the population, assuming a role of co-responsibility with families. Its object of government will be the productivity of the population. Undoubtedly, we can speak here with propriety of biopolitical leadership (Foucault 2004, 2005) that from the control strategies on the population intensifies, visibilizing productivity as a reason of State. The end of the century was marked by the abandonment by the State of its role as promoter of this strategy, opening

space to other more invisible strategies to impose the relationship between the market, educational systems and families. In this sense, we highlight the economic costs that this stubborn supply implies, aspects that have been sufficiently studied from the areas of reproduction, segregation and inequality; approaches that have silenced other costs that families must pay.

In order to analyze the phenomenon of privatization that affects the Chilean educational system, which directly affects families, the methodology we use will review the main regulations from the beginning of the Republic of Chile in 1860 to 2008 (see chart Appendix 1) in order to illustrate how these regulations affect the Chilean educational system. This first-source documentary analysis is combined in conjunction with the literature review of authors who have advanced along this path. Specifically, we investigate the provisions in the evaluation that are going through the decisions of families for access to a certain level of education, governing their lives through access or lack of it, at different educational levels, since we understand, as well as the Author Teresa Flórez (2012), who:

To date, the power of evaluation reflects its ability to make the whole education system move in a specific direction. . There is much to lose and to win to just ignore, so beyond any principle or pedagogical ideal and, therefore, any idea of society to be developed, it is the high-risk evaluation that defines the rules for the practice and that finally decides the destinies of our society (p. 84).

In Chile, as in other Latin American countries, pre-Independence education was largely a concern of religious organizations. With the passage from Independence to the emerging republics, the control of education by the new nations is constituted in a legitimating effect. The nascent state promoted the creation of educational establishments that printed the values of the new nation,



such as the National Institute (1813)<sup>3</sup> created by José Miguel Carrera, after the first Government Board held in 1810. The idea was to create an educational system that would foster the ideals of the emerging Chilean Nation and accommodate the Creole elite of the time. . This establishment is the first Chilean public high school for men and, until today, it is the one that leads the rankings of effectiveness to enter the university and, therefore, accessing it also constitutes the main objective for the families, with aims to social promotion. It is one of the high schools to which in Chile are colloquially called "emblematic" by its long public and republican tradition.

The state control of education was carried out through these institutions, and religious education organizations were subject to validation examinations before representative commissions representatives of the state system, a task entrusted to the emerging University of Chile (1942)<sup>4</sup>. The foundation of the University of Chile in 1842 is, undoubtedly, one of the most significant landmarks of the nascent Republic. It represents in itself one of the clearest acts of self-determination, placing in the knowledge and public education the articulating axis of the country that begins to be constructed. There was a consensus among the intellectuals of the time that a state - though not separate from the Church as it was then - was to see to the progress and promotion of universal values. From the beginning the University of Chile defines itself as guarantor of the classical, humanist and secular culture.

Beginning with the Organic Law for Public Instruction of 1860, the educational system began to be regulated in two segments, primary education and secondary education, with this normative instrument. It orders the educational flow that would have the Chilean population, distributing it functionally. From the examinations, a type of student would finish its studies in the pri-

mary to incorporate to the productive tasks; those who manage to pass the examination, especially the children of the elites, could follow studies and then opt for one of the liberal professions for the service of the nascent state. It is observed that for the primary level its emphasis was the moral education and the literacy of the population. The second level consisted of the preparatory schools, secondary schools and institutions of higher education - dependent on the newly created University of Chile - aimed at the training of professionals and the bureaucratic elite. The tone that marks this period is the special concern for secondary education; on the contrary, there is a certain disregard for primary education, understood as the education of the popular classes. It prints in it the enlightened civilizational tone that identifies this time in Latin America:

The only authority that teachers have is on students, who are often described as savages from uncivilized families, in the context of a time when discipline, silence and order were considered a fundamental part of education (Florez, 2012, p.11).

In summary, a centralized and vertical orientation regulation is observed, which through its institutions regulates and controls the flows of society. In addition, this initial period is characterized by a marked civilizing and low pedagogical consideration.

During *a first moment*, in the first half of the twentieth century, in Chile the influence of educational ideas representing the "new school" is perceived, centered on the educational experiences of children, which implies looking at the relationship between teacher and students in another way, abandoning the Mandatory Primary Education (Law 3,654, 1920), in addition to the educational reform of 1928 and 1929, mainly promoted by the teachers of the time. In this period, the regulations in evaluation are characterized by maintaining a kind of low academic control for primary education (Decree 3060, 1929, Circular No. 77, 1934), but not so for secondary education (Decree 6087, 1927; Decree 2545 , 1929, Decree 2944, 1944,

3 See more in <http://institutonacional.cl/el-instituto/>

4 See more in <http://www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/historia/resena-historica/4727/unamirada-a-la-historia>

Decree 1469; 1949 and Decree 842 of 1959<sup>5</sup>). In these regulations, progress is made by suggesting that examinations are not only at the end of each school term to avoid that the evaluation judgment is reserved for a single exam, with the idea of an average grade coming into effect. To regulate access to tertiary education, a single exam administered by the University of Chile, the so-called "Bachillerato" exam, was established in 1929 as a requirement for admission to all universities. The State through the examinations sought to ensure processes of socialization, highlighting the individual responsibility in the educational process:

Due to more objective evaluation practices, results were increasingly linked to personal capacity, individual attitudes and merit, and students were increasingly seen as responsible for their own success or failure (Gysling, 2015, p. 6).

A second moment in the twentieth century is the entrance of human capital discourse, gathering the demand for greater coverage and efficiency. The educational reform is carried out (1967) which will manage these interests by adding two years of compulsory schooling (from six to eight years of compulsory education) and new school subjects, reinforcing a school curriculum in the area of natural sciences and mathematics. Also, the techniques of evaluation by multiple choice are introduced and in this way a single test will be implemented in Chile to select the entrance to the universities. The Academic Aptitude Test (AAT) was submitted for application to the University of Chile, which assessed students' verbal and mathematical aptitudes following the international SAT model, widely used in the United States and England, which is used to predict outcomes in future academic life (Stobart, 2010). This model assumes that the skills or capacities can be developed in an educational environment where the teacher is an enabler of these capacities, therefore,

5 For more in depth, review the detail of the normative in evaluation in the work done by Gysling (2015), where normatives are grouped and ordered which are ordered under a strict critical look of these regulations.

it moves away from the mode innatist promoted by the tests of intelligence that supposed to measure the fixed IQ. Criterion evaluation focused on school subjects was included<sup>6</sup>, excluding aspects of behavior and personality.

In terms of evaluation, the regulations will have some innovations associated with the installation of the educational reform of 1967 and that are expressed in Decree 11.207, 1967; Decree No. 6,859, 1968; Decree 7056, 1967 and Decree 192, 1972<sup>7</sup>). Among the main modifications is the development of a local test, which will be designed by groups of teachers from different schools. The promotion was linked only to academic aspects and elements of moral behavior were excluded.

These reforms of a democratizing nature are interrupted by the irruption of Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990), characterized by a great repression of popular movements and social organizations and the middle classes. Content control is favored and the teachers, previously organized in Departments, are removed from power to generate their local tests and these are replaced by the global tests that are now individual responsibility of each teacher (Supreme Decree, 164, 1974 , 440, 1975, 2038, 1978, 2088, 1979<sup>8</sup>). Specifically in Decree 2038, 1978, which approves the School Evaluation and Promotion Regulation for students of Basic General Education (primary) and Secondary Education, article 1 of general provisions, letter C, states:

At the end of the school year, a written Global Test will be applied to students in grades 5 to 8 of Basic General Education, in each of the subjects of the respective Curriculum (...). The Global test will be elaborated by the respective professor, according to the criteria established in the respective subject departments (Decree Law, 2038, [www.leychile.cl](http://www.leychile.cl)).

6 The criterion evaluation corresponds to the pedagogy of mastery learning related to pedagogy by objectives and behaviorism. This arises linked to the dissemination of programmed teaching and the rise of behavioral objectives.

7 See more details in Gysling (2015).

8 See <http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=251386>



According to this regulation, the possibility of generating a shared judgment in evaluation by different teachers is lost, on the contrary, an individual evaluation judgment is installed, an evaluative practice that would give more responsibility to students and teachers of their successes and failures. Also in this period, it should be mentioned that the AAT created in the previous stage (1975), is added other tests of specific knowledge, returning to the traditional position of the academic domain over the skills, which exerts greater pressure on the Individual achievement to gain access to university. In a third moment, at the end of the twentieth century, the policy of opening up to the market of open neoliberal influence will be intensified (Ruiz, 2010). At the end of the twentieth century, the policy of opening up to the market of open neoliberal influence (Ruiz, 2010), the positioning of an Evaluation State (Elliot, 2002), which promotes standardized national tests, generating complex of economic incentives, being able to compare to the schools through the results of this type of tests. The time of the "Evaluating State" opens the way to a geopolitical administration of academic results, where Chile and the other Latin American states participate as a condition of entry to certain markets. In this logic, as an additional mechanism, Chile encourages the development of private schools driven by demand-side financing or a voucher system, the name given in Chile to the demand subsidy. This system consists in that each student is assigned a value, which the State will pay to subsidized public and private establishments. This system also engages in mobilizing the health market or construction, subsidizing families who want to buy their first home. The vouchers will be the mechanism that will move the competition between schools trying to capture the enrollment. Students thus become a value that is added to the business of education. The so-called national SIMCE test - national standards-based measurement system - will be the index that parents can follow to invest in education. Schools will also compete to capture students and collect vouchers.

Finally, in a last regulation, the Constitutional Organic Law of Education (LOCE, 1990) contemplates that the results of the national tests can be published, impelling a perverse system of competition between schools.

In a fourth moment, at the beginning of the 21st century, the intensity of the standardized tests increases. In terms of evaluation, Chile quickly integrates itself into this system of geopolitical control of results, participating in the Pisa, Timss tests and in the system of regional evaluations promoted by OREALC / UNESCO. But, without a doubt, the main characteristic of the period is the expansion in number and levels of the national tests. This system turns out to be multipurpose, hence the obvious tension between pedagogical purposes and its marked functionality as a mechanism for accountability. The Quality Assurance Law (Law 20,529, 2011) grants the State the capacity to intervene and even close schools, given a school classification system based mainly on the results obtained in the SIMCE test.

At the same time, a new regulation, the Preferential School Grant<sup>9</sup> (Law, No. 20,248, 2008), which grants a new subsidy in exchange for academic results, is approved. The Special Preference Grant Act (SEP) is established as a measure of equity in order to provide more resources through the system, once again, from subsidies to demand (voucher). The largest allocation is given to students in more vulnerable sectors called "priority" students, a subtlety to categorize poverty. In 2011, changes are made to this law, raising the student's economic allocation bonus by 21%, in exchange for schools designing an action plan to improve academic outcomes called the Education Improvement Plan (EIP). In this way, results are associated with a resource management model. This will tie the operation and management of schools to the results achieved in this type of tests. All these aspects

<sup>9</sup> See more in [http://portales.mineduc.cl/usuarios/convivencia\\_escolar/doc/201103050058380.Anexo%20Resumen%20Ley%20SEPPdf](http://portales.mineduc.cl/usuarios/convivencia_escolar/doc/201103050058380.Anexo%20Resumen%20Ley%20SEPPdf)



remove autonomy from schools and give greater power to the standardized tests that take control of the education system.

## **Analysis and discussion: reflections of the privatization process**

So far we have described the center of a complex problem, placing families facing a social problem that confronts educational purposes versus economic ends. We have shown how the promise of social mobility through education has been broken, through a policy of educational privatization combining strategies of open and internal privatization (Bellei, 2015).

This proposal goes beyond the binary definition of public and private education, proposed by UNESCO, which understands that the public school is the institutions that are operated by state authorities, that is, the control is carried out by public authorities. However, within the institutions, a private mode of operation is acquired, thanks to the entry of private management and management systems. Ways of planning teaching and evaluation are carried out by private institutions. In this exercise the public school seeks to assimilate to private education, creating an openly unfair competition. In short, this is a phenomenon that must be studied with greater precision, since:

In fact, it is not a privatization of the public education system, but a privatization of the educational system, because it increases the presence of private education without this necessarily implying a transformation of existing public schools (Bellei, 2015, p. 65).

This silent process is worrying not only because it has modified the relationships between what is understood as "public" and "private" - that which has its common sense entrenched in the community, different from that which will ultimately respond to particular interests -. This relationship of quiet privatization, stresses the system, favoring private schools since in addition to having the right to select and discriminate their

students, its mode of operation is oriented to a business model that seeks to generate profit, leaving the families in the middle of these operations.

We observe how the normative in evaluation supports this economic process turned into the knife that enlarges the wound, building through its practices, exclusion and segregation of subjectivities linked to the market and the competition. In essence, evaluative practices focus on the production of a market subjectivity, producing a model of colonial matrix, which uses the family as a key government object in the processes of social structuring:

We can conclude then that "the orphan" par excellence of the pedagogy of domination is not only the child, but the child of the periphery, the colonial orphan, neocolonial, the Latin American mestizo to which they introject cat (imperial culture) by hare (Human nature) (Dussel, 1980, pp. 38-39).

Not only are students, in general, beyond their childhood and youth condition, those who undergo this deformation of educational horizons, teachers are also who are particularly instrumented for this model of domination to function with greater disguise. Our Latin American culture is obscured, denied by this ontological moment based on an account invented in Modernity, the old Latin American promise.

The problem of evaluation crosses all these themes almost invisibly, colonizes all spheres of daily life, internalizing an individual way of being that penetrates the structure of families, moving them to accept this individualizing model that holds them accountable for their academic results. At first it becomes part of our docile bodies, through the multiple evaluative practices arranged in the school; Later, on the outside of society controls us as a biopolitical device, since it is through this technique of power, as it governs the decisions that the family must take, exercising a remote control over life.

This internal control, implied in our colonial structure, turns out to be immanent to the way we recognize ourselves, our way of dwelling, knowing and situating ourselves in front of the world



and within it, is what the authors of the decolonial approach refer to as "Power" (Restrepo and Rojas, 2010) that operates in each of the spaces, areas, material and symbolic dimensions of society.

We have highlighted a process that, through regulations and regulations, has shaped a phenomenon that has left families orphans in the market, and yet still maintain the hope of social promotion. However, this situation does not exhaust the problem, since the entrance to the school of a child implies a renunciation of what has constituted its cultural support. The whole system of social thought carried by the students of their primary socialization conflicts with the cultural codes that sustain the school, which is evident when observing how difficult it is for the students to advance in the cultural interweaving of which the school is made. For a student of popular socioeconomic origin, this process of renunciation is even more radical, since it has fewer tools than a student with greater cultural capital to face this process of cultural assimilation, so the best way to adapt is to *get good grades*, which enable in the flow of individual merits and help him to equalize between equals.

We see this phenomenon not only from the economic perspective, but also recognize it as a cultural problem, since the school is unthinkable outside of civilization processes and is unthinkable without grading, the latter are the mechanism of social and cultural agency that deprives families of their cultural forms, encouraged by the idea of progress, which is always before their eyes, with the brightness of a neon that never ceases to dazzle. It is time to think, the school and its processes, outside of these market choices, that promise other horizons of justice.

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## Webgrafía

- <http://www.agenciaeducacion.cl/nosotros/quienes-somos/>  
<http://www.agenciaeducacion.cl/nosotros/quienes-somos/>



## Anexos

Chart 1. Guidelines considered in the study

Year	Type of regulation	Main provisions
1860	General Law on Primary Education	It regulates the educational system at primary and secondary levels. <a href="http://www.archivonacional.cl/616/w3-article-28319.html">http://www.archivonacional.cl/616/w3-article-28319.html</a>
1920	Organic Law 3,654	Primary Education Act. <a href="http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0018131.pdf">http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0018131.pdf</a>
1927	Decreto 6.087	Statute of the exams of Secondary Education.
1929	Decree Ley 3.060	Provisions in favor of regulating the evaluation system for primary education. <a href="http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=129136">http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=129136</a>
1929	Decree Law 2.545	Provision on secondary education and examinations.
1937	Circular, N° 77	Provision on examinations and other final activities and on the planning of the next school year affecting primary education.
1944	Decree Law 2.944	Provision on examinations and promotion for students in secondary education.
1949	Decree Law 1469	Provision on examinations and promotion for students in secondary education.
1959	Decree 842	Provision on examinations, grading and promotion for students in secondary education.
1965	Decree 27.952	Educational reform that includes compulsory education for eight years.
1967	Decree 11.2017	Provisions for the evaluation and promotion of seventh grade for the students of Basic General Education.
1967	Decree 7056	Provisions for the evaluation and promotion of eighth grade general education students and the basis for certification.
1968	Decree 6.859	Provisions for the evaluation and promotion of eighth grade general education students and the basis for certification.
1972	Decree 192	Regulation for the evaluation and promotion of students of basic education.
1974	Supreme Decree 164	Provisions on promotion and evaluation in education system.. <a href="http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=251386">http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=251386</a>
1975	Decree 440	Provisions on promotion and evaluation in education system.. <a href="http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=251386">http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=251386</a>
1978	Decree 2.038	Provisions on promotion and evaluation in education system.. <a href="http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=251386">http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=251386</a>
1979	Decree 2.088	Provisions on promotion and evaluation in education system.. <a href="http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=251386">http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=251386</a>
1990	Organic Constitutional Law 18.962	Organic Constitutional Law of Teaching, allows publication of national test results (SIMCE). <a href="https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=247551">https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=247551</a>
2011	Law 20.529	National System of Education Quality Assurance, allows inspection of schools and intervention according to SIMCE results. <a href="http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1028635">http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1028635</a>
2008	Law, N° 20.248	Preferential School Grant Law, allocates financial subsidies for results obtained in national tests. <a href="https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=269001">https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=269001</a>