Feminine/Masculine and Emotionality from a Marginalized Childhood: A School Visual Ethnography

Femenino/masculino y emocionalidad desde una infancia marginalizada: una etnografía escolar visual

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Abstract

In the context of the Law of Inclusion that promotes social mixing of Chilean students, we study a subsidized school which has always been free and without selection of students. We try to understand the children's social inclusion/exclusion processes in this marginalized background. What does it mean "to include" then? What are the boundaries of identity and difference in school? How do the children subjectivize in this environment? We conducted an interpretative and visual school ethnography during seven months. The gender difference was what appeared most strongly in the research results. It is observed both in the adult school devices and in the children's processes. The fieldwork, the children's visual productions, and the group interviews with children reveal stereotypes and conflicts between the feminine and masculine. This tension is associated with a difficulty to know and express their intimate feelings and their experience in relation to sexed bodies. The children's subjectivation processes are marked by ruptures and violence in the adult relationships. This experience generates their ambivalence faced with emotionality, as a means of protecting their internal world.

Keywords: body, emotions, gender, social inclusion, subjectivation

Resumen

En el marco de la Ley de Inclusión que promueve la mixtura social de las(os) estudiantes chilenos, se indaga una escuela subvencionada que tradicionalmente ha sido gratuita y sin selección. Se busca entender los procesos de inclusión/exclusión social de las(os) niñas(os) en este escenario de marginalidad. ¿Qué significa entonces "incluir"? ¿Cuáles son las fronteras de identidad y diferencia en la escuela? ¿Cómo se subjetivan las(os) niñas(os) en este entorno? Para dar cuenta de estas interrogantes se realizó una etnografía escolar visual e interpretativa durante siete meses. La diferencia de género fue la que apareció con más fuerza en los resultados, observándose tanto en los dispositivos escolares adultos, como en los procesos infantiles. La investigación de campo, las producciones visuales infantiles y las entrevistas grupales de niñas(os) evidencian estereotipos y conflictos entre lo femenino y lo masculino, lo que se asocia con una dificultad para conocer y expresar sentimientos íntimos y de experiencia en relación con el cuerpo sexuado. Los procesos de subjetivación infantil están marcados por las rupturas y la violencia en las relaciones adultas, las que generaría una ambivalencia frente a la emocionalidad, como una forma de proteger su mundo interior.

Palabras clave: cuerpo, emociones, género, inclusión social, subjetivación

Introduction

The recently enacted Inclusion Law Nº 20,845 (2015) is intended to promote social mixing, by banning profit-making, co-payments, and the selection of students[1] in Chilean schools subsidized by the state (Armijo Cabrera, 2019a). In a scenario of extreme segmentation (Bellei, 2013), this law seeks to promote the social inclusion of students, focusing on the socioeconomic cohesion dimension (Rojas & Armijo, 2016). This implies the idea that heterogeneity and students encountering different socioeconomic levels should favor social integration and learning of citizenship, but would also tend to improve school learning.

For this paper we studied a specific school that, since it was created in 1980, had never had carried out shared funding or used student selection. The Estrella school was established based on a political and pedagogical project of social inclusion, focusing on the most marginalized students in the system, whether for economic, behavioral, or racial reasons, or simply for results. This subsidized elementary school is located on the outskirts of Santiago de Chile, in a context of extreme poverty, both socioeconomically, as well as geographically and culturally. According to the School Vulnerability Index (IVE-SINAE) of 2017, it has a 92% vulnerability rate (Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas, 2016) and has adhered to the Preferential School Subsidy Law (SEP) since that legislation was enacted in 2008. In 2015, its student enrollment had the following composition: 12% of students belonged to the Mapuche ethnic group and 19% of students had special educational needs (SEN). In this marginalized context, not selecting students and the absence of economic barriers through shared financing have—so far— created a social space that seems homogeneous. Nevertheless, it is possible to study different dimensions of the social field to challenge this supposed homogeneity.

In this field, permeated by asymmetries of power, the age of the children puts them in a subordinate position in relation to the adults. Recently, children's experiences have been studied, questioning the adult-centrism established in the academic field (Albornoz, Silva, & López, 2015; Peña, Chavez, Vergara, 2014; Vergara, Peña, Chávez, 2015). This perspective seems relevant to investigate the experience of social inclusion/exclusion and the processes deployed by the children. In addition, in the context of marginalization studied, they are established as doubly subordinate subjects, insofar as they simultaneously accumulate an asymmetry of power in relation to the social groups that are most advanced in the socioeconomic sphere and also in relation to adults.

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[1] In the original text in Spanish, this paper uses a generic form (*las(os) estudiantes*) that incorporates both the feminine and the masculine forms, demonstrating the presence of the feminine, unlike the traditionally used generics, where masculine predominates, invisibilizing the feminine. In English, these forms are gender-neutral (the subjects, the students, they, etc) so it is not necessary to highlight this distinction.

This paper outlines some of the results of doctoral research conducted with this contextual background, examining the processes of social inclusion/exclusion social of children in a marginalized school in Santiago de Chile

Theoretical Approach and Research Problem

This research was carried out using a post-structuralist theoretical methodological approach, which questions the structures and essentialism in social life to give centrality to discursive constructions and affective dynamics (Adams St. Pierre, Jackson, & Mazzei, 2016). It thus integrates the philosophical literature of Michel Foucault (1975) and its interpretation by Gilles Deleuze (1986/2004). We also used the clinical work of the pediatrician and psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott (1971/1975), who created an empirical theory of child subjectivation.

Social inclusion/exclusion as a production of unequal subjectivities

In this paper, social inclusion/exclusion is understood as a dynamic and interrelated process of production of identities and differences (Graham & Slee, 2008; Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2001; Matus & Infante, 2011). Following Michel Foucault's work, these authors consider that people constitute a fabric of power relations and knowledge production (Ball, 2012). From this perspective, identities are born out of an "other" from which they are distinguished. This otherness appears to be necessary to define what the identity should be: if all people were women, it would not be necessary to identify themselves as such; it is the confrontation with others, for example men, which requires us to identify ourselves as women (Armijo Cabrera, 2018). The same is true with different social groups that shape their belonging and identity in relation to the other: age groups, social classes, ethnicities and races, sexual orientations, and those with different skills and abilities, physiology, and stature. Therefore, the process of social inclusion/ exclusion is expressed in the subjectivations of the actors in their elaboration of identities and differences, which delineate boundaries between the included and excluded (Armijo Cabrera, 2018).

Based on the texts of Gilles Deleuze (1986/2004), it could be said that the subjectivations consist of folds and refolds in the statements and visibilities of knowledge, traversed by lines of power. Reality would thus consist of both practices and discourses, which are the result of interactions between powers and knowledge. Therefore, the processes of social inclusion/exclusion require the creation of categories that allow reality to be organized, generating knowledge regarding social groups, words that order and sort them. This categorization is accompanied by a classification—linked to the power relations in which they are deployed—and produces standards that the excluded parties should incorporate in order to be included from the perspective of "inclusive education" (Graham & Slee, 2008).

It should be noted that this paper does not consider the horizon of educational inclusion, but instead seeks to understand how the frontiers of social inclusion/exclusion are constructed and what the territories are where these processes are played out and articulated. In particular, in this context of marginalization, we look into what inclusion means in the broader context of society, beyond the mere school; that is, how children are constructed as social subjects (Armijo Cabrera, 2018).

Devices of power and lines of flight

Among the lines of force that cross and shape social reality, there are different types (Deleuze, 1986). Firstly there are hard lines of segmentation, which create binary distinctions between men and women, adults and children, and heterosexuals and homosexuals, for example, which are supported by devices of power , that is, local applications of force, both discursive and practical (Foucault, 1975). At the school being studied, we identified at least three devices that contribute to constructing school micropolitics (Armijo Cabrera, 2019a): one is identitary, one traditional, and one technocratic. Each of them comes from the social and political context where they emerge and introduces a specific discourse into the school about social inclusion/exclusion, defining categories and boundaries. The identitary discourse comes from the history of the school and is rooted in a social commitment to poor children, who are conceived as the "others" of the adults, above all because of the characteristics of vulnerability and abandonment associated

with their families. Meanwhile, the traditional device comes from the social context and broadly reproduces the stereotypes and boundaries present in society as a whole: class, race, gender, sexuality, nationality, and school success. Lastly, the technocratic device involves the evolutions of the educational and political system, introducing measurement, assessment, and classification technologies that standardize the subjects, drawing a boundary between normal and abnormal, normalized and undisciplined. However, the hard lines of segmentation, supported by the power devices, are also territorialized and reterritorialized by the subjects when they incorporate and reproduce their binary norms and distinctions, thus reinforcing them.

In second place there are lines of flight that subvert and introduce thirdness and energize the stratifications, deterritorializing them (Castro, 2016). These are recognized in the unique actions of the subjects, in their questioning of the rules, in their proposals, and in alternative creations. In the school studied, the research focused on understanding which lines of flight are created by the children to produce themselves as subjects in their processes of social inclusion/exclusion. Rather than opposing resistance to power (Ball, 2015), child subjects seem to produce reality through different practices and strategies that enable them to reshape the boundaries of social inclusion/exclusion (Castro, 2016). The study of their experiences allows us to shed light on their dynamics and priorities in order to complicate the understanding of their processes of social inclusion/exclusion.

Child subjectivations from the perspective of Winnicottian psychoanalysis

In order to analyze the field data, the research required the use of a more concrete conceptual framework, rooted in an empirical theory of subjectivation. British pediatrician and psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott has developed a very fertile theory based on his clinical experience with children from an early age. Psychoanalytic theory generally postulates the existence of an unconscious dimension of human experience where the processes of subjectivation would take place. According to Winnicott (1975), these processes would consist of a separation between the self and the other from an initial nucleus, a so-called "transitional area" that would keep the internal world and the shared external reality separate and connected at the same time (see Figure 1). The emotional experience that takes place in this transitional area would then be shaped as a privileged space of child subjectivation. Progressively, and in adult life, it would become imaginary life, religion, scientific creativity, and artistic activity, all of which Winnicott calls "cultural experience."

In this paper, the process of subjectivation is particularly demonstrated by the free play conducted by the children. This is where they spontaneously expand games without rules, word games, metaphors, poetry, nonverbal games, and mimicking games. These free activities allow them to explore the transitional area, communicating with other children and adults, produce themselves as subjects, and develop shared social categories. Free play favors the use and transformation of the transitional area and the emotionality that takes places within it, due to its informal and flexible nature.
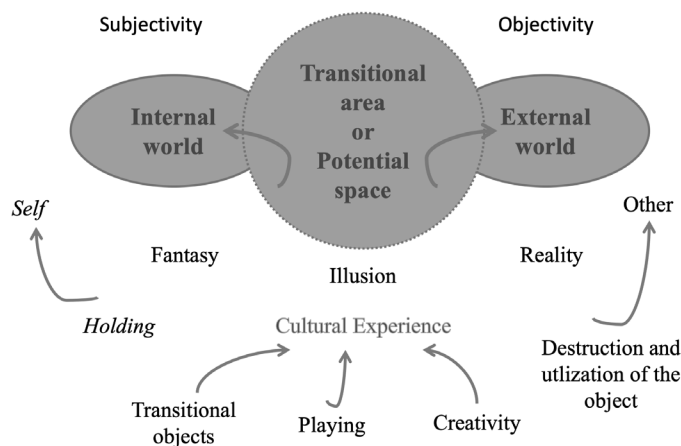

Figure 1. Winnicott's theory of subjectivation.
Source: Prepared by the author based on Winnicott (1975).

Research problem

What does "include" mean in this context? What are the boundaries of identity and difference at school? What are the lines of force that allow children's subjectivations? How is emotionality shaped in a marginalized context? The general objective of this research was to understand how the processes of social inclusion/exclusion of children take place in a school located in a context of high marginality. In particular, we analyze the results of the study in relation to the production of the differences between the female and male and their link with emotionality, which make up one of the five prominent assemblages[2] in the research.

Below we outline the research methodology, before moving analyzing the results of the study at three times, and ending up with the discussion and conclusions.

Methodological Strategy

We conducted an interpretive and visual school post-ethnography (Adams St. Pierre, 2017; Guber, 2011; Pink, 2001) for seven months, turning our attention from the world of the adults to children's subjectivations. Post-qualitative research takes on the post-structural ontological shift that questions the unity of the subject and the binary divisions that define it, such as object/subject, mind/body, essence/ culture, feminine/masculine, among many others (Adams St. Pierre et al., 2016). Interpretive ethnography represents a holistic research approach, which studies phenomena in their social context, incorporating the individual meanings of the subjects in the field (Guber, 2011; Rockwell, 2009). In addition, the visual research methods used in ethnography allow us to investigate symbolic and unconscious dimensions of individuals' experiences through specific devices (Pauwels, 2010; Pink, 2001; Piper & Frankham, 2007; Serrano, Revilla, y Arnal, 2016). In this case the visual devices are adapted to the children, considering their specificity for the ethical application of these devices (Clark, 1999; Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Danic, Delalande, & Rayou, 2006; Flewitt, 2005; Rausky, 2010).

The school ethnography implemented consists of field research comprised of four techniques that are carried out simultaneously and in a progression:

- Documentation of the object of study before, during, and after the terrain.

- Participant observation at the Estrella school, as described above, at least once a week for seven months and, in this case, focused on a fourth grade elementary class consisting of 42 children of (approximately) nine years of age (with ages fluctuating ages between 8 and 13).

- Ethnographic interviews with adults—teachers, teaching assistants, managers, officials, and parents or guardians—and with children from different courses throughout the field process.

Visual production with the children on the fourth grade elementary school course, carried out after four months of participant observation in the field, during recess periods. All of the students on the course who wanted to were able to take part in the production and subsequent selection of their photos. The visual production was associated with nine group interviews of three or four children (out of a total of 35 who provided informed consents signed by their parents or guardians, required for the research), which were carried out in the last two months in the field. The groups were formed according to their presence that day and their affinities, creating seven non-mixed groups (four of boys and three of girls) and two mixed groups.

The whole research process ensured the ethical safeguarding of the participants, respecting the protocol approved by the University's Ethics Committee: authorization from the principal, consent from the parents, consent from the children[3], confidentiality of the data, free participation at all times, etc. The data produced were recorded on a daily basis in the field journals and analyzed in an interpretive manner based on matrices prepared according to the theoretical framework, which evolved with the conceptual work

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[2] Here we use the term "assemblage" coined by Deleuze & Guattari (1980), which refers to a composition of elements, an order without structure, resulting from the processes of subjectivation, constantly being updated (Heredia, 2014; Nail, 2017).

[3] The data was made anonymous, changing the names of the participants.

(Rockwell, 2009). The results were discussed in various forums for academic reflection, "crystallizing" the data (Richardson, 2000) in pursuit of "disciplined subjectivity" (Erickson, 1984; Serra, 2004).

The study favored two visual research instruments with the children: photography and drawing:

- The first consists of the collective production by the children of a "photo-kit" at the school, which was later used in the group interviews, to study the children's experience. This work was done using the photo-language technique, which consists of showing the photos and proposing a question for the selection of one or two photos that can be used for them to express themselves (Vacheret, 2010). The question or instruction suggested in this study was "your best times at school", to investigate their sense of belonging at the school and the relationships with the other subjects, integrating the temporal dimension of the children's experience.

- The second device consists of the individual production of a drawing or illustrated text during the interview, while collectively talking about what they produced. Here they were asked to draw an "anti-portrait", that is, what the children are not or do not want to be, in order to blur the attention towards the "other" that shape the identities of the subjects. This responds to the foundations of the theoretical framework and to a need—identified in the field—to counteract the timidity and shyness of the children to talk about themselves.

With the different data produced, by the researcher and the children, both written and visual, various boundaries of social inclusion/exclusion were identified at the school being studied. Below we present the specific results related to the production of the difference between feminine and masculine and their relationship with children's emotionality.

Analysis of Results

One particularly significant finding in the field research was the construction of an ambivalent emotionality in light of the difference between the feminine and the masculine. By ambivalence we understand the idea of a posture that is not one-way, which does not go in one single direction. The children validate these categories and, at the same time, subvert and conceive affective relationships, but these are always marked by conflicting dynamics, where emotions are expressed but also hidden and forbidden. This ambivalence appears to be the product of a painful life experience, where relationships between adult men and women have been marked by ruptures and violence, which would be a way for the children to protect their inner world from emotional blows.

These results are detailed at three times. First, the children seem to reproduce the gender stereotypes and sexuality found in the device identified as traditional at the school, while at the same time subverting them. At a second time, it leads them to establish relationships of friendship and love as essentially conflicting interactions, through an underground life that comes into resistance with the same traditional school devices. And lastly, it builds forms of being where emotionality would be prohibited, thus protecting their inner world from the violence existing in the external environment, in accordance with the school's identitary device.

Reproduction of stereotypes of gender and on sexuality

One of the most fundamental elements of children's subjectivations is the gender difference, feminine or masculine, identified as opposition between men and women, or between boys and girls. The issue of the feminine and the masculine, associated with emotionality, predominantly shapes the children when they produce as subjects in the interviews. This difference is perceived as evidence and as a necessity for them, which they usually include in their contraposition: "I'm not a woman", "I don't want to be a woman", "I'm a woman, not a man". There is evidence of these differences, such as a "man's dance", or physical characteristics, such as hair length, as explained in one interview.

This central difference in the children's subjectivities reproduces a boundary identified in the traditional device of the school, which repeated distinctions present in society as a whole (Armijo Cabrera, 2019a).

In particular, we observed practices of gender production in the use of different uniforms between men and women, the order of rows of "ladies and gentlemen", where there is no possibility of thirdness, or indifference. There is also an asymmetry between these social groups when a sports event is organized at the school: men participate in a structured and codified competition on the main field, while women can take part in a dance workshop. However, the school displays an effort to include women, with soccer workshops for girls, although in sporting events they play on a secondary field and do not form part of the official competition. When they can eventually use the main field to play a game, it is after the prizes for the men's competition, on the margins, outside the formal event and with the area for spectators half empty.

This distinction and production of gender stereotypes at the school is embedded in a power asymmetry and more generalized representations of gender in society, in this case with the participants in the event, relatives, and residents. Gender differences and stereotypes about gender and sexuality are so embedded in the experiences of the school subjects that they are invisible and appear as being natural and indisputable, shaping the most omnipresent boundary of social inclusion/exclusion in the school visibilities, constantly performed by the adults, and yet still being conspicuously absent. Talking about sexuality emerges in the face of homosexual expressions perceived in the school as problematic, or it is delegated to the responsibility of God, as one adult tells a girl, who asks about the situation of her classmates who are "*lelas*" (a Chilean term for lesbians, roughly equivalent to 'dyke' in English). Homosexuality is rejected in the same way among the girls: "I'm not gay" (see Figure 2). These boundaries are thus territorialized by the adults and reterritorialized by the children at the school.
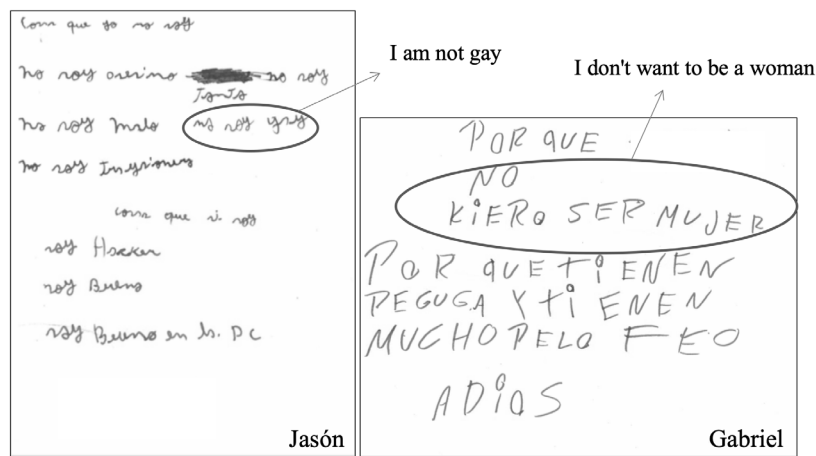

Figure 2. Stereotypes of gender and about sexuality.
Source: Children's drawings in the within the framework of the research.

Nevertheless, in the field we observed a subversion of gender stereotypes among the children. For example, the classic game of catch appears to be an important activity, which consists of forming two teams that have to be chased. What stands out here is how the teams are formed and the boundaries used in the game among the children. Initially, the teams were formed according to the typical division between boys and girls. However, when playing, the importance of this division was lost and the boundaries were blurred, at the expense of another rationality related to the idea of equality for fair competition, removing the game of seduction underlying the idea of chasing the other. From this childish perspective, where it is the women who form the teams, it seems that boys and girls are equal and interchangeable (see Scene 1). Their practices thus depict a line of flight that deterritorializes the gender difference, taking it to a territory detached from emotionality.

Scene 1: Overcoming gender boundaries

They chase and grab onto each other and suddenly change teams without apparent reason or logic. I notice that there are two boys who catch boys, so I ask a girl how the teams work. She tells me its "men against women", but then I ask another boy why there are boys who catch boys, and he explains that "we gave them [the boys] to them [the girls]" because there were not enough girls (Field diary, 14/03/2017).

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The boys start playing catch and I observe that the teams are mixed. So I start wondering how the teams were formed. The first thing they respond to the question "how were the teams formed?" is that they played rock-paper-scissors. Then they told me that some were with Diana and others with Antonia. Then they started the game again. This time it's Diana and Constanza who choose their teammates. "This is yours, this is mine." First the boys are shared out and then they go on to the girls. (Field diary, 06/09/2017).

Here it can be observed that the distinction between men and women persists, since first one group is shared out and then the other. The essential membership of the group is not discussed, but the type of relationships between both groups is simply accommodated, which appears to be merely functional here. Thus, the children reproduce and subvert the gender stereotypes that are found in the traditional device of the school.

Conflictive loves and friendships

The children develop an underground life that belongs to the universe of children and which seems to be opposed to the same traditional school device in its dimensions of discipline and authority (Armijo Cabrera, 2019a). In fact, we also observed ways of organizing activities at the school that corresponded to a traditional form and culture of teaching, where the teacher is the one who has the knowledge. In this case, the classrooms are arranged in rows lined up in front of the blackboard, the teachers write the classes on the blackboard and the children copy them in silence; first the class content is presented and then they do exercises to apply the content and the learning lies in memorization and repetition of the content. The formal second-person personal pronoun (the more formal *usted*, rather than the informal *tú* in Spanish) is used between adults and children and they are expected to be disciplined, that is, be orderly, silent, and obedient. The children must learn to "behave well", "work" and not to be "rebellious", and they all know and adopt these school expectations, but they also develop a parallel underground life made up of conflicting loves and friendships.

When analyzing the interviews, we observed that the games and friendships contemplate the idea of annoying, provoking, or teasing, or, as some of the children said, adopting the cyber lexicon, "trolling", a term which summarizes these ideas. The children talk about their conflicts and arguments, which are somewhat more physical between the boys and more verbal between the girls. However, they all condemn their classmates who fight too much, get angry for any reason, or hit or insult the recess staff, some of whom were excluded for this. Friends are also those who know and share secrets, those who promise and betray (see Excerpt 1).

Excerpt 1: Promises and secrets (Interview 1)

Max: Okay, I'm going to tell you a secret, but don't tell anyone.
Manuel: Yes.
Fabián: I promise.
Manuel: yes.
MAC: Me too.
Fabián: Jasón.
Max: Pinky promise.
Jasón: Ok, promise.
MAC: Promise.
Max: Promise.
MAC: What's your secret?
Silence.
Fabián: Max, we all made the promise, you have to tell us.
Jasón: Give him time, Max.
Silence.
Max: C's brother… kissed my sister on the mouth.

At the same time, romantic relationships are an important part of the children's underground life at school, as opposed to the traditional school device that makes these issues invisible. Children's romances in the course observed take place more on the fantasmatic and discursive level. They are known and shared, everyone knows who likes whom or who has a girlfriend/boyfriend, while the adults are excluded

from this universe. Romances are part of a secret life, because adults can interfere with it and destroy it, as one child states. Likewise, the adults should not interfere in the conflicting relationships between the children, which are considered to be "adult things". Romantic and conflictual relationships shift and change, and their dynamics seem to be the sustenance of children's school life. As Dubet (1996) states, romances and friendships allow the subjectivation of feelings. Through these relationships and associated activities, children are constructed as subjects in the school, in a distant and opposing way to the traditional devices of the school, while respecting their gender boundaries.

The relationships between girls and boys at school are marked by a conflict that reflects the relationships between adult men and women. The stereotyped form of categorizing themselves implies value judgments about the others: men who "are completely lazy, they don't work at all ", so "it's boring to have a husband", women who "have tits", "breasts", "babies", "they're going to produce milk", "they have a lot of ugly hair" and "they don't not know how to play soccer". A game, which they do not describe as a game, "fooling around", consists of fights, races, or blows, where "women take advantage because the men can't hit them." The girls say to them "coward... you want to hit women", repeating a mode of relationship between women and men that seems to be reproduced from the adult world.

Meanwhile, romantic relationships between adults are perceived as difficult, marked by violence and ruptures. Likewise, the relationships between boys and girls are fraught with ambivalence, insofar as their conflict also involves affection, kissing, love, and dating (see Figure 3). The feminine and the masculine are determined particularly by the maternal and paternal figures, which are decisive for the children. In an interview, women are seen exclusively as mothers, which generates strong rejection, where the mother is the one who kills the son, while the father is the one who teaches them to use guns, as explained by Leo in the verbal exchanges (see Figure 3). The males then project into the figure of a "hairy male" (see Excerpt 2).
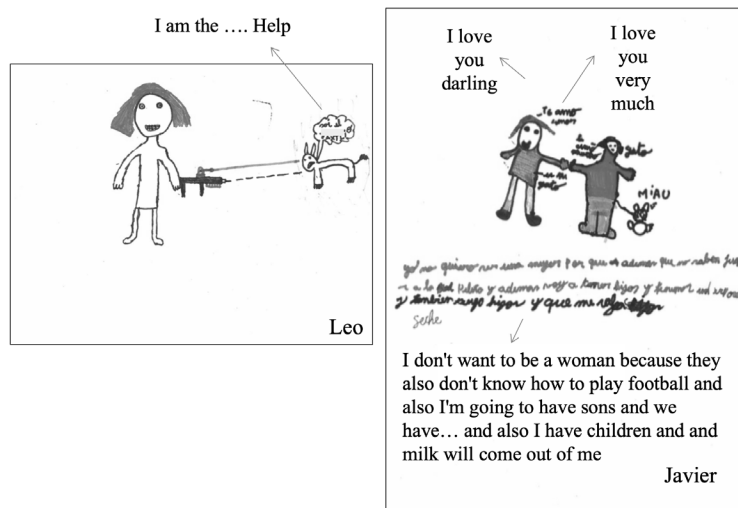

Figure 3. Relationships between men and women, between violence and affection.
Source: Children's drawings in the framework of the research.

Excerpt 2: Strong and hairy men (Interview 4)

Javier: I'm finished.
MAC: What's that?
Javier: A, woman, I don't want to be a woman. I want to be a man! (with deep voice) Hairy!
MAC: You want to be a hairy man?
Javier: Yes.
MAC: Why do you want to be a hairy man? (smiles).
Javier: But not that hairy.
MAC: Just a bit hairy.
Javier: With a beard.

Friendships and romances mark and straddle various aspects of children's subjectivations, always with a tension between affection and conflict, lines of flight that subvert to form an individual territory, that of emotionality, which simultaneously separates and unites the feminine and the masculine. This territory is expressed by the children, although it is also prohibited.

A prohibited emotionality

A taboo appears regarding the emotionality of the children, which cannot be expressed in the context of the interview; in particular, what is associated with affectivity and child sexuality, the relationship with one's own body or with that of the other, which generates shame and disgust (see Excerpt 3).

Excerpt 3: Sexual and shameful bodies (interview 6)

Cloe: Well, I have a doctor… she checks here and here to see if I'm growing.
Cony: Question, what does she check on you?
Cloe: She checks me, that's all. I don't want to talk about it.
Jimena: She checks your vagina, ok… (laughs).
Cloe: Hey, Miss, no…
MAC: Is it that? She checks…?
Cloe: Yes.
Noise.
Cloe: The doctor gave me… (laughs) because she gave me… ok, now I can tell you.
Jimena: Those are the breasts.
Cloe: Shut up… dirty…
Jimena: Why dirty? If that's what they're called; Miss, what are they called…
MAC: Are you ashamed to say those words?
Cloe: Yes, because you might go and tell my mom…
MAC: Why would that make you ashamed with your mom?
Cloe: Because no one knows about that…
MAC: Your mom doesn't go to the doctor with you? She doesn't know that the doctor… looks at you?
Cloe: No, she does know, but no one knows from school.
MAC: So then, your mom would be angry because you've told us that, you think??
Cloe: No, because I'd be ashamed and I don't like it…
MAC: Would you be ashamed with your mom?
Cloe: Yes, because she would say to me "Cloe, why did you say that?" because she's ashamed of it too—saying that I said that to my classmates.
MAC: Ok, but do you know why you're, she's ashamed of that?
Cloe: Because she doesn't like to talk about it… and I … she speaks to the teacher but… anyway, I'm ashamed of it…

Similarly, the romantic relationships between the adults, both in terms of their sexuality and their love life, should not be known by the children, whose testimonies are silenced. In the case of Jairo, he makes up a story where a boy gets very angry and asks his robot to kill everyone, leading to a massacre, after having seen his parents "fucking" (see Figure 4).
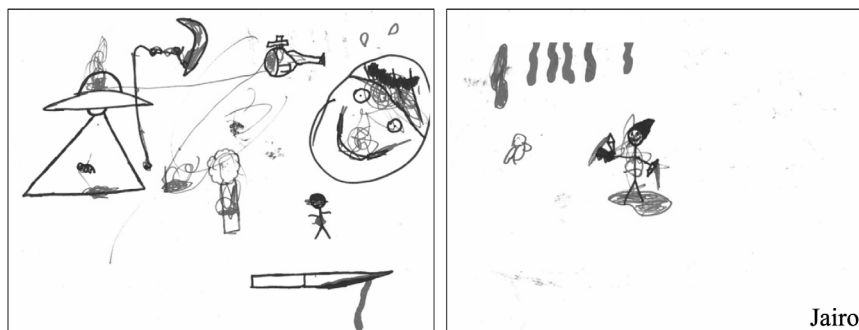

Jairo

Figure 4. Fantasmatic killings in the face of adult sexuality.
Source: Children's drawings in the framework of the research.

The other notable case is that of Ismael, who the other children do not allow to talk about his family situation, although they themselves have started the conversation, because it is of an intimate and private, and sad and shameful nature (see Excerpt 4).

Excerpt 4: Forbidden emotionality (Interview 4)

Ismael: She's my mom and this is me. Wait, my brother is missing.
Leo: Does your dad live with you? So there's five in your family. Because look, N., E., you, and you mom.
Leo: That would be four and B., five. If you dad were there, six. And… seven, and…
Gabriel: And your dad, did he leave home?
Ismael: No, he separated from my mom.
Javier: Oh… I don't want to hear that story.
Ismael: Because…
Leo: No, don't go there, don't go there. They're your memories and your feelings too.
MAC: Why don't you want to hear that story, Javier?
Leo: Because they're his feelings and he doesn't have to be talking about his feelings about his family.
Javier: And anyway, it makes me feel sad.
Gabriel: Those are personal feelings, right Leo?
MAC: Do you know this story already, Javier?
Javier: No, it's just sad.
MAC: It makes you sad? Do you know why it's going to make you feel sad?
Javier: Yes.
MAC: You don't want to hear it, is that it?
Ismael: But my brother N. left home.
Javier: No.
Noise
Gabriel: No…
Ismael: Sometimes he leaves the house…
Leo: Hey if I were you I wouldn't talk about those things because it's going to make someone sad…
MAC: And you, do you all agree on saying that we shouldn't talk about feelings?
Leo: Yes, because it's bad, to talk about feelings about…
Gabriel: About the family.
Leo: About the family or personal family things.
MAC: Ah, but in the family you can talk can't you?
Javier: Yes.
Gabriel: Yes, within the family, but not outside the family, because afterwards everyone goes around talking about it, right Leo?
Leo: Afterwards they'll talk about the…
Javier: Or I think that everyone would be saying "oh… haha, your dad left home…"
Leo: Right.
Gabriel: And afterwards… for example to me… "you don't have a dad…"
MAC: And why. What if Ismael doesn't mind?
Silence.
Leo: It's because afterwards… you might go home and…

In Winnicott's theory of subjectivation (1975), which has been used to analyze the field data, the subjects come from an initial transitional space that has no form. Gradually they are separated from the other, shaping their subjectivity, making their inner world emerge separate from the others that constitute the external world. In these examples, it has been seen how free play allows the identities between feminine and masculine to be shaped, with the game of catch and the verbal games. In this transitional space the children can be seen to communicate on an emotional level. In addition, we have observed that their relationships between male and female are seen as conflictive, influenced by gender stereotypes and based on the relationship between adult men and women, which are marked by ruptures and violence. At the same time we have seen ambivalence, since they subvert these gender norms and develop an underground life, made of friendly and loving feelings, a conflictive life but also characterized by affection. With these latest field data, we can understand that the relationships between the feminine and the masculine delineate a territory of ambivalent and forbidden emotionality, revealing a protection for the children in the face of the difficulties and pains experienced in their immediate surroundings: exclusion from the experience of the sexual body, exclusion from affective-sexual seduction in children's games, and exclusion from talking about intimate and family life.

This way of being has been demonstrated in the previous study of the school identitary device (Armijo Cabrera, 2019b). In this school there is the idea of an anti-authoritarianism, which may be due to the particularity of the children and the social context. Similarly, the same manner of interaction was observed among the adults and parents and guardians where no submission is allowed, protecting themselves against any possibility of anyone riding roughshod over them. Based on the *ethos* of the school itself, where the children may not be suppressed, because they come from social environments that have forced them to form a protective shell, they cannot be "beaten down" as they would not tolerate it. During the field studies, the children were seen to resist school rules, failing to enter or not staying in the classroom without coercion being used towards them. Even the most discreet, more scholarly disciplined students they do not keep quiet when they feel are being attacked. For the adults who come from the same social context, there is also a solidarity with the children in this regard: the girls who are "exemplary from here" would be "stubborn": the defensive manner in which the children behave, in accordance with the school identitary device, seems to constitute a way of protecting themselves from the external environment, which confirms the idea of the construction of a prohibited and ambivalent emotionality in light of the boundaries between the feminine and the masculine. Indeed, despite the stereotypical portrayals of men and women, the women must know how to defend themselves just as the men do.

Discussion and Conclusions

The research presented has contributed to the understanding of the experiences and processes of social inclusion/exclusion of children in a marginalized school. It has been shown that the processes of child subjectivation in the context of poverty would be characterized by ambivalent emotionality regarding the relationships between the feminine and the masculine.

On the one hand, the children reproduce stereotypes of gender and sexuality present in the traditional school system and society as a whole, but they also subvert them and develop an underground life made up of friendships, romances, and conflicts. It can be considered that this finding would be common in Chilean schools, where these two dimensions of the traditional device would be found: the production of binary boundaries of gender and school authoritarianism. These practices and discourses may cause appropriations and resistances on the part of the children, which would not be specific to the poverty context of the Estrella school, but could be extended to other social sectors. Thus, other authors have observed the reproductions of gender norms in school and their hegemonic masculinities and femininities (Allan, 2009; Blakemore, 2003; Morgade, 2001; Renold, 2004), as well as the underground school experience of the children and their subversions or flights (Dubet, 1996; Luna, 2015; Sirota, 1988; Youdell, 2010).

On the other hand, in this study, the children's subjectivations reveal an exclusion of their emotionality as a way to defend themselves against violence and ruptures in their surroundings, according to the statements and observations made by the adults in the school identitary device. This second aspect would be more appropriate to the context of marginalization of the research, where this device is centered on the notion of poverty and vulnerability of the children and their families.

In this respect, this research shows the importance of the socioeconomic class to understand this aspect of child subjectivation, ahead of the difference in sex or gender. It is located in the line of analysis of third wave feminisms, which reveal the different forms of oppression of women as a function of other social criteria, such as race, class, and sexuality to which they are subordinate (Butler, 1990; Davis, 1981; Foley, Levinson, & Hurtig, 2001; Hooks, 1984; Wittig, 2006). To put this in black and white: it is different to be a white upper-class heterosexual woman, than to be a low-class black lesbian woman. The gender status is thus subordinated to the socioeconomic condition, as has been observed in this research. In this marginalized context, emotionality, considered to be a feminine attribute, transmitted culturally by family and school education (Davies & Banks, 1992; Morgade, 2001), is rejected by both men and women, because their social context requires certain defensive ways of being in order to protect themselves from a potentially violent and painful environment.

This study has thus revealed a territory of ambivalent social inclusion/exclusion, where the children reterritorialize their emotionality in accordance with the way in which is shaped in school, at the same time as excluding it, sketching out a new line of flight. However, from the perspective of Deleuze

(1986/2004), avoiding social stratification creates a risk for individuals, who are let loose or dissolved in their surroundings. This begs the question of whether it is desirable for a society that its members evade their own emotionality in order to protect themselves. It has been observed that the technocratic school device, dictated by the new educational policies, seeks to objectify and standardize school experiences, excluding their emotional dimension. However, childhood emotionality emerges in the field as a fundamental element for children's subjectivation and learning, or as Winnicott (1975) puts it, for the extension of their transitional area and cultural experience. In that sense, the recommendation is to favor the expression and display of children's emotionality at school, through work and reflection around the binary boundary between feminine and masculine.

By focusing on children's experiences from the perspective of the children themselves, this study has revealed underground dynamics that nurture their childhood lives and establish them as complex subjects. Despite the context of relative socioeconomic homogeneity where the study took place, the field research reveals that social inclusion/exclusion processes still shape boundaries of identities and differences that classify and rank individuals. This finding questions inclusion policies focused on the access and distribution of students, such as the Inclusion Law N⁰ 20,845 (2015), which is oriented toward a socioeconomic mix. In such a marginalized context, with a socially homogeneous student body, can this law change the composition of the students at the Estrella school? The study leads to the focus of attention being shifted to school practices and cultures that produce and reproduce emotional, feminine/masculine, stereotyped, and asymmetric forms of being. One wonders to what extent the Inclusion Law would have an impact on school cultures related to children's emotionality and gender norms.

These forms come from the external environment of the school, but are performed and reterritorialized with it by the school subjects that circulate between its interior and exterior. In this regard, while the school alone cannot transform society, the actions of its unique agents define the reterritorialization and deterritorialization of its gender boundaries. These actions are what Deleuze calls "lines of soft segmentation" (Castro, 2016)—located between the lines of hard segmentation, with a binary structure and the lines of flight that they escape. These lines, distanced from national school regulations, contribute to the evolution of cultures and social and school practices, which are in constant change. Their transformation belongs to the social subjects, inside and outside the school, who are informed and exert their critical capacity, between the binary hard segmentations and the creative lines of flight.

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