INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN A TRANSIT CONTEXT – POSSIBILITIES AND OBSTACLES OF INCLUSION IN A TEMPORARY DEVICE FOR MIGRANTS IN NOTHERN CHILE[1]

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ABSTRACT

Delivering inclusive education is crucial for marginalized groups, such as migrant children. This is particularly significant in Chile, due to the new migratory movements from Venezuela. While existing studies have explored the relationship between migration and education; the current context of irregular and transit migration in the northern region requires new research. This study addresses this gap by investigating two temporary educational facilities in the Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach. A case study with data collection through eleven interviews with educational stakeholders and a focus group with seven mothers was carried out. They were asked, "What factors facilitate and impede inclusive education in Lobito's temporary educational facilities?". This study is crucial, as educational inclusion is essential for long-term social inclusion. Understanding the educational inclusion and transitional processes of migrant children is vital to improve their experiences. The results show that Lobito's multiprofessional team strategically addresses children's diverse needs, supports their transition to conventional schools, and facilitates educational inclusion. Nevertheless, certain strategies inadvertently perpetuate the notion of "otherness" and provide few opportunities for children's and parents' participation, which contrasts with the principles of inclusion. Administrative barriers further impede inclusive education. To overcome these barriers, the enrollment of migrant children must be ensured to promote inclusive education.

Keywords: Pedagogical Inclusion, Temporary Learning Spaces, Migrant Children, Chile.

EDUCACIÓN INCLUSIVA EN UN CONTEXTO DE TRÁNSITO - POSIBILIDADES Y OBSTÁCULOS A LA INCLUSIÓN EN UN DISPOSITIVO TEMPORAL PARA MIGRANTES EN EL NORTE DE CHILE

RESUMEN

Facilitar la educación inclusiva es crucial para los grupos marginados, como los niños migrantes. Esto es particularmente significativo en Chile, debido a los nuevos movimientos migratorios desde Venezuela. Aunque los estudios existentes han examinado la migración y la educación, el contexto actual de migración irregular y transitoria en el norte requiere un nuevo enfoque.

Este estudio aborda esta brecha investigando dos instalaciones educativas temporales en el Dispositivo Transitorio de Playa Lobitos, preguntando: "¿Qué factores facilitan e impiden la educación inclusiva en las instalaciones educativas temporales de Lobito?" Empleando un estudio de caso, se recopilaron datos a través de once entrevistas con actores educativos y un grupo focal con siete madres en Lobito. Los resultados muestran que el equipo multiprofesional de Lobito aborda estratégicamente las diversas necesidades de los niños, apoya su transición a escuelas convencionales y facilita la inclusión educativa. No obstante, ciertas estrategias perpetúan inadvertidamente la noción de "otredad" y brindan pocas oportunidades para la participación de los niños y los padres, lo que contrasta con los principios de inclusión. Barreras administrativas impiden aún más una educación inclusiva. Para superar estas barreras, debe asegurarse la matrícula de los niños migrantes para promover la educación inclusiva.

Palabras clave: inclusión pedagógica, espacios temporales de aprendizaje, niños migrantes, Chile.

1. Introduction

Global society faces numerous crises, presenting substantial challenges for individuals, communities, and educational institutions. Among these challenges is the imperative to foster the participation and inclusion of all students in educational processes, irrespective of their circumstances or lifestyles (Ladson-Billings, 2021). Facilitating educational participation during crises holds particular significance for marginalized and segregated groups, such as children and adolescents in migrant context.

These global challenges also resonate within the Chilean context, where Chile ranks as the third country in Latin America in terms of receiving Venezuelan migrants (IOM, 2021), contributing to its status as one of the states experiencing the highest short-term growth rate of migrants, especially in the northern region (INE, & UNICEF, 2023). The arrival of irregular migrant flows from Venezuela, reflected in reports of irregular entries, with 145,050 individuals counted by the investigating authority from 2018 to January 2023 (Infomigra, 2023), serves as a statistical illustration. Furthermore, within the country, there are 198,266 migrant children and adolescents residing, comprising 13.4% of the total estimated migrant population. Of this estimated foreign population of children and adolescents, 35.5% are of Venezuelan origin (INE, 2023). This migration movement exemplifies the assertion made by Salas et al. in 2018, namely that migration phenomena in Chile necessitate the integration of children and adolescents into the education system and the guarantee of appropriate inclusion of young children and adolescents (Barrios & Palou, 2014).

Various studies have addressed the link between migration and education in the Chilean context. For instance, Baeza-Correa et al. (2022), in their meta-research, have clearly demonstrated "that there are challenges to inclusion at every possible level of analysis of the educational field" (p. 11). Similarly, Soto (2021) highlights that schools with migrant learners have failed implementing inclusive policies to facilitate the inclusion of foreign children. However, the current migration phenomenon, characterized by irregularity on one hand and a transit context in the northern region of the

country on the other, prompts new research inquiries concerning the inclusion processes of migrant children in transit situations. The right to education is safeguarded by the national law 21,325, Article 17 "Access to education", which stipulates that migrant children are entitled to equal access to education, a right that remains unchanged even if their parents are irregularly present in the country. Nevertheless, the question of how to implement this right for migrant children within a context of mobility and transit has not been adequately investigated.

This study aims to fill this research gap by examining the two temporary education facilities situated within the "Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach"[4] in the Tarapacá region of northern Chile. Established in 2020 in response to the humanitarian crisis, Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach serves as a transitional facility where migrants can temporarily stay for up to 15 days. The research question guiding this study is "What factors facilitate and impede inclusive education in the Lobito temporary education facilities?" Additionally, it delves into the conceptualization of inclusive education shaping the practices of educational stakeholders[5] working in Lobito. The study was designed as a case study, with qualitative data collected. Eleven problem-centered interviews were conducted with education stakeholders between June and September 2023, in accordance with the methodology proposed by Witzel (2000). Furthermore, a focus group was conducted in September with seven mothers whose children attend the temporary educational institutions in Lobito. The findings of this study are crucial, as school inclusion is an essential component in achieving long-term and sustainable social inclusion. Consequently, it is of paramount importance to gain an understanding of the educational inclusion and transitional processes experienced by migrant children, in order to gain insights that can help improve their experiences (Salas et al., 2018).

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4   The official designation is "Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach." However, it is also referred to as " Lobito shelter" (UNICEF, 2022) or "transitory sanitary stay for migrants " (SJM(b), n.d.). For the purposes of this discussion, the general term "Lobito" will be mainly used.

5   Education stakeholders are all individuals and institutions involved in or influencing educational processes. These include, among others, educators, teachers, parents, and children, as well as administrative and educational policy actors.

In this article, inclusion is distinguished from integration. Unlike integration, inclusion recognizes social diversity without dividing society into seemingly homogeneous groups. Inclusion is a continuous process involving all societal members and institutions (Georgi & Keküllüoğlu, 2018). It addresses the diverse needs of all learners, viewing diversity as an opportunity for educational processes and as essential for pacific coexistence (UNESCO, n.d.).

This article is structured as follows: Firstly, it theorizes the concepts of inclusion and inclusive education (chapter 2). Subsequently, it presents a description of the development of Lobito and its temporary educational institutions (chapter 3). The methodology of the study is then explained, with detailed descriptions of the methods employed (chapter 4). Subsequently the results of the study are presented, including an analysis of the understanding of inclusion among educational stakeholders in Lobito, along with strategies and obstacles to achieving inclusive education (chapter 5). Lastly, a conclusion summarizes the findings and implications of the study (chapter 6).

2. Inclusion and Inclusive Education

In contrast to the concept of integration, the concept of inclusion aims to recognize social diversity without dividing society into clearly distinguishable and seemingly homogeneous groups. Inclusion is understood as an ongoing and never-ending process involving all members of society and its education institutions (Georgi & Keküllüoğlu, 2018). Following Katsarova (2016), it can be argued that the inclusion challenges faced by learners with migration experience in educational contexts are closely related to the three fundamental pillars of education: Access, participation, and achievement. However, Grosche (2015) emphasizes that the debates on educational inclusion are controversial. Firstly, two basic perspectives can be distinguished. With reference to the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, inclusion is equated with the social equality of people with disabilities. According to this narrow understanding of inclusion, the focus is on framework conditions and educational concepts for the joint schooling of children with and without disabilities. Concurrently, the concept of inclusion is expanded

to encompass a more expansive definition. This understanding of inclusion asserts that every individual is entitled to inalienable human rights and that every individual has the right to be an equal part of society. This second perspective addresses various manifestations of social heterogeneity and diversity, as well as issues of marginalization, exclusion, and discrimination. The primary objective is to ensure that all children have equal access to education, free from discrimination and exclusion (Georgi & Keküllüoğlu, 2018). UNESCO (2009) also espouses a similar concept of inclusion, defining it as follows:

> "Inclusive education is a process of strengthening the capacity of the education system to reach all learners; [...] As a general principle, it should guide all educational policies and practices, starting from the fact that education is a basic human right and the foundation of a more just and egalitarian society." (p. 9).

In essence, the term inclusion is employed when the full participation of all children is sought, considering all forms of marginalization and discrimination, as well as the heterogeneity of all learners. This necessitates the establishment of diversity-sensitive structural framework conditions within educational institutions. Penkwitt et al. (2020) further elaborate on this paradigm by linking it to the concept of intersectionality, originally formulated by Crenshaw (1989). The authors posit that the two concepts are not limited to a single line of differentiation, but rather encompass a multitude of dimensions of heterogeneity. This enables the examination of processes of inclusion and exclusion, the analysis of the dynamics of normalization, the questioning of categorizations that tend to label, essentialize and stigmatize, as well as the consideration of social inequality and the critique of existing power relations (Penkwitt et al., 2020).

The issue of inclusive education is not merely a marginal concern, but rather a central one, as it is essential for the achievement of quality education for all learners and the development of a more inclusive society. This is because education occurs in a multitude of contexts, including formal and non-formal settings, as well as within families and communities. Inclusive education is a fundamental aspect of achieving social justice and is an integral component of

lifelong learning (Burnett, 2009). In this way, participation and self-determination are made possible. Inclusive education is further defined as the implementation of democratic learning processes with the objective of affording members of marginalized groups the opportunity to express their experiences, needs and opinions in educational settings (Prengel, 2006).

In the Chilean context, for example, a legal framework was established in 2015 with Law 20.845 on school inclusion, which contains guidelines for the rights of migrant students in educational institutions. The law explicitly defines its objective as the elimination of any form of arbitrary discrimination that hinders the learning and participation of students (Article 1). This is to be achieved by respecting the autonomy of educational institutions and promoting and valuing the cultural, religious, social, and individual differences of the populations served by the school system (Soto, 2021). In the context of education and migration, reference can also be made to the Migration and Aliens Act 21.325, Article 17 "Access to education", which states that:

> "The state guarantees foreign minors residing in Chile access to preschool, primary, and secondary education under the same conditions as nationals. This right cannot be denied or restricted due to their irregular immigration status or the status of any of their parents."

Nevertheless, the question remains as to how these legal entitlements to inclusive education can be put into practice when children are in a mobility and transit context. This issue has not yet received adequate research attention. An initial analysis by Stefoni et al. (2022) regarding the needs of newly arrived migrants in Chile underscores the importance of providing educational resources for children in transit. The authors stress the necessity of initiating an inclusion process within the education system prior to the formal enrollment of these migrant students in conventional educational institutions. One such transitional place is the Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach and its temporary educational facilities, which will be further detailed in the subsequente chapters.

3. Setting the Scene

3.1 The Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach

Migration has been a constant characteristic of Chilean society for
centuries. As early as the 1907 census, migrants accounted for
4.14% of the population, a historical high that lasted for more than
a century (Aninat & Vergara, 2019). Nevertheless, it is important to
acknowledge that the country has experienced a significant increase
and growing complexity in migration flows over the past decade,
due to two unprecedented events. The first event is the increase in
intra-regional migration flows in Latin America and the Caribbean,
increasing by 66% between 2010 and 2019 compared to the
previous decade (PNUD, 2020). This phenomenon was precipitated
by the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela (Freier & Parent, 2018),
which has resulted in the largest diaspora of migrants and refugees
seeking asylum in the region's history (IOM, 2021). Since the health
emergency caused by the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, there has been
a renewed increase in migration from Venezuela to Chile, which has
also led to a humanitarian crisis in the northern area of the country.
In particular, the border between Chile and Bolivia in the Tarapacá
region has emerged as the principal migration route[6] (SJM, 2020).

To address the humanitarian crisis in the northern region
of the country, the Temporary Migrant Facility Lobito [*Centro de
Tránsito Playa Lobito*] was established 22 kilometers from Iquique
in January 2022. Lobito serves as a transitional accommodation
center capable of housing a total of 300 people (Leal, 2022). Its
establishment was overseen by the production company of the
370 Group, an organization specialized in event management
with no prior experience in humanitarian aid. Initially intended
as an overnight shelter, Lobito's remote location made this
impractical. Consequently, the migrant population remained in

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6   It is important to highlight that this emerging migration phenomenon is characterized by
irregular migration, as these individuals have not been granted refugee status by the Chilean
government. In this context, researchers (e.g., Dufraix et al., 2020; González, 2023) have
emphasized that Chile is fostering situations of irregular migration that not only impact
adults but also children and adolescents, impeding their access and inclusion in educational
institutions (Alvites et al., 2023).

Lobito without access to essential resources such as drinking water and food supplies. Crucial aspects such as the provision of formal basic services, road network accessibility, and access to medical professionals for migrant families' healthcare needs were overlooked during the implementation phase. These shortcomings were described as "negligence on the part of the authorities" (Leal, 2022). In response, non-governmental organizations became active in highlighting these precarious conditions (SJM(a), n.d.). The original accommodation, in the form of tents, has since been replaced by RHU (Refugee Housing Unit), with further improvements being made in terms of basic medical care, food intake and basic sanitation (SJM(b), n.d) Despite adverse circumstances and the great distance to the nearest town, Lobito housed 400 families in the first two months of its opening in 2022 (Resumen, 2022). However, determining the precise number of residents in Lobito is challenging due to its transient nature, as individuals are not supposed to stay there for more than 15 days. Nonetheless, the following data serves as an illustration: As of July 10, 2023, a total of 236 residents were registered in Lobito, including 80 children and adolescents, constituting approximately 34% of the resident population[7]. Additionally, Lobito houses two educational institutions, which are the primary focus of this research.

3.2 Temporary Educational Institutions in Lobito

Considering the presence of school-age children and adolescents in Lobito, two educational facilities have been established to provide temporary learning spaces during the period of transit in Lobito. The temporary educational facilities include a school currently managed by UNICEF and World Vision. At the time of the research, the school was utilizing three RHUs for the purpose of its educational activities. The children are divided into three age groups: 2-5 years, 6-11 years, and 12-17 years. One teacher and one assistant are assigned to each age group. The pedagogical team is supported by a multidisciplinary team comprising a social worker, a nutritionist, a midwife, assistants,

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7   This data is sourced from a non-public document titled "Daily report of DTL's income and outgoings. Consolidated figures of the day lines July 10, 2023", which was provided by an administrative employee of the educational institutions in Lobito.

security guards and a specialist responsible for the preparation of enrollments in external educational institutions. The temporary school operates from Monday to Friday, while the multidisciplinary team is based in Lobito from Monday to Thursday. The precise number of children enrolled in the school could not be ascertained in the study due to its itinerant nature. However, the teachers report that they adapt their ways of working to the varying group sizes and age compositions of the children in order to enable all interested children to attend the school.

The other facility is a kindergarten managed by the Integra Foundation. In accordance with the tenets of this institution, its objective is to "guarantee the right to education and create a support network for families that allows them to continue their migration plan and gradually include into the social and economic sphere" (Integra, 2022). The kindergarten in Lobito commenced operations on 21 May 2023 and accepts children aged between two and six years, with a limited capacity of 24 children. The provisional kindergarten is situated in another RHU and has a modest outdoor playground. The educational program for the children is conducted daily between the hours of 10:00 and 16:30. On two days a week, the kindergarten educators hold workshops with the families, which means that the group of children is supervised by the teachers from the temporary school in Lobito. Consequently, the two educational institutions collaborate in a cooperative manner.

Although Lobito was originally conceived as a temporary facility for a maximum stay of 15 days, there has been a prolonging dynamic. This is due to the presence of individuals who extend their stay for periods ranging from one month to two and even three months. However, the number of children participating in educational activities fluctuates considerably. Due to this temporal dynamic, it is not feasible to provide generalized accounts of children's typical visits to the temporary learning spaces, nor is it possible to precisely define the specific goals children should have accomplished after attending the educational facility. Additionally, the profile of children attending the temporary school is marked by heterogeneity and varies depending on their prior educational experiences.

Having provided a description of the two temporary educational facilities, the research question of the article, "What factors facilitate and impede inclusive education in the Lobito Transitional Educational Facilities?" can now be answered. To address this question, the methodology employed, and the methods used are set out in greater detail in the following section.

4. Methodology Approach

In order to address the research questions posed by this study, a qualitative research design was selected, employing a case study methodology. Case studies permit the provision of detailed information on specific topics and are therefore well-suited to the answering of questions pertaining to the reasons or ways of a phenomenon (Yin, 2014). A case study approach also facilitates the elucidation of the general through an examination of the particular (Denscombe, 2010). For the purposes of this study, the two temporary education institutions were constructed as a case study and examined in the context of the temporary facility Lobito.

The data collection comprised two phases. In the initial phase, eleven individuals were interviewed utilizing the problem-centered interview methodology as outlined by Witzel (2000). The sample consisted of six administrators responsible for the temporary educational institutions and five educators from the educational institutions (see Table 1.). Seven interviews were conducted as single interviews, while two interviews were conducted on site in Lobito as double interviews. The problem-centered interview (Witzel, 2000) is a form of guided interview that is more theory-generating and less theory-testing. The corresponding communication strategies in the guideline are aimed at presenting the interviewee's subjective view of the problem and are supplemented by narratives generating questions. The interviews were conducted both in person and online between June and September 2023, with each interview lasting between 24 and 43 minutes.

As educational inclusion is a concern shared by various educational stakeholders and migrant families (Joiko & Vasquez, 2016), the second qualitative phase explored parents' perspectives on

the strategies and challenges of school inclusion and their children's
transition processes, using the framework of Vincent and Martin's
(2002) concept of parental voice. These authors define the term
"voice" broadly to encompass parental responses and interventions
to various educational issues. Consequently, a method-triangulation
was conducted, and a focus group (Morgan, 1997) was held in
the Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach with seven mothers[8] whose
children attend the temporary learning spaces (see Table 2.). The
focus group lasted 55 minutes. Focus groups are designed to gain
insight into how individuals construct a frame or perspective on a
problem through interaction in a relaxed and informal environment,
led by an expert. Rather than posing the same question to multiple
participants, the focus group methodology seeks to generate and
analyze the interaction between them and examine how they
collectively construct meanings (Sampieri et al., 2014).

Table 1.
Persons Interviewed

N.	Gender	Function in Lobito	Location of the interview
E 1	Male	Educator	Iquique
E 2	Female	Administrative worker	Online
E 3	Female	Administrative worker	Online
E4	Female	Administrative worker	Iquique
E 5	Female	Administrative worker	Online
E 6	Female	Pro-Migrant-NGO	Online
E 7	Female	Administrative worker	Online
E 8	Female	Educator	Lobito
E 9	Female	Educator	Lobito
E10	Female	Educator	Lobito
E11	Female	Educator	Lobito

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8   The original focus group sample included both mothers and fathers as participants.
Nevertheless, only mothers participated in the interview. Consequently, the subsequent
discussion will exclusively pertain to mothers.

Table 2.
Mothers who Participated in the Focus Group

Focus Group				
N.	Gender	Nationality	Time spent in Lobito	Location of the Interview
M 1	Female	Venezuela	Since a week in Lobito	Lobito
M 2	Female	Venezuela	Since a month in Lobito Second stay in Lobito	Lobito
M 3	Female	Venezuela	Since 20 days in Lobito	Lobito
M 4	Female	Venezuela	Since 20 days in Lobito	Lobito
M 5	Female	Venezuela	Since 22 days in Lobito	Lobito
M 6	Female	Venezuela	Since eight days in Lobito Second stay in Lobito	Lobito
M 7	Female	Venezuela	Since a week in Lobito	Lobito

Both the interviews and the focus group were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Once the transcription of all the data was completed, it underwent analysis using the grounded theory analysis method (Corbin & Strauss, 1998). The initial stage of this analysis involves a thorough examination of the interview material, resulting in detailed descriptions. The subsequent phase is open coding, where the data undergo continuous comparison to identify similarities and differences, forming new categories. During this phase, categories relevant to the research question were derived from the data. Axial coding was then employed to analyze the relationship between these categories, developing subcategories to understand interactions and processes within the data. Selective coding was not used in this research project (Corbin & Strauss, 1998). The MAXQDA software for qualitative data and text analysis facilitated this process.

Prior to conducting the interviews and focus group, permission was sought from the Presidencial delegation of Tarapacá to enter the the Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach. This request was granted, with the stipulation that no photographs or videos could be take, and no interviews could be conducted with children or adolescents. Furthermore, the ethical considerations pertaining to data collection were duly addressed, with informed consent being obtained from participants and a commitment to maintain the confidentiality of their personal data and information. Even more, the identity of the respondent is safeguarded by a system of codes or minimum socio-demographic information (see Tables 1. and 2.). As Soto et al.

(2023) argue, it is essential to adopt a stance of restraint and collective responsibility when addressing the ethical challenges inherent to scientific work with vulnerable populations.

The following chapter presents the results according to the categories analyzed. Firstly, the understanding of inclusive education held by educational stakeholders in Lobito is presented (chapter 5.1). Subsequently, the strategies for implementing inclusive education in Lobito's temporary educational facilities are discussed (chapter 5.2). The following chapter presents the obstacles to the implementation of inclusive education, which are divided into two categories: "othering" practices (chapter 5.2.1) and non-participation (chapter 5.2.2). In a subsequent chapter, the strategies for transition preparation in conventional educational institutions and the identified obstacles are analyzed (chapter 5.3). Finally in chapter 5.4 the interviewees' critical comments on the education policy used in Lobito are analyzed.

5. Results

5.1. Understanding of Inclusive Education in Lobito

The right to education is the foundation on which the educational work in Lobito is based. This is emphasized by several educational stakeholders interviewed. One educator describes: *I understand that everyone has the right to be educated, to be able to be educated and to have continuity*[9] (E 8). An administrative professional elaborates on the right to education. She explains:

> *Education is also one of the most important rights and one of the actions that we implement through partners or directly when necessary for the effective implementation of activities related to the educational processes of children and young people in the environment in which they find themselves.* (E 3)

Educational inclusion is thereby understood to mean:

> *To be able to include [...] all children and young people with a systemic approach. Not only to be able to see each child and adolescent as a*

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9   The interviews were conducted in Spanish. All quotes used in the article were translated into English by the author.

unique subject [...] but also to be able to include them from their identity, from their culture, to create intercultural spaces in the school [...]. Not only to be able to speed up the enrolment process, but also everything that is involved in being able to have a child in school. (E 5)

Inclusion is therefore perceived not merely as the enrollment of diverse students in an institution, but also as the adoption of an inclusive curriculum and the establishment of intercultural spaces that embrace the experiences and backgrounds of the heterogeneous learners. Drawing upon Katsarova's (2016) classification, which asserts that the hurdles to include students with migration experiences in educational settings are intricately tied to the three core pillars of education—access, participation, and achievement— in Lobito, inclusion is viewed as active participation and engagement within an institution.

Moreover, beyond regarding inclusion solely as participation in educational settings, some interviewees also highlighted inclusion in terms of access to the temporary education facilities. The overarching objective is to ensure the inclusion of all children in either of the two temporary education institutions. This perspective is evident from various statements provided by the interviewees.

There is no acceptance procedure, there is no exclusion system, on the contrary, the program is available to everyone who is there, always. There is no reason for a child not to take part. And if they don't take part, there is also a discussion with the family to find out the reason. (E 3)

But in Lobito you don't see much [segregation] because we try to include everyone, regardless of their politics, regardless of their religious beliefs. (E 10)

Inclusion is conceptualized as providing unconditional access to the temporary educational facilities within Lobito, available to all children and adolescents irrespective of their age, educational background, nationality, and other factors. This perspective of offering unrestricted educational access, considering various dimensions of diversity, is also acknowledged, and elaborated upon by the interviewed mothers:

*They don't even care about age, you know, 'because you're too big, you
can't be here' - no, they welcome them all [...]. So, there's no racism
like, hey, look, you're too big, you can't be here, no, you're younger.
Everyone is equal. There is equality. (M 3)*

However, one member of the administration raises doubts
regarding the feasibility of discussing inclusion in Lobito, arguing
that the geographical location of the Transitory Device at Lobitos
Beach "*is inherently discriminatory*" (E 4). From this perspective,
inclusion is juxtaposed with segregation, with life in Lobito marked
by precarity and spatial separation (see chapter 3.1), thus portraying
it as a segregated environment.

In addition, other educational stakeholders interviewed also
added inclusive education as a pedagogical approach that provides
guidance to the actions within the temporary educational institutions.
The strategies for implementing an inclusive education in Lobito are
presented in the following chapter.

5.2. Strategies for Implementing Inclusive Education in Lobito's Educational Institutions

In addition to an understanding of inclusion as access to education,
inclusive education is presented as a pedagogical approach that guides
the work in the temporary educational facilities. The goal described
by one educator is "*to include everyone without discrimination, to include
everyone [...] we don't isolate anyone, everyone is welcome and of course
we search for strategies*" (E 7). The educators' remarks regarding
their quest for strategies to foster inclusive education for children
and adolescents align with findings from various studies in Chile.
These studies have demonstrated that, despite the absence of formal
inclusive plans and recommended actions, educators implement
inclusive practices in their educational institutions (e.g., Valdés, 2020;
Mondaca et al., 2018). The educators' efforts to engage children,
emphasizing "*that we all excel in different ways, [encouraging dialogue]
about accepting one another for who we are, and embracing diversity*"
(E 7), and to "*treat each other as equals*" (E 7), can be understood as
pedagogical strategies for inclusive education in Lobito considering
that inclusive education entails the adoption of democratic learning

processes aimed at ensuring that members of marginalized groups have the opportunity to express their experiences, needs, and opinions within educational settings (Prengel, 2006).

However, as Cerón et al. (2017) have pointed out for schools in Santiago de Chile, these inclusive practices and strategies often remain hidden or invisible due to a lack of formal recognition or systematic recording, a situation that is also evident in the case of Lobito. Indeed, the teachers have a basic work plan consisting of " *our main units"* (E 6). These are:

> 's*elf-understanding', 'identity', 'traveling through Chile', [...] where we saw everything related to national holidays and also that they had a sort of geographical map of where they are, this is Chile, this is Iquique, here is Venezuela; and the last unit is 'body awareness' where we talk about everything related to healthy eating, physical activity.* (E 6)

However, professionals are not strictly bound by this work plan; they have a degree of flexibility to *"either follow the [work plan] or adapt as they proceed, based on which units are most effective or according to the children's needs"* (E 7). Furthermore, there are no specific recommendations for implementing inclusive education in temporary educational institutions within this particular transit context.

Furthermore, some apparently inclusive strategies lead to processes of "othering", characterized by labeling and stigmatization, which run counter to inclusive principles. These are discussed below.

5.2.1. Othering Practices

Walsh (2005) argues that education, and consequently educational institutions, play a fundamental role in perpetuating discourses that generate ethnic hierarchies. According to Quintriqueo et al. (2014), this hierarchization is evident in Chilean educational institutions despite the inclusion of principles such as quality, educational equity, inclusion, interculturality and diversity in the curriculum. This reflects a colonizing and homogenizing approach towards students from different socio-cultural contexts, and thus contradicts the promotion of education based on social and cultural diversity. For example, Stefoni et al. (2016) found in their study that the Chilean

curriculum has an assimilationist character, as it is "a Chileanizing curriculum" (p. 175). The study by Cerón et al. (2017) supports the assertion that teachers "have perceptions that tend to attribute a series of academic and behavioral deficits to migrants that hinder their inclusion process and full participation in school" (p. 242).

In line with the ideas of postcolonial thinker Edward Said (1978), these educational practices represent an "othering" in which the prevailing exclusion is due to an imbalance of power. The excluded group, constructed as homogeneous, is associated negatively, while the excluding group is given a positive connotation. The "other" is often labeled as inferior, e.g., uncivilized, backward and criminal, in contrast to the "normal" who are perceived as modern and civilized. The reduction of individuals, including families and children in educational institutions, to their cultural and social identity can lead to a process of "othering" that creates a division between "us" and "them" or between the familiar and the foreign. These divisions can inadvertently be used as the main explanatory framework, characterizing differences as deficits, and explaining children's behavior in terms of essentialist attributions (Mecheril, 2015).

The tendency towards homogenization, essentialization and "othering" can also be observed in the educational institutions of Lobito. The "others", who are described as *coming from outside and having difficulties with certain routines*" (E 10), are collectively ascribed a deficiency, and collectively required to learn certain routines and practices that are considered essential to Chilean education. For example, educators in Lobito argue that because of their migrant status, children are not familiar with basic concepts such as sharing, politeness, being together [*Convivencia*] or hygiene. "*Because many children arrive without having learned to share, thinking that everything in this beautiful country belongs to them. We try to teach them, no, you have to share*" (E 10). Another professional highlights the lack of hygiene education among some children, arguing that, "*there are people who are educated about cleanliness and others who are not. [...] That's where the school is working on these issues a bit, cleanliness, hygiene, so that they have some basic knowledge*" (E 9).

Additionally, an educator argues from an assimilationist perspective that incorporation of families is to be expected. He says "*Families ignore the concept of adaptation, they want their own food. If you are in another country, you have to adapt*" (E 1).

Following these narratives about the "other", the educators conclude that the role of the educational institutions is to teach these values. Furthermore, it was argued that the children's parents also lack a hygiene routine and are therefore unable to pass it on to their children. Consequently, it is the educators' responsibility in Lobito to instill good hygiene habits in children.

> *(...) for adults it would be [...] very important to teach them to take care of their children's hygiene, because there are many parents who don't take care of it, and suddenly the little boys, the little girls don't arrive with their hair combed, or their clothes smell bad, so it would be like an education for parents to take care of their own children.* (E 10)

These assertions demonstrate an essentialist simplification of the group of people to whom a lack of hygienic practices is attributed under the label of "others". The absence of appropriate and relevant educational practices is justified based on "otherness" and migration status, with other potential explanations, such as structural barriers, being overlooked. These aspects are particularly noteworthy when considered in conjunction with the statements of the mothers interviewed, who emphasize that the time allotted to the children between 8:00 and 9:00 in the morning is insufficient for all of them to take a shower. They therefore demand:

> *They should give a bit more bath time to avoid that, because we are many, many mums and each, that is, if she has three, she has four, she has two, I have one. I'm the last one [...] (M1) and I haven't been able to bathe my children in the bath.* (M3)

Goldfarb and Grinberg (2002) describe such assimilationist, "othering" and homogenizing practices in educational institutions as a symbolic colonization that needs to be prevented. Likewise, these essentializing practices are at odds with the inclusive paradigm, which seeks the full participation of all children, considering all forms of marginalization, discrimination, and diversity. To create diversity-

sensitive structural frameworks in educational institutions and to enable inclusive education, the establishment of othering practices needs to be critically reflected upon by professionals. Another aspect that affects inclusive education in Lobito is the lack of participation of children and guardians in educational decisions, which is described in the following.

5.2.2. Non-Participation

In contrast to conventional schools, the educational institutions in the Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach focus less on the transmission of knowledge, although the interviews also mention that some "classic" educational activities are carried out, such as "*engaging in activities with letters, recogniz*ing *some letters, even if they don't read, but at least they write their name, they recognize the vowels and certain consonants*" (E 9). Inclusive education is a process that facilitates the implementation of democratic learning processes, which in turn enables learners to engage in decision-making processes and to express their experiences, needs and opinions in educational settings (Prengel, 2006). In the context of Lobito, it was observed that some of the children had divergent views regarding their educational experiences in the temporary educational facilities. One mother offered the following commentary:

> She [her daughter] says to me, for example: 'Oh mum, because they don't teach me maths, I can do maths, so these are things that I think they should include there [...]. Sometimes she says to me: 'They don't send me my homework' (M 2).

This comment of the mother is an indication that children who temporarily attend the educational facilities have limited opportunities to participate in the setting of educational goals and in the activities carried out in the learning spaces. The limited participation in decision-making can be illustrated by the concept of adult-centeredness according to Duarte (2012). This is defined as a system of domination that restricts and limits access to certain resources, based on a notion of developmental roles assigned to each age group according to their position and hierarchy in the social structure. Adult-centeredness affects various aspects of children's

lives, such as education, where the decisions of educators determine which elements are considered relevant and should therefore be implemented. The lack of participation of migrant children and adolescents in decision-making is of significant concern, particularly given that transitional schools may represent their initial educational experiences in Chile. Non-participation is further at odds with the principles of inclusive education, which aims to democratically incorporate the experiences and lifeworlds of heterogeneous children.

Similarly, in Lobito, the voices of parents are also excluded from decisions about their children's education. This is evidenced by the teachers' statement that they did not know the children's mothers beforehand. This is evident at the conclusion of the focus group:

> (...) I would like to say a quick thank you to the mums who attended. It is very nice to meet you, because I am with the children every day, so I don't have much space to talk to you. (E 9)

Involving parents in decision-making processes about the design of their children's education in a transit context and incorporating their feedback can help improve the quality of services and ensure that they meet the needs and expectations of migrant families and children in transit. Furthermore, research has shown that children can contribute to the participatory design of their educational environments and spaces from an early age (Nentwig-Gesemann et al., 2021) and that authentic participation is possible even in the face of extremely unfavorable material and social conditions (Goldfarb & Grinberg, 2002). Therefore, the participation of migrant children and families should also be considered in the context of transit in order to minimize adult-centrism and to achieve inclusive education and democratic participation.

5.3. Strategies and Obstacles to Transition Preparation in Conventional Educational Institutions

Inclusion is not solely defined in relation to the temporary educational facilities in Lobito, as these facilities "*do not substitute formal education*" (E 3). Instead, the work in the Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach is oriented towards the future, utilizing the transit period as preparation for the transition to develop a future project: external inclusion in

regular educational institutions. Throughout their lives, individuals experience numerous biographical transitions, such as beginning primary school or entering the workforce. These transitions typically involve bidding farewell to the familiar and necessitate engagement with new experiences—new individuals, institutions, and processes. Transitions are prolonged processes (Griebel & Niesel, 2011) that entail changes for both the individual and their surroundings (BZgA, 2013). This entails examining and elucidating how individuals navigate transitions within their social, material, and cultural contexts. Accordingly, children and parents are viewed as actively managing transitions in their educational journeys.

During the stay in Lobito, this transitional period is focused on preparing for the transition to external inclusion into regular educational institutions. One person describes the role of the temporary educational facilities as follows:

> (...) these spaces are conceived as temporary learning spaces where [...] they are available for a certain period of time while the children manage to fit into the formal school system. They are thus part of a non-formal education while working towards inclusion into the formal system. (E 3)

The team, dedicated to fostering aspects and skills of transition management for children and families, aims to facilitate the external inclusion of children and operates within a multi-professional framework. For instance, the collaboration among the multi-professional team was highlighted, which addresses not only direct educational concerns but also broader facets of inclusion, such as healthcare, nutrition, and legal matters related to parents' residency status. The diverse stakeholders in Lobito engaged in this multidisciplinary team have established a sophisticated system of multi-professional collaboration to tackle the myriad challenges of inclusion. This multi-professional approach to transition preparation underscores the intricacy of a transition process that encompasses the social, material, and cultural contexts of children's and parents' lives.

Depending on their respective areas of responsibility, administrative or pedagogical, the different stakeholders have diverse

focuses on the basic elements that should be addressed during this transit phase in Lobito in order to facilitate the transition to formal and conventional educational institutions. At the administrative level, the focus is on preparing for enrollment in a mainstream school through the implementation of an *IPE* (Provisional School Identifier)[10]. This approach reflects a commitment to inclusion, as the *IPE* is a fundamental tool for access to conventional education. A specialist is dedicated exclusively to the development of *IPEs* for children: "*What this professional does is to have these conversations and help to get the IPE for inclusion, let's say, for inclusion, or to create sufficient conditions for the children to have access to the enrollment process*" (E 3). This measure shows that the development of *IPE* is becoming a central strategy for the school inclusion of migrant children and adolescents. The preparation for external inclusion is not only focused on the spatial context of the Tarapacá region but also enables "*children to hopefully be included in a school, in an educational institution in a regular way when they leave the system here in Iquique or at their destination*" (E 8). Inclusion is thus linked to the concept of permanence and settlement in a specific place.

From a pedagogical standpoint, the interviewees explained that the goal is to install values, establish routines, and support personal development processes that facilitate the transition. "*We mainly work, [...], in a comprehensive manner, focusing on all values, interests, self-esteem, self-worth, empathy, and frustration tolerance. So that they have these skills at least when they enter school*" (E 5). Transitional competence refers to the child's ability to develop positively in this stressful transitional situation and emerge stronger from it (Griebel & Niesel, 2011). In this context, professionals have the responsibility of fostering the transition process and assisting parents and children throughout. The development of self-esteem, self-worth, empathy, tolerance, and frustration management are therefore crucial skills that can aid in coping with the transition into formal educational institutions outside of the Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach.

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10 "The IPE is the student's provisional identifier, and with that, she can enroll the children and start the enrolment process." (E 8)

In summary, the activities described, carried out and offered by the multi-professional team, have the aim of inclusion into conventional education. However, a mother describes that transition processes are not always successful and that many obstacles have to be overcome:

Last year I was here [in Lobito] and I couldn't register [my child] because I didn't have an address, [...] I couldn't register because I didn't have an address, because it's not that they didn't want me, for example, it was that without an address I couldn't look for a school near where I lived, but I didn't have one. (M 2)

Migrant families with children therefore face several challenges when trying to enroll their children in educational institutions. Before a child can be enrolled in a regular school, they have to meet certain administrative requirements. The difficulty, as several interviewees pointed out, is that the enrollment procedure is a systematic obstacle for children who do not have a permanent address, "*because the system doesn't allow you to apply if you don't give an address*" (E 9). This systematic obstacle, which particularly affects children in transit and children with low social capital, results in their right to education being denied or temporarily extended, regardless of their legal status. Some families who have experienced difficulties integrating into Chilean society have opted to return to Lobito. For instance, an administrator posits that the demographic composition of the Lobito population has undergone a transformation over time:

(...) that has changed a lot, there are families coming to Lobito who have been in Chile for a long time, whose children have already been to school [...], who no longer go to school to come here because the families are on the street or are no longer able to pay their rents, so this profile has changed. (E 4)

The duration of these processes, which may extend over months or even years, is illustrated by another mother's description: "*Even my children have put up some pictures from a year ago; they are hanging in one of the offices*" (M 6).

The identified administrative obstacle indicates that political and administrative changes are necessary to facilitate the inclusion of

migrant children in transit contexts. The final chapter of the results presents a number of critical observations that emerged from the interviews regarding demanding political changes.

5.4. From Education in Crisis to the "Crisis" of Education

The circumstance that inclusion in an external and conventional educational institution is not always successfully managed by children and families who have migrated to Chile is a cause of concern. The lack of enrollment in educational institutions poses a risk to the future professional development and long-term economic stability of these children and adolescents (García & Carillo, 2019). Consequently, one respondent advocates for the implementation of "*public policies that recognize or promote the inclusion of these children in schools*" (E 2). It is acknowledged by the professionals in Lobito that the educational work in Lobito is a "drop in the ocean" (E 2), and thus calls for changes to bring about real change. Another teacher, for instance, emphasizes the necessity of establishing "*a spot in classes [...] for all these children [...] and at least give them the opportunity to take free exams if they don't get a place*" (E 4).

Agier (2010) describes that political reactions primarily result from a "crisis", i.e., the unexpected arrival of people who need to be "managed" and "controlled". It is also assumed that their presence is only temporary. However, it happens that this type of emergency response is becoming more and more permanent. As Agier (2010) states, we have moved from a policy of exception to an exception of policy becoming the norm. Similarly, professionals working in the Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach are calling for a paradigm shift from an emergency response to a humanitarian crisis to a regularized plan of inclusion:

> *Lobito should initiate a de-escalation, i.e., we should think about ending these emergency measures and ensure that the measures are no longer a matter of urgency, but that these families are treated as if their exit plan was to stay here in the country. Therefore, we should set up other state agencies that can take care of this need, which is no longer an urgent need, but a different need.* (E 4)

6. Conclusion

The inclusion and participation of all learners in educational processes, regardless of their circumstances, is of crucial importance in the education sector. This is particularly relevant in the case of Chile, as there has been a significant influx of people from Venezuela in recent years, a large proportion of whom are school-age children and adolescents. Despite extensive research on the inclusion of migrants into the Chilean education system, there is no research on educational inclusion of migrant children and adolescents in a transit context. This article proposes to explore this research gap through a case study focusing on the temporary education institutions of the Transitory Device at Lobitos Beach for migrants in transit in northern Chile.

The conditions in Lobito, which are an initial response to a "crisis" of limited teaching and learning opportunities, create a system whose implementation is exclusionary in itself. Rather, it upholds the principle of minimal inclusion, but does not meet the UNESCO definition or Chilean educational standards, and therefore does not fulfill the human right to inclusive education. Nonetheless, the multi-professional team at Lobito, combined with a collaborative working approach, is proving to be a strategic response to meeting the diverse needs of children, supporting the transition to conventional education institutions, and facilitating educational inclusion. Nevertheless, some strategies that appear to facilitate inclusive education within the temporary education institutions paradoxically led to the normalization of "othering", which is characterized by labeling, essentialization and stigmatization. These practices run counter to the principles of inclusion and the Chilean legislation on inclusion. In order to achieve inclusive education, educators must navigate the complex terrain of recognizing diversity while avoiding the trap of essentializations. To prevent the occurrence of practices of symbolic colonization, it is of the utmost importance to provide the community with the necessary spaces and resources. Practitioners are expected to provide support, advice, and consultation, but not to impose their views or dictate what others should do. They should not assess the needs of others or provide services with the intention of normalizing marginalized groups. In the context of inclusive education, educators

are expected to prioritize the establishment of participatory and equitable relationships, as well as the creation of a safe and trusting environment. Furthermore, there is a dearth of strategies to guarantee the participation of children and young people and to incorporate the voices of parents in the decision-making process regarding the organization of the time-limited learning process in Lobito. Involving parents in decision-making processes about the design of their children's education in a transit context, as well as incorporating their feedback, can help to improve the quality of education and ensure that it is aligned with the needs and expectations of migrant families and children in transit. Consequently, the participation of migrant children and families should also be considered in the context of transit in order to minimize adult-centrism and realize inclusive education where democratic participation is possible and encouraged in a non-hierarchical way.

Access to education is also impeded by several obstacles. These obstacles result in some families returning to Lobito a second time due to their inability to cope with the external social integration and the associated school inclusion of their children. To overcome the educational barriers identified, particularly at the administrative and political level, it is imperative that the state assumes responsibility for effectively ensuring the enrollment of children and adolescents with a migrant background. Access to educational institutions is a crucial aspect of the quality of education. This is of particular importance in the context of transit, which is inherently precarious. Moreover, migration policies must acknowledge the risks and challenges faced by these children and their families and address both their immediate needs and their long-term prospects. In this context, the challenge is to promote universal education by overcoming existing political and administrative barriers.

Finally, given that the requirements for enabling inclusive education in transit contexts are not limited to the specific case of migration phenomena in Chile, but have global relevance, educational research should conduct transnational research. Such a dialogue will facilitate the exchange of information on the diverse local, regional, and national contexts and strategies for implementing inclusion in transit contexts, with the objective of mutual learning.

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