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Artículos científicos

Relaciones de poder en tareas de co-enseñanza: un estudio de casos entre pares de profesores en Chile

Power relations in co-teaching tasks: a case study among pairs of teachers in Chile

Relações de poder em tarefas de co-ensino: um estudo de caso entre pares de professores no Chile

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Resumen

En Chile, la coenseñanza ha sido planteada como una medida eficaz desde las políticas de inclusión para mejorar la calidad de los aprendizajes de todos los estudiantes, en especial para favorecer los procesos educativos de niños que presentan dificultades de aprendizaje. No obstante, las investigaciones existentes hasta el momento sobre este fenómeno solo se han centrado en describir e identificar barreras y facilitadores en el trabajo docente en conjunto, sin problematizar las relaciones de poder que emergen cuando los educadores laboran en parejas. Por ende, el objetivo de esta investigación es conocer —desde una perspectiva analítica foucaultiana— las relaciones de poder presentes en las tareas de coenseñanza entre dos duplas de profesores en su trabajo pedagógico cotidiano. Metodológicamente, se optó por desarrollar un estudio de casos con enfoque etnográfico para detectar la presencia de relaciones asimétricas de poder relacionadas, en primer lugar, con los saberes o el saber-poder que cada uno de los profesionales ejerce para legitimar su estatus como experto de la enseñanza o como especialista en inclusión y dificultades del aprendizaje. En segundo lugar, se evidencia una disputa por el espacio y la autoridad dentro del aula

regular. En concreto, se percibe un ejercicio de poder a favor de los profesores de educación primaria, por lo que las educadoras diferenciales quedaron situadas al margen de la participación en la sala de clases.

Palabras clave: coenseñanza, poder, profesores en Chile, relaciones de poder.

Abstract

In Chile, co-teaching has been proposed as an effective measure from inclusion policies to improve the quality of learning for all students, especially, to favor the educational processes of children with learning disabilities. However, the existing research to date on this phenomenon has focused on describing and identifying barriers and facilitators in teaching work together, without problematizing the power relations that are exercised between educators when working together. The objective of this research is to know the power relations present in co-teaching tasks from a Foucauldian analytical perspective, between two pairs of teachers in their daily pedagogical work. Methodologically, it was decided to develop a case study with an ethnographic approach, in which the presence of asymmetric power relations related in the first place, by the knowledge or knowledge-power that each of the professionals displayed to legitimize their status is detected as a teaching expert or as a specialist in inclusion and learning disabilities. Secondly, there is evidence of a dispute over space and authority within the regular classroom, this space being a place where an exercise of power was frequently detected in favor of primary education teachers, the special education teachers being located at the margin of participation in the classroom.

Keywords: Co-teaching, power, teachers in Chile, power relations.

Resumo

No Chile, o co-ensino tem sido proposto como uma medida eficaz a partir de políticas de inclusão para melhorar a qualidade da aprendizagem de todos os alunos, especialmente para favorecer os processos educacionais de crianças com dificuldades de aprendizagem. No entanto, as pesquisas existentes até o momento sobre esse fenômeno têm se concentrado em descrever e identificar barreiras e facilitadores no trabalho docente como um todo, sem problematizar as relações de poder que surgem quando os educadores trabalham em grupos. Portanto, o objetivo desta pesquisa é conhecer —a partir de uma perspectiva analítica

foucaultiana— as relações de poder presentes nas tarefas de co-ensino entre duas duplas de professores em seu cotidiano de trabalho pedagógico. Metodologicamente, optou-se por desenvolver um estudo de caso com abordagem etnográfica para detectar a presença de relações assimétricas de poder relacionadas, em primeiro lugar, ao saber ou saber-poder que cada um dos profissionais exerce para legitimar o seu estatuto de perito em como docente ou como especialista em inclusão e dificuldades de aprendizagem. Em segundo lugar, há uma disputa sobre espaço e autoridade dentro da sala de aula regular. Especificamente, percebeu-se um exercício de poder a favor dos professores do ensino fundamental, de forma que educadores diferenciais foram colocados à margem da participação em sala de aula.

Palavras-chave: co-ensino, poder, professores no Chile, relações de poder.

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Introduction

The purpose of this research is to know the power relations present in co-teaching tasks between two pairs of teachers from subsidized schools in Santiago de Chile. The study was carried out following a qualitative tradition of research in the social sciences, and was developed through a case study design with an ethnographic approach, in which, during an exploratory phase, in-depth interviews were applied to 40 educational actors (20 educators differential and 20 regular education teachers). Then, in the stage called deepening, non-participant observation was carried out with a duration of one academic semester to each pair of pedagogues selected as cases. In this way, approximately 240 hours of record were compiled through field notes and 40 interviews in total.

Analytically, the use of a post-critical perspective was privileged for the analysis of the discursive corpus, following the guidelines proposed by Foucault (2013) to know the power relations in the co-teaching tasks between two pairs of teachers, each pair consisting of a teacher of basic education and a special educator. This approach was useful insofar as it made it possible to determine the various ways in which power circulated and was exercised in interactions within the framework of daily pedagogical work among educators.

Co-teaching has been a phenomenon that, from the perspective of educational inclusion, has emerged as a form of collaborative work between teachers, but mainly as a means to achieve a more equitable education. This has the potential to provide equal learning

opportunities for all students through the design of teaching adjusted to the diverse needs of students (Friend, 2008).

At the international level, it has been detected that co-teaching has contributed to the planning of teaching-learning processes between regular education teachers (basic or primary) and differential or special education teachers (special education teachers), which has favored the diversification of educational processes aimed at students with special educational needs (SEN, hereinafter), as well as contextualized curricular production and continuous teacher professional development (Cook and Friend, 1995). In addition, it has been reported in different latitudes of the world that co-teaching, in general, has been developed through analysis of pairs of co-teachers, identifying barriers to this work, such as lack of time, limited initial teacher training for collaborative work, little clarity between the roles and responsibilities among teachers and a lack of support from school managers (Friend, 2008; Scruggs, Mastropieri and McDuffie, 2007). In turn, benefits of teaching between two pedagogues have been evidenced, specifically in interdisciplinary work, in teacher collaboration and in the construction of teaching processes together.

Considering the aforementioned findings, in a related field a special interest has been given in research focused on the initial and continuous training of teachers, given the importance of the preparation of future educators and teachers who are practicing to improve the processes of collaboration and working together (Aliakbari and Bazayr, 2012; Indrisano, Birmingham, Garnick and Maresco, 1999).

Meanwhile, in Chile, the phenomenon of co-teaching has been addressed mainly since the promulgation of Decree 170 in 2009, a policy that sought to promote collaborative work as a strategy for the development of diversified teaching-learning processes. Among the existing studies, these reveal a culture of pedagogical work characterized by isolation among teachers (balkanization), as well as incipient work initiatives of co-teaching between regular classroom teachers and differential educators, where the former play a role. leadership in front of the educators when planning teaching, focusing this interaction on the support of one teacher towards the other, generally, the differential educator subordinate to the primary school teacher (Marfán, Castillo, González y Ferreira, 2013; Rodríguez y Ossa, 2014; Urbina, Basualto, Durán y Miranda, 2017).

In a more recent study, from the analysis of critical incidents, it was possible to illuminate some darker or more sinuous areas of this phenomenon, such as the investigation of the disputes of spaces between the regular classroom teachers with the differential

educators, as well as the attribution of (ir) professional responsibilities from both parties (Figueroa-Céspedes, Sepúlveda Guajardo, Soto Cárcamo and Yáñez-Urbina, 2020). In this sense, this research reinforces the findings mentioned above, such as the reduction in co-teaching to support work, the isolation of teachers in their daily work and a lack of initial training in collaborative work.

Given that research on co-teaching in the Chilean educational system is still incipient and so far have been restricted to exploring the co-teaching modalities present in pairs of teachers or the factors that constitute facilitators and barriers in the collaborative work between basic education teachers and differential educators, it is necessary to know the power relations that occur in the interaction between pedagogues in co-teaching tasks. For this, an analytic is used that allows an examination focused on how power is exercised, circulated and distributed in the relationships between these pairs of teachers.

Therefore, the question that guides this study is the following: how are the power relations that emerge from the interaction between teachers in co-teaching tasks? In turn, it is of interest for this research to know how power is exercised and distributed in the daily pedagogical work among these educators.

Conceptual framework

Power relationships

In this study, the notion of power developed by the intellectual Michel Foucault will be used. From this perspective, this theoretical construction will not refer to a superstructure or it will not correspond to a power of a State or of a dominant class that holds it and that uses it to oppress a less favored social class or to dominate certain subjects who are in a position of inferiority. Rather, power will be understood as a strategy, something that produces and configures the social reality and the subjectivities of the subjects (Grinberg, 2008).

In this sense, power corresponds to “a complex strategic situation, like a multiplicity of force relations (...) simultaneously intentional and at the same time non-subjective” (Foucault, 2013, p. 116). For this reason, for the French intellectual, power is immanent in social relations, that is, where there are interactions between human beings, there will be power relations, and this power will circulate, flow and be exercised by the subjects and at the same time will configure reality. in which these are.

This way of conceiving power places it in the very heart of social relations, since power would constitute the subjects and would flow through them; Therefore, this notion is a singular mechanism, which is embedded in the social fabric, which infiltrates the most intimate and private dimensions of human life, since power is cosubstantial to the society where the subjects They adopt different positions.

For the purposes of this research, this notion of power is useful, since it will allow us to identify how power is exercised, how it circulates, and how it is distributed among subjects. In effect, power as a strategy is not applied vertically or in a vector manner, but rather its operation resembles disputed force fields where its distribution depends on the position of the subjects and the socio-historical contexts in which they are found. located.

Linked to the notion of power elaborated by Foucault are the knowledge-power relations. The French intellectual postulates that the production of knowledge is directly associated with power relations within a given society (Ball, 1997). That is, from this approach there are scientific disciplines such as medicine, psychiatry, law, economics, among others, whose knowledge is legitimized and validated with respect to others, considering them as unquestionable truths (Popkewitz, 2004). This legitimation - according to Foucault (2006) - is carried out through certain practices of power, which he establishes as the "truth" in a specific field of knowledge (Ball, 1997).

An example of the above, but extrapolated to the educational field, is that certain knowledge-power relationships have been identified validated at the level of government policies (Preferential School Subsidy Law, decree 83, School Integration Program or PIE), as well as through of disciplines that have a special status. For this reason, sciences such as medicine and psychology are considered as "hegemonic" discourses in special education, which are legitimized to diagnose and treat children with SEN within the framework of an educational market such as Chile. (Peña, 2013).

Co-teaching

Co-teaching is part of the study of collaborative work, in which two or more teachers propose to develop teaching-learning processes aimed at a specific group of students, which includes joint planning, instruction and evaluation (Cramer, Liston, Nerven and Thousand, 2010; Rodríguez and Ossa, 2014; Villa, Thousand and Nevin, 2008).

Authors such as Conderman and Hedin (2012) have determined that in this joint work there are at least three moments or components in which co-teaching can be understood in a more pragmatic way; These correspond to co-planning, co-construction and co-evaluation.

Co-planning implies the development of the class plan between the basic education teacher and the differential educator in a space within the school enabled for such purposes; On the other hand, the co-instruction refers to teaching in the regular classroom with all the students, where both pedagogues will teach the planned class together. Finally, the co-evaluation is the pedagogical work between both pedagogues where they agree on the most optimal and appropriate alternatives to qualify and value the learning processes of the students (Suárez-Díaz, 2016).

Multiple contributions and benefits of co-teaching have been reported in the literature, among these include the diversification of teaching, increasing coherence between the contents that two or more teachers teach of the same subject, teacher professional development through reflection and feedback among teachers, improvement in the quality of learning acquired by students and has also contributed to cooperative work among teachers (Cook y Friend, 1995; Moliner, 2008; Strogilos y Stefanidis, 2015).

The studies related to co-teaching in the Chilean context are of recent date, since they emerge with the guidelines of Decree 170 of 2009 of the Ministry of Education (Mineduc, 2009), where collaborative pedagogical work between regular classroom teachers and educators is prescribed differentials in order to meet the special educational needs (SEN) of students who attend schools that have school integration programs (PIE).

Additionally, the literature examined on co-teaching in Chilean schools has shown that there are various barriers to its development, such as balkanization or the isolation of teachers in their daily pedagogical work (Marfán et al., 2013), the different policies that prescribe their respective pedagogical works (Inostroza, 2020) and the relationship only of “support” —and not of mutual exchange of knowledge— between regular classroom and special education teachers (Rodríguez y Ossa, 2014).

Methodology

This research was based on a qualitative tradition (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990) that favors the in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon of interest to the researcher. The epistemic perspective that guides this study is based on a post-critical approach focused on study objects related to (in) justice, (in) equity, (in) equalities and power relations present in a social reality in a determined space-time (Cherryholmes, 1999; Da Silva, 2001).

Design

This study was developed in two phases: in the first one —called exploratory— in-depth interviews were conducted with 20 differential educators and 20 basic education teachers from the Metropolitan Region, who were selected through an intentional qualitative sampling and according to its availability (Cardona, 2002; Tójar, 2006). The interviews made it possible to compile a broad discursive corpus that contributed to a first approach to the discourses that the classroom teachers and the special education teachers held regarding the power relations in the pedagogical interactions that they sustained in their respective contexts of daily performance.

In the second stage - called deepening - a multiple case study (Yin, 2010) was developed with two pairs of education professionals, each pair made up of a differential educator and a basic education teacher (primary). These participants were followed ethnographically (Guber, 2004; Rockwell, 2009) during an academic semester (equivalent to five months), and in-depth interviews were applied to know the power relations present in the pedagogical interactions they had during the months in which the researcher was doing the field work.

Participants

During the first stage, a qualitative sampling of an intentional type was used and according to the availability of the participants (Cardona, 2002; Tojár, 2006). This had the participation of 20 differential educators and 20 teachers of basic general education. As differentiation criteria, it was estimated that the educational actors belonged to educational institutions of different administrative dependencies, of disparate positions in the Chilean educational market, of different provinces of the Metropolitan Region, schools that served students with different levels of social vulnerability and with variability in their size (between

300 and 1200 enrolled students), those who in turn had School Integration Programs (PIE), that is, they admitted students categorized with SEN.

In the second phase, the choice was made for the deliberate selection and criteria (Patton, 1990) of two couples, each pair made up of a differential educator and a basic education teacher. One of the couples was made up of a special or differential educator - named Sofía - and a basic education teacher - named Raúl. Both belonged to a municipal school, an establishment that had a vulnerability level of 98% of the students and located in a sector classified as socially vulnerable in the Metropolitan Region; in addition, it had an enrollment of approximately 800 students.

Regarding the other pair of professionals, it was made up of a differential educator named Patricia and a basic education teacher named José. Both worked in a private subsidized school (with state subsidy and funding from parents) belonging to a Catholic religious congregation, which was located in an area where lower-middle-class families resided, with a level of vulnerability of the students of the 80% and with a total enrollment of the school of 1200 students, approximately.

Table 1 shows some characteristics of the educational actors corresponding to the case studies:

Tabla 1. Características de las educadoras y profesores pertenecientes a los casos de estudio

Dupla 1	Formación inicial	Edad	Cargo o funciones	Años de trayectoria
Sofía	Educadora Diferencial mención Discapacidad Intelectual	36	Educadora diferencial coordinadora de segundo ciclo (5.º a 8.º grado)	7
Raúl	Licenciatura en Lengua y Literatura. Profesor de Lenguaje y Comunicación.	60	Profesor de Lenguaje y Comunicación en el 7.º y 8.º grado.	21
Dupla 2				
Patricia	Educadora Diferencial mención Trastornos del Aprendizaje	28	Educadora Diferencial encargada del primer ciclo (1.º a 4.º grado).	5
José	Profesor de Educación General Básica con mención en Matemáticas	48	Profesor de matemáticas entre el 3.º y 6.º grado.	15

Fuente: Elaboración propia

Procedures

In the exploratory stage, an invitation was sent by means of a registered letter and the corresponding informed consents to various educational establishments in different provinces of the Metropolitan Region. Participation in this study in this phase was attended by 20 differential educators and 20 basic education teachers. These educational actors were interviewed in depth to investigate the discourses that these pedagogues produced about the interactions and work relationships that they sustained in co-teaching tasks in their respective performance contexts. The interviews were carried out in each of the schools within the school day of each education professional, with a duration of each interview of approximately one hour. These were recorded in audio and later transcribed, compiling a total of 40 hours of audio.

In the deepening phase, an ethnographic monitoring of the case studies was implemented. During the first semester of 2018, non-participant observation was carried out once a week for six chronological hours for five months; The procedure was replicated in the second pair of the subsidized private school in the second semester of the same year. In parallel, a new round of in-depth interviews was developed with the actors who made up each of the pairs. The interviews lasted about an hour and a half of audio recording. Both information gathering techniques were developed in order to gain a deeper understanding of the various ways in which power relations were deployed and exercised in both pairs of educators in their respective contexts of daily work. In total, 120 hours of non-participant observation were compiled per pair, with a total of 240 hours corresponding to the two couples and six hours of audio recording as a result of the specific interviews.

Analysis techniques

For the systematization of the information produced in the exploration phase (in-depth interviews), we proceeded in the first instance through an open coding process derived from grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Then, the categories that emerged from a process of iterative readings of the discursive corpus were analyzed through qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000) with the instrumental use of the qualitative analysis software Atlas ti ®8.1.

Subsequently, to organize the information compiled in the deepening phase, the categories that emerged in the previous stage of the analysis were used. In this way, the corpus from field notes and in-depth interviews with the case studies was systematized. For this purpose, a cross-analysis strategy was developed, first using qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000) and secondly, the categories of analysis that will be presented below were conceptualized: the status of the expert and the specialists, and the dispute over space and authority in the regular classroom.

Results

Among the most relevant findings, asymmetric power relations were evidenced in terms of the specific knowledge that each one of the educators possessed, related on the one hand to their initial training and corresponding specificities in their roles (this category is called the status of the expert and of the specialists); Likewise, relations of dispute over space

and power were identified within the classroom (categorized as a dispute over space and authority in the regular classroom).

The status of the expert and specialists

Initial teacher training in Chile for differential educators and teachers of basic (or primary) education differs in several dimensions. Although both teacher preparation programs share subjects related to the fundamentals of education, the school curriculum, the assessment of learning and attention to diversity, special education teachers focus their training on the acquisition of knowledge and skills related to the learning difficulties of the students, the evaluation of the SEN, the diversification of the curriculum, among others. Instead, primary school teachers focus their professional preparation on specific didactics (language, mathematics, history, science, etc.) and on basic skills to function in the classroom (through initial, intermediate and professional practices).

These differences in initial training and in their teacher identities were evidenced in the speeches that teachers and educators produced in the exploratory phase, since they focused on differentiating the knowledge that each professional carried and circulated, and from that position legitimizing or delegitimizing to their colleagues when they had to refer to them and the pedagogical work they carried out on a daily basis.

An example of this is the fragment that is presented below, issued by one of the basic education teachers, who referred to the knowledge that they held and the distinction that they constructed discursively with respect to differential educators:

We are specialists in teaching, in the teaching of different subjects, in my case of mathematics, and therefore we know about didactics, transposition and how to contextualize the subjects. And that allows us to teach things in a deeper way and to all children, for example, a differential educator does not know much about geometry, algebra or powers. And that happens because they only work with children with problems, in that they are specialists and their work is more therapeutic with these children (24 de mayo de 2018, entrevista 14).

In this fragment, it is appreciated how basic education teachers granted themselves the status of "experts" in teaching; in fact, they positioned themselves as those who know how to teach different subjects in the regular classroom to all students, and not just to a group of them. In this sense, they attributed the role of protagonists in the teaching-learning process,

displacing the differential educators to another plane. Specifically, these were considered as "specialists" in learning difficulties, hence they carried out a more "therapeutic" than educational work with specific students (with SEN). In addition, the aforementioned teacher mentioned that regular classroom teachers have a deeper knowledge of the contents of each subject, which is why they would be "experts" in teaching language, mathematics, among other school subjects.

In a similar way, the differential educators interviewed in the exploratory phase produced speeches aimed at distinguishing the knowledge and roles they held in comparison with their colleagues in basic education. They even considered that their knowledge had a greater degree of specificity on the learning difficulties of students and on their contribution in the regular classroom and in the classroom of resources aimed at teaching all students.

The following excerpt - rescued from an interview carried out in the exploratory phase with a differential educator - reflects what was stated above:

Let's see, differential educators are the specialists in learning difficulties in children with SLI (specific language disorder), ASD (specific learning disorder), DIL (borderline intellectual deficit) and autism, but the most important thing is how to help the children who find it most difficult and in general to all children, because generally people believe that we only work with children with special educational needs. So, we complete the work that a teacher does in the classroom, because we have more didactic ways of how to teach, since most learning problems are problems of how elementary school teachers teach. (15 de abril de 2020, entrevista 27).

In the case of the aforementioned differential educator, the discourse that positions them as the "specialists" in learning difficulties and working with children who have been classified with SEN is replicated, distinguishing themselves through a technical language related to the diagnostic labels with those that are named to the students (TEL, TEA, DIL, etc.), as well as knowledge of the policies on inclusion. This technical language linked to their initial training—in which a psychopedagogical and educational terminology converges—gives them the professional status of a "specialist" that provides them with a different position from that of primary school teachers. At the same time, there was a presumption in the speech of the special education teachers that linked an alleged origin of the students' learning problems with inadequate teaching methodologies applied by the basic education teachers.

A different nuance to the speeches presented was evidenced in the statements issued by one of the couples corresponding to the case studies. This couple differentiated their knowledge and roles more clearly, predominating narratives that turned out to be more restrictive related to the knowledge and status attributed to themselves in daily pedagogical work. In this way the educator Sofía and the professor Raúl referred, respectively:

Look, the educators are the managers and specialists in inclusion and in the learning difficulties of students. So, we evaluate children, improve their difficulties and, above all, help children and teachers to overcome their problems. Because the truth be told, most of the difficulties children have to learn is because elementary school teachers do not know how to teach well, or they are using bad methodologies or they do not have patience or they treat children as fools (April 7, 2018, educator interview Sofía). Teachers have always been the experts in education, teaching, subjects and how to teach. I have a degree in Literature and later I was a school teacher and we are experts in what we know, in my case in language and literature. Differential educators are specialists in children who have serious problems, in which they need to learn in another space, because they do not have the ability to learn like other classmates, so they deal with these problems in the resource room (28 de marzo de 2018, entrevista profesor Raúl).

In both fragments, discourses tend to differentiate more clearly the knowledge and status of each of the interviewees in the municipal school in question. In order to offer a better understanding of the context regarding the speeches issued, during fieldwork in this school, a tense relationship, distance, and communication and coordination problems in the pedagogical work among these teachers was frequently evidenced. In the case of the educator Sofía, she points to a specificity of her work related to inclusion, learning difficulties and teaching. Likewise, she points out that the students' learning problems were due to the pedagogical work of the classroom teachers, who were not developing adequate educational processes in methodological or didactic terms. For the teacher Raúl, on the other hand, the classroom teachers would be the experts in teaching certain subjects aimed at students who had no problems; In this way, responsibility is transferred to the differential educator of those children with difficulties, those who should — in their opinion — be educated in another space, such as the resource room. Thus, a clear distinction is established between the classroom teacher who educates “normal” boys and girls and the special education

pedagogue who is in charge of the education of “abnormal” students, understanding this denomination from a Foucauldian perspective.

In summary, in the speeches presented above, a differentiation is expressed in the knowledge and the status that these confer on each educational professional. In the case of basic education teachers, they tend to position themselves as the "experts" in teaching certain subjects and the specific contents of each one of them and with expertise in the development of learning in all students using strategically his favor knowledge-power as a specialist in didactic transposition, alluding that his work was linked to a more pedagogical than therapeutic field. Meanwhile, the differential educators interviewed were the “specialists” in inclusion, in learning difficulties and also in teaching. In this sense, they revealed the fact of exercising specialized knowledge-power in working with students with SEN and with those students who did not present difficulties. At the same time, these teachers frequently alluded that students' learning problems would be located in the regular classroom, as a result of inadequate methodologies or the referral of students with problems to them, assuming to some extent that the "deficit" or the Difficulty in learning was not located in the school subject, but in the one who taught in the regular classroom. In turn, these pedagogues were validated in front of their colleagues in basic education through the use of a biomedical or psycho-pedagogical language, related to the diagnostic labels of students with SEN and in the discourses from the most contemporary inclusion policies.

At this point, it is relevant to state that although both the basic education teachers and the differential educators sought in the interviews to distinguish their roles and languages, it is also important to assume that the difference they were trying to construct was related to the initial training of each one and , mainly, with the spaces in which each professional has traditionally worked: the regular classroom and the resource room. This last aspect will be analyzed in greater depth in the next section.

The dispute for space and authority in the regular classroom

During the deepening phase, different ways in which power was exercised by the basic education teachers towards the differential educators, and vice versa, could be verified. More specifically, exclusion situations were identified for the special education teacher and students with SEN within the regular classroom, pedagogues who replicated the work they performed in the resource room inside the classroom, aspect frequently evidenced during the construction in the couple constituted by Sofía and Raúl. On the other hand, a displacement

of the basic education teacher to a position of assistant to the differential educator was observed in the co-planning and co-evaluation work, in the case of the pair made up of the pedagogues José and Patricia.

In the first case, the language teacher, Raúl, during a class in the seventh grade, prevented the differential educator Sofía from developing the co-instruction (planned jointly in advance), so this teacher was moved to a corner of the room of classes, where he only interacted and pedagogically supported the two students with SEN, with whom he developed a different work from the one that teacher Raúl did with the rest of the class during the observed session. This situation was recorded in the following field note:

While Professor Raúl opens the presentation in PPT format to project it, he indicates with his finger (without speaking) to Sofía, the back of the room.

The differential educator approaches to speak to him, but he does not say a word and indicates to her the back of the classroom again with her finger.

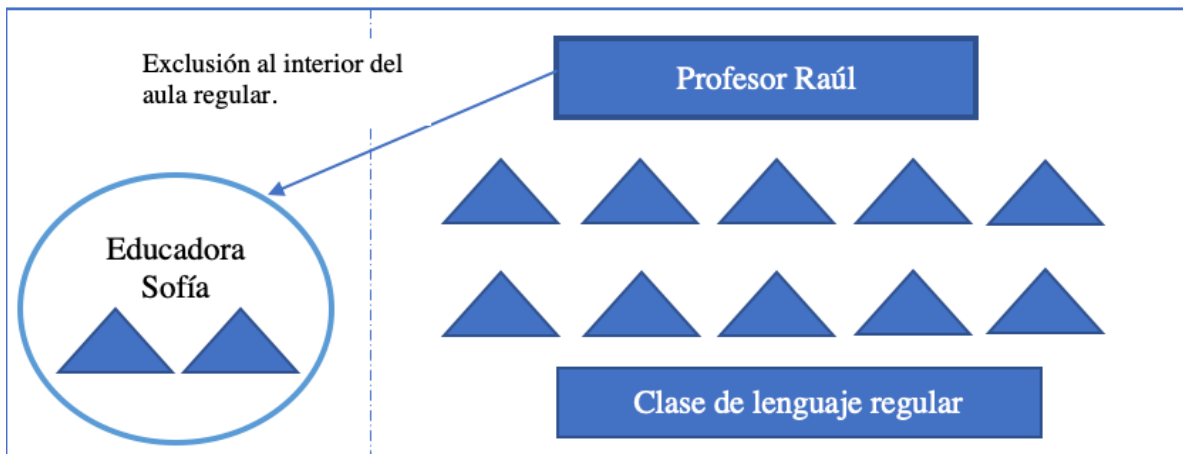
Sofía moves to the end of the room next to where the investigator was sitting. She talks to two children with SEN and tells them to sit next to her. The students nod and immediately approach her.

The language teacher continues to teach the class for the rest of the course and the differential educator Sofía opens a folder in which she carried some guides prepared for these two students and they carry out activities different from those carried out by the teacher Raúl (2 de mayo de 2018, nota de campo).

In this episode it can be seen how the differential educator - in charge of inclusion and referred to as "the specialist" by her colleagues in basic education - was displaced not only from co-teaching work (specifically construction), but was also excluded along with the two students with SEN from the participation in the dynamics of the class and the same curriculum, as the policies in this matter mandate. In this sense, the work that Sofía was doing in the resource room would be being replicated in the regular classroom, and in this way the special education teacher would be applying her knowledge-power in that reduced space, just as she would in the classroom of means. In addition, it should be stated that in the previous co-planning session between the two pedagogues involved, the observed situation was similar, since the educator frequently restricted herself only to providing support for the construction of the guide and didactic material to diversify the teaching, therefore that there was a very limited dialogue between the two teachers, focused mainly on Sofía's suggestions, which were refuted or omitted by teacher Raúl.

Figure 1 illustrates the way in which the educator Sofía was discarded in the episode presented previously.

Figura 1. Sala de clases de séptimo grado



Fuente: Elaboración propia

Another of the episodes observed in the interaction between the teacher Raúl and the educator Sofía - and which demonstrated a dispute of power and authority within the regular classroom in situations in which the co-teaching was attempted - occurred at the end of one of the language sessions, when the head of the UTP (technical-pedagogical unit) entered the regular classroom (no longer students). At that time the following dialogue was held, where the teacher Raúl indicated that Sofía should be in the resource room with “her children” of hers, and not in the classroom:

Educator Sofía (addressing the head of UTP): It is true, I am not a language teacher and perhaps I do not have the ability to teach all language content, but I have all the will to learn and support the colleague here with all the children.
 Professor Raúl (addressing the head of UTP): Yes, but I insist, she is the specialist, she is in charge only of students with problems. Why isn't it like before where the educator took her children out of the classroom? Now she must still feel uncomfortable working with her children here in the living room.

Educator Sofía (now turning to the teacher): Look, colleague, I don't feel uncomfortable working with my children, I feel uncomfortable because you ignore me and don't even take into account my suggestions to diversify teaching (13 de junio de 2018, nota de campo).

In the aforementioned episode, in addition to highlighting the difficulties to carry out the co-construction in the regular classroom, it was identified that from the perspective of Professor Raúl, the educator Sofía should work as a specialist in the resource classroom and only with students with SEN deploying in that space his knowledge-power. In terms of the power relations evidenced in this and other episodes - rather than a dispute over power distributed asymmetrically in the regular classroom - a relationship very close to domination was detected - as Foucault (2006) theorizes - by part of the teacher Raúl towards the educator in question, since she could not intervene in any of the sessions observed with all the students, not even to contribute with any instructions or instruction, since she was relegated to a corner of the classroom. In addition, she was omitted as a professional with the ability to contribute to the co-instruction for all students.

Likewise, it must be declared that this type of power asymmetry was evidenced during the five months of observation in this couple, an aspect that is related to the difficulties at the level of communication identified between this pair of pedagogues, in the moments of co-planning and co-construction, situations in which the special education teacher fulfilled the role of assistant or subordinate to the basic education teacher, who ordered her to carry out evaluations, guides and material for the pedagogical support of all students.

In contrast, in the pair made up of Professor José and the differential educator Patricia, an asymmetry in the identified power relations was evidenced, different from the one presented previously. In fact, in co-planning situations - that is, when both pedagogues had to plan diversified teaching to meet the needs of students in an office (without students and other teachers) - Patricia assumed a predominant position, strategically using language related to her specialized training in learning difficulties and linked to the policies of school inclusion, a knowledge-power that exerted in their favor, displacing teacher José to a secondary role in this process.

To exemplify the foregoing, the power relations present in the co-planning task between Professor José and educator Patricia are described below:

Educator Patricia: Today we have to plan the class of fractions with different denominators and we have to use the logic of the DUA (universal learning design), so we have to have in this class at least different means of representation and expression; So, you have to put a lot of teaching material and a video and different guides, remember that you have a girl with an ASD (autism spectrum disorder).

Professor José: Yes, the truth is that I try to make the classes as fun and diversified as possible, but it is difficult when there are 38 students in the course; So, I agree, but I still don't really understand the DUA, because it's like what I did before: I showed a motivational video at the beginning, then a group development guide and a plenary session to close the class.

Educator Patricia: Let's see, I have seen your classes before and that class structure so square and being the same as always bores children and does not really motivate them. Also, you have to understand that you have a girl with a degree of autism and you never consider her within the plans; Then, finally, find out online how to work with children with the autism spectrum, if you want to do things according to the DUA and have more will with the students.

In the episode presented, it can be identified that it was Patricia who led the co-planning session, in which she asked Professor José to design the lesson plan in accordance with the DUA guidelines and at the same time urged him to consider that in the course in which he was working had a student with an autism condition. In this relationship between pedagogues, the asymmetry of power leaned in favor of the differential educator, who has a more informed knowledge of inclusion policies and the pedagogical approach to conditions such as autism and how to adapt teaching for these students. This pedagogue exercised "technical" knowledge to displace the teacher as a subaltern in this observed interaction. In addition, it must be stated that this form of relationship between both educators was frequently observed during field work and co-planning sessions where the special education teacher directed and made decisions about the structure of classes and teaching adaptations.

Although it is relevant to consider that Professor José sought to legitimize his class plan centered on the contents and on the traditional structure in which a session is divided (beginning, development and closure), it was the educator who demanded that he modify this canonical planning; Likewise, it revealed the ignorance of this pedagogue about the learning difficulties of some students and the mandates of the latest policies on school inclusion that have been enacted in Chile.

The situation presented above can be better understood when considering that the basic education teachers of this institution did not have the time or the training instances within the school to train in the policies of school inclusion or in the SEN of the students. , which is added to the absence of pedagogical support from the directors or "experts" in

inclusion who will guide or strengthen the pedagogical work together between the pairs of teachers. This is how Professor José stated in an interview:

The truth is that I follow Patricia's instructions just as she tells me, because at the university we learned almost nothing about inclusion or politics and also things like the DUA, which is something new. The only thing that this school did was send us to a training session to understand what DUA is in the summer, a course that an ATE (educational technical assistance) did and the truth is we did not learn almost anything, because all we saw was the theoretical part of the DUA and nothing practical about how to do the classes with DUA or how to work with differential colleagues (21 de octubre de 2018, entrevista 2, profesor José).

With this information, it is possible to know in greater detail that policies such as Decree 83 of 2015 (where the DUA was introduced as a teaching strategy to meet the diversity of educational needs of all students) were not duly communicated and subsequently implemented in this context, so that the differential educators were the ones who led the process of putting this legislation into practice. Consequently, it was the special education teachers who led the co-planning and co-evaluation sessions, an aspect that differed when developing the co-instruction in this educational institution.

Returning to the previously presented episode of co-planning between José and Patricia - where the educator was the one who exercised the knowledge-power in her favor so that the mathematics teacher could design the classes according to her recommendations - this asymmetry of power could be achieved. reverse to some extent at the time a math class was developed in which both pedagogues participated in construction. At that time, José assumed the direction of the session and Patricia acted as a support within the regular classroom, attending in a particular way the educational needs of the girl with autism. Next, the interaction between the two pedagogues is recorded in a mathematics class in the 6th year of basic education:

Professor José (saying to the students): Well, children, today we will work with the fractions and for this we are going to give you a group guide of 4 members, which they will complete with the help of their classmates. With Professor Patricia we will go from place to place, answering all the questions they have. That, now work.

Educator Patricia (addressing the students): That, I will also spend solving doubts and questions that you may have, since I did the guide with your teacher, so if you have questions, not only call your teacher, but you can also call me call me. (That said, the educator stayed approximately 20 minutes with the group where the student with autism was and only answered one question from a group that was next to her) (18 de junio de 2018, nota de campo).

As can be seen, the distribution of power on this occasion was different from that observed in the co-planning session, since the asymmetry of power in this situation leaned in favor of the mathematics teacher, who led the class session. In contrast, educator Patricia limited herself to working almost exclusively with the group of students where the student with an autism condition was found. In addition, Patricia only answered a question made by a group that was close to her. In turn, it should be noted that the students only consulted the teacher; that is, they omitted the presence of the educator in the classroom.

Ultimately, it was in the regular classroom - specifically in the mathematics class - where a dynamic different from that frequently observed in co-planning tasks was observed, that is, when the educator exercised the knowledge-power of knowledge in her favor. her as a specialist. In other words, now the math teacher was the one who took the leading role in the classes, and the teacher Patricia was just a “helper” to especially support the girl with autism.

Likewise, it should be noted that the application of the DUA in this particular school was the responsibility of the differential educators, hence the regular classroom teachers dissociated themselves from this task. For this reason, both in the co-planning and co-evaluation sessions, it was Patricia who directed and made the most relevant pedagogical decisions, which contrasts with the co-instruction sessions in which José taught the content and directed the class.

Discussion

The objective of this study was to know the power relations present in the co-teaching tasks of two pairs of teachers from subsidized schools in the Metropolitan Region. In this process, two key categories were detected: first, the knowledge and status of the expert and the specialist and, second, the dispute over authority and space in the regular classroom.

Regarding the first category, it was found that the discourse through which basic education teachers legitimized their status as professionals was related to the figure of an “expert” in teaching, specifically, in didactics and in the knowledge of certain subjects, which gave them curricular knowledge that distinguished them from their differential educator colleagues. In contrast, the knowledge-power through which differential educators distinguished themselves from primary school teachers was linked to their identity and to the language related to the diagnostic labels of students with SEN and of inclusion policies, "jargon" closer to the work of a therapist or a health professional than that of a pedagogue.

Regarding the second category, there was evidence of a power dispute within the regular classroom, where both pedagogues had to work developing the co-instruction. In the first case study, Sofía was excluded from the classroom in the language sessions, so she was omitted as a professional that she could contribute in teaching. In fact, Professor Raúl moved her to a corner of the space and limited her to working only with students who presented SEN. Likewise, it was found that the educator replicated the tasks that she carried out in the resource room in the classroom with the students labeled with learning disabilities. The situation set out above is consistent with what was observed in the moments of co-planning and co-evaluation, where the educator was positioned as a subordinate of the classroom teacher. To this are added the problems at the communicational level and the coordination of activities between this pair of teachers.

On the other hand, in the collaborative relationships between professor José and educator Patricia, power was distributed and exercised differentially according to the co-teaching tasks developed between them. In the tasks of co-planning and co-evaluation, it was identified that Patricia was the one who legitimized herself through her knowledge-power in the preparation of class plans. In contrast, it was evidenced that in co-construction tasks in the classroom, the teacher José was the one who starred in the session, spoke, directed and monitored the students' learning, contrary to what happened with Patricia, who focused on to work almost exclusively with the group in which a girl with autism was found. In other words, the power relationship was reversed in favor of the teacher.

Therefore, it can be said that this study reinforces the findings found in other studies developed at the national level related to the difficulties to implement co-teaching between two pedagogues who do not share the same initial training, who do not have the time and the space to coordinate joint work and that are not supported in the process of putting into practice policies that seek to favor co-teaching (Marfán et al., 2013; Figueroa-Céspedes et

al., 2020; Urbina et al., 2017) . In addition to this, it can be said that power is distributed depending on the knowledge-power of each professional, that is, according to the initial teacher training of each one and their identity, as well as by the space or the co-teaching task developed by the students. educators in each school context.

This research also provides some insight into how to problematize power relations when two pedagogues work together, since not only is training required in collaborative work in schools, but it is also essential that the school as an institution favors spaces for joint work and reflection to give meaning to the ultimate purpose of the educational process: the learning of all students, which transcends the roles, functions, languages and jargons that each professional displays in their daily pedagogical work.

Finally, the findings of this study can be used to understand the productive aspect of power, that is, how in co-teaching tasks the subjectivities of teachers are transformed by virtue of how power circulates, flows and is strategically exercised by each of the educators. In this study, in a limited sample of teachers (two couples), the way in which antagonism or collaboration arises during co-teaching tasks is realized. Likewise, it is evident how the policies implemented under a top-down scheme affect the micro-policies of schools and mainly the subjectivities of teachers (Ball, 1997; Falabella, 2020), who must become “entrepreneurs of themselves” (Grinberg, 2008), managing the changes that the educational policies incorporate in their performance contexts and taking responsibility for both the duties mandated by the policies and the results of the implementation of these laws. This, in short, stresses them because the responsibility for success or failure in such relevant initiatives as co-teaching and school inclusion is transferred to them.

Conclusions

The present research shows how power is exercised and distributed asymmetrically in the interaction of different education professionals during co-teaching tasks. Specifically, in Chile collaborative work between basic education teachers and differential educators is relatively new, hence there are still many critical nodes that must be analyzed to create future lines of study; for example, gender relations in co-teaching tasks, the role of managers in promoting this modality of pedagogical work and even examining the structures, micro-policies and work routines in educational institutions to establish which changes are relevant for the Co-teaching effectively happens and encourages student learning.

In the case of the present study, knowing in greater detail the power relations in the co-teaching tasks showed that the exercise of power in the interaction between pedagogues was mediated by identity, initial teacher training (FID) and the knowledge-power that each professional practiced. In other words, rather than developing a work focused on student learning, each professional sought to legitimize themselves in front of the other through her expertise; consequently, they forgot to place their knowledge and training at the service of learning that was accessible to all learners. Likewise, it was possible to identify that the spaces and moments of the co-teaching were relevant to distinguish how power was distributed and circulated between both pedagogues.

On the other hand, regarding the limitations detected in the investigation, the size of the selected sample can be mentioned; Therefore, the results of this study cannot be extrapolated to all the power relations between pedagogues in co-teaching tasks in the country, since these interactions are dynamic and vary according to some factors that were evidenced in this research, such as FID, performance contexts, support in the implementation of policies by managers, among others.

Therefore, it can be concluded that this study provides some keys to improve initial teacher training (FID) for both differential educators and general basic education teachers, specifically in preparation for co-teaching work. Likewise, public policies could be considered in these matters that consider transformations in educational institutions, which should provide the support, resources and time necessary for the culture of collaboration to develop. In fact, laws must provide that conflicts can also arise in schools that in one way or another will influence the success or failure of their purposes. In this sense, the findings of this research provide empirical evidence regarding the relevance of generating changes in the training of pedagogues and in the formulation of public policies in education that promote comprehensive support so that school inclusion and the learning of all students - without distinction - be a reality, and not a promise not yet fulfilled.

Future lines of research

It is expected that studies can be designed that consider ethnographic approaches to examine the daily work of differential educators and basic education teachers, from the prism of power relations linked to the gender of these educators, an aspect that was tangentially treated in this research. In the same way, the results of this article can be extrapolated in the study of the micro-policies of schools in Chile, in which it is sought to improve the quality of the education offered using approaches from the New Public Management (NPM) and accountability with high consequences, schemes under which schools and educational actors strive more to achieve the learning standards demanded by state agencies and families, rather than to promote inclusive attitudes, policies and practices, leaving justice social and school inclusion as second-order themes or as optional pedagogical tasks subject to the "good will" of each educational establishment.

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