University of Sussex

A University of Sussex PhD thesis

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Please visit Sussex Research Online for more information and further details

AFFECTIVE GOVERNMENTALITY, ORDO-LIBERALISM AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Daniel Leyton

Thesis submitted for PhD examination

University of Sussex

June 2018

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part

to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

Acknowledgement

This PhD is not a smooth journey nor a big parenthesis of life. It is a central line of the spaces I have inhabited during all these years, and will probably, shape life beyond. Within them, first I would like to thank my supervisor Louise Morley for her support, constant encouragement and affirmation, and for generosity expressed not just in our committed and engaging supervisions and discussions, but also in making my PhD a learning space way beyond the problems addressed in this thesis.

I thank my friends who were part of this process, Pancho, Nico and Juan. They were spaces of care, love, laughs, and intellectual support. I would like to thank "Los Franes", for arriving into my life and allowing me to enter into their spaces of imagination, tenderness, engagement and friendship. With all of them, joy, politics, and love were always present. Thanks to Marina for being alongside me in several periods of this process. All of them made me feel held and in a community of friendship.

And thanks also to my housemates, especially those from the "Imperial Works" who made my British life colourful, friendly, full of smiles, learnings, and much richer beyond the narrow and uncaring spaces of academia.

I would like to say thank you to my partner Francisca, with whom I spent the last year of my PhD. We both shared our academic, political, and intimate journeys during this period. Thanks Francisca for bonding with me with the heart and for supporting me even in those difficult itinerant moments towards nowhere, where patience, trust, love and presence are essential.

Finally, I would like to say thanks to Daniela and Guille, and to my mother and my father. They are all over the places in the space I save just for myself and in the pages of this thesis. To them is dedicated this work.

Summary

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

Daniel Leyton

Submitted for the award of Doctor of Philosophy

Affective Governmentality, Ordo-liberalism, and the Affirmative Action Policy in Higher Education

This thesis drew on a methodological and analytical strategy bringing together Foucauldian (1980; 1984; 2001a; 2001b; 2007; 2008) onto-epistemological underpinnings and critical readings of the affective turn to explore the affirmative action policy in higher education in Chile. By critically deploying the frameworks of governmentality (Foucault, 2007; 2008) and affect (Massumi, 2002; Mazzarella, 2009), I explore the affirmative action policy as a *dispositif* configured by affective, discursive, and power relations that constitute the affirmative action policy and its regime of subjectification. This regime was primarily conceived as a field of forces that ambush and appeal to working-class subjects by establishing normative figures of neoliberal subjectivities that promise them broader possibilities of being recognised and desired by, in this case, respected historical formations such as universities and higher education.

The empirical analysis is based on the two main affirmative action programmes in Chile: The Induction Access Programmes (IAPs) and the Support and Effective Access into Higher Education Programme (PACE by its acronyms in Spanish). The empirical material was constructed through three main methods: An extensive archival exploration; interviews with 14 policymakers and 18 working-class students participating in these programmes; and ethnographic participation in a conference devoted to these programmes. These tactics comprised the production of a large body of texts in the form of policy documents, research reports, books and articles, success guides, interviews' transcriptions, ethnographic notes, syllabuses describing the activities and foundations of these programmes, theories backing these programmes, promotional videos, radio broadcasts, and TV news.

This thesis problematises the field of affirmative action policy research by identifying the links between the knowledge produced, policy making demands and frameworks, and the affective atmosphere associated to struggles over the development of these policies, as central forces that constitute this field. By tracing some genealogical instances of the development of these policies in the USA and in Chile, it also captures the contradictory affective forces driving their formation as *dispositifs* of governmentality.

From these brief genealogical explorations, a methodological theorisation was carried out in order to conceive a notion of affective governmentality, and how affects and knowledges are intertwined in the practices of government and subjectification. These methodological developments were taken up in order to understand the production of the affirmative action policy as a *dispositif* amidst dominant neoliberal governmentalities and specific policy technologies that were performing this policy.

In order to understand how the dominant rationalities shape the formation of this policy, an analysis of the ordo-liberal governmentality is carried out, in articulation with the regime of subjectification it deploys towards the working-class subject. The notion of the diagram (Deleuze 2006; 2014) was also deployed to undertake a genealogy of the affirmative action policy, taking into account the interrelations between the construction of different figures of the subject, the university, and social science knowledge under the influence of distinct governmentalities -socialist, Chicago neoliberalism, and ordo-liberalism.

Inclusion was identified as a contradictory affective and discursive formation unfolding the affirmative action policy *dispositif.* The "technologies of inclusion" analysed within this discourse were: ontological coaching, sociology of meritocracy and social mobility, and psychology of motivations.

One of the main conclusions of this thesis was that to analyse education policies as *dispositifs*, that are formed within dominant political rationalities and technologies allows us to capture, at the same time, their multiple and contradictory affective and discursive elements, and the capacity of governmentalities to dispose and organise these multifarious elements as instruments of government oriented to intervene in the tendencies perceived as risky for the social order desired by the dominant rationalities.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abbreviations

CONICYT: National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica in Spanish)

ECLAC: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

FLACSO (for its acronyms in Spanish): Latin America Faculty of Social Sciences (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales in Spanish)

IAPs: The Induction Access Programmes

MINEDUC: Ministry of Education

OECD: The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PACE (for its acronyms in Spanish): Support and Effective Access into Higher Education Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNDP (PNUD for its acronyms in Spanish): United Nations Development Programme

Introduction

In some accounts of governmentality in education, education policies are embedded in, and circulate, different affective forces such as nostalgia, melancholia, fears, shame, hopes, and intensities (Petersson, Olsson and Popkewitz, 2007; Popkewitz, 2007; Staunæs and Bjerg, 2011). In these accounts, affects reach discourses and together they bring into action diverse figures of subjectivities, knowledges and assumptions so as to fabricate new kind of subjects, and as the work of melancholia often do, to exclude other possibilities of government and modes of subjectivities available for individuals.

In the case of research on affirmative action policies, but also in the major part of governmentality studies, affective accounts are not dominant, but remain in the margin of these bodies of knowledge. Yet, genealogies of affirmative action policies I found were full of affective governmentalities.

In Chile, affirmative actions are deemed effective measures towards equity because they bypass structural/discursive changes, and instead enhance working-class students' skills, knowledges and aspirations in relation to those who entered through traditional "exclusionary" pathways (Castillo and Cabezas, 2010; Koljatic and Silva, 2013). Affirmative actions take the form of pre-entry interventions, outreach programmes, retention measures, quota systems, and special admission policies attempting to favoured the access to higher education of excluded constituencies while recognising that their exclusion corresponds to brutal wrongs against them committed in the past and reproduced in the present (Htun, 2004; Chiroleu, 2009; Jenkins *et al.*, 2014; Villalobos *et al.*, 2017).

This thesis locates the affirmative action policy in Chilean higher education within a changing neoliberal context as a response to struggles against inequalities and over the meaning of merit in admission policies. It draws on a Foucauldian methodological and analytical strategy alongside critical readings of the affective turn bringing together the notions of governmentality and affect to study the formation of the affirmative action policy in Chile. The empirical analysis is based on the two main affirmative action programmes in Chile: The Induction Access Programmes (hereafter IAPs for its acronyms in Spanish) and the Support and Effective Access into Higher Education Programme (hereafter PACE for its acronyms in Spanish). The empirical material was constructed through three main methods: An extensive archival exploration; interviews with 14

policymakers and 18 interviews with working-class students; and ethnographic participation in a conference devoted to these programmes.

Elaborating on these materials I analyse the regime of subjectification constituted through the affirmative action policy in connection to the mobilisation of authorities, knowledges and subjects of government through affective forces such as abjection, fears, hopes and sadness and nostalgias. In this interplay, this research contextualises this affective governmentality with a theorisation of neoliberalism, and ordo-liberalism as a specific historical rationality of government. In doing so, I argue that the affirmative action policy constituted by this rationality of government is sustained by contradictory discursive and affective forces towards working-class subjects and higher education by combining affects of abjection and fears against the working-classes, submission to dominant and naturalised elitist privilege, desires of inclusion and justice, and pastoral desires to rescue working-class students and purge past wrong and atrocities committed during Chilean dictatorship.

It is in this triad of affects, governmentalities and class that the problematisation of the affirmative action policy is introduced.

Problematising Affirmative Action Policy/Research Nexus

Within the global field of affirmative action policies in higher education one can find strong affective and governmental ethos that emphasise diverse responses around affirmative actions, such as expressions of horror, threat of civil wars, fears of disorders and dissent, or struggles over the nation's self (Htun, 2004; Premdas, 2016; Marin, 2014). This constitutes some of the affective atmospheres that govern the field of affirmative action policy and research. This is the case, in part, because the genealogies of affirmative action policies can be traced back to a history of social struggles across the globe where most of the researchers and policymakers have been involved and attached. This can be exemplified in the civil right and anti-racist movement in the United States, anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, anti-racist movement in Brazil, or the student movement in Chile (Cantor and Thomas, 2010; Stulberg and Chen, 2014; Childs and Stromquist, 2015). As Morley (2012, p. 46) argues: 'As these programmes can influence the redistribution of important and often scarce material outcomes for different social groups, they tend to attract strong feelings'.

These affective forces translate into the field of research with implications for knowledge production practices. At stake are the discourses of truth and knowledges forming affirmative action programmes, as well as the alliances of support drawing on a variety of constituted corporate, philanthropic, international organisations, social movements and activism, and academics. They help to configure what is valuable, doable and acceptable when researching and producing knowledge on affirmative action policies' strategies and interventions.

Williams and McDermott (2014) as well as Marin (2014) have shown how affirmative action policy research in the USA has been able to influence and defend affirmative actions in higher education. Researchers on affirmative action policies have had this influence by evidencing the positive effects of these measures and screening and advertising multiple discursive areas such as inclusion and diversity. As you will see through this thesis, in Chile there has been a successful network of different scholars and policy actors producing knowledges and legitimating strategies in order to promote and validate affirmative action programmes in higher education. They are moved by a commitment to research for policy aiming to defend the survival and legitimacy of these programmes, improving their technologies of admission and retention, and reinforcing their values such as inclusion and diversity.

This pro-affirmative action policy research has tended to take as face value key categories such as meritocracy, social mobility and inclusion (Lloyd, 2015, p. 173). They promise not to alter the desired social harmonies, visions and ambitions of social order while advancing equity. For instance, Schwartzman and Paiva (2016, p. 564) argue that the discourse of inclusion in affirmative action policy, for the case of Brazil, achieves consensus as it is focused on socioeconomic categories perceived more widely and less intimidating than race. Berrey (2011) also argues that inclusion in affirmative actions functions like a win-win category where excluded, middle-classes and elites benefit. In both cases, inclusion works as a soothing and tempering *dispositif* of debates and struggles over power relations and inequalities.

On the other hand, the intimate engagement of research and policy, has led researchers in Chile, the USA, Brazil and elsewhere, to focus dominantly on the academic performances of the subjects of affirmative action policies. They preponderantly produce evidence stressing the similar performances produced by black or working-class students who have benefited by these programmes in comparison with their affluent/white counterparts (e.g.

Francis and Tannuri-Pianto, 2012; Gil and del Canto Ramírez, 2012; Koljatic and Silva, 2013; Treviño, Scheele and Flores, 2014; Childs and Stromquist, 2015; Lloyd, 2015). This knowledge is said to contribute to the reconfiguration of what constitutes merit in higher education by overcoming approaches and categories underpinning the discourse of deficit (Lloyd, 2015, p. 180). This strategic politics of evidence is connected with a politics of recognition within affirmative actions as they are oriented to problematise and invert low value and stigmatising categories over misrecognised groups hurt by the exclusionary dynamics of admission in higher education (Power, 2012). This strategy can reconfigure the 'sense of how society should apportion respect and esteem, the moral marks of membership and belonging' …[and] the status order of society' (Fraser, 2017, p. 48).

As positive as this influence and struggles may seem, one can illuminate areas of problematisations that in turn can trigger counter-conducts of research practices. In first place, I see that the discourses of truth -social mobility and inclusion- put forward by the dominant affirmative action research and policy-making run the risk of not unsettling the elites' positioning in spaces of production of domination and value -higher education being one of the main spaces-, and rather, they subscribe to the dominant strategies of government over higher education, and giving the elite space to further accommodate and innovate within the neoliberal political rationality informing higher education policy today (Sellar, Gale and Parker, 2011, p. 47).

Elaborating on Deleuze's (1992) reflections on the concept of 'common notions', I recognise that the use of categories such as social mobility, inclusion, or academic performance can enhance the possibilities of knowledge to influence policy and its results. Common notions, such as inclusion, meritocracy or social mobility, are formed through its permanent circulation to the spaces and positions of power and hegemony able to make them "common" and widely accepted to the point at which they are felt and thought as necessary for us to act and intervene in the social (Deleuze, 1992, p. 280). Nonetheless, discourses of knowledge driven by the use of these categories of thought diminish the possibilities of thinking otherwise as these notions can be related with and attached to a wider array of fields and activities, becoming dominant and 'to insert themselves in the movement of the imagination, and to divert their course to their advantage' (Deleuze, 1992, p. 296).

The tie between research and policy corresponds to the growing demands to produce knowledge to what works for policy (Lubienski, Scott and DeBray, 2014). This sets an

epistemic governmentality that overlooks the impossibility of any direct relationship between policy making and research (Gartland, Ingram and Courtney, 2017). And yet, in the Chilean field of higher education research, the major "regime of subjectification" interpellates researchers to be attached and agreed to policy notions within the field of policy making (Bernasconi 2014, p.1406-1407). According to Bernasconi (2014, p. 1414) -a dominant Chilean scholar in higher education-, in this scenario it 'is unlikely to beget the eccentric one who would risk her membership in this new community by stretching the [research] agenda beyond the familiar terrain'. The above configures a regime of researchers' subjectification where the undesirability of disagreement *vis- a- vis* the exoticisation of recalcitrant subjectivities are made visible as tactics of governmentality of research. The micro-political tactics by which researchers are being disciplined are often part of the secrets and silences of research practices. In Chapter VI, I will show some practices of micropolitics of epistemic intimidation deployed by some policymakers promoting this affirmative action programmes that may have affected the spoken truths over the affirmative action policy and the working-class students.

Following Eve Bendix Petersen (2015, pp. 149–155), I suggest that the above landscape configures an affective-epistemic governmentality that positions researchers within a network of pressures asking for clarity, transparency and certainty, and systematic proofs of evidences. This generates an affective atmosphere that paves the way to the arousal of anxious desires for positivist rigour and performance cultures -such as the one heavily oriented to demonstrate the good academic performances of working-class students as a tactic of constituting them as desired and not feared subjects of higher education. The focus on performativity rather than problematising dominations and misrecognitions favours subjects' immersion to regimes of valuation and performativities saturating higher education nowadays. It reinforces competitive practices of responsibilisation of working-class students or otherwise to be cast as irresponsible (Ball, 2012, p. 19). Working-class individuals, in order to be recognised as desirable subjects of higher education, must show their potentialities to perform and to aspire to be mobile subjects, and thus to embody a form of affective rejection towards working-class spaces and subjectivities. Through this, affirmative actions run the risk of replacing struggles against class inequalities and forces pushing working-classes towards zones of non-being -where violence, dispossession, and epistemicide are at play- when working-classes are constructed ultimately beyond reason and thinking and not worthy of existence (Grosfoguel, 2013, pp. 86–87).

Research on affirmative action policies needs to include critiques of their categories of knowledge (Baez, 2003, p. 107). What is at stake in the discourse of inclusion, meritocracy, social mobility, and performativity rendered by the affirmative action policy in the Chilean higher education? What are the affective forces driving and governed by it? How does inclusion discourse grapple or interact with broader neoliberal rationality? Are inclusion and social mobility drivers of equity? Or do they reproduce class inequalities and elitist patterns? What are the desirable subjectivities to be produced by these programmes? These are questions which most of the time are discarded in the research agenda on affirmative action policy.

Affirmative action policy and higher education is assumed and felt as 'happy objects' (Ahmed, 2010). They are embedded in epistemes of sheer progress positively positioning universities, even though the higher education sector is privatised, elitist and highly attached to neoliberal economies, it promises to function 'as a new site of potential, promising graduates the good life in the form of material and social benefits' (Morley, 2011, p. 341). As happy objects, the knowledge produced functions as a promise that circulates, and as it passes around accumulates 'positive value' and connections with wider discursive regimes (Ahmed, 2010, pp. 29-35). Affirmative action policies and research resort to affective economies constituting universities and their subjects as places of desires, social dividends, and recognition (see Kenway, Fahey and Koh, 2013).

From a Foucauldian - inspired approach, I think about the affirmative action policy; its discursive forms and affective forces, not as a happy object, but as an object to be problematised in order to understand how its regime of truth has become accepted and attractive (Veiga-Neto and Corcini Lopes, 2013, p. 108) through the propagation and circulation of particular knowledges and their linked to spaces of power (Youdell, 2011, p. 26). I focus on the exploration of the technologies of inclusion and the discourses and affects that make them up and in their relations with current economic and class projects in the Chilean social field.

But as happy objects they are precarious and can be destabilised by making knowledge attachments visible so as to make it questionable and an object of thought and problematisation (Ahmed, 2010, p. 33). In doing so, I expect to problematise the passionate attachments in investigating affirmative action policies; the discourses and affects being organised 'as the habitual, the lived, and the imagined' way of doing knowledge (Grossberg, 2010, p. 194). Affirmative action policies can be constituted as

vectors of cruel optimisms that can injure us or are impossible to accomplish in the neoliberal present. Following Berlant's (2006) notion of cruel optimism, I think of affirmative action policy as a formation that captures and seduces because they contain a cluster of promises that resonate with the struggles towards inclusion or equity but nonetheless can encompass dread and damage.

Governmentality and Affect in Researching Affirmative Action Policy Formation in Chilean Higher Education

Bringing together governmentality and affect as two main articulatory methodological and theorising practices, seems to me a way to grapple with this field of research and to produce knowledges that can serve to unsettle neoliberal rationalities, as well as to problematise the way the affirmative action policy is formed to produce classed regimes of subjectification. Following Foucault (1997, p.181), I argue that, within a governmentality framework, the complex of knowledge/power/affect are onto-epistemological forces that produce the overlapping of technologies of domination of individuals with technologies of self, both oriented to address what is perceived as problematics of government. By this I refer to problematics regarding the conduct of conducts and the shaping of suitable subjectivities for the regulation and disciplining of the threats of disobedience, dispersion, disorder, and upheaval that put under risk a certain vision of a good and healthy society (Foucault, 2007). Affect, on the other hand, is often positioned against the captures of governmentalities, as the impersonal, a realm not already captured by discourse but ontologically social, and with the potency to configure social formations outside the power of government and discourse (see Massumi, 2002). In contrast to this, I consider affects also as impersonal -not coming from individuals- but encompassing intensities and potentialities, passions, desires, fantasies, imaginations and traumas with the force to join and guide the production of policy discourses towards the targets of governmentalities (Anderson, 2012). Affect is a register that maps out the production of the social through intensities that are in relation and resonate with the discursive registers of the social (Mazzarella, 2009, p. 293). Affective forces have histories which are brought to the present in discursive formations (Massumi, 2002).

Affirmative action policies are contested and their struggles reflect the shifting affective, power and knowledge relations as well as broader discursive-structural changes in society (Karabel, 2005, pp. 538–539). The recognition of the multiple lines constituting the

affirmative action policy -affect, knowledge, power-, from a governmentality perspective, leads me to look at them as *dispositifs*; that is, as made out of multiplicity of discursive and non-discursive forces, the said and the unsaid, articulated and rearticulated strategically for different functionalities of power and 'urgent needs' of government (Foucault, 1980, pp. 194-196). It also requires to relate *dispositifs* to specific knowledges that form them and derive from them the cluster of power relations 'sustaining, and being sustained by certain types of knowledge' (Foucault 1980, p.196). To take this stance is to recognise the contested, reversible and instability of access, merit, or admissions, as well the contingency of the formation of affirmative action policies.

From these points of departure, I explore the formation of the affirmative action policy in the Chilean higher education as a *dispositif* configured in the interplay of three axes:

1) affects, knowledges and power relations;

2) the political rationality performing the conditions of possibility of the affirmative action policy to be constituted as a *dispositif* of government;

3) and the regime of subjectification produced aiming to interpellate working-class subjects.

Here, practices of abjection and exclusions are central to think the affirmative action policy and its ambition of inclusion (Ball, 2013, p. 153). It requires to question how inclusion produces exclusion, inequalities and class (Youdell, 2006, pp. 34–36); and how the subjects interpellated by policy might reinforce and produce classed categories of abjection, threat, outside the terms of recognisability, inclusion and value (Youdell, 2011, p. 43). Importantly, I focus on the constitution of main figures of working-class subjectivities in their relation to higher education, and on the constitution of specific discourses and technologies of inclusion moved by some disciplines of knowledge of the subject such as sociology, psychology and ontological coaching.

What is at stake in the analyses I present in the next Chapters, is not how class explains inequalities, how policies are successfully overcoming them by changing subjectivities or mentalities, nor how working-class students are truly "living" the experiences of affirmative action programmes, but rather to theorise and think about governmentality as always *affective* governmentality and thus, in the particular form that neoliberal governmentality takes, as affective neoliberalism. Affective governmentality establishes not an 'average way

of being' or behaviour but rather regimes of subjectification that work as desirable and interpellating field of forces constituted through the relation between political rationalities of government, policy *dispositifs* and their technologies of subjectification and self (Bröckling, 2016).

Through these connections, I do not claim a will to know the lives and inner truths of the working-class students subjected to the affirmative action policy. Rather, I want to understand what besieges and ambushes them by analysing both the discourses of truth and knowledges aiming to transform them into subjects of knowledge and government, and the affective forces driving those knowledges and subjectification practices. In short, I follow the idea that to any particular epistemological formation there is a correlative formation of subject-positions. As Clifford (2001, p. 21) puts it: 'The possibilities for subjectival delimitation is a function of what particular discourses allow us to think, believe, and say regarding who and what we are … subjects are the effects of a given discursive formation, of a dominant epistemological order'. I add to this that without affective forces discourses cannot be formed as such.

From these points, I do not take for granted the normative, positive definitions of affirmative action policies and higher education. Bringing together Karabel's (2005) historical understanding of affirmative action policies and a poststructural onto-epistemology, I understand affirmative action policies as a micropolitical field of forces where practices of knowledge, affects, power, and subjectivities are set in struggles over the dominant views and enactments of merit in higher education admissions. Meritocracy -the hegemonic belief that any individual no matter its class, gender, or race positioning, can (and desire to) rise to the top of society if it competes against others in equality of opportunities and if it is capable to exploit its talent and effort- has been a central classed *dispositif* of government towards the population and subjectivities, affecting the distribution of multiple positions, opportunities, resources and wealth in society. In this line, universities and admission policies are genealogical sites of multiple struggles over the constitution and government of class, profits, social orders, knowledges, imaginations and rationalities of government.

The Arrival of Affective Governmentality in the Constitution of Affirmative Action Policies in Higher Education: The Problem of Managing its Population

I did not arrive automatically to see policy as a function of affective governmentality or through just a closer reading of affirmative action research. I arrived at it by way of a problematisation of affirmative action policies through the very same exploration of its affective genealogies. That is, by mapping core affective traces in some historical and connected reflections and positionings regarding the emergence of affirmative action policies as a response of threats of social upheaval in different geographies, including Chile.

Jerome Karabel (2005; 1972) was influential, especially his account of the history of affirmative action policies in the USA higher education. His narrative is full of primary sources, and although he did not engage with Foucauldian or poststructural readings, there is, I think, in his work, a nascent genealogy of affirmative action policies in higher education as affective governmentality. His historical research provides an understanding of the arrival of affirmative action policies as a response to the elite's fears of upheaval and riots, prompted by the political demonstrations of black students inside higher education as well as communities outside claiming equal civil rights, and for equality of access to higher education. In this history, affirmative action policies map onto fears of dissidence, dispersion, disorder and ultimately, unmanageable questioning of dominant social order and values governing the American society where higher education institutions function as one of its watchdogs (Karabael, 2005).

Karabel (2005, pp. 386–390) especially talks about the emergence of affirmative actions amid the conflict between desires of inclusion and the persistence of privilege during the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s; a conflict marked by the rise of 'new moods of racial militancy visible on campuses' (Karabel, 2005, p. 390), the corresponding change in identity politics -changing the tone from a white-centric discourse about 'negroes' spoken by the white elite constituencies to a black-centric discourse denoting the voice, political consciousness and militancy of black students-, inciting fears of civil war, and the 'frustrations of powerlessness' leading to violence as a 'way of moving the system' (Karabel, 2005, pp. 386-387). Inclusion in this conjuncture was read by the constitutive

authorities of government as 'hope [for] full participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the majority' (Karabel, 2005, p. 387).

Multiple affective forces -moods of militancy, frustration, fears, and hopes- enjoined and provoked a rationality of government rendering affirmative action policies as affective *dispositifs* oriented to regulate and appeal the disruptive population in society and within universities. Affirmative action policies shape and are shaped by an affective governmentality that is at odds from governmentality depictions as the 'affectless precision of a machine', where the visceral is left behind (Mazzarella, 2009, p. 295).

In a more contemporary instantiation of the affective formation of the affirmative action policies, at the beginning of this century, Martin Trow (1999), reflecting on the affirmative action policies at the University of California, perceived a false consensus about these policies within universities, and a kind of imposed taboo and silencing of professors, students and other bodies working in higher education institutions who were opposed to affirmative actions. Martin Trow (1999, p. 11) argued:

> Even if you think that support for such policies is wrong-headed, is it not strange that no one among university leaders is wrong-headed, whereas we see people who are wrong-headed on every other disputed issue in the world. It is not as if they are reflecting a broad consensus on this issue in the country; on the contrary, every other group in the society is divided on the wisdom of using race and ethnicity for these decisions, and usually divided pretty evenly… Everywhere people debate these issues among themselves – except in the organizations of college and university leadership.

Here, affirmative action policies are depicted holding an uncommon symbolic power to spread hegemonically, again from the outside, over diverse university actors. Universities are described with nostalgia given the loss of the monopoly over the future and values of higher education. In this script, society appears to steal from universities the legitimacy to think and reflect about the governing, constituencies and boundaries of higher education. Martin Trow believed that one of the reasons of such a loss was the increasing power and passion of admissions departments and their administrators. He explained:

> And this is largely because in all our institutions, and most certainly in the University of California, the professional affirmative action community is large, broad, and strongly committed to the policies of group preference. This, and the passion they bring to the issue, helps explain why the opposition, however well represented in the faculty, is nearly voiceless (Trow, 1999, p. 12).

In this narrative, it is not reason but passion governing and driving the force of the affirmative action policy. This affective force is felt as leaving those who are against affirmative actions voiceless; without the potency to speak out.

These historical, visceral reactions against affirmative action policies which were seen as non-academic, non-meritocratic and "too political", are still nowadays circulating in the public sphere. For example, in 2017 an article in the *"Times Higher Education"* entitled *Stop blaming the 'posh' universities for inequality in education*, written by a professor from a working-class background, claimed that affirmative actions are against academic merit. The professor stated: 'On a personal note, I do not support affirmative action, or positive discrimination, **in any form**, because it is biased. I support equality and meritocracy, always' … 'access to universities must remain meritocratic; **there is no other way** for academia to operate' (Mikhail, 2017).

Beyond the fact that this position is based on a great deal of ignorance about how affirmative action policies are constituted nowadays and their assumed prevailing values (meritocracy and excellence being ones of the main as I will show in Chapter IV), this position produces an imaginary of legitimate exclusions so as to define the other of higher education as 'people unfit to pass through its gates'. From this specific historical reaction, it follows some of the strategies affirmative action policies advocators, researchers and policymakers take up nowadays when limiting its discourse to those values without explicitly recognising a class or racial politics (Jenkins and Moses, 2014).

This mode of reasoning resonates with the way in which higher education expansion has been understood: As a respond to a population crisis. Elaborating on Foucault's work (2001b; 2007) on populations as spaces and ultimate ends of governmentalities, we can understand a population as a constructed semi-autonomous sphere with its own regularities -rates- linked to the management of national wealth, wellbeing, order and self-conducts of individuals where these conducts are instrumental to the tendencies of a population. A population crisis regarding higher education thus, it means that an equilibrium at large is broken and that the calculative means of management the distributions of access, exclusions, inclusions, provisions, of higher education, and their effects, are no longer seeing as natural orders of societies. This population crisis is given the demands for access and the difficulties to control them (Trow, 1973). The crisis, is 'most visible in widespread student unrest and attendant demonstration, but also in … governance … student

admission policies [and] …-indeed in every area of college and university life' (Trow, 1973, p.61).

Drawing on Foucault's (2007, pp. 43-44) commentaries on the distinction between the people and the population, a population crisis in higher education and the corresponding emergence of the affirmative action policies has been occurred when "the people" irrupts; the people being

> those who conduct themselves in relation to the management of the population … those who, refusing to be the population, disrupt the system ... those who resist the regulation of the population, who try to elude the apparatus by which the population exists, is preserved, subsists, and subsists at an optimal level (Foucault, 2007, pp. 43-44).

Andrés Bernasconi describes the Chilean higher education recalling directly Martin Trow's thought. Bernasconi (2015a, p. 7), in a handbook entitled *La educación superior de Chile: Transformación, desarrollo y crisis* [The higher education of Chile: Transformation, development and crisis], stated that all problems in higher education are associated with its expansion; the growth and diversification of the student body. And again, similar to Martin Trow, the crisis, he explains, is developed amid a student movement that tensions universities' teaching, admission policies and quality (among other things). He recognises the protests starting in 2011 were against the neoliberalisation of the Chilean higher education (Bernasconi, 2015a, p. 14). But, according to him, this crisis is a crisis of the "consensus" regarding higher education's eagerness to respond like a business within the assumed incentives of the market (Bernasconi, 2015a, p. 16). That is, a crisis of neoliberal governmentality in higher education; a crisis of the main dynamics by which neoliberalism governs and sets the rules of veridiction to measure, recognise and think the formation of policies and subjects: the market competition (Foucault, 2008).

In response to this "crisis", affirmative action policy in Chile began to be unfolded and formed in the form of the IAPs. In an interview I made with one of the main policymakers and researchers advocating for the expansion and consolidation of the IAPs, the following story was told to me. There was a time around 2011 that, according to my interviewee, 'in just a second …there was a student strike at the university' -other strikes follow and then a movement started to get shape demanding the decommodification of Chilean higher education. The interviewee, an expert and leader on issues of admission and inclusion in higher education and with experience in the governing of universities as a chancellor or advisor, recalled the affective atmosphere around him and other colleagues because of the

protest and strikes: 'We all were very sad because we did not understand that despite the effort we were doing with the IAPs and everything, the kids were still on strike (with intonation of disbelief and cynicism)' (Policymaker 1, Interview). The distribution of affects in the times of picket lines is different though for the ones who were actually participating in the student movement -for them, it was an event that opened new critical hopes, organisation, political awareness, and a different opening for the future-. But for my interviewee and colleagues committed to the affirmative actions, the students' discontent was something difficult to understand and accept: 'and I was asking myself and my colleagues, but what are we doing, what are we doing wrong!' Then, one of the people from the IAPs, told him:

> 'Professor, to resolve what is going on we have to expand these programmes to another universities so that we can make a real social change, if we do not have an impact on public policies, this will not be of any use, except for saving the lives of these students [the ones already participating in the first years of the IAP], but if we have no impact at the level of public policy, it is useless, it is useless' (Policymaker 1, Interview).

This "policy story" can be one of the multiple genealogical points of the IAPs expansion and of the formation of the affirmative action policy. What becomes visible is the opposition between different affective movements -sad passions and euphoria and joy, a commitment to order and a commitment to disruption, a support by joining the pickets and an ambiguous desire of support, contention and put a brake on resistance's momentum. One of the beginnings of the affirmative action policy was a will to know what to do to establish an order, to stop the sadness of the authorities, and control the students' dissidence. This may be seen a "natural", common response from authorities and policies, but more important is to historise it, denaturalise it, and to ask what are the affects driving these attempts for inclusion? What are the discourses adhering to them, producing them and produced by them? What make authorities of admissions in higher education wants to produce and govern a specific, singular desirable subject for higher education? And what political rationality makes certain subjects and knowledges into authorities?

These travelling genealogies of affirmative actions show exactly what governmentality is about. These are readings based on fears of losing universities' boundaries and identity due to the entrance and demand of a new excluded population, one not previously imagined in higher education spaces. The crisis is read from knowledge-producers as a problem of control of a population and as a growing disagreement about the viable rationality of the system. According to Foucault (2007, p. 127), the fear of dispersion and overflow in the

face of a possible dissidence of its growing population have been concerns at the heart of governmentality since the sixteenth century. It is against this backdrop of social unrest and discontent that affirmative action policies in Chile and elsewhere unfold.

Bringing Back Class from a Post-structural Perspective in the Context of Chile's Backlash to Working-Class Politics

These genealogies of the affirmative action policy through the lenses of affective governmentality, leads me to look at the fabrications and governing ambitions over (de)classed subjectivities produced through knowledges and other affective technologies of power and self. Class and class struggles are intensively loaded categories, and they have been largely excluded from political, policy and academic vocabularies in Chile. Unlike other geopolitical spaces where neoliberal governmentalities were deployed in formal democratic contexts, in Chile, the disarticulation -and invisibility- of class as an analytical and political articulatory practice acquired unprecedented intensity given the traumatic experiences during the dictatorship (1973-1989). This brutal suppression of Allende's regime by the unelected American-supported Junta killed and tortured thousands of working-class people, and dismantled their organisations and allies in workplaces, neighbourhoods, and universities. The brutal farewell of working-class politics fades away the grammar of class too.

This affected Chilean social sciences. They were banned and made illegal during the dictatorship. When they came back in the 1990s they emerged under a policing regime functional to the governing capacities of markets and the state (Ahumada, 2012). Class and class struggle were deemed an "ideology"; and thus, thinking that power is everywhere or it can be turned upside down and secured in a way to benefit the working-classes was "utopian"; and the presumed constitution of economic and political elites as the leading and only actors of national development was/is pictured as "a reality"; and crafted by the techniques of competition and depolitisation of politics and policy rendering this as "the given truth". There was no political subject, just several multitudes and differences articulated by the market and technologies of freedom. No more pain and struggles, but happiness. No disagreement as democracy, but consensus. No working-class subject as political, but rather as poor, abject, and as someone to be feared and who needs to be vitalised by enterprising practices.

In this context, my work attempts to bring social class back into the heart of the analysis. While acknowledging the enduring determinations of class; class and classed subjectivities are problematised and located as products of knowledges and affectivities running through the affirmative action policy.

Research Questions

From these problematisations, the research questions guiding this thesis are:

- How can education policy be theorised and studied as a problem of government of populations and subjects in light of the contributions of governmentality and affect studies? What are the potential of these methodological framings? (Chapter I)

- What is the relationship between neoliberal governmetalities and the constitution of the working-class subjectivities? (Chapter II)

- What have been the historical struggles and the main rationalities of government constituting higher education spaces and the desired subjectivities of working-class subjects, and how are these configurations related to the affirmative action policy *dispositif*? (Chapter III)

- What is the discourse of inclusion underpinning the affirmative action policy and how is it is deployed? What are the affective force/s driving this discourse and how it is related to the constitution of working-class subjects? (Chapter IV)

- What are the main technologies of inclusion constituting the affirmative action policy, what knowledges are related to them, and how do they constitute class and working-class students? What are the affectivities moving these technologies? (Chapters V and VI)

- How is ontological coaching constituted as one of the main technologies of inclusion in the affirmative action policy, what are its main practices of subjectification over working-class students, and how does its rationality work? (Chapter V)

- How does the sociology of meritocracy and social mobility and the psychology of motivation articulate and constitute the working-class subject, what affects are driving their construction of the working-classes? (Chapter VI)

In the next section I introduce the main affirmative action programmes in the Chilean higher education which I take as the empirical cases to be problematised in this research.

The Cases: The Induction Access Programmes (IAPs) and The Support and Effective Access into Higher Education Programme (PACE)

The Context: Staging and Contesting Class Inequalities in the Chilean Higher Education

From the 1980s onwards, in the Chilean higher education a process of "segmented massification" – entailing a significant boost of the enrolment albeit maintaining and reinforcing class inequalities- was configured (Leyton, Vásquez and Fuenzalida, 2012). This was produced during the dictatorship by the transformation of the higher education field into a competition market enabled formally by the 1981 educational reform. The two former state universities were divided into regional ones across the country, whereas the biggest and oldest elite private university –Catholic University- followed the same restructuring transforming its regional campuses into universities (Espinoza, 2008; Gregorutti *et al.*, 2016).

The interest for education entrepreneurs was constituted by this new market and legal frameworks. The move to entrepreneurial forms of higher education exploded from the end of the dictatorship (1990s onwards) because of the market reform making it legal to fund and run universities to any private company with the capital to do it. This was possible also because of the existence of more stable conditions for investing in education businesses, thus, creating more than sixties new universities. From 1990 to 1992 the opportunities of access that the privatisation process made possible were rapidly captured by the affluent class. The 20 percent affluent students expanded their enrolment from 39.6% to 56.4%, whereas the students from working-class backgrounds rose just 1.4% points during this period. After these first years of a commodified widening participation process, the class segmented process of massification continues.[1]

As we can see in the figure bellow, within the total of students inscribed for the national entrance test -the exam that students must take in order to apply for the private and state

---

[1] Based on CASEN database from year 1990 to 2016.

universities belonging to the unique process of admission-, the probabilities to take it, apply to universities, and to be selected by them, vary significantly according to the school type students come from. Of the total of students from municipal schools -where the vast majority of the working-class students study, 81.2% were inscribed for the national entrance test, 29.7% applied to universities ascribed to the unique admission system, and just 22.6% were selected, getting excluded from universities almost 80%. In contrast, from the 100% of private schools' students -where the upper classes study comprising less than 10% of the student population in secondary education- 70.1% got selected by universities.

Figure 1: Students Selection Process in Universities ascribed to the Unique Admission System according to students' schools type. Admission Process, 2013
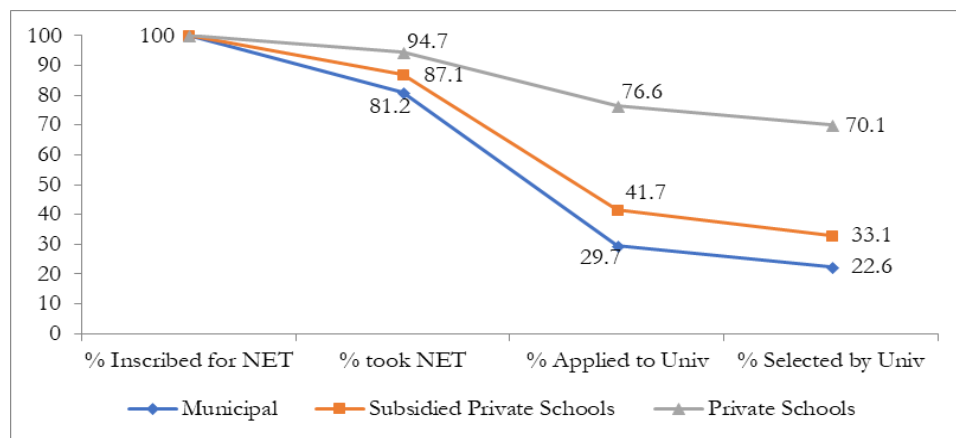
This segmented massification permits and intensifies the reproduction of a differential prestige system. The more students from the elite or affluent backgrounds enter particular prestigious universities the more prestige and funding universities get. This class-based prestige economy is directly related with the alleged "academic selectivity" of universities. For instance, among the total students enrolled in universities constructed as highly selective, 24.8% are from working-class backgrounds whereas a 36.2% are from upper class backgrounds (Scheele and Treviño, 2012, p. 15). This class-based institutional design preserves class inequalities over-representing students from high strata and underrepresenting students from working class backgrounds (Meneses *et al.*, 2010; Leyton, Vásquez and Fuenzalida, 2012). Based on data from the Department of Evaluation, Measurement and Registry of Education (DEMRE), in the 2016 national admission process, the 8 most prestigious private universities -those belonging to the unique process of admission- enrolled 12.9% of working class students on average; in just 4 of them this percentage is equal to 10% or lower. At the majority of public universities however, this proportion was commonly more than 30% and sometimes rising up to 40% or more.

These class inequalities are perceived by the majority of the secondary students in Chile. They perceived that the Chilean higher education is unfair (79%); highly segmented by social class (77.6%); and the national entrance test, loans and fees system unjust (CIDE, 2010; 2012). From this context of structural and felt inequalities the affirmative action policy started to emerge. Nonetheless, to make this inequality a felt political problem was not easy. The epistemological environment -monopolised by a few "public" researchers in higher education and very influential in the production of higher education policies- was such that denied these other truths of the Chilean system. The dominant discourse of truth for the Chilean higher education was a celebratory discourse justifying inequalities by devises of comparison and neoliberal geopolitical tactics. For instance, in 2011, amid of the greater mobilisation against the commodification and class inequalities in the Chilean higher education, Jose Joaquin Brunner, the most prominent of these researchers, stated:

> '…policies adopted since 1990s, and the development of the system within this policy frame, have scarce similarities –if any-with the model imposed in 1981…with one million of students, this system has provided Chile with a massive higher education, in which its participation rate in international comparative terms is of 55%, thus, it has entered the universalisation phase. The access has turned more diverse, and within the well-known limits, more equitable than ever before in the history of the system, and, in relation to the majority of the Latin American countries. The total enrolment per quintile shows rates of 22,7% and 29,1% for the quintile I and II, the poorest, respectively…The population with higher education within the age-group between 25 and 34 years old are 34% nowadays, just one point below the average in the OCDE countries' (Brunner, 2011, p. 32) (My own translation).

In this discourse, on the one hand, there is a staging of achievements by naturalising the "proper" place and "amount" of working-classes in higher education. On the other hand, by posing a sharp distinction between neoliberalism during the dictatorship and the policies adopted since the 1990s onwards, a strong defence of these post-dictatorship policies is enacted. The showing off of working-class participation is not contrasted against the privileged access of the affluent classes. This is also a discursive strategy using neoliberal devices such as league table comparisons, as competitive technologies within a specific geo-politics -Chile is over Latin America and competing with OCDE countries- as the ultimate and valid spatial reference for thinking the Chilean higher education. This was a narrative of knowledge highlighting the benefits of the model still deeply assumed in the neoliberal discourse of "Chile" as an economic miracle and as an example of success (Taylor, 2003, p. 25). In higher education this was an uncontested representation not too long ago and it is still dominant in academic circles.

The student movement in 2011 -the biggest movement since 1990- is another important discursive factor to take into consideration when thinking about the constitution of the affirmative action policies in Chile. This movement arose amid increasing discontent and politicisation in universities. It questioned the neoliberalisation of higher education, especially the marketisation and privatisation process coming from the 1980s. It rejected the assumption of higher education as an economic and individual good; inequality in access and participation; a system based overwhelmingly on academic merits as measured by the national entrance test; the existence of for profit institutions; the absence of the state in the control of the system, and the authoritarian regulations blocking political organisation and expression in universities (Bellei, Cabalin and Orellana, 2014, pp. 431–433). Instead, the student movement demanded: education as a universal social right; free education for at least the 70% most economically vulnerable; state control over tuition fees and stronger regulations over the field; a distribution system based on needs (not on "merits"); affirmative action programmes for working-class and indigenous students; the strengthening of state higher education institutions; the promotion of political participation and organisation of students; and the eradication of for profit institutions and the mechanisms promoting profit such as the State Sponsored Credit (Bellei, Cabalin and Orellana, 2014, pp. 431–433). The State Sponsored Credit is a private/public widening participation policy operating since 2006. It is a state-private loan destined to finance students' studies in higher education institutions. The state buys the credits to the bank that makes the better offer, and it pays to them, the rest of the money that students, given the lower rate interest, do not pay to the banks. Within this system the state has payed to the banks more than £360,000 billion pounds between 2006 and 2014 (Kremerman, Páez and Sáez 2017, pp. 40-44).

The Main Trajectory and Features of the IAPs and PACE

The problematics I develop in this research are based on specific cases of affirmative actions: The IAPs, and the constitution of the state policy known as PACE. These last programmes are the extension of the IAPs through their coming into a state policy during the year 2015. These both programmes are arguably the first systematic affirmative action programmes in contemporary Chilean higher education and marked a new modality that was absent before in higher education policy imaginaries.

Through my research, I discovered that some of the main actors –policymakers, advocators and committed researchers- that framed the structure and functioning of the IAPs in 2015 were hired by the government to set forward the new affirmative action policy at state level. Affirmative action policies in Chilean higher education are known as "Programas Propedéuticos" (the Induction Access Programmes in English). This signals that these programmes became hegemonic in the policy imagination by propagating the IAPs as mirror or synonym of affirmative actions. The affirmative action programmes in different universities and in the state share similar structure, knowledges, professionals and interventions which were born during the evolution of the IAPs. These programmes expanded this model by the active participation of their main policymakers in the creation of the PACE; and advising and designing new affirmative actions in other universities.

This was possible also by the strategic mode of dissemination and promotion of the IAPs through the use of different intermediaries. A lot of these actors have worked towards a "public branding" of a discourse of inclusion by the use of diverse "intermediaries" such as magazines, TV news, newspapers, seminars, promotional videos, papers and books. These mass media often portray the programmes as a powerful experience for the working-class students, as a "crusade", "inspiration", with "exceptional" academic results. For example, the IAPs have been presented always in "positive ways" in mainstream media such as "Radio ADN" "CNN Chile", Regional TV programmes, and conservative and popular newspapers such as "La Tercera" and "El Mercurio" or "Revista Que Pasa". These modes of effective and affective dissemination trigger the support of wider audiences as well governments.

While the IAPs produced scatter, although highly branded, evidences on the academic and social experiences of their students, the PACE just in the year 2018 realised some evidence regarding the academic results of their students.

The IAPs is a formation where different actors, intermediaries, affects, and discourses participate. It was implemented at the University of Santiago in 2007 and then got spread in 17 public and private universities. From 2015 onwards, this intervention continued functioning in universities sometimes overlapping with PACE, in parallel of it or reconstituted as PACE. In other circumstances, PACE started as a pilot policy focusing the first two years on students in their last two years of secondary education in public schools, defined officially as socioeconomic vulnerable schools according to the Indicator of Economic Vulnerability of Schools (IVE by its acronym in Spanish). This implied that

during most of the time of my fieldwork the PACE did not deal with students actually transitioning to higher education until very recently -having the first students' generation in universities in 2017, while the IAPs were "managing" working class students' transitions and experiences in higher education, as well as activating their technologies and knowledges on those dimensions, since 2007. It was this previous policy experience that served as the sources to design PACE.

The IAPs are felt more properly as a movement of people that are struggling 'voluntarily' for these programmes inside and outside universities. They are often described as 'just a transition, a temporal programme within the actual context of improvements of inclusion in higher education' (My own translation) (González, 2016, p. 193). These programmes started to be supported by the state in 2012 -when the first right-wing government since 1990 came to power - giving scholarships to the student beneficiaries and under the regime of a competitive scheme oriented to fund affirmative action programmes for which universities must apply and compete. The budget for these programmes in the year 2012 was $822 million pesos (£970.000).

In contrast, PACE, as the expression of the IAPs legitimation and continuity, have had more resources. In 2015, PACE started with a budget of $1300 million pesos (£1.6 million) in the 5 main universities with previous experience of running the IAPs, and in 2017 it was implemented in 29 universities across the country with a budget of $13.477 million pesos (£16 million).

The Beginnings of the IAPs in Chile

These programmes started at the University of Santiago – Ex Technical State University in 2007, just one year after the first big uprising of the student movement calling for changes to improve public education. The place where it began is not an accident. As I will show in Chapter III, it is at the same university that there was a radical tradition going further in the 1960s and 1970s with a workers' programmes to access university. Although IAPs are configured in a different fashion, one of its genealogies can be mapped out to the role of the Ford Foundation in producing global governmentality through higher education, knowledge and policy since 1960s.

The Foundation even if it was contested at the end of the 1960s for the "anti-imperial" university reform movement in Chile and then obliged to reorient its focus from

modernisation through positivist, apolitical science to human rights. It never abandoned two discursive constitutions of itself: its identity positioning as developmental agency committed with capitalist, liberal democratic values in shaping social policies and knowledge for policy, and its tactic by contributing to constitute epistemic communities committed to influence policy (Holmes, 2013). This "historical disposition" allows us to understand one of the beginnings of the IAPs by Ford Foundation's incursion in affirmative action policies.

The Ford Foundation has been actively involved in developing affirmative action policies in Chile and elsewhere by advocacy, funding research on affirmative action programmes, and mobilising different actors within and beyond Chilean universities for that purpose. Moreover, the Foundation since the 2000s has been advocating and investing in strategies for inclusion and leadership of marginalised people in higher education by implementing diverse programmes (See Inside Philanthropy 2016[2]; Institute of International Education 2016). As mobilisers of policy networks and epistemic communities the Foundation has supported several international meetings and seminars where different affirmative action stakeholders participate to discuss and analyse the benefits and challenges of affirmative action in terms of "social cohesion" and "well-being" (Villalobos et al. 2017, unpaged).

Through its programme *Pathways to Higher Education* the Foundation began to frame affirmative action programmes and knowledge production about barriers subaltern groups face on access and persistence in the Chilean higher education (Ford Foundation, 2008). In 2004, it started supporting an affirmative action programme – *Rüpü programme*- at the University of La Frontera, Temuco, Chile; an area with the higher proportion of Mapuche people –the largest indigenous group in Chile-. This programme has a twofold aim: to improve Mapuche students' academic performance in the university by targeting academic and cultural characteristic of these students to increase their expectation and strengthen their academic identity, and raise awareness in university community of the disadvantages affecting these students (Navarrete, Candia and Puchi, 2013, p. 56). "Academically" it undertakes teaching of basic knowledge, communication, study strategies, fast reading, public speaking techniques, and tutoring activities, while "culturally" it deploys interventions oriented to "raise" the cultural capital of the students by going to cultural

---

[2] *Higher Education for Social Justice* (until 2016), *Pathways for Youth Success, Next-Generation Leadership* (Inside Philanthropy 2016) and the *International Fellowships Program* (until 2013) (Institute of International Education 2016)

events –workshops, theatre, and museums, and enhancing the socio-emotional potency of those students through socio-affective interventions oriented to make stronger their 'personal resources enabling them to successfully face university life', and bettering their self-esteem, feelings of self-efficacy, and interpersonal relationships, among others socio-psychological traits (Navarrete et al. 2013, pp.56-57) (My own translation). Students under this programme has showed higher completion rates than Mapuche students not participating in it, and similar academic performances in contrast to the rest of the student population (Navarrete et al. 2013, pp.73-77).

This programme under the Ford Foundation gaze is an important force of the IAPs and PACE, due to the fact that they follow the model adopted by Ford Foundation in the Chilean context; a modality of affirmative action clearly within the frame of the socio-emotional turn in social policy (Leiva, 2010). This emotional turn inscribed "culture" in the inner depth of the emotional potentialities of students as a central weapon for overcoming class and ethnic inequalities.

PACE is taken into account as part of the ongoing process of formation, continuity and change of affirmative action policies in Chilean higher education. Moreover, the very aim of the IAPs, since its invention, was also the promotion of these programmes as an affirmative action policy model to be taken by the Chilean state as education public policy (Fundación Equitas, 2008).

The Making of the Affirmative Action Policy Network in Chilean Higher Education

This was achieved by the discursive practices and strategies of different actors, which were configuring an affirmative action policy network. Among them, there were UNESCO, Ford Foundation, Equitas Foundation and Universities of Santiago, Silva Henríquez, Alberto Hurtado among the main ones. These institutions and their different policy agents advocating for the affirmative action policy are the central generative nodes of the affirmative action policy in Chile (Claro, 2005; Diaz-Romero, 2006). My research also found that they have forged alliances with a multiplicity of other players in the field of politics, philanthropy, and corporate models of policy making such as the Communist Party and Revolución Democrática, Portas Foundation and Colunga Foundation, Samsung among others.

Within these actors there are different profiles. While the Communist Party belongs nowadays to the "official centred-left" coalition in Government until 2017 but highly criticised by its deeper neoliberal roots, Revolución Democrática is a new party with socio-democratic liberal roots that belongs today to the "Frente Amplio"; the third biggest political coalition with several groups to the left of the political spectrum.

On the other hand, Portas and Colunga Foundations are properly corporate philanthropist foundations closer to the elite and Catholic church.

Portas Foundation, is an organisation oriented to support 'young people coming from contexts of poverty and who study in higher education'. It follows these students from access until they find their first professional job' (Portas Foundation).[3] Portas directorate is made up by different agents: business elite subjects with experience as coaches and being part of executive boards of other companies taking part in other privatised fields of social protection such as health and school education[4]; the Catholic elite closer ideologically and geographically to the economic Chilean elite[5]; and young "social entrepreneurs", coming from the business elites, with postgraduates in governance, policy and MBAs from the United Kingdom, the USA, and Spain, with relationships with a variety of stakeholders in the privatising of education and social policy such as UNESCO, Teach for All, Enseñaa Chile, and Catholic-elite charities, among others.[6] Portas Foundation has collaborated with the IAPs and PACE by running especially those modules where coaching and leadership are provided for working-class students.

Colunga Foundation's stated aim, on the other hand, is to promote organisations contributing to overcome poverty and improve education in Chile and Latin America;

---

[3] https://fundacionportas.cl/quienes-somos/

[4] The president –Roberto Ordonez Sanhueza- and vice-president –Antonio Lacalle Peñafiel- are part of the business elite and close to coaching practices –both are business coaches and director of important holdings and private companies related with education material industry and health business, among others.

[5] Presbítero Aldo Coda Salgado. Director. Actual chancellor of the Sagrada Familia, Las Pataguas and La Dehesa Churh; one of the wealthiest areas in Chile.

[6] Francisco Ruiz Pincetti. Director. Lawyer. Máster en Public Management and Governance in the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is Executive director of Fundación Forge Chile y co-founder of the social enterprise Late. He has been Vice-chancellor at INFOCAP (a further education institute) and advisor of the Ministry of Work. Octavio Lizama Salas. Director. Psychologist at the Catholic University. M.Ed. in Education Policy and Social Analysis, Columbia University. He has experience in leadership, management and research in education and poverty at Un Techo Para Chile, Public Policy Centre of the Catholic University, Enseña Chile, Teach For All, and UNESCO. Felipe Moran Herrera. Director. Master in Marketing at Adolfo Ibanez University, specialisation studies in Business and Administration at Catholic University. He has experience in programmes of Social Innovation at ESADE Business School of Madrid. He is a consultant of companies and NGO. He is professor at the International MBA at Adolfo Ibanez University and Catholic University. He has been a Director of Marketing at the philanthropic Foundation "Las Rosas" and general manager in AIS Chile.

through innovation, interconnection and impact in public policies.[7] Colunga was founded by Cueto's family, one of the wealthiest family in Chile; and owners of LATAM airlines. Cueto's brothers are all in the directorate of the Colunga Foundation sharing it with "Benito Baranda" a Catholic priest close to charity work, the Chilean elite, and poverty issues. Colunga Foundation has "invested" by agreement with the UNESCO Chair of inclusion lead by Francisco Javier Gil, in scholarships for the students' participating in the IAPs from seven universities.

There are other companies such as Samsung and philanthropist national organisations like "Comunidad Mujer" (also closely related to LATAM airlines), also contributing with educational materials and scholarships, as well as "coaches" linked to Newfield College (one of the world known institute training in coaching) contributing to the making of this policy network.

There are also multiple researchers and universities that are part of the network implementing these programmes and producing knowledges about them with intentions to advocate for them and demonstrate their effectiveness. As I will show, especially, in Chapter VI social scientists have been crucial agents in the discursive and affective formation of the affirmative action policy.

All these actors, as generative nodes, are the engines of policy mobilisation facilitating –and constraining- connections and opportunities for different actors and discourses in the making of the policy. They are carriers of global and local policy discourses defining new possibilities, modalities and practices (Ball and Olmedo, 2011, p. 86). They were constituted as policy subjects advocating for affirmative actions. Among these actors, the student movement discourse and some of its visible leaders were also configured as generative nodes of this policy network, having an important role in the implementation of some IAPs as well as in the public defence, dissemination and support of these programmes.

The IAPs Criticisms against Exclusion and Inequality

A growing body of research has showed that the national entrance test is a measure of class backgrounds rather than academic merit and talent (e.g. Pitton, 2007; Koljatic, Silva and Cofré, 2013). This research claims that the national entrance test privileges students from private and scientific-humanist schools -which are those oriented to teach the curriculum

---

[7] https://www.fundacioncolunga.org/conocenos/

that the national entrance test evaluate- in detriment of working-class students coming from public and vocational technical schools. This knowledge has been used by the IAPs in order to construct their interventions and elaborate criticisms and alternatives to this test (Gil and del Canto Ramirez, 2012). The national entrance test is one of the "constitutive others" of the IAPs; it is one of the targets against which these programmes carve out.

The Programmes' Structure and their Main Technologies of Inclusion at Work

The IAPs are oriented to allow academic talented students from public and socioeconomic vulnerable schools to participate in the pre-entry courses or modules that these programmes teach. Ones these students pass these modules they are granted access to universities without the need to get the required national entrance test's scores (Gil and del Canto Ramírez, 2012, p. 66). Those students attending 100% of the IAPs' modules and finish secondary school within the 15%-5% better ranking of their class are granted to enter university without paying fees in the two-year *Bachillerato* programme in general or humanities studies.[8] (Gil and del Canto, 2012).

The main aims of these programmes are said to look and promote a sustainable and reproducible model of affirmative action to improve access and retention of those students positioned by this policy- 'as talented but socioeconomically disadvantaged', and historically excluded by the national admission system of higher education (Gil and del Canto Ramírez, 2012; Lizama, 2013).

As I mentioned before, one of the mandatory modules of these affirmative actions -in both versions – IAPs and PACE- is the module known as personal management. This module was based explicitly on ontological coaching -a specific branch of coaching- and promulgated in associated leadership literature writing by some of the managerial gurus such as Goleman (1996), Covey (1999) or Buzan (1999). This personal management curriculum was complemented by cultural activities -e.g. museums' visits, talks on gender or diversity - aiming to enhance the students' cultural capital and understanding of the university environment.

---

[8] Two-year *Bachillerato* programmes are academic pathways that prepare and sort students to choose a bachelor degree (*licenciatura*) of four-five-years. The first courses of the chosen four-five-years bachelor degree start in the second semester of the second year normally.

According to one of the course syllabus prepared by Equitas Foundation (Fundación Equitas in Spanish), the personal management module, through ontological coaching practices, seeks to develop: self-esteem, personal strength, assertiveness, personal skills, social competences, and motivation (Fundación Equitas, 2010). The personal management module was presented as a space oriented to develop a 'system of integration into higher education given the 'circuits of vulnerability' where the students come from (Fundación Equitas, 2010). Students were told that the previous personal management modules were evaluated positively by the first generations of the students participating in the IAPs. In this personal management syllabus is highlighted the students' 'deep appreciation for the treatment and interest shown … the academic and life orientations discussed, the planning techniques, the personal management notebook, and the possibilities of learning about strategic issues' (Fundación Equitas, 2010).

This module is also configured as a space aimed at deepening of practices oriented to configure a common identity and sense of belonging of the students, with more commitment to take affirmative actions as an opportunity for them but also taking into account the next generations to come (Fundación Equitas, 2010). The assumption is that it is necessary to provide students 'with all the possible tools so that from their attitude and emotionality they can successfully overcome the demanding challenges in higher education' (Fundación Equitas, 2010).

According to the information I got during some interviews with policymakers, Equitas Foundation proposed and developed the personal management module. They started to work with the University of Santiago in order to develop a more effective model of affirmative action. In this work, Equitas Foundation sat up the centrality of coaching and leadership practices as irrevocable conditions that the IAPs must have (Policymaker 3, Interview). The ambition was to further leadership components of affirmative actions as the process of selection of the students' beneficiaries alongside academic performances and "socioeconomic vulnerability":

> 'the identification of leadership potential of these students, which is a differentiating element in the selection processes that these programmes should have, without cutting only by ranking and vulnerability' (Policymaker 3, Interview).

The relevance of identifying leadership potentialities through coaching are also delivered tactically to make working-class students responsible for the destinies of their working-class

communities, acting as mirrors or models for others by boosting "critical awareness" (Policymaker 3, Interview).

Alongside the ontological coaching in this research I focused also on the disciplinary knowledges forming the affirmative action programmes, such as the sociology of meritocracy and social mobility and the psychology of motivation. As ontological coaching, the role played by these knowledges are not mentioned in the official policy texts on these programmes. These disciplines are affective and discursive practices of knowledge taking part in the locus of power from which the affirmative action policy became a *dispositif*. Taking into account these implicit "knowledges" as technologies of subjectification, what is at stake is not just about opening the gates of higher education for working-class students, but also a will to know who they are, how they think, feel and see themselves, and most important for these technologies, the potential they have to become in the desirable subject of higher education.

The IAPs Relevance for Research

My interest for these cases lies in both their irruption as a novel policy of inclusion, but also in their discursive and affective frames which are never acknowledged in the growing body of research focusing overwhelmingly on the effectiveness of these programmes in their claims of enhancing the academic performances of these students.

Within sociologies of science and Foucauldian scholarship there have been attention to how knowledges perform the research objects they claim to know (Ramos, 2016). Foucauldian approaches, in particular, attempt to show the connection between social and psychological knowledges, the objects-subjects they claim to know, and the process of government (Rose, 1998; Hook, 2007; Popkewitz, 2008).

By studying these programmes, I hope to contribute to the understanding of how knowledges and affective-discursive formations through policy are constitutive and constituting of processes of government of class formation. Here, the study of how the discourse of inclusion and the knowledges -sociology, psychology, and ontological coaching- are classed knowledges, produced a classed regime of subjectification, and are articulated with classed affectivities. The study of ontological coaching also deserves especial attention because there is no research on education policy exploring the coming of ontological coaching to education policies of inclusion, as well as scarce political

sociological research on this particular, vernacular but globalising type of coaching. On the other hand, ontological coaching in contrast to the other disciplines of knowledge, is a non-discipline-based, pastoral technology coming from the nexus between philosophy and the corporate world, and has been widely accepted, not problematised or even unnoticed by affirmative action policy scholars, activists and policymakers alike.

The transversality of the affirmative action policy in both its wider acceptance and support and in its capacity to make different fields intersect-across political divides, activities and knowledges- is a curious one. It deserves attention in order to understand the recent tendencies in inclusion policies and politics in higher education that rely on affects and interiorities of subjects as privileged zones of practices of justice in detriment of discursive and structural patterns of inequalities. It is also worth noting that when coaching is analysed within the fields of sociology and education, most of the time, there is no distinction between different types of coaching schools.

Ontological coaching, leadership, sociology of social mobility and psychology of motivation get traction in the affirmative action policy repositioning some working-class subjects as "able" subjects of rights and merits. Nonetheless, it is important to know how these technologies are linked to dominant groups' constituted interests as well as to know how they can work as 'infrapowers' sustaining neoliberal capitalism, policy and education (Foucault, 2001b, p. 87), and delineating a regime of subjectification and converging in the making of the entrepreneurial self (Bröckling 2016, pp. 23-25).

Finally, I attempt to connect, if loosely, the historical processes that made this possible by exploring the dominant historical rationality and its main figures of subjectivity regarding working-class subjects and higher education. This requires me to explore the development of neoliberalism in Chile and its link with discourses of knowledges and affective forces configuring both higher education and working-class subjectivities. The processes of working-class subjectification and class formations are peripheral in poststructural approaches on neoliberalism and neoliberal subjectivities where the category of class is difficult to find in the works of, for instance, Foucault (2008) and Brown (2015). I want to contribute to fill these gaps.

Outline of the Following Chapters

In what follows, this thesis is organised in the following Chapters. Chapter I delineates the methodological strategy. It starts with the main ontological and epistemological principles constituting my research which are based in the re-articulation of the basics notions of discourse, episteme, knowledge, power, and affect. Then it develops an analytical strategy based on the notions of regime of subjectification and genealogy, as a conceptualisation of the affirmative action policy as affective governmentality and its associated notions of *dispositif* and technologies. It ends with the identification of analytics tactics to deploy and a description of the techniques of production of data developed in fieldwork.

In Chapter II, I develop a theorisation of neoliberal governmentality, focusing especially, on the ordo-liberal rationality of government and its relationship with the constitution of the working-class subject within it. I focus on ordo-liberalism because it is the main rationality from which the affirmative action policy in Chile is deployed.

In Chapter III, I carry out a genealogical analysis of the different figures of subjectivity of the working-class subjects constituted in relationship to higher education and to broader epistemic and political transformations. I link this genealogy with the emergence of the affirmative action policy in Chile.

In Chapter IV, I analyse the specific discourse of inclusion constituting the affirmative action policy. Looking at this discourse as strategy, I explore its connection with broader strategies to secure order about and consensus over the dominant neoliberal rationality in higher education. I link the taking up of this discourse with a colonial discourse of development and with a general ordo-liberal rationality which moves forward the discourse of inclusion as a way to recognise the aggressions of the market and to prepare the talented working-class subjects to fit in it. And finally, I explore the link between this discourse and the affective grammar of class that drives the ordo-liberal rationality and the affirmative action policy.

In Chapter V, I analyse ontological coaching as a central technology of subjectification within the affirmative action policy. Within a neoliberal context, I trace the specific affective and discursive forces that make possible to see ontological coaching as a suitable response to issues of inequality in higher education -psychologisation, therapeutisation, and potentialisation-. In this Chapter, I analyse both the practices of ontological coaching

deployed onto the working-class students participating in the IAPs and PACE, and the rationality that is behind this type of coaching in order to understand the relationship between it and the remaking of a particular figure of working-class people.

In Chapter VI, I analyse the sociology of meritocracy and social mobility and the psychology of motivations, by exploring their role in the formation of the affirmative action policy and the way they are related and constitute a regime of subjectification over the working-class students which at the same time functions as dividing practices against working-class subjectivities and spaces. In this Chapter I take a closer look to the psychologising classed regime of subjectification perpetrated by a research programme specifically aiming to investigate the motivational features of the working-class students subjected to the affirmative action programmes.

Finally, in Chapter VII, I conclude this research by summarising the main findings and making a case for rethinking affirmative actions and class formations from a poststructural politics and imaginations.

Chapter I. Methodological Strategy: Ontological and Epistemological Underpinnings

In this Chapter I describe the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of my research and its related methodological strategy. First, in the section *Discourse, Episteme, Knowledge, Power and Affects*, I elaborate a poststructural understanding of the ontology and epistemology of the social based on these constituting notions. These concepts allow me to generate a conceptualisation of class not as a given with "inevitable after effects" on inequalities but as a constituted by the historical ontologies shaping it and giving it force. Then, in the second main section, I present a methodological framing based on two related theoretical standpoints: Regime of subjectification and genealogy. I posit these notions as guiding entry points to explore the affirmative action policy. In the third section, I develop, first, a theorisation of education policy from a governmentality perspective in relation to the notions of *dispositif*, diagram and technology. In the final part of this section, I try to deepen the perspective of the governmentality by a conceptualisation of affective governmentalities. In the last section, I further describe the empirical material produced, and the analytical tactics and research techniques I deployed in practice. In this final section, I also unfold a reflexive narrative delineating one line of the biography of the formation of my thoughts about the way I carried out by/the fieldwork alongside thinking texts that accompanied that work underlining the frustration with interviewing working-class students and the political/methodological decision that followed.

I am aware that there are no "official" and systematic procedures to research discourse, affect and power from a Poststructural, Foucauldian inspired stance (Tamboukou, 1999; Flick and Foster, 2008).Thus, any engagement with it requires to accept its own immanent contingency; that is, an ontological condition of doing research acknowledging the eventuality and precariousness of the politics of research not as an external force or nature to research but as something produced within it and constitutive to it (Deleuze, 2001).

Discourse, Episteme, Knowledges, Power and Affects: An Anti-Humanism Ontology and Epistemology of the Social

The poststructural positioning I follow addresses painstaking questions of changing positioning of subjectivities by decentring the figure of the MAN as owner and ruler of his will and as stable embodiment of a unitary subjectivity, as well as from the pedestal of the making of history putting forward by humanism. Taking radically seriously the way Foucault carried out his philosophical and historical enquiries, I think there is no alternative but to accept that the conventional humanist qualitative methodologies are not those to follow for they rely on an ontology of knowledge attached to a centred, knowing and "disposed" to be known human subject (St. Pierre, 2017, p. 1080).

The humanist episteme deserves further suspicion for it works as the standard of recognition and valuation of the same, where difference and otherness are deemed to be governed -hierarchized, assessed and regulated to specific social roles and places (Braidotti, 2013, pp. 26–28). The human of humanism is a 'highly regulatory [convention] and hence instrumental to practices of exclusion and discrimination' (Braidotti, 2013, p. 26). As Braidotti suggests (2013, p. 23) when the proprietary and possessive subject of humanism is, at least, put into brackets, sharper conceptualisations of discourse, power and affects emerge as the drivers of social formations. I want to reiterate "at least" because the subject of humanism is a sticky figure as it appears as transcendental. Elaborating on Ahmed's (2004, p. 120) idea of sticky associations, the self-centred subject of humanism is part of an affective economy able to be attached to multiple signs, individuals and objects as if this figure of the subject were naturally and a-historically inevitable present.

Like a heavy-bodily shadow this figure has been with me during all this process "backgrounding" me when I can think no longer without it, threatening me when I acknowledge some of the violence committed by the human sciences of education, and making me anxious when I try to produce valuable research and statements of truth without it. As Lather and St. Pierre (2013, p. 630) emphasise, the human of humanism is before the thinking and doing of research. And I add that its technologies of knowledge are deemed and believed indispensable for the successful developing of a will to know individuals. Thus, interviewing, the recording of lived experiences, conducting face-to-face interviews, expressing one's voice and producing self-reflexivity are at the heart of data production and analysis before thinking about it (Lather and St. Pierre, 2013, p. 630).

This transcendental subject of experience and truth that we take for granted in research is an effect of discourse; a historical effect of knowledge and power relations. The emergence of the historical subject of the human sciences with the authority, methods and right to know others and know itself is a historical invention of a discursive irruption (Foucault, 2005, pp. 338–339).

Discourse and Knowledge[9] as Material and Affective Framings of Power

In this research, one of the analytical directions to produce, when observing the formation of the affirmative action policy, is framed by the concept of discourse. From my perspective, discourse must be understood in at least three directions: as deeper assumptions framing the production of truths and categories of truths; as strategic practices and struggles; and as affects, passions and visceralities. All of them articulated and deployed over the modes of identification defining what is possible to think, see, feel and do; that is, with material and subjectifying effects. Regarding the first meaning, discourse is not language and texts, but it has ontological status over them as it produces them; it mobilises truth claims, thus knowledges, as authoritative figures defining what must be done and how, and what knowledges we need to produce in order to create the objects we claim to know and intervene in (Ball, 2015, pp. 306–309). Discourse provides onto-epistemic frames to make subjects objects of knowledge and accountability.

An episteme works as the condition of possibilities of the expressions and incorporations of thought, problematisations and practices, and as a particular historical form of constructing social problems which can be understood as 'figures of objects of knowledge' (May, 2006). An episteme produces and makes visible different positions and registers of specific objects of knowledge/governing –individuals, groups, spaces, facts, social problems. An episteme is also affective. It carries out passionate attachments forming what I call an affective episteme in which affects towards working-class history and actuality

---

[9] It is important to make a distinction here between the French terms Connaissance and Savoir that can be roughly translated as knowledge. I understand the first as disciplinary, specialised authoritative knowledge or expertise, and the second as the discursive, epistemic conditions that allow that will to know to appear. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002), pages 16-17 footnote 3, there is the following clarification of this term: 'The English 'knowledge' translates the French 'connaissance' and 'savoir'. Connaissance refers here to a particular corpus of knowledge, a particular discipline – biology or economics, for example. Savoir, which is usually defined as knowledge in general, the totality of connaissances, is used by Foucault in an underlying, rather than an overall, way. He has himself offered the following comment on his usage of the terms: 'By connaissance I mean the relation of the subject to the object and the formal rules that govern it. Savoir refers to the conditions that are necessary in a particular period for this or that type of object to be given to connaissance and for this or that enunciation to be formulated.'

leads also the rationality making sense of them, and the technologies and knowledges operating in the affirmative action policy. The main consequence of this perspective on discourse is that its functioning has the material effects of exclusions of other bodies, groups, mentalities, imaginations, and thinking. To think outside discourse is to risk to be relegated to the border of society, beyond reason, close to madness (Hook, 2007, p. 101).

The second meaning of discourse points out the strategic understanding of it, as strategic and polemical 'games of action and reaction, question and answer, domination and evasion, as well as struggle' (Foucault, 2001b, p. 3). From this standpoint lies the strategic understanding of knowledge as the product of conflicts, combats, risks and chance (Foucault, 2001b, p. 8). Knowledge of the human science, for Foucault, is violence, domination, violation … 'Knowledge can only be a violation of the things to be known, and not a perception, a recognition, an identification of or with those things' (Foucault 2001b, p. 9). In this sense, discourse of truth -knowledge- and power are tied up strategically in the practices of production of materiality of the social. As Foucault clearly put it:

> in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role it is to avert its powers and dangers, to cope with its chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality (1971, p. 8).

As Hook (2007, p. 101) insists: 'It is exactly these attempts to master and domesticate such a formidable materiality that constitutes the order of discourse'.

I think that in regard with the discourses and knowledges produced over and from societies of humans and non-human beings; this is a statement that taken seriously challenges us methodologically and in our practical work of producing empirical materials and analytic frameworks. It demands us, as researchers in/of the social, to generate forms of data and knowledge taking into account the multiple strategic historical trajectories of the fields of study we are in -its formation- as well as the multiple genealogies of the social formation we are trying to problematise; here, namely the IAPs and PACE, with their regimes of truth, knowledge extraction, and subjectification. This implies to think the constitution of the social -its ontology- as a multiplicity of discourses, as the product of the 'tactical polyvalence of discourses' with a multifunctionality that can come together for different and even opposing strategies struggling for determining a specific social formation (Foucault, 1978, pp. 100-101).

> To be more precise, we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies … Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy (Foucault, 1978, pp. 100-101).

From here, one can start to elucidate the third force behind the production of discourse: an affective politics of discourse and knowledge. The bringing up of the affective forces of discourse can be seen, first, in an embryonic form in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002), when Foucault was criticising the work of historians. He wrote: 'it is a long time now since historians uncovered, described, and analysed structures, without ever having occasion to wonder whether they were not allowing the living, fragile, pulsating "history" to slip through their fingers' (Foucault, 2002, p. 12). Affect here appears as a (repressed by historians' mode of knowledge) force capable of interrupting and revitalising the dynamic of discourse through the acknowledging of the pulsating, vital and fragile work of affects on history.

Foucault also recast Nietzsche's understanding of knowledge against Spinoza's episteme of knowledge for whom affect must be tamed in order to understand -or produce truth knowledge-(Foucault 2001b, p. 11). The will to knowledge, in this particular reading, is driven by visceralities and passions; by 'laughter, lament, and detestation' …[a] 'position of hatred, contempt, or fear before things that are threatening and presumptuous' (Foucault 2001b, pp. 11-13). In this perspective working classes, children, women, and other minoritised groups are claimed as objects of knowledge dispositioned for the explorations of their inner selves by the human sciences -criminologies, psychologies, sociologies, historiographies, among others.

According to a Foucauldian reading of human sciences' knowledge, a double demarcation is in place: constituted subjects of knowledge are put at bay, at a distance, in boundaries sustained by feelings of abjection and fear operating as directive forces of knowledge. Here, the passionate will to know is set up to govern the objects and subjects of knowledge with devaluing effects over them (Foucault 2001b, p. 11). And constituted academic subjects are governed by the multiple affective and discursive practices that demarcate what is a valid knowledge and scholarship. As Koro-Ljumberg et al., (2015, p. 44) assert: 'From a Foucauldian standpoint, knowledge is already established via multiple discourses and

practices of power as an action upon an action and as a means to demarcate spaces for academic subjectivities and subjection positions to be produced and fashioned'. Moreover, knowledge in this vein produced technologies of examination that tend to normalise, classify and hierarchise spaces, bodies and judgement.

Foucault also explored knowledge of human sciences as a historical colonial, exclusionary and hate-filled matrix of practices that produce abject subjects and contexts:

> the universality of our knowledge has been acquired at the cost of exclusions, bans, denials, rejections, at the price of a kind of cruelty with regard to any reality ... in order to know other cultures – we must no doubt have had not only to marginalize them, not only to look down upon them, but also to exploit them, to conquer them and in some ways through violence to keep them silent. We suppressed madness, and as result came to know it. We suppressed foreign cultures, and as a result came to know them (Foucault, 2012, p. 28).

In this attempt to braid the discursive and the affective together, the often-given dominant status of discourse over affects, for the production of objects and subjects of problematisation and analyses, can be put into brackets or reversed. Affect works as a force constituting the world and triggering knowledges and truths against/for some subjects or in multiple contradictory directions.

A last important point regarding knowledge is that Foucault, defending himself from accusations of evading the circulation of capital as a primary force of the social in capitalism, emphasised that alongside the centrality of paying attention to struggles over the accumulation of capital in capitalist societies, the production, formation, circulation and strategic use of knowledge must be also a central dimension of critical analyses in relation with the complex dynamics of power (Foucault, 1991, p. 165). Within the contemporary production of affirmative action policies, this point takes on further importance, because the production of the social in the so-called 'knowledge capitalism' is evermore intensified by the production of knowledge. As Olssen and Peters (2005, p. 340) brilliantly suggest, nowadays the central struggle is 'not only over the meaning and value of knowledge both internationally and locally, but also over the public means of knowledge production.'

Power as Relations of Forces Triggering Knowledge and Affects

Within this analysis, power is understood as unstable, contradictory, and contested relation of forces articulated by discourses and affects. Power in this framing is a complex strategic situation constituted across a network of forces in constant tension and struggle, implying

dispositions, functionings, and manoeuvres that define a multiplicity of foci: focuses of confrontation, focuses of instability and focuses of temporary inversion of power relations (Foucault, 2001a, pp. 26–27). Importantly, according to Deleuze (2014) what makes power to be perceived as stable and sometimes impossible to break its tendency, is not power itself, but knowledges. In the Deleuzian (2014) reading of Foucault, it is through the discourses of knowledge performing the assumed, the given, the necessary, that social order is accomplished. Nonetheless, power does not cease to move. It constitutes the world as movement; it is moved, moving and movement. As Foucault concluded regarding the understanding of power:

> it is a question of orienting ourselves to a conception of power which replaces the privilege of the law with the viewpoint of the objective, the privilege of prohibition with the viewpoint of tactical efficacy, the privilege of sovereignty with the analysis of a multiple and mobile field of force relations, wherein far-reaching, but never completely stable, effects of domination are produced (Foucault, 1978, p. 102)

It is this power as multiple and mobile field of forces that configures the political and material conditions for knowledge development. In this sense, the conditions unfolded by a particular moment of the relation of forces foster the emergence of diverse knowledges and subjects of knowledges -the poor, the vulnerable, the talented subject of higher education for instance-, and through them certain truths can be made; and power conditions are necessary for a knowledge, a subject of knowledge, and order of truth to be formed (Foucault, 2001b, p. 15).

Power produces hidden and misrecognised "potentialities" and "rights", as forces moving volitions and potentials propagating desires and fears, and bringing historical figures of subjectivities and sense of selves into an order through knowledge (Veiga-Neto and Corcini Lopes, 2013, p. 109). Importantly here, power is never pure and simple repressive or negative. It produces knowledge, discourse, and pleasure (Foucault, 2001b, p. 120). Thus, when power passes through dominant classes as well as through dominated or subaltern classes, it seduces making us engage with it either by trying to revolt against it, using it, or/and accepting its conditions. Here, affects acquire a greater importance for the understanding of the constitution of policy *dispositifs*. Power has "positive" and "attractive" effects in/on individuals as well as visceral rejections as we see for the case of the production of abject objects/subjects. Forms of power/knowledge such as coaching, pedagogy, leadership, psychology and sociology carry:

… a double impetus: pleasure and power. The pleasure that comes of exercising a power that questions, monitors, watches, spies, searches out, palpates, brings to light; and on the other hand, the pleasure that kindles at having to evade this power, flee from it, fool it, or travesty it'. Power captures, seduces, attracts by confrontation and mutual reinforcement in perpetual spirals of power and pleasure' (Foucault, 1978, p. 45).

Policy as a form of power seduces and invests subjects within class differences making them agents in its circulation, dividing practices, strategies and effects. In fact, as we will see, in governmentality "life" is the 'criterion and end over which power is exercised. It implies that life is the target of political valuation for it to be improved' (Bazzicalupo, 2016, p. 65) (My own translation). 'Power is something that runs through us positively and actually makes us do something and rewards us … It runs through us like a whole production machine where we are the agent, the beneficiary' (Foucault, 2011, p. 37). This notion of power is central for understanding what affirmative actions promise. It entails a process of subjectification promising a new capacity for enunciation that was denied previously and thus involves a reconfiguration of the field of experience (Rancière, 1999, p. 35).

This conception of power demands that we look from a microphysical point of view where the state, the law, social classes and subjects are terminal of processes and carriers of power/knowledge (Deleuze, 2014). Power as a microphysics is understood as "strategy" that cannot be appropriated or possessed, but exercised (Foucault, 2001a, p. 26).

Knowledges, power and affects produce historical figures of subjectivities. These figures are 'iconic body-subjects' -like the "indebted man" or the "entrepreneurial subject" of neoliberalism. They are subjected to valuation, to judgement, to intervention and fantasies of fixity (May, 2006, pp. 17–22). A figure of subjectivity is not so much an empirical embodied reality as a real field of force impinging subjectivities upon individuals in particular ways (May, 2006, pp. 18-27). But people overflow the figure of subjectivity. They are not just entrepreneurial subjects. They are not 'flat or one-sided, not simply the figure they are moulded to be. This is not because they exist outside all of the influence … It is because they are exposed to and must navigate through more than one set of those influences' (May, 2006, p. 20).

Before I move onto the next section, I reflect more on the affective ontology of the social. Affect enables me to interrupt the passionless face of discursive and its automatic power to get into our dispositions and desires (Konings 2015, pp. 27-29). For discourse to bind us it

needs to function through exciting, pleasurable, passionate, promising, fearing, traumatising and fantasising ways that can drive subjects to be invested in their own formation (Butler, 1997; Tie, 2004; Berlant, 2011; Konings 2015).

I consider affects not coming from individuals' interiorities- but encompassing intensities and potentialities, visceralities, emotionalities, passions, desires, fantasies, imaginations and traumas with the force to join and guide the production of policy discourse; as well as object-targets of governmentalities (Anderson, 2012). In this theorisation, I do not make a sharp opposition between affect and discourse, between immediacy and articulation. Affects are autonomous processes, like discourse, that participate in the configuration of historical formations and social structures like class and gender. Therefore it is a register that maps out the production of the social through intensities that are in relation, that resonate and interfere with the discursive registers of the social (Mazzarella, 2009, p. 293). Affective forces have histories which are brought to the present.

The social, and its way of governing, is constantly made by discourses and affects. Discourse, is not enough for understanding the processes of particular field of forces and modes of existence. Discourse emphasises the "coding" and "inscription" of the codes – categories, rules, meanings, narratives, demarcations etc.- into the real and onto subjects, and as such, it expresses just the technological dimension of power; that is, 'where the tendency to arrest [spaces and subjects] dominates' (Massumi, 2002, p. 7). Affect and discourse are autonomous but in a dialectical relation: 'Social and cultural determinations [gender, class, ethnicity etc] … emerge [from intensities] and back-form [their] reality…and feed back into the process from which they arose' (Massumi, 2002, p. 8). I understand this back-form dynamics, as the process by which any affective-discursive formation goes back and transform while making possible the ongoing movement of affects and discourses. Affects, as potentiality, back-form discourse, as the articulation that determines social possibilities of existences, and in turn, discourse 'once it is formed, it also effectively feeds in [affects]' (Massumi, 2002, p. 8).

Power and the Affective and Discursive Production of Class

In this research, class in central to the deployment of the affirmative action policy, such as the way that affective and discursive forces interpellate individuals to take up specific subject-positions. This is also important, given that within Foucault's exploration of neoliberalism and governmentalities it is often assumed - thus mentioned in passing- that

there is a disarticulation of class relations and of working-classes (e.g. Foucault 2008; Brown, 2015), making class formations and subjectifications slippery and invisible most of the time. I take up these themes in the next Chapters of this thesis-. Therefore, my methodological strategy is an attempt to make visible the constitution and function of class at the centre of the technologies of government, as well as to make visible how Foucault in particular viewed class and class struggles.

In this context, class struggles come out from multiple *loci* of power/knowledge comprising strategic positions constituting social classes. In this view, class is theorised as an entity not possessing power. Thus, class struggles are not understood as the battle for monopolisation or appropriation of power (Deleuze, 2006, p. 25). As Foucault (2001a, p. 26) pointed out, power 'is not the privilege, acquired or preserved, of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions - an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated'.

Social classes are, in Foucauldian terms, not just constituted by power, but also invested by it, even those who perceive themselves without it (Foucault, 2001a, p. 26). Deleuze further explained: 'Power is not the property of the dominant class but the strategy of that class in action' (Deleuze, 2006, p. 30). Social classes are constituted by the network of relations of forces positioning them in relations of confrontation, instabilities and inversions, as well as relations of dominations and impositions. As Foucault clearly pointed out; in order to grasp power one must see it operating across the whole class struggle: 'that is to say [across] all the force relations which are inevitably unequal but also subject to change, that there can be within a social setting and which are the actualizations, the daily dramas of class struggle' (Foucault, 2011, p. 35).

Therefore, class and class struggles are not taken as given categories with inevitable perverse effects but as power/knowledge/affect effects constituting focal points of experiences. Thus, questioning their constitution, instability, arbitrariness, and fictions as well the way class becomes temporally stabilised and articulated, is 'the highest critical priority' (Deleuze, 2006, p. xx). In this view, class is not the *explanandum* of inequalities and misrecognitions but one of the ways by which they have been constituted and justified. Categories mobilised or silenced by affirmative action policies such as class, talent, and aspirations, are part of the 'discursive regimes through which subjects become intelligible' and recognised 'with certain status and value' (Youdell, 2011, p. 43). Class operates affectively and discursively through a 'constellation' of affective and discursive systems of

classifications (Youdell, 2011, p.44), such as those regimes of emotional capacities which categorise some classes as without soft/emotional skills and others with those nowadays seen as central skills.

Affirmative Action Policy as a Genealogy and Regime of Subjectification from the Counter-Archival Assemblage

Genealogy refers to the operations of power and struggles whereby truths and knowledges are produced and disposed towards the construction of subjectivities to be experienced and lived. The way in which a genealogical method is practically deployed is through the constitution of an archival corpus. As Foucault (1984, pp. 76–77)signals: 'Genealogy, consequently, requires patience and a knowledge of details, and it depends on a vast accumulation of source material. Its cyclopean monuments are constructed from discrete and apparently insignificant truths and according to a rigorous method'. It is in this relationship between the objective of genealogy and its material archival practices that the notion of the archive arrives as an overarching methodological principle. It is thus, in the intertwine of subjectivities as effects of discursive practices that the archive takes the form of an assemblage of different lines containing traces of power/knowledge spaces and affects directly involved in the making of the affirmative action policy as a regime of subjectification.

Taking this methodological association in mind, I would like to start presenting a conceptualisation of my overall methodological intervention as a constitution of what I call, based on the notion of 'the other archive' worked out by Tamboukou (2017), a counter-archival assemblage. The archive is the arduous process whereby the constitution of an object of reflection and debate is made and remade (Hall, 2001). The archive, contrary to the common sense, is not a death corpus of papers or repository sleeping in a library waiting for someone to be interested in – but a living body of different audio-visual materials containing affects and discourses always in the making and enacted by whom is reading it, working upon it, composing it, and feeling and thinking about its diverse sources (Hall, 2001; Tamboukou, 2017). The archive is constantly irrupting in the making of the present and possible futures through struggles over politics of memory, through projects of writing history otherwise contesting dominant hermeneutics. This in turn leads to different pathways of thinking and action towards contested futures. Thus a living archive signifies that its "archiving" is an on-going, incomplete process opens to diverse embodied

interpretations and disputes over multiple constituted objects of knowledge (Hall, 2001, pp. 89-90). As such, the archive works as a *dispositif* of making a history of the present and future by its deployment as a space of a disagreement over the meaning, practice and formation of the social.

The constitution of an archive for research is a practice of power/knowledge. It can be read off as a policing instrument of modes of thoughts, see and feel, making these modalities hegemonic (Rancière, 1999). Thus, it operates as a complex system of classification of what is to be included and excluded in the making of the present. As Tamboukou (2017, pp. 5–6) points out, archives are more than a collection of documents but assemblages of substantial and contextual documents, and charted authorial and discursive relations making visible power-knowledge relations and hierarchical orderings. From a Foucauldian point of view, the archive is composed by a dense multiplicity of discursive spaces or loci of power/knowledge (Foucault, 2002). From them, all things said, felt and thought are regulated, excluded, or included in an enunciable, sayable way by the stablishing of a 'system of discursivity' that operates as 'the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events' (Foucault, 2002, p. 145).

If the above refers to what an archive is and to its implication for the generation of social orders and knowledge, my own archival construction took the shape of a counter-archival assemblage. My archival practice was related to seek a different knowledge from what was already said, known and conveyed in the arena of policy, equity and higher education in respect to affirmative action policy. That is, and this came as an afterthought thanks to the observations made by my reviewers, I was implicated in the political task of finding and constructing those subjugated knowledges and ignored sources made invisible, not problematised and excluded from the current practices of truth over affirmative action policies.

Some of these knowledges were murmuring critiques and complicities between affirmative action policy technologies and processes of abjection and exclusion of working class subjects; such as those related with the practices of psychologies of motivation and discourses of inclusion and social mobility as we will see in chapters IV and VI. Others were complaining about the ways critical knowledges were silenced by a sort of epistemic intimidation, and others were leaving unnoticed the entrepreneurial work over working-class students in order to reshape them and make them responsible for their own process

of inclusion as I problematise in chapters IV, V and VI. These and other truths were not available in the "hegemonic archive" already in place. As Tamboukou (2017) suggests the 'the other archive' should defy submission to power relations of knowledge that make researchers hide their archives and archival practices. For lack of resources, my counter-archival assemblage cannot be (yet) made available. But she also points out that 'the other archive', or here, a counter-archival assemblage, must be constructed against the dominant assumptions and truth claims of the field of knowledge, and from the positionality of the research within that field.

In my case, all the methodological developments made -concepts problematised and unfolded, notions created, analytical tactics and the technologies used to construct my archival assemblage (audio-visual document collection, semi-structured interviews, and ethnographic encounters)-, were made in consonance with my analysis of the epistemic context governing research practices and knowledge claims about affirmative action policies in higher education, and centrally, in consonance with the problematisation of the research/policy nexus and its effects for the governing or policing of research. My readings of affirmative action research literature further questioned the unthought neoliberal assumptions of inclusion; social mobility, and diversity as the epistemic conditions drawing the main boundaries of the field (see Introduction). As Clough (2010) suggests actual political economies, such as neoliberalism and conservatism, incline knowledge production and circulation to work for the modulation of affects, subjectivities, population and culture that resonate with broader political rationalities that make more available some research practices than others. What I was tactically looking for in my counter-archival assemblage was to challenge and make visible those values mostly unthought and desired –the ´positive unconscious of knowledge' (Foucault, 2005, pp. xi–xii), about affirmative actions, and the way they were unfolding for policy purposes.

Another important point featuring the counter-archival assemblage is based on what Foucault referred to as the 'insurrection of subjugated knowledge' (Foucault, 1980, pp. 81–82). A counter-archival assemblage searches and brings to light 'the historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence or formal systemisation'. Thus, the counter-archival assemblage here deployed tried to recover historical discourses around working-class people and higher education in association with changes in the notion of power, like in chapter III, as well as those discourses of knowledge generated from the 70s

onwards focusing on individual capacities and subjectivities in contrast to sociological discourse of the structures of society.

Explorations of multifarious counter-archives coming from diverse spaces of power/knowledge, and not just looking at those typical policy documents self-contained and produced within the same field where the policies under study move and intervene more directly, can give us more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of policy formation, taking into account, and being open to, the messy and surprising yet patterned and enduring logics that travel from different fields of activities to shape, move and order policy. This requires the difficult crafting of an archival sensibility orienting our dispositions not just to answer the questions we have, but to surprise and critiques against our own prejudices so as to be affected by the archive and redirect our analyses (Tamboukou, 2017).

Counter-archival assemblages challenge comfortable assumptions of what the empirical might be in research. It challenges naturalised notions of the empirical giving priority to a knower subject as the main agency granting validity to the real or telling what it is, as if they were not subjected to discursive conditions, passionate attachments and contingent associations, as well as transcendental notions of the empirical as the reality already there to be accounted for beyond and independent of what other sources and agencies can tell us about it. The counter-archival assemblage constituted for this investigation, although it was open until the end of the writing process to different sources and audio-visual modalities, it acknowledges the limit to embrace all the historical complexity configuring the affirmative action policy.

In this research, the "empirical" is mediated by the production of an archival body; a corpus that started to be assembled by following the traces of different knowledges, actors, memories and affects that were emerging during the fieldwork. I followed archives of psychological, sociological and managerial knowledges that led me to theories and studies of motivation and narratives of talent, sociological narratives of social mobility and meritocracy, and the history-entangled with the "intellectual biographies" of some of the leading authors/philosophers of ontological coaching. The empirical material here took on beyond the linear narrative of articulation of events and processes leading to a fixed present of affirmative action policies as well as beyond the rational form of governmentality as in careful, logical and precise political and technical thoughts and reflections on the mode of governing populations, systems, and subjects.

The empirical was construed and constructed to account for the oneiric, traumatic, feared and fantasising forces that led some policy actors to imagine, design and tactically articulate with other texts, actors, political forces and events, and to become themselves in authorities of government. In short, in order to constitute my counter-archival assemblage I took the empirical as an arrangement able to both, identify the overall strategy or diagram of government disposing the affirmative action policy and the technologies this rationality was expressed, and to identify and measure the force of the visceral, the affective in the formation of the affirmative action policy in the Chilean higher education. Following the affective discourses performing the policy comprised to pay attention to those utterances not taken seriously, for granted or avoided when mismatched with given assumptions such as those praying that inclusion policies are driven by just affectivities of solidarity or authentic will for equality or those insisting in taken as valid just the well-reasoned arguments, articulated laws, reports and explanations of actions.

Regime of Subjectification

To link these onto-epistemological underpinnings with specific post-structural, Foucauldian inspired tools, I first elaborate the notion of regime of subjectification, which is consonant with my positioning of not following a will to know educational subjects' interiorities nor to propose knowledges for their "optimisation". To interrogate affirmative action policy as a *dispositif* through which a specific "regime" of subjectification is constituted, it requires exploring its genealogy. A genealogy of subjectification 'reconstructs those forms of knowledges and methods through which people are supposed to be able to know, explore and govern themselves and their unconscious' (Bröckling, 2016, p. 9). A genealogy of subjectification explores the attempts and efforts to govern people embedded in diverse "field of forces". A genealogical formation of a regime of subjectification looks at this process not as something people do, but a field of force operating through rationalities, technologies, knowledges in which individuals are interpellated to recognise themselves and the truth about themselves (Bröckling, 2016, p. 12). A genealogy of subjectification involves exploring the efforts to conduct subjects traced in archives - practices, texts, letters, interpretations- attempting to influence conducts and subjective dispositions (Bröckling, 2016, p. 15). Following Nikolas Rose (1998, p. 45) here, a genealogy of subjectification serves to follow a line of subjectification unfolded in the affirmative action policy *dispositif* and open it up to problematisations of the relationship between capitalism, the multiple modes of psychological figures, disciplines and

knowledges, social policies, and the different imaginaries of the working classes and the practices of government deployed over them.

In short, I explore the 'regime of subjectification' -the knowledges, affects and technologies and its figures of subjectivities purported to produce on working-class students participating in affirmative action programmes. In this methodological strategy, I see affirmative action programmes as a field of force that mobilises, appeals, hooks, haunts, incites to become in somebody else, in another "class" (of) subject. Therefore, from a genealogical inspired perspective, I want to take into account what Foucault (1984, pp. 45–50) called a 'critical ontology of ourselves'; that is, the political rationality implicated in the formation of the affirmative action policy in the Chilean higher education, and how through this policy certain affects and discourses of truth, knowledges, and technologies of the self are rendered as forces over subjects.

Genealogy

A genealogically-inspired methodological turns the analysis to the history of the affirmative action policy in relationship to the constitution of higher education as a concrete genealogical space of multiple struggles, knowledges and the production of figures of the subject. Genealogy involves an analysis of descent and emergence or eventalisations. As Tamboukou explicates (2012, p. 82): 'Descent moves backwards revealing numberless beginnings and multiple changes, while emergence is about the entry point of the event on the historical stage'. Genealogy as a historical exploration of what constitutes the historical lineages of the present truth of the affirmative action policy, requires us to identify the multiple transformations of universities and the practices and technologies of subjectification and self over working-class bodies associated with practices of knowledges and truth, and practices of power and struggles (e.g. Ball, 2013, pp. 40-46). Genealogy is a practice of interrogation directed towards the relationship between some given truth over social formations and subjects, power relations, and the procedures of the production of truth, so as to critique the discursive regime of a given period and space (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 202).

Moreover, this approach demands, Foucault insisted (1984), a radical critical attention to the given as existing, without history, such as affects/emotions, connecting them with the formation of specific spaces of power/knowledge and subjects:

> '[Genealogy] must record the singularity of events in the most unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history -in sentiments, love, conscience, instincts; it must be sensitive to their recurrence, not in order to trace the gradual curve of their evolution, but to isolate the different scenes where they engaged in different roles' (Foucault, 1984, p. 76).

Here I pay attention to the inextricability of affective forces like fear, dreams or hatred passions and discourses leading the formation of assumed modes of thinking and doing universities, higher education policy and subjectivities constituted as desirable subjects of higher education. In all instances, the centre of the analysis is not directed to the will, personalities, authorship or personal meaning that actors participating in these processes gave to it, but rather to the positions from where they were spoken, mobilised, energised and strategized by discursive and affective forces.

One of the things than links genealogies and change are critiques. Discourses of critique engage in ambitions of political changes yet their outcomes are always uncertain. A genealogy is always a critical analysis of critiques and the way they are rendered and articulated in the management of changes. A genealogy of critique 'can serve as a critique of critique... [that] excavates its conditions of emergence, existence and becoming' (Folkers, 2016, p. 6). It problematises critique by pointing out its dangers when is co-opted by governmental rationalities like neoliberalism (Foucault, 2008, pp. 187–188).

Regarding the genealogical explorations of affirmative action policy as emergence, it is necessary to locate points of historical dissonance or disruptions associated with instances of intensification of power relations (Tamboukou, 2012). This changes mark patterns, which are actually, albeit modified, pulsating the production of the affirmative action policy and its subjects. Within this onto-epistemic frame, the affirmative action policy must be analysed as a problematic event that comprises strategic irruptions of veridiction or truth over who are the working-class subjects and what is higher education. In this sense, affirmative action policy can be analysed as a truth-making *dispositif* by naming, selecting, classifying, optimising, and affirming certain figures or images related with universities and the populations it addresses. The multiple discourses over the subjects of these programmes, the universities taking part deploying them, and the relationship they should establish, can be conceived as strategic fictions seeking to have truth effects. This is what Foucault (2001b, p. 226) called "eventalisation" that is, a formation in the making that contains singularities at work seen most of the time by policymakers, practitioners and

researchers as self-evident as 'immediate anthropological trait, or an obviousness that imposes itself uniformly on all'.

In this sense, a genealogy is concerned with the tracing of the discursive forms and non-discursive forces such as affects that irrupt and make certain subjects to emerge. It points out that discourses and affects are to be seen as events and discontinuities that triggers the present. The co-existence, correlation, juxtaposition, or opposition between form and force, between discourse and affect, are one of the central analytical strategy one can draw from Foucauldian genealogies (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 205).

Foucault payed attention to the micropolitical dimensions of the social formations; that is 'the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies, and so on that at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal, and necessary' (Foucault, 2001b, pp. 226-227). In these encounters of forces and truths certain authorities, problems and solutions emerge as the real and valid modalities of thinking and practices policy interventions, such as those that connects exclusions with meritocracy and talents, and these with rights and inclusion.

Education Policy from a Governmentality Perspective

Governmentality is a notion revitalised by Foucault (2007; 2008) to describe power as the conduct of conduct of others and as self-conduct, and as a matrix of power attempting to articulate the dreams and ambitions of constituted authorities of government -ministries, policymakers, leaders- 'that seek to shape the beliefs and conduct of others in desired directions by acting upon their will, their circumstances or their environment (Rose and Miller, 2010, p. 273). It seeks to strategically dispose 'relationships, bonds, and complex involvements with things like wealth, resources, means of subsistence…customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking' (Foucault, 2007, p. 96). Governmentality comprises a pluralisation of governing activities and sites (Foucault, 2007, p. 90) alongside an effort to loosely link bottom-up and top-down as well as distribute exercises of power maximising its effectiveness (Foucault, 2007, p. 94; Hook, 2007, p. 245). It intensifies both sovereign and disciplinary power, not their replacement (Hook, 2007, p. 108). It seeks to improve functional capacities or potentialities of subjects and populations to the use and management of risks for the ordering and movement of societies (Miller and Rose, 2010; Bazzicalupo, 2016). In this sense, we can understand governmentality as the expression of

particular rationality of government, as such, it is constantly reconstituted and reformulated by different discourses which contributes to the impossibility of a successful suture, and thus to its multiple but difficult possibilities to escape from and form a new one (Brown, 2015, p. 117).

From this point of view, affirmative action policy must be seen as a programme or procedure of governmentality (Foucault, 2008, p. 186)

> where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken-for-granted meet and interconnect…they have 'prescriptive effect regarding what is to be done (effects of "jurisdiction") and codifying effects regarding what is to be known (effects of "veridiction") (Foucault, 2001b, p. 226).

Practices of governmentality form *dispositifs*. A *dispositif* is a notion deployed by Foucault to capture the multiplicity of social formations beyond the registers of discourse. He defined a *dispositif* as a strategic formation in response to an urgent need of government featured by

> 'heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions - in short, the said as much as the unsaid' (Foucault, 1980, p. 194).

Dispositif connects with both genealogy and governmentality. With genealogy because *dispositif* refers to a historical formation emergent out of a multiplicity of lines not reduced to discursive elements (Tamboukou, 2012, p. 85), and with governmentality due to a *dispositif* being constituted by the programmes or procedures of governmentality aiming to "dispose" subjects, environments and populations towards 'perfection, maximization, or intensification of the processes it directs' (Foucault, 2007, p. 99).

Importantly, as a strategic urgent formation, a *dispositif* is not the product of planned actions, but rather is a 'reactive' formation taking hold of existing relations of force directed against perceived crises (Braun, 2014, p. 52). Foucault, also went onto stress the mobile and contingent multifunctionalities of its elements emphasising their multiple uses for different and even opposing purposes (Foucault, 1980, p. 195).

To see education policy as a *dispositif* enables us to capture its contingent, contested, multiple, indeterminate constitution, and yet its dispositioned ontology in relation to the dominant governmentality or political rationality and regime of truth (Bailey, 2013, p. 825). Theorising affirmative action policy as *dispositif* takes into account the operations of power, knowledge, truth and affect over the historical formation of admission and affirmative

action policies in higher education in light of the political rationality that gives them meaning, tension and validity to guide their tactics, policies and subjects so as to reinforce, accommodate or surpass them. In this context, a *dispositif* grasps the multiplicity of policy agencies, authorities, and conducts and collectivities to govern (Ball, 2013, p. 121) through 'the fitting together of disparate techniques, processes, practices and relationships within a regime of truth to form a grid of power which operates in many different ways from many different points' (Ball, 2013, p. 123).

A policy *dispositif* can be read amidst two frictional -although not incompatible-tendencies: logic of flights and logic of captures. As Tamboukou (2003, p. 219) points out, segmentations or captures and deterritorialisations or flights are ongoing interactions within *dispositifs*' formation. A *dispositif* captures can occur mostly in those places seen as deterriotorialised, out of history and power (Tamboukou, 2003, p. 219), which connects again with the task of genealogy to trace the connections of the affective with knowledge and power, as an interrogation of the power and subjectification effects that the struggles of truth bring about.

Deleuze (1997, p. 184) points up that a *dispositif* is formed between technologies of power and a diagram -a shifting rationality of government-.

These interrelations further stress that governmentality 'provides a bridge between micro-diversity and macro-necessity' (Jessop, 2007, p. 39). For Deleuze, a *dispositif* has a common cause -a rationality- but it is irreducible to it (Deleuze, 2006, p. 38). As a *dispositif* also illuminates the potential of becoming other; that is, the logic of flight within *dispositifs*. For him, a *dispositif* can be analysed through 4 dimensions: 1) curves of visibility -affects-;2) enunciations –discourses and knowledges-; 3) lines of forces –power- which animate and steer curves of visibility and enunciation; and 4) lines of subjectification where the production of figures of subjectivity takes place (Deleuze 1992, pp. 160-161). To study processes of subjectification within a policy *dispositif* requires us to be able to trace 'paths of creation, which are continually aborting, but then restarting, in a modified way, until the former apparatus [*dispositif*] is broken' (Deleuze, 1992, p.164).

I want to come back to the concept of the diagram recuperated by Deleuze (2006; 2014) to further think the connections between governmentality and the formation of a policy *dispositif*. A diagram

'acts as a non-unifying immanent cause that is coextensive with the whole social field…[it] is like the cause of the concrete assemblages [*dispositif*] [10] that execute its relations; and these relations between forces take place "not above" but within the very tissue of the assemblages [*dispositif*] they produce' (Deleuze, 2006, p. 37).

At the same time the diagram "executes" the relations within a *dispositif*. There is here, the unfolding of a 'mutual presupposition … between abstract machine [diagram] and concrete assemblages [*dispositifs*]' (Deleuze 2006, p. 37). The relations between a political rationality, let's say neoliberalism, and the constitution of policy *dispositifs* are possible only because power relations, 'are merely virtual, potential, unstable, vanishing and molecular, and define only possibilities of interaction' (Deleuze 2006, p. 37).

From this point of view, affirmative action policy and its knowledges may express a conflicting and yet articulated meeting point between rationalities of government and technologies that make possible the emergence of an affirmative action policy such as the IAPs and through them trigger practices of subjectification. For instance, ontological coaching is to be researched as a technology -that intervenes in micro-spaces such as conferences, university classrooms, guidelines and curriculum-, as well as forming a part of a broader rationality of government inhabiting its philosophies, theories, reflections, programmes, and intellectual trajectories, as part of broader strategies of national and global competitiveness.

Before going to the next section, I would like to further specify the notion of technology so far implicit in this methodological elaboration, focussing upon it as a key power operator.

Technologies are made out of the 'the articulation of certain techniques and certain kinds of discourse about the subject' (Foucault, 1997, p. 179). This refers to the twin analysis of the different figures of the subject through the encounter between the overlapping of technologies of domination and technologies of the self, understanding this encounter as the formation of governmentality (Foucault, 1997, pp. 179-181). The first ones are technologies allowing us to 'determine the behaviour of individuals, to impose certain wills on them, and to submit them to certain ends or objectives' (Foucault, 1997, p. 180). The latter, allows individuals deploy 'certain number of operations on their own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct' seeking to 'modify themselves' to reach 'state[s] of perfection, of happiness, of purity, of supernatural power' (Foucault, 1997, p. 181). Technologies of government produce a discourse of the subject attached to

---

[10] There is a strong overlap between the notions of dispositif and assemblage. See (Legg, 2011)

the obligation of searching and telling the truth of the selves (Foucault, 1997, p. 179). They are a practical unfolding of regimes of conduct and truth aspiring to constitute desirable subjectivities (Grossberg, 2010, p. 36; Nicoll and Fejes, 2008, p. 16).

Dean Hammer's (2009) studies of the cultural formations of technologies in times of the Roman Empire show that technologies of government enhance the sense of political reality or truth, legitimating the empire by addressing senses and emotions:

> The dramatic staging of Roman spectacles…in which technologies contributed to a political pageantry that was meant to appeal through the perceptive senses directly to the emotion of the spectators and thereby to create in them a feeling of exaltation, celebration, and awe' (Hammer, 2009, pp. 64-65).

To see technology as affective pageantry emphasises particular modes of visibility of subjects by testimonies, dramatizations, therapeutic/liberating experiences, among other strategies of presenting the self.

From these points, we can see coaching and motivational testing practices as technologies of selection, retention, and rendering of important elements of dominant governmental rationalities and discourses of truth and the self, such as neoliberalism, while at the same time showing a capacity to transform or accommodate them.

Towards a Conceptualisation of Affective Governmentalities

Here, I want to elaborate on the negative designation of what is beyond discourse in the formation of *dispositifs*; as non-discursive; as the negative remains of discourse, without a proper name (Deleuze, 2006, p. 27). To conceptualise as non-discursive everything that is beyond discursive registers is to subsume or reduce affects to the logic of discourse, and therefore, forgetting the heterogeneity and non-correspondence, but mutual presupposition, between these two preconditions -affects and discourses- of *dispositifs*. Power does not just propagate desires and other affects but also is propelled by them.

Deleuze identifies affects in visibilities, defining them as 'complexes of actions and passions, actions and reactions, multisensorial complexes, which emerge into the light of day' (Deleuze, 2006, p. 59). Here, affects are the sensorial, passionate, reactive elements of visibilities in *dispositifs*. By bringing "the affective" into governmentality what becomes palpable is the role of passion, feelings, fantasies and optimisms as affective endurances (Deleuze, 2001, pp. 47–48) triggering discursive actions on history, bodies and

subjectivities. As Deleuze (2006, p. 49) argued: 'visibilities [affects] will remain irreducible to statements [discourse] and remain all the more so for developing a passion for the action of statements'. By taking together affects and governmentality opens up opportunities of re-theorising cultural inscriptions as affective. Following and extending Massumi (2002, p. 9), I argue that there is an ontology of the social and the cultural as governed forms that pose a methodological challenge to think and trace their formation through the game of affects, discourse, power and subject-positions.

This methodology is not about working-classes' feelings, or self-consciousness leading them to desire or resist access to higher education, but rather, about the discursive and affective forces driving policy, -and policy advocacy, makers/making- to fabricate specific regimes of subjectifications for them in relation to higher education. In this line, affective governmentality stresses the attempts of sculpting the "interiorities" of subjects as central to constituting them as proper, desirable subjects of rights to higher education.

Neoliberal affective governmentalities are expressed widely in policies of social cohesion, wellbeing, prevention of hatred, and policies of self-improvement through "growth mind-set", coaching, grit, resilience, among others psycho-political technologies on inclusion. This affective governmentality articulates a neoliberal logic of abandonment which is 'congruent with the retrenchment of welfare states and new psychological orthodoxies', on the one hand, and a progressive politics inscribed in discursive registers claiming links with social movements, communities, desires of justice, [and] a humanist polity foregrounding legitimacy from below (Newman, 2017, p. 22).

In this research, sociological, psychological and managerial knowledges emerged as central forms within the practices of the affirmative action policy as a regime of subjectification. In this line, I see these knowledges, not as rational projects, but as affective driven, plugged in a will to know and a will to govern, and emerging from the dominant rationality that legitimates authorities to claim to know and command working-class subjects.

The Analytical Tactics and Techniques Deployed

Analytic Tactics

In this section, I explain my analysis which translates the theoretical vocabulary into specific ways of framing my data. In order to do so, I present my tactical analytics, that is,

the analytical practical guidelines I could grasp from the scattered Foucault's practical suggestions alongside other Ad-hoc texts referring to the way of research institutions or historical formations as affective formations that I found useful to articulate with Foucauldian practical analytics (e.g. Hunter 2017, Anderson, 2016).

I take into consideration three tactical analytical displacements that Foucault stressed in the genealogical study of governmentality. These displacements are:

- First, to go from the inside of the IAPs and PACE to its "multiple outsides" and genealogies of its formation from the point of view of the technologies of power. This implies the need to connect the affirmative action policy with an external or general "order" -to be identified- and then to connect it with a more global political rationality or project (Foucault, 2007, p. 117). In this investigation the external order would be the "inclusion order", and the global project 'directed to a whole society' is ordo-liberal rationality in its emerging form of progressive neoliberalism as I will develop in Chapters II and III. From these points, I attempt to trace the deployment of the neoliberal rationality or diagram as the condition of the affirmative action policy and the analysis of its specific discourse of inclusion.

- Secondly, to identify the multiple technologies of power; the infrapowers producing the affirmative action policy and its subjects. These technologies are coordinated and invoked through the "order of inclusion" and the singular regime of subjectification it is moving forward (e.g. Foucault, 2007, p. 117). Here, I render the analysis of testing/disciplinary technology of sociology of meritocracy and psychologies of motivation, and ontological coaching as a pastoral power and technology of subjectification and self. This means to look at how a field of truth -disciplinary and non-disciplinary practices of knowledges such as psychology or ontological coaching, for instance- move to the space of education policy -are present in the thinking and practices of affirmative action policy- and speak of working-class subjects as their subjects to be known, formed, improved, intervened, include/exclude, and controlled. Here, subjectivity is to be "read" and "interpreted" as constructed by practices of knowledges over people that brings their 'exterior history of truth' in opposition to people's interior/inner truth which is rather to be performed by these knowledges and interventions (Foucault, 2001b, pp. 3–4).

- Thirdly, to reconstruct affirmative action policy's alliances, supports, communications and strategies, and the struggles rendered. This implies to map out its main agents as generative points, revealing their aims, and the spaces of power they come from and relate to. This is to place the affirmative action policy in its closer economy of power (Foucault, 2007, p. 118). It also implies the need to describe its discursive strategies through some policy narratives and texts that make possible the discursive and affective order of the affirmative action policy. Prominent here, regarding my analysis, is to decentre the constitution of working class subjects as objects of knowledge (Foucault, 2007, p. 118).

Finally, in all of these tactics, attention needs to be paid to the affects that emerge from the empirical material. Affects are to be observed in different intensities, feelings of fears, hopes, hates or passions linked to reasons, statements, reflections, stories, and crucial historical events such as the irruption of student movement or systematic killings as in dictatorships. These two types of events are crucial affective forces for the formation of IAPs and PACE. I also looked for affects in the attempts of technologies to govern through the promises, teachings, and in general, practices towards the production and control of specific emotions in working-class students, as well as in the "reactions" and "passions" asserted in discourses on texts and policymakers and advocators when working-class, as a living/performative category, appeared. I also identify affects attached to the figure of the working-class and to the historical formation of neoliberalism -in its various forms- in relationship with the constitution of higher education and the working-class subject as a new type of higher education student. Here, I follow loosely the work of Hunter (2017) and Anderson (2016) who has tried to surpass the power/knowledge complex in governmentality. They address historical formations as affective and subjectifying formations such as NHS in Hunter's case or neoliberalism in Anderson's case. Even if these attempts are yet to be taken with caution, experimental, they have helpful clues of how to proceed as they focus on how the circulation of emotions, collective affects, or fantasies emerge in the formation of institutions (Hunter, 2017) or about how one can identify specific affective indexes in the rationalities and reasons given for the configuration and hegemony of neoliberalism (Anderson, 2016).

Research Technologies

For the construction of my counter-archival assemblage I used three main techniques: archival explorations; semi-structured interviews with 14 policymakers, and an

ethnographic encounter in a conference devoted to the promotion and research of these programmes. These three techniques comprised the production of a large body of texts in the form of success guides, course/modules syllabus, and theories backing these programmes, promotional videos, stories, reasons, ambitions, and memories.

Through the archival exploration, I gathered documents comprising reporting research on the IAPs or PACE, policy texts, contracts, speeches in seminars; books on and supporting these programmes; brochures; promotional videos, news and journalist reports, and testimonies related to policy advocators and students' experiences. They describe the history, battles, dreams, ambitions, principles, organization and aims of the programmes; the guidelines, curriculum; practices of intervention and modes of presentations of the "modules" comprising these affirmative action programmes.

The organisation of this material took on a new shape and organisation by extending the exploration, following some methodological tactics drawing on Deleuze (2013; 2014) and Foucauldian hints, towards the identification of spaces/loci of power from which discursive practices of truth and rationalities performing these programmes emerged. The loci of power identified were:

1) Philanthropic/international organisations concerned with the promotion of private-civil society-public partnership of policy production. The main international organisations were UNESCO and the Ford Foundation, and the Equitas Foundation. They have had a central role in the formation of the affirmative action programmes as well as in its becoming of the first state affirmative action policy.

2) Universities/Human Science disciplines -Psychology and Sociology-, which provide discourses of truth and rationalities regarding the strategic formation of the programmes and the production of forms of (de)classed subjectivities seen as proper to the programmes and universities. One of the important things to take into account here is that I take the knowledge production from these disciplines -research reports, scientific papers, Chapters and books, as part of my empirical data. This is a key point, because during all this thesis I read the sociological and psychological research about the affirmative action policy as performative affects and discourses as able to shape the epistemic and material reality of the IAPs and PACE, as well as core forces of subjectification.

Following the notion of the empirical conveyed in my discussion of the archive assemblage, here the empirical is beyond the techniques of interviews, surveys or any of those material produced from the voices, perceptions and lived intimate experiences of individuals. I do not exclude them, but I give fuller priority to the discourses of knowledge produce from these loci of power/knowledge. As Gaumann and Gergen (1996, p. 7), drawing on a post-empirical perspective, (1996, p. 7) pointed out, it is necessary to broaden the criteria of the empirical for evaluating the social sciences' attachments and potentials in order 'to place the discipline's efforts in their larger historical and cultural context, opening them, for example, to considerations of ideological investments, distributions of power and privilege, and contribution to cultural meaning systems'.

> 3) Enterprise/ontological coaching and leadership literature and practices. They are constituted as technologies of inclusion mobilising truths and subjectification practices over the subjects of the affirmative action policy.

The way of handling these documents were not as scientific evidences, or given truth, not even the ones coming from human sciences spaces. They were interrogated as discourse, as practices of constitution of policies, subjectivities, and universities, and as porous spaces, where unthought reasons and visceralities -desires and abjections- are engines of their production.

I also conducted 14 semi-structured interviews with the most active policymakers and researchers in the production of the affirmative action policy. The role of policymakers, researchers, and advocators overlap in these interviewees. They work in multiple sites; universities, national and international NGOs, and the state. These interviewees often transit fluidly by these sites.

I started contacting them before departing to Chile by sending the research information to them, informing them of the dates I was going to be in Chile, and asking them for their cooperation. I wished them to participate in an interview and where possible give me documentary information. Once in Chile, they were elusive actors, so I had to contact them several times before getting a place suitable for interviewing them.

I theorise these interviewees as "constituted" policy subjectivities, embodying affective-discursive power and being themselves constituted by power/knowledge/affect complexes. In this sense, they are agentive subjects enabling by power operations and strategies

deployed from contemporary neoliberal rationality -its adaptations, resistances against it, and supports, and also from the strategies deployed by the locus of power described above. In fact, these actors established a series of concerted meetings and strategies in order to develop and expand these programmes. The policy work they did is significant in their ongoing formation as policy agents. It is important to know that almost all of them lived in dictatorship times, and some had close participation in the opposition against the military regimes or in the process of institutional reconciliation during the 1990s. These biographical backgrounds are crucial to understand any subjectivity of policymakers in Chile.

In the following table I present a description of the main positional features of these interviewees. I named them with numbers and I described their positions in a general mode because most of these actors are well known within the higher education field, and some of them, explicitly asked me to secure as much as I can their identities and institutional positions. Nonetheless, I described them in a way that allows the reader to convey their location in the formation of the IAPs and PACE.

Table 1: Policymakers Interviewed and their Features in relation to the Affirmative Action Policy

Policy makers interviewed	Roles and main characteristic in relation to the affirmative action policy formation
Policy maker 1	Policy maker leader. Working across universities and government developing these programmes. Affirmative action policy researcher. Part of the affirmative action policy network.
Policy maker 2	Policy maker, working at government developing these programmes. Part of the affirmative action policy network. Belonging to a leftist political party.
Policy maker 3	Policy maker leader. Working at Equitas Foundation and for FORD Foundation. Social Scientist. Affirmative action policy researcher. Part of the affirmative action policy network
Policy maker 4	Representative of UNESCO at the Program of Educational Inclusion for Latin America and the Caribbean. Policy maker advocator of affirmative action policies. Part of the affirmative action policy network
Policy maker 5	Policy maker leader. Working at University A in a leadership position. Part of the affirmative action policy network
Policy maker 6	Researcher. Working at University B in a leadership position regarding research production. Affirmative action policy researcher. Part of the affirmative action policy network. It was de Director of the Induction Access Programmes for some years.
Policy maker 7	Policy maker leader. Working at University B in a leadership position regarding affirmative action policies.
Policy maker 8	Working at University C in a leadership position regarding affirmative action policies.
Policy maker 9	Working at University C in a leadership position regarding affirmative action policies.
Policy maker 10	Working at University D in a leadership position regarding affirmative action policies.
Policy maker 11	Policy maker leader. Working at University E in a leadership position regarding affirmative action policies.
Policy maker 12	Policy maker. Ontological Coach of Induction Access Programmes at Universities B, C, E, and close collaborator of these programmes
Policy maker 13	Policy maker leader and ontological coach. Working at Government and several universities at coach of the affirmative action programmes including universities B, C, E. One of the main actors developing ontological coaching in the affirmative actions. Close to Equitas Foundation.
Policy maker 14	Working at University F in a leadership position regarding affirmative action policies.

The aims of these interviews were threefold. First, to dig in the historical formation of these programmes; their rationales, affects and social forces driving their organisation. Second, to explore the specific practices constituting the programmes such as those of measurement, leadership and emotional management. Third, I developed these interviews to identify and clarify discursive practices articulated in the modes of subjectification of the working-class students in relation to broader rationalities and the constitution of universities.

By braiding together the documentary explorations and these interviews I could trace connection and discursive pattern recurrent in both. This strategy makes more complex the force or acceptance of a given narrative. It was through these interviews that it was possible to make visible the micropolitical movements and struggles over, and for, the production of the affirmative action policy. Unknown positioning regarding the programmes, constituted enemies of the policy, as well as internal critiques of it, envies, epistemic intimidations, hidden strategies of governing knowledge, among others, became visible thus possible to identify through these interviews.

I also interviewed 18 students participating as "beneficiaries" of these programmes. Nonetheless, I decided to leave this material outside the writing of this thesis for the reasons I outline here. The students I interviewed were contacted by snowballing techniques from my initial contacts. Specifically, by emails that some of the coordinators of the programme gave to me after presenting them details of the study and its purposes. These students come from working-class families, communities and schools, and are often described as having a lower educational background and cultural capital than those of the so-called traditional students in universities. Nonetheless, they were selected to be part of the programmes given their outstanding academic performances, their lack of economic resources to afford universities' fees, and their precarious preparation in disadvantaged schools. Importantly, the majority of these students did their secondary education in technical schools designed for following more direct pathways to work and their curriculum does not conform to the programmes that the national entrance test evaluates to access universities.

These interviews were designed as open-ended interviews looking for the intimate experiences these students had of these programmes. They were meant to be central data at the beginning of the PhD. After the fieldwork, I decided to use this material just marginally, and read it as discursive and affective instances where subjectification forces can be expressed. In spite of this reconceptualisation, I think that the exposition of the working-class students' narratives (and in general subjects' narratives) is a political decision. For this, it is important to take into account the interpretive possibilities that the neoliberal humanist epistemes allow. In this case, beyond my attempt of decentring the subject, a humanist neoliberal episteme reads this data as coming from the subject, thus as seen the subjects responsible or guilty for their own experiences.

An alternative way to assume the students' interviews, but any way risky, it is to use their narratives to illuminate the positioning and effects of other constitutive elements of subjectification. But, in my particular case the interviews were designed based o Hollway and Jefferson's (2008) free association narrative interview. This interview method is based on Kleinian psychoanalytic school and it focuses primarily on the unconscious anxieties indexed in the biographies of individuals. In this methodological scenario, was difficult to maintain these interviews at the centre of my project.

Overlapping events interfered in creating this shift. My readings on poststructural research and Foucauldian theorising on human science knowledge; the analysis of the field of affirmative action research -overwhelmingly focus on the production and screening of certain kind of working-class subjects and their performing capacities-; the subjectification process I was experimenting with as a result of my reconsideration of the literature lead me, painfully and little by little, to a research practice not about the lived experiences of working-class students, their enhanced capacities or their attachments or rejection of neoliberal practices of the self, but about the forces governing them, that is, an analysis not of their experiences, but of their 'focal points of experience in which forms of a possible knowledge (savoir), normative frameworks of behaviour, and potential modes of existence for possible subjects are linked together' (Foucault, 2008, p. 3).

Again, it is not about denying the critical potential that research on the experiences of the governed and their resistances, or on the subjugated voices and knowledges, can have, but more about making a contribution about affirmative action policy research and the theorisation of education policy by engaging in research practices and questions that are still invisible or exceptionally peripheral in this field and in Chile.

The more I read these interviews alongside Foucault, my uneasiness rose up. I realised that the interviews I did with them were totally centred in bringing the truth of their selves onto the stage, in front of the eye of knowledge. This runs a great risk to contribute to the responsibilisation as well as pastoral power over them. I realised that, by the time of the interviews, I was moved by a will to know their intimate selves, thus contributing to the processes of government and domination over them. On the other hand, I did not want to expose their attachments to the regimes of subjectification, operating through the affirmative action programmes. In these interviews, I encountered a great deal of attachments to the affirmative action policy and its dynamics of exclusion towards those working classes not registered as exceptional working class able to overcome their very

constitutive conditions making them excluded. Any fashioned practice reporting (producing) the experiences of working-class subjects which are still alive -in contrast to the focal points of experiences- no matter how critical or affirming are the points researchers make, is functional to the processes of domination by freedom, responsibilisation, and to the ever more pressing tendencies to look for inner selves, hoping to optimising them, hear them scream, cry, or emerging as superheroes of their selves. This misses the point to the historical, affective and discursive processes that make some people the targets of those violent practices.

I see this move as critique, in the sense of a methodological insubordination against the institutional and accepted humanistic rules of the game in affirmative action policy research and exposing the limits of this research (Lemke, 2011, p. 33). Way beyond a heroic attitude, my political subjectification has led to me feeling insecure about my decision, feeling trapped in several moments and for longer periods of time, but at the same time with a kind of constituted will and awareness of contributing with different knowledge and questions to the field. Based of Foucault's thinking on desubjectivation (2001b, p. 241), I do not claim a limit-experience through this shift, but I would like to convey that the sense of crisis and failure about not reporting the lived experiences of working-class students and decentring them from this research can be thought of as a liminal limit-experience between rejecting the phenomenological risk of making working-class students responsible for reflection and for finding true meaning of their lives.

The haunt of my own humanism in this decision and the interviews I did was -and still it is- with me until the end of this process. As Braidotti wrote in *The Posthuman* (2013, p. 29): 'The Vitruvian Man rises over and over again from his ashes, continues to uphold universal standards and to exercise a fatal attraction'. Nonetheless, politically hopeful and faithful to my experience of writing leaving aside the strong effort I did during the process of those 18 interviews, is the Deleuzian understanding of writing based on his explorations on Foucault's thought: 'to write is to struggle and resist; to write is to become' (Deleuze, 2006, p. 44).

All the interviewees were informed of the purposes of the research and interviews. I gave them the informed consent form and all of them agreed to take part of the research. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, and the extracts used in this writing were

translated by me. In order to protect their identities, I anonymised them assigning the general category of policymakers and differentiating them with numbers for the case of the policymakers and advocators of these programmes.

I did not disclose the names of the universities either, given that these interviewees and also the students wanted to protect their names. In the case of the students' interview, I assigned the general category of student and I differentiated them with numbers.

In January 2014, one of the first fieldwork activities I engaged in was a Seminar entitled 'II Seminario sobre Contextos Formativos y Sociales de Programas Propedéuticos en Chile [II Seminar on Formative and Social Context of Induction Access Programmes in Chile] organised by the Silva Henríquez Catholic University -one of the leading universities promoting these programmes- and sponsored by the National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICYT by its acronyms in Spanish). I decided to do this ethnographic exploration when I received an invitation to give a presentation explicitly on the discourse of inclusion of these programmes -and this was one of the first glimpses I had regarding the discursive umbrella positioning these programmes.

Given that seminars or congress are key spaces for the enactment of the epistemic will to govern knowledge and the production of policy, as well as expressing various instances of pastoral power in practices, it seemed to me a good opportunity to immerse myself in the field. Policy seminars are spaces where professionals, supporters and policymakers involved in policies gather. In fact, most of the people invited to participate as members of the public or as researchers were close to the programmes. When I was preparing the presentation, I did not know what the reaction of the public and researchers would be, but I wanted to test some primary ideas regarding class and affirmative action policies as articulatory nodes of the discourse of inclusion.

At that time, I was pretty much a new comer to the field and I felt uncomfortable presenting some critical undertakings on class and affirmative action policies in an environment, I knew, critical policy sociology was/is mainly absence. I recorded the presentation, I took notes on them, as well as on the reaction of the public and on the conversations I held with various researchers and policymakers attending.

What happened during the seminar, but above all, after my presentation, become one of the rich empirical material and thoughtful events in which this thesis finally started to take off. My presentation was entitled *Affirmative Action Policy and its discourse of Inclusion in Higher*

Education. I received various positive comments like "we need more of this kind of critical engagement here", "The things you said are the things we are doing, but you put them in a more precise and beautiful words" (Field Notes, January 2014). But I also received what a "call to order" from one of the main policymakers striving for developing these programmes who tried to censured the grammar of class he perceived I used in my presentation -an event analysed in one of the following Chapters of this thesis-. During the entire seminar and in the interactions I participated there was also a recurrent "we" addressing me. These reactions are highly valuable to understand the micropolitics of episteme at stake telling something about the discourses struggles and the affective production of power/knowledge relations in the construction of the affirmative action policy in the Chilean higher education.

Finally, following some problematics put forward by post-qualitative research, based on the thinking of Foucault, Deleuze and others (Lather and St. Pierre, 2013; St. Pierre and Jackson, 2014), I followed a thematic analysis with general codes in order to organise the analysis of the data. I did not engage in coding practices fixing the production of the empirical in separated, neat dimensions but I tried to trace patterns and links between the data produced and its historical context. I treated all the empirical produced without privileging interviews and their actor's views and voices over other empirical registers. If documentary or archival explorations were privileged in this research, is because I found in them richer contextualisations, and more visible discursive and affective strategies. On the other hand, combining the three techniques allowed me to identify an affective-discursive pattern regarding the subjectifying practices producing working-class figures of subjectivities. This discovery emerged as crucial to understand these programmes and the underlying technologies of inclusion that were deployed.

Chapter II. Ordo-liberalism as a Neoliberal Political Rationality against Working-Class Politics

Introduction

In this Chapter I conceptually review the status of neoliberalism and I link it with an affective governmental reason of class politics seeking to vanish working-class people from the political landscape. I try to develop this understanding of neoliberal governmentality bearing in mind both, that (1) in Foucault's lectures on neoliberalism there is no further exploration of the affective forces of neoliberalism shaping working-class subjectivities in specific ways that are not reducible to the entrepreneurial subject, and (2) the particular development of neoliberalism in Chile, that in the arena of social policies since the 1990s takes the form of ordo-liberalism where the centre-left plays an ultimate role in its configuration. In this Chapter, the exploration of ordo-liberal governmentality and its relationship with the constitution of the working-class subject is at the centre of the analysis.

Neoliberal governmentality leads to 'the emergence of a new kind of individualism that draws upon character and worth to explain and justify inequalities, that constructs its own particular subjectivities and that insinuates itself into our ethical practices' (Ball, 2013, p.121). Neoliberal governmentality is a political rationality born out of a reworking and critique of liberal principles, emphasising individual responsibilisation, competition's practices, and subjectivities –bodies, relationships with others, mentalities and desires- aiming to produce the conditions of possibility of an entrepreneurial subjectivity grounded in capitalist enterprise-like and market-like scheme of valuation (Hamann, 2009; Brown, 2015). And yet, it signifies a dense carrier of meaning making practices which make impossible to advance a pure definition (Jessop, 2013, p. 65).

Neoliberalism takes a multiplicity of forms and forces that come together and compose agencies of neoliberalism as well as having its own indeterminacy or incompleteness that under some conditions gives way to new emergent formations, effects, and discursive and material patterns that may be or may not be seen as neoliberal (Higgins and Larner, 2017, pp. 3–9).

Thinking about affirmative action policy formation through this approach is crucial for recognising the wider, contradictory and competing micro-rationalities, spaces, subjects and affects coming together to advocate for and organise affirmative action policies in higher education at university, state, and national and global levels. In defence of affirmative action policies different stances come together ranging from corporate interests for boosting global competitiveness by the use of highly diverse and skilled workforce, performance rationalities invoked by the part of social science researchers emphasising the educational outputs of these policies, and stances mobilised by, for instance, "The Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action" arguing for these policies as ways of addressing historical racial segregation (Marin, 2014, pp. 84-85).

In what follows, First, I grapple with the epistemological status of neoliberalism as a concept. Secondly, I theorise neoliberalism as governmentality or political rationality of government. Thirdly, I develop an analysis of ordo-liberalism as affective and elitist governmentalities in relationship with the regime of subjectification it generates towards the working-class subject. Next, I review some of the effects that neoliberal affective governmentalities generate in the making of higher education and the working-class subject linked to it, especially, taking into account the inclusion and admission regimes, the discourses of social mobility, and the emotional (therapeutic and affective) turn of access and equity policies in higher education. Finally, I conclude with some reflections regarding affective neoliberal governmentalities -best expressed in ordo-liberalism- and the constitution of a discursive and affective formation of inclusion, and in relation to the role played by the constitution of the working-class subject. I argue that the working-class subject constituted by ordo-liberalism is the constitutive outside of neoliberalism, and as such, it is never possible for neoliberalism to erase.

I contend that, specifically in ordo-liberalism, the category of the working-class is at the limit of its regime of truth. Class and more accurately, working-classes -and the rationalities of the common operating towards working-class welfare, political subjectification, and collectiveness- are neoliberalism's constitutive outside. Working-class functions as its *politically invisible imaginary*, that is, a loading affective category representing class antagonism and desires as feared sensed *futures in the present* to neoliberal imaginaries.

The Contested Notion of Neoliberalism and the Politics of Conceptualisation

Before engaging with neoliberalism as governmentality, I feel interpellated to grapple with the contested nature of neoliberalism as social theory. That is because, neoliberalism has been under intense questioning given the difficulties it presents to those seeking to grasp what it is and how it works. Even those asserting a critical social scientific perspective use this term assuming a simple and general understanding of it. In the next section, I address this recalcitrant issue, and then I move on to its theorising.

Criticism against the notion sees it as an amorphous concept, lacking definition – one with an exaggerated expansiveness, imprecise depth, and morally loaded or biased, thus lacking scientificity and theoretical and empirical rendering (see Barnett, 2005; Boas and Gans-Morse, 2009; Flew, 2014; Venugopal, 2015). This dissatisfaction also comes from the problematic epistemological status of neoliberalism in education research where it is often presented with scant definition and discussion (Rowlands and Rawolle, 2013). As Rowlands and Rawolle (2013, pp. 268–270) asserts, there is a political risk of reproducing and extending the neoliberal discourse when we, as critical researchers 'feel for the game' of writing about it without defining what we meant by neoliberalism and without positioning ourselves in relation to the ways we understand it. This tendency has alerted me about the epistemological challenges neoliberalism comprises.[11]

To tackle this, it is necessary to acknowledge, at least, neoliberalism's different historical and political trajectories, its local and global connections shaping its different pathways (Ong, 2007; Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010), and the centrality of locating neoliberalism's iterations alongside its 'constitutive outsides' by taking into account other rationalities transforming and reproducing neoliberalism in context-specific ways.[12] Indeed, 'to constitute the field of adversity' or 'adversarial imaginaries' were one of the tactical ways

---

[11] Julie Rowlands and Shaun Rawolle (2013) found that this pattern is stronger in the works done since 2000s onwards.

[12] In Latin America for example we encounter different policies, imaginaries and discourses based on socialism, communism, developmental or liberal welfare state, "buen vivir", de-growth, de-commodification policies, or labour-centred development pathways. All of them reconfigure the territories where neoliberalism unfolds.

in which neoliberals constructed its identity and epistemic articulation (Peck 2013, p.150).[13] As Wendy Brown (2015, p. 81) states regarding the constitutive outside of neoliberalism: 'even when one image becomes hegemonic, it carves itself against a range of other possibilities –tacitly arguing with them, keeping them at bay, or subordinating them'.

Thus, to move forward, I think, it involves renouncing the nostalgic positivist project of finding pure and consensual definitions of neoliberalism. Strategically, we can think that precisely neoliberalism's contested, unstable and messy nature reveals something central to the ways neoliberalism comports and eludes analysis (Peck, 2013, p. 134). Neoliberalism, as both theorising practice and historical configuration is made out of multiple political and epistemic struggles of truth that does more than "reads" the "external" reality; it contributes to its enacting and elusiveness. Neoliberalism is

> versatile and malleable, actively appropriating projects and forces that appear [to] be oppositional. It is not a coherent dismantling of the social or a pure individualising strategy, but a form of braiding together contradictory ways 'forms of self-governing, responsible and perhaps moral citizens…[through] discourses in which self and society, individual and community, are imagined and coupled in rather different ways (Newman, 2017, pp. 22–23).

A politics of conceptualising neoliberalism involves the acknowledgment of its political force and the recognition of the performativity of social sciences. This view on theorising interrupts positivism and metaphysics that presuppose any pre-given entities –such as the state and the economy– as delimited, coherent and external objects of knowledge. The performativity of social science points out to the processes which bring into existence those entities or 'realities' and the social consequences linked to their social operations or interventions (Butler, 2010, p. 147). Therefore, the performativity of social science helps to construct and enact epistemic and social problems and formations, thus, getting involved in ontological politics by bringing into being aspects of reality. As Law and Urry (2004, p. 396)state:

> If methods help to make the realities they describe, then we are faced with the question: which realities might we try to enact…And the issue of ontological politics, about what is or could be made more real, is all the more pointed since

---

[13] Peck (2013, p. 150) concludes that '…it is clearly imperative that neoliberalism must, inescapably and in every situation, be located amongst its others. Even where neoliberalism is demonstrably hegemonic, it is never the entire story, never the only causal presence; it never acts alone. Furthermore, friction, double movements, resistance, alternatives are ever-present. While a case can be made that neoliberalism possesses an inherent expansionary logic (since it actively targets new spaces and fronts for marketization, while unleashing loosely bounded deregulatory imperatives), 100% monopoly status is impossible, even in theory. And this is not just a matter of 'local differences'. Even globally, neoliberalism exists among other forces and conditions'.

every time we make reality claims in social science we are helping to make some social reality or other more or less real.

In wider public and critical social science discourses around the globe; and especially in the so called global north –North European and Anglo-Saxon countries-, rampant and narrow narratives of neoliberalism have been developed where its main points of origins and hegemonic contours are situated in the USA and the United Kingdom. From this *mythical* geopolitics of origins, neoliberalism is described as a set of ideas coming from the North, and circulating and spread by right-wing *organic intellectuals* aiming to overcome the crisis of capitalist accumulation under welfare states and Keynesian policies (Connell and Dados, 2014). Thus, they assume pre-given homogenous political and economic formations and effects.

This specific geopolitics of knowledge around neoliberalism demands an epistemological disobedience 'in order to call into question the modern/colonial foundation of the control of knowledge' (Mignolo, 2009, p. 162). The epistemological disobedience is based on geopolitics of knowledge aiming to expose the epistemic privilege that the "North" has in the invention and classification of the world. In accordance to this epistemological stance, Connell and Dados (2014) make an effort to de-colonise the critical narratives of neoliberalism. They acknowledge that the often hidden and unaddressed geopolitical construction of knowledge, and its power to emerge as universal truth, is now a major concern in social science thinking from various post/de-colonial perspectives which 'all point to the need for social science to pay far more attention to the modern social experience of the majority world, and recognize the work of intellectuals generating theory, as well as data, from the periphery' (Connell and Dados, 2014, p. 118)

In a similar vein, Leiva's (2010) critical cultural political economy of Latin American capitalism, with a specific focus on Chilean neoliberalism, calls attention to the epistemic necessity of resisting the temptation to explore Latin American neoliberalism and its relation with the production of a new subjectivity through the 'Eurocentric mirror'. This Eurocentric lens examines changes produced by neoliberalism assuming post-Fordism, information society or cognitive capitalism as analytic and empirical solid formations in the Latin American region without a rooted historical analysis of its uneven development. This stance can prevent theorisations of neoliberal governmentality that takes for granted the link between actual neoliberalism and a new right-wing politics and policies.

Following the trajectory of Chilean neoliberalism, Leiva (2010) points out the necessity to explore the contributions of the centre-left intellectuals' and international agencies' practices of truth so as to understand the reconfigurations of neoliberal governmentality after the authoritarian regime held sway between 1973-1990. The reconfiguration of neoliberalism requires us examining both the material-discursive practices of the national/transnational corporate elites in Chile and the centre-left intellectuals' production of affective politics of government.

> Placing the Latin American corporate elites and the liberal center-left and its intellectuals in the analytical perspective is an unavoidable task, since both actors, in a much more reflexive and explicit way than at any other time, have chosen to focus their interventions over subjectivity and the symbolic-cultural plane … both the capital valorization strategies promoted by the economic conglomerates as well as the center-left's strategies … to produce "social cohesion and belonging" … would be characterized by what I have called "the socio-emotional turn" (Leiva, 2010, p. 3).

By not attending to the geo-politics of knowledge comprises in the naming and circulation of neoliberalism, without saying from where and how we understand and problematise it, reinforces its values intrinsically based on inequalities and exploitation. We take ourselves out of their modes of operation by repeating neoliberal common sense, and we let neoliberalism impose as something ungraspable; as a lively phantom presence, thus as something that is everywhere but ultimately does not exist.

Theorising Neoliberalism as Political Rationality of Government

The most common depiction of neoliberalism is as an economic policy emphasising privatisation beyond the limits of economic markets, including the rolling-back of the state from interference in the economy and employment concerns, and diminishing social protection and social rights. This goes alongside a representation of state interventions as the distortion and blockage of the market's competitive forces (Larner, 2000; Boas and Gans-Morse, 2009). These processes are said to be underpinned by five main values: 'the individual; freedom of choice; market security; laissez faire, and minimal government' (Larner, 2000, p. 7).

I take governmentality as the main approach to understand neoliberalism in order to be able to explore how 'neoliberal spaces, states, and subjects are being constituted in

particular forms' (Larner, 2003, p. 511). Governmentality frames neoliberalism as a political rationality and a regime of truth carved out through diverse political and affective economies at different scales, *dispositifs* and technologies, and at different cultural registers and subjectivities.

Against the common understanding, Foucault studied neoliberalism as a form of governmentality or political reason. From this perspective, he understood neoliberalism as a vigilant, active and intervening political power based on the principles of market competition as a general rule of government and regime of veridiction.

> **The problem of neo-liberalism is rather how the overall exercise of political power can be modelled on the principles of a market economy. So it is not a question of freeing an empty space, but of taking the formal principles of a market economy and referring and relating them, of projecting them on to a general art of government … Neoliberalism** *should not therefore be identified with laissez-faire, but rather with permanent vigilance, activity, and intervention* (Foucault, 2008, pp. 131–132).

Neoliberalism reshapes knowledges, conducts and self-conducts, spaces and imaginaries – all are appropriated to the strengthening and extension of market competition. Therefore, it projects over individuals, figures of subjectivities as entrepreneurial and financialized human capital based on the competitive and strategic practices and meanings of 'enhancing the self's future value' (Brown 2015, pp. 30-34). The entrepreneurial figure does not just operate under the assumption of free subjects, it is also disciplinary, epitomised in policies conditioning (and constructing) rights and welfare to 'behavioural mandates' and punishments when this mode of being are not accomplished (Wacquant, 2012, pp. 71–72). In this understanding of neoliberalism, subjects, if they are to be valued, must be re-crafted in the image of the firm fostering them so they learn to govern themselves as if their lives were business matters.

In this context, the state and public policies are reshaped internally as well as their environment forming the competition state (Jessop, 2015). The inward commodification of the state, known as public management, entails the extension of the market rationality into the state 'by organizing internal markets for its activities and/or adopting market proxies and rank-ordered benchmarks to simulate market competition [within the state]' (Jessop, 2015, p. 170). Neoliberalism redraws the boundaries between government and market competition. In social policies and bureaucracy work, market and managerial metrics design and produce a market while at the same time are designed as a market. This transformation

is achieved through vouchers systems, competitive scholarships or funding, a greater emphasis on performance measuring outputs, public sectors league tables, and quality improvements mechanisms, among others (Jessop, 2015, pp. 180-181).

The globalising of competition and competition states, entail a key aspect to understand the rationality that education policies follow. For neoliberal rationality international competition between states is crucial for the improvements of the 'managing a public power that has to regulate the behavior of subjects' (Foucault, 2008, p. 7). Due to this mandate 'government [has to regulate the life of] its subjects, to regulate their economic activity, their production' (Foucault, 2008, p. 7).

Neoliberal governmentality is central for exploring affirmative action policies for it is the epistemic, ontological and affective context of policy, performing the knowledges, networks, actors, enactments and subjects coming together in its formation. In so doing, neoliberalism suffuses the meanings, functions and roles of education (Petersen and O'Flynn, 2007). Moreover, I see the tendencies of higher education policies –privatisation and commodification, the prestige economy based on students' class positions read as merit or talent, competition for resources and even for implementing equity policies, and financialisation of students' right to higher education, among others- as part of a neoliberal landscape through which there is a strategic government of populations and subjectivities.

Competition as a technology of governmentality replaces the spontaneous/natural emergence of the market as a space of competition for a constructed and embedded notion of market forms. Competition must be fostered by social policies and broader institutional arrangements where the state plays a central role for the sake of capital accumulation supporting the extension of competition and colonisation of capital accumulation to new social spheres (Lazzarato 2015, pp. 68-70; Brown 2015, pp. 62-63). Social policies cannot be thought against competition and economic growth, but rather must be produced viewing competition and economic growth as the optimum mode of individual flourishing (Brown 2015, pp. 63-64).

Competition as the central code of markets regulates subjects under the value of inequality instead of equivalence of equality: '…when market principles are extended to every sphere, inequality becomes legitimate' creating valuable winners and undervalued but "legitimate" punished losers (Brown, 2015, pp. 64-65).

With the expansion of competition and its extension to other spheres in order to extract value from broader modes of labour, workers and work are replaced by individual human capital erasing or keeping at bay collective organisation and identifications based on labour such as unions and working-class solidarities. This makes possible the birth of the subjective figure of the entrepreneurial self. 'The transformation of labor into human capital and of workers into entrepreneurs competing with others entrepreneurs obviously obscure the visibility and iterability of class' (Brown, 2015, p. 65).

Thinking through neoliberal governmentalities I approach subjectivities and their relations with mundane practices and technologies of governing. Exploring neoliberalism from below demands not just an exploration of how procedures of governmentality are mobilised, resisted or overflowed by individuals' desires and optimisms while at the same time disciplining, exploiting and governing them against their own wellbeing (Lordon, 2014, p. 37). It can also offer an exploration of how technologies of the self are practiced and mobilised in micro-political spaces such as universities, offices, classrooms, campus, psycho-social interventions, among others. In this sense, I recognise that neoliberal governmentality encompasses a rationality 'differently embodied by the subjectivities and tactics of everyday life, as a variety of ways of doing, being, and thinking, organizing the social machinery's calculations and affects' (Gago, 2015a, p. 13). As Ball and Olmedo (2013, p. 88) point out:

> neoliberalism is realised and constituted within mundane and immediate practices of everyday life…It 'does us' – speaks and acts through our language, purposes, decisions and social relations…it sets the cultural and social limits to the possibilities of the care of the self but, at the same time, opens new spaces for struggle and resistance.

So far, I have mapped the sticky issue of the conceptual undertaking of neoliberalism, criticised the critiques demanding positivist and consensual notion of neoliberalism, as well as examining the useful theorisation of neoliberalism as governmentality. What I think is necessary now, is to move towards an analytical sensitivity about the relationship between neoliberalism and the affects driving its constitution of the working-classes as subjects.

In order to develop this, I take up one of the main genealogical lines of neoliberalism -the ordo-liberal school- giving three main reasons;

1) its taking up in Chile and Europe from the 1990s onwards;

2) its ultimate relevance for the theory of governmentality – far more than Chicago neoliberalism- (Foucault, 2008, p. 79), and

3) its development of what I see as a strong affective politics regarding social policies and working-class subjects.

The Birth of Ordo-Liberalism as Affective and Elitist Governmentalities against the Working-Classes

Alongside "Chicago neoliberalism" there was the German School born out of a series of connected historical events: the Weimar Republic; the economic crisis of 1929; the Nazi Regime and the related critique of totalitarian states; the opposition against Keynes' economy; and the process of post II World War reconstruction in Germany (Foucault, 2008, p. 78).

After the war, conditions for the birth of the Ordo-liberalism were deployed by the necessity to reconstruct the German economy into a 'peace economy' and to arrest the renewal of fascism (Foucault, 2008, pp. 79-80). It started by the deregulation of prices alongside a transfer of responsibilities from the state to the citizens as a condition of the legitimation of the state through the respecting and encouragement of individual freedoms; especially economic, entrepreneurial freedom (Foucault, 2008, pp. 80-83). As Foucault (2008, p. 83) put it: 'the institution of economic freedom will have to function, or at any rate will be able to function as a siphon, as it were, as a point of attraction for the formation of a political sovereignty'.

Ordo-liberalism is not a game primarily about the economy-, but about the performance of the economy as the instrument of legitimation of the state by guaranteeing economic growth, and most importantly, by producing popular adherence to its regime by

constituting the population as active subjects, as agents of the economic good functioning and not by obliging them but by letting them be free (Foucault, 2008, p. 84).[14]

During the 1950s, ordo-liberalism was starting to be taken up across the political spectrum. It was taken up in Germany, linking socialist imaginaries with market competition. Firstly, by Christian Democrats, Jesuits, and Christian Trade Unionists, and then by Social Democrats. These latter renounced Marxist principles of class struggles and socialisation of the means of production, producing a narrative reconciling some socialist and competition imaginaries, coined in the new "socialist formula" at that time: 'as much competition as possible and as much planning as necessary' (Foucault, 2008, p. 89). Moreover, at the end of the 1950s, the social democrats embraced private property and private means of production as rights, and asked for their state protection but conditioning those government objectives to the fostering of an equitable social order.

According to Foucault, the twofold discourse of equity and competition secured an attachment of a neoliberal programme; an 'adherence to a type of governmentality that was precisely the means by which the German economy served as the basis for the legitimate state' (Foucault, 2008, p. 89). These are important antecedents because of the close relationship between Christian Democrats in Germany and Chile. Christian Democracy was the main ruling party during all the 1990s in Chile and cemented a strong pathway to ordo-liberalism during that period.

The Hatred towards the Working-Class at the Heart of the Ordo-Liberal Reason and Social Policy

The neoliberal governmental rationality developed by ordo-liberalism was related to the disintegration of the working-class as a social category entailing the obliteration of its prior recognition predicated on redistribution as a central political condition of its existence. This was achieved by a series of measures: through individualising social policies as opposed to collectivising them; the promotion of entrepreneurialism -small business, craft industries-

---

[14] Foucault wrote (2008, pp. 84-85): 'This economic institution, the economic freedom that from the start it is the role of this institution to guarantee and maintain, produces something even more real, concrete, and immediate than a legal legitimization; it produces a permanent consensus of all those who may appear as agents within these economic processes, as investors, workers, employers, and trade unions. All these economic partners produce a consensus, which is a political consensus, inasmuch as they accept this economic game of freedom … That is to say, over and above juridical legitimation, adherence to this liberal system produces permanent consensus as a surplus product, and, symmetrically to the genealogy of the state from the economic institution, the production of well-being by economic growth will produce a circuit going from the economic institution to the population's overall adherence to its regime and system'

instead of 'proletarian industries'; the replacement of the social insurance of risk for the individual risk insurance, and the restoration of community ties and families as the central, organic and natural units of society against the "unnatural" collectivisation and organisation of workers (Foucault, 2008, pp. 148-150; 241).

There is an anti-working-class anthropology deeply embedded in this neoliberal governmentality. Its nearest trace can be found at the beginning of the nineteen century when liberal thought constituted the working-classes as dangerous for the cohesion of society. The ordo-liberal governmentality was seeking to change 'the centre of gravity' from working-class politics towards families, communities and small enterprises, which were imagined and felt as the natural vitalities of society (Foucault, 2008, pp. 148-150). This was named by ordo-liberalism a *vitalpolitik* having as its main target the reshaping of working-class life in its entirety taking 'cognizance of the worker's whole vital situation, his real, concrete situation, from morning to night and from night to morning, material and moral hygiene, the sense of property, the sense of social integration' (Foucault, 2008, p. 157).

For the ordo-liberal mode of governmentality, social policies are central in the creation of neoliberal conditions aiming 'to block the anti-competitive mechanisms which society can spawn' based on 'the universalization of the entrepreneurial form and the redefinition of law' (Lemke, 2001, p. 195). Thus, neoliberal policy fosters subjects to enact and embody entrepreneurial modes of social relationships and the social, while feeling that figure of subjectivity as "vital" and "natural" for their and societies' existence.

Social policies as policies of vitalities are affective policies explicitly against working-classes as the condition of the emergence of an entrepreneurial subjectivity but with the epistemological power of presenting themselves through technologies of the self by mobilising ambitions of autonomy and freedom. In this line, ordo-liberal technologies govern populations and individuals constituting and deepening their capacities of freedom by practices of inculcation -o the self- aiming to equip subjects to conduct themselves (Rose, 2017, p. 304).

The other side of this figure of subjectivity is the pathologisation and abjection of the working-classes. In effect, this neoliberal governmentality sees workers as "devitalised" beings, and it understands this "lack of vitality" as the main cause of their discontent. For ordo-liberalism, vitalities, or what we could call today potentialities or empowerment, are to

be found in the bourgeois ethic. In fact, for Röpke -one of the main ordo-liberal intellectuals:

> '…true welfare policy is therefore about the empowerment of the worker as a citizen, that is, as an entrepreneur of the free price mechanism. Behind working-class demands for employment and material security there exists …. [a] much deeper human desire to enter the 'civitas' (Röpke, 2002: 95 in Bonefeld, 2013b, pp. 111–112).

Ordo-liberalism is an affective neoliberalism; a politics of vitality produced by policy *dispositifs* and technologies thought to be oriented to energise working-class subjects; to charge, inject subjects with vital forces to become resilient, compliant subjects, and entrepreneur of themselves. Social policies configured by ordo-liberals are thought of as seeking to configure a subjectivity resembling an 'enduring vitality, innovative energy and industrious leadership qualities' (Bonefeld, 2012, p. 642). A "vital policy" 'creating individuals who have the moral stamina and courage for competition and the inner strength to absorb shocks, who help themselves and others when the going gets tough, and who adjust to market pressures willingly and on their own initiative' (Bonefeld, 2013a, p. 37).

Importantly, ordo-liberal policies of vitality direct their affective flows against the working-classes, projecting them as abject subjects. Neoliberalism, in this version, locates working-classes as irrational, chaos producers, devitalisers of societies, and polluters of market competition, entrepreneurialism and economic freedom when they take up a political subjectification (Bonefeld, 2012, p. 642). In fact, according to Rancière (1999, p. 35) a political subjectification occurs when there is a production of a subjectivity and capacity for enunciating a self that was not registered within the given governmental rationality configuring the field of experience, therefore reconfiguring it through the production of another non governable subject.

In fact, social policies conceived in ordo-liberal reason locate the irrationality of capitalism in what they called "proletarianisation" and in the "revolt of the mass"; and locate that process against 'the entrepreneurial vitality of the workers' (Bonefeld, 2012a, p. 637). In this vein, social policy must be oriented to restore entrepreneurialism by promoting and securing elitist policies, or what Wilhelm Röpke coined as "the revolt of the elite" (Röpke, 1998, p. 130 in Bonefeld, 2012a, p. 637). The ordo-liberal politics of vitality is a thanatopolitics seeking the elimination of the working-class as collective sovereign subjects. For Röpke, true social policies must 'do away with [the] proletariat itself'. A true social

policy 'is…equivalent to a policy of eliminating the proletariat' (Röpke, 2009, 225 in Bonefeld 2012a, p. 637).

Ordo-liberal governmentality entails a pathologising psycho-politics towards working-class subjects.

> For the ordo-liberals [German Neoliberalism], the prospects of economic freedom require a resolution to the workers' question. Fundamentally, proletarianization is not caused by material hardship. As Röpke (2009: 223) explained, 'working-class problems are…problems of personality'. The workers are 'too depressed by their proletarian status to help themselves' (Röpke, 1957: 23). That is to say, proletarianization is fundamentally 'a psychological condition' (Müller-Armack, 1981a: 261), which 'neither higher wages nor cinemas can cure' (Röpke, 1942: 3; Rustow, 1942) (Bonefeld, 2013b, p. 110).

Warm Policies to Temper the Cold of the Market

Ordo-liberal governmentality not only deploys an affective policy of abjection towards the working-classes, it also has a "cruel tenderness" as part of its rationality. It has the affective force to generate passionate attachments to its cruel promises of a dreamed for enterprise society by individualizing social policies. Ordo-liberalism recognises the aggressive logic of the market competition, but fantasises about its diminishing and thus ensure the legitimate survival or contention by the promotion of social cohesion, social capital, trust and social integration (Bonefeld, 2012, p. 646). As Röpke recognised:

> we have no intention to demand more from competition than it can give. It is a means of establishing order and exercising control in the narrow sphere of a market economy based on the division of labor, but not a principle on which a whole society can be built. From the socio- logical and moral point of view it is even dangerous because it tends more to dissolve than to unite. If competition is not to have the effect of a social explosive and is at the same time not to degenerate, its premise will be a correspondingly sound political and moral framework (in Bröckling, 2016, p. 48).

Foucault noted that ordo-liberal reason carries with an 'economic-ethical ambiguity' regarding its conception of the enterprise as a general model for the government of the society (Foucault, 2008, p. 241). This ambivalence was expressed in the fostering of the competition and enterprise form to all spheres of society while at the same time recognising the aggressions of the market through the activation of 'warm moral and cultural values' oriented to tame 'the cold mechanism of competition' (Foucault, 2008, p. 242). For the ordo-liberals, a *vitalpolitik* 'is a matter of reconstructing concrete points of anchorage around the individual' (Foucault, 2008, p. 242). The entrepreneurial policy is a

vitalpolitik seeking to compensate 'for what is cold, impassive, calculating, rational, and mechanical in the strictly economic game of competition' (Foucault, 2008, p. 242).[15]

It is from the recognition of the aggression of market competition yet ordo-liberals' passionate attachment to it that policies of inclusion, social cohesion or social integration arose. They form the political and moral framework of neoliberalism oriented to constituting effective mechanism for the management and integration of small communities securing cooperation between their members (Foucault, 2008, p. 243). The managerial approach to communities frames them as small enterprises where everybody can feel like the owner of it – belonging and contributing to the 'formative power of society' (Foucault, 2008, p. 148).

If we take into account that the political organisation of working-classes is thought by ordo-liberal governmentalities as primarily a 'psychological problem', of complaint and anger - warm social policies therefore, operating within this rationality, involve a deepening of a psycho-politic which is the expression of a toxic rationality that is directed against working-classes as collective and political force.

As part of a broader move towards a neoliberal affective governmentality in education policy, there is a deeper assumption –a discourse- taking for granted distinctions between normalities and abnormalities as well as the discourse of self-improvement that lead us to focus our efforts, desires and imaginations towards a struggle against ourselves in order to "overcome" our "inner deficits" rather than focus onto organising practices oriented to challenge social and economic dynamics (Rimke, 2010, p. 96).

The ordo-liberal psycho-politics is embedded in the constitution of enterprising vitalities as psychological and moral energies which are necessaries to face the disintegrating market forces (Bonefeld, 2013b, p. 108). Thus, ordo-liberal rationality proposes empowerment for the working-class communities so as to make them responsible of themselves for their inclusion and "coping" in a market environment which brings adversity and dangerous conditions (Bonefeld, 2013b, p. 113). Based on the ordo-liberal Müller-Armack, (1976), an ordo-liberal "warm" psycho-politic seeks 'to penetrate the mental make-up of workers to undercut a proletarian consciousness (Müller-Armack, 1976, p. 198 in Bonefeld, 2013b, p. 113).

---

[15] Foucault (2008, p. 242) argued: 'The enterprise society imagined by the ordoliberals is therefore a society for the market and a society against the market, a society oriented towards the market and a society that compensates for the effects of the market in the realm of values and existence'.

It is from this root that we can find a genealogy of the policies of inclusion, empowerment, and psychologisation, therapeutic and potentialisation within and securing the affective turn in education policy. This rationality of government displays the conditions for the propagation of communitarian policies seeking to activate perceived diminished communities -schools, neighbourhoods- so as to include them in the labours of the market, or even more, this rationality is the one that produces policies oriented to mobilise subjects by feelings of compassion and fellow feelings and ethical stances driven not by 'a rational entrepreneurial subject but by a compassionate' one, doing a relational labour helping to 'recuperate and reactivate solidarity under neoliberal conditions and create a form of living that appears not as atomized or isolated, but as intent on building social relations through acts of intense moral communion and care' (Muehlebach, 2012, pp. 6–7).

Here, it is not just the multiple configurations of the entrepreneurial speculator, innovator, risk-taking, and leaders and articulators (Bröckling, 2016, pp. 67-77) but it is the figure of the entrepreneurial as solidarity and equity force that emerge. In this emergence, this figure is rapidly captured by policy imaginations, and numerous technologies previously concerned with the corporate world have come to be used in the management of social problems as in the case of multiple types of coaching, and like in this research, ontological coaching. Ordo-liberalism in its warm entrepreneurialism and *vitalpolitik* modus operandi allows the presence of coaching practices as well as multiple psychologies of success targeting motivations of all kinds to be a central part of affirmative action policies and more broadly, inclusion policies in education.

The Effects of the Affective Neoliberal Governmentalities in Higher Education

Affective neoliberal governmentalities have consequences for the social formation of higher education and of the subject of higher education. For instance, the access to higher education is most of the time constructed in economistic and aggressive terms as enabling social mobility. In this discursive context, the formation of subjectivities in working-class subjects attempting to go to universities it has meant a terrifying but desirable invitation to feel shame of their histories, backgrounds, relationships and social locations, as the paradoxical and regulative mode of struggling for value within a neoliberal regime of truth (Walkerdine, 2011; Leyton, Vásquez and Fuenzalida, 2012). In this research, I also could identify a regime of subjectification towards the constitution of the working-classes as

abject others of higher education. This regime, was indeed affecting some working-class students participating in the IAPs and already studying at universities. In some cases, this was expressed through the positioning of the working-class as inferior to the traditional university student in Chile.

> what I liked very much about being at the university is that there are many ranges of economic situations in an ascending scale I would say, for example, I have friends who are both in a very good economic situation or a little better that mine (Female Student 1, second year of studies, Interview).

> At my university, I encountered super open-minded students; students who understand other things, who know other interesting topics. I feel the desire to learn from them (Male Student 1, first year of studies, Interview).

Here, it is not my intention to criticise what these students' value. I do also look for better socioeconomic conditions and I admire open-minded people at universities. My point is to underscore the dominant epistemic power at work in this regime of subjectification sustained in higher education; one that attaches value to middle and upper classes and to the point of views of traditional university students while positioning working-class experiences and knowledges as abject knowledges. The IAPs work, sometimes, as a regime of subjectification that separates the practices of thinking from the working-class lives, making them inaudible and unintelligible for a higher education subjectivity disposed to the students participating in the affirmative action policy.

> Where I live, in the periphery, to think is a talent, because nobody is interested in thinking. To think does not sustain their families, therefore it is seen as something irrelevant. Thanks to the IAP I have this way of thinking. Without the programme I could not articulate a coherent idea. I don't want to underestimate the people I share with in my neighbourhood, but sometimes I cannot understand them … I approach them with relevant topics and I ask them what they think about it, but I don't know what they tell me. (Male Student 2, fourth year of studies, Interview).

In a neoliberal subjectification featured by a regime of meritocratic inclusion (I will develop the analysis of this regime in Chapter IV) there is also the production of fears of being uprooted and making a new life in an alien environment (Walkerdine, 2003, 2011). Walkerdine's (2011) argues that in a meritocratic regime stressing social mobility and individualised classless discourses, working-class resilience and capacity is understood as the strength to escape from diminished social backgrounds. This fear is also present in the interviews I did when students find risky the exercise to merge or make an encounter between the university world and the working-class world. Higher education is an

institutional visibility that circulates an affective economy that separates and rejects working-class subjectivities.

> The problem is that the friends I have from my neighbour they finished secondary schools and are working now … they have another way of relating to people, I think that if my university classmates are together with my friends from my neighbour there may be more problem, that's why I have not risked myself to show my other life to my students' classmates. At my university, I encountered super open-minded students; students who understand other things, who know other interesting topics. I feel the desire to learn from them (Male Student 3, first year of studies, Interview).

At its most visceral level, this neoliberal affective economy of merit is expressed in subjects-positions that trigger on working-class students under the IAPs desires to make responsible other working-class students for their failures and viscerally rejects them when they do not incarnate entrepreneurial and therapeutic dispositions to improve.

> Interviewer: What do you think about the classmates you had at the school and did not enter the IAPs?
>
> Interviewee: There are people … who believes that they are so marginal that they are not capable of breaking their own prejudices, and then because they are poor, they do things that poor people do, always asking for crumbs … they have so incarnated the prejudices about themselves of themselves that they are not able to see … even though they had help ... they had grants, scholarships, scholarships to study because … I could not see someone who did not make an effort with those opportunities. They make me angry because afterwards they cry. That kind of people that bother me a lot, not because of their social condition but in their way of thinking (Male Student 4, fourth year of studies, Interview).

Here, the entrepreneurial mode of conducting ourselves is deemed the proper way for assuming the role of becoming a proper and valid subject. For working-class students, the anxieties emerging in the transitions to higher education are expressed in desires that may well put at risk the continuity of students in higher education.

Even more, as this and other investigations have pointed out, there is a demonization of working-class as category of political subjectification and social recognition whereas class inequalities and the accumulation of wealth and political sources have moved upward, further complicating and even damaging the possibilities of enacting governmentalities of the common or democratic governing from below (Wacquant, 2012; Gago, 2015b).

New forms of elite class politics and policies are developed endorsing policing gazes that sanction working-class people when do not govern themselves. Their alleged failure to become mobile subjects is signified and materially structured through the construal of that

experiences as lack, and their class as barrier and punishment against their lives (Wacquant, 2012; Gago, 2015b).

From this context emerges novel conceptions of access, admission, or widening participation policies (as it is often narrated in the United Kingdom) where struggles over the meaning of "merit" acquired greater relevance deepening the validity of meritocracy as policy and social imaginary -as it is the case of the affirmative action policy in Chile, The USA or Brazil. At the same time, discourses on admission and access policies are more and more associated with individualising modes of subjectification inducing working class people to accept responsibility for economic and social dramas in order to overcome them for the sake of economic growth, competitiveness and elite-led modes of national development (e.g. Robinson and Walker 2013, p.18).

Neoliberal policy discourses of access with normative notions of inclusion, fair access, justice or equity are framed in Chile and elsewhere within taken for granted economising concepts of human capital and employability, they are part of the neoliberal project to "remake the educated/educable subject" (Leathwood and Hey 2009, p. 430). Human capital and employability are constitutive elements of two related epistemic spaces; a broader imaginary of the knowledge-based economy driving changes in higher education, and of the neoliberal economics defining the parameters of what constitute "the reality" and the "truth" one must seek. This onto-epistemic shift reflects also the changing regime of truth in the economy from a theorising and understanding of "the economy" based on the demand-side (proper to a Keynesian-Fordist mode of thinking) to a conception based on the privileging of the supply-side embodied in the corporate, business elite's point of view.

Human capital, employability, lifelong learning narratives -notions which are at the heart of the common sense of policymakers and rhetoric-, are neoliberal technologies of governmentality "dispositioning" higher education policy as strategy to bypass formations of class, gender and race conflicts for they entail challenges to dominant constituted interests and fields rooted ferociously in classism and elitism in politics, economy and education. They are often staged in education policy in the form of virtuous initiatives from which corporate and individual interests meet (Leathwood and Hey, 2009, p. 433). In this context, 'subjectivities…individuals' aspirations, desires, hopes, expectations are remoulded in order to avoid the perils of social antagonism' (Morley, 2001, p. 134).

These notions are also articulations propelling individualising and emotional regimes of skill which are functional to precarious service economies. They are related to mentoring-like and affective support systems in higher education as part of the panoply of technologies of subjectification and self, installed in widening participation policies (Leathwood and Hey, 2009, p. 432). They have penetrated the constitution of a neoliberal affective mode of governmentality. This neoliberal affective governmentality is featured by therapeutic sensibility in education policy where, qua ordo-liberalism par excellence, it recognises the aggressions of the market but without exploring other modes of government, thus locating in higher education technologies aiming to compose and project as virtuous, the relationship between, employability, human capital and competitiveness with inclusion, well-being, self-esteem, and emotions reshaped as "soft skills".

The naturalisation of the importance of emotional traits and management as well as of affective potentialities allows the entrance of 'new forms of lay expertise through life coaching, well-being trainers and consultants, mentors and personal development advisers and peer mediators' in terms of education policies framed as being about inclusion (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015, p. 489). The therapeutic turn in policy is seen as a more efficient mode to govern potentialities of workers and in ways that do not clash with market rationalities. When individuals cannot cope with these economising demands over affects and emotions, they are seen as diminished and vulnerable selves (Brunila, 2011, 2012). This move toward therapeutics on education policy is seen as a proper policy within the neoliberal framework. In this therapeutic fashioning of policy, the starting point is the assumed working-class subjects as inherently in lack and deficient, so forced to be dispositioned to their self-optimisation.

The forced individualisation, affective aversion towards working-class conditions and the primary focus on enhancing the self-qualities as prerequisite to experience and becoming a higher education subject, come to be more the norm (the neoliberal nomos). This neoliberal discourse ignores the complex interplay of material, cultural and psychosocial dimensions such as anxieties, fears and losses that may arise in higher education. These complex interplays are far beyond motivation or aspirations issues (Walkerdine, 2011). Reay (2005) also stresses the troubled emotional navigation the working-class students face when they are applying for university, expressing the expectation of being successful in their educational trajectories and embarking in the project of distancing –physically, psychically and socially- from their families. This process brings them both feelings of guilt,

fear and loss together with a feeling of superiority and pride (Reay, 2005). Working-class subjects' are pressured to get involved in positional discourses that stress the classless nature of reshaping the self, remarking 'motivation, aspiration and personality as central psychological markers of the care of the self' (Walkerdine, 2011, p. 256).

Conclusion

The des-centralisation of class at the level of imaginaries has produced an epistemic effect of thinking policy and subjectivities. Class, class struggles, class inequalities, and class identifications cannot be articulated as publicly valid reasons for thinking education policies within neoliberal rationalities. On the contrary, they have been dismantled as semantic and material realities with political relevance in the organisation of politics and policies. This material-epistemic process achieved by neoliberalism has given way to a reframing of policy problematisation from inequalities being seen as result of structural and discursive class relations to poverty seen as a result of processes of social exclusion. This shift entices higher education policies under technologies of inclusion 'directed at equipping the individual with the capacities for inclusion (training, parenting classes, new skills) rather than a systematic structural or contextual changes' (Crompton, 2008, p. 3).

The turn to inclusion in higher education policy has an important effect for the thinking of affirmative action policies as it signals an epistemic change in contemporary capitalism. It excludes issues of domination and exploitation, as well as emancipation and equality. The very displacement and disarticulation of the question of the working-class allows the reframing of social problems as a psycho-politics of inclusion through the working of affective technologies aimed at the activation and mobilisation of 'inner strengths'. The neoliberal focus on inclusion needs to be scrutinised exploring the contradictions in its apparently coherent formation and asking about the constituted interests and agents urged to feel the call of these policies in order to contribute to a politisation of neoliberal governmentality.

Neoliberalism marks class at the limit of its regime of truth. Class and more accurately, the working-classes -and the rationalities of the common operating towards working-class welfare, political subjectification, and collectiveness- are neoliberalism's constitutive outside. Class functions as its *politically invisible imaginary*, that is, a loading affective category representing class antagonist and desires as feared sensed *futures in the present* of neoliberal

imaginaries. This makes class both irrelevant and invisible and yet with the force, as a powerful phantom imaginary, to move and organise different constituted neoliberal actors, networks and resources in order to put working-class people at bay or in order to dismantle their collective solidarities between them and with other classes. The backlash against working-classes that neoliberalism, in the form of ordo-liberalism, exercises is not an effect of neoliberal restructuring, disciplines, and freedoms, but a constituting and inextricable force of its genealogical and ongoing formation.

Chapter III. The Historical Conditions of Affirmative Action Policies in Chile: Of Socialist Imaginaries and Neoliberalisms

Introduction

In this Chapter, I undertake a historical analysis of the different working-class figures of subjectivity and higher education that inform the current higher education field and affirmative action policies. It is an analysis of the main rationalities making possible the affirmative action policy as part of a specific classed regime of subjectification and its leading knowledges and technologies.

The configuration of a dominant rationality of government is made out from a multiplicity of other rationalities. Drawing on the notion of diagram to think about the workings of governmentality, I retain a conceptualisation of political rationalities not as fixed and homogeneous, but as one where multiple diagrams coexist in competing relationships (Deleuze, 2014, pp. 106-110). The diagram is a place of mutation, and yet the relation of forces is located with different potentials, affects and knowledges (Deleuze, 2014, pp. 106-111). There is a primacy of one or some diagrams over others in the configuration of specific rationalities. As place of mutation, they are always unstable and in constant search for survival (or precarious stability). In so doing, they effectuate "onto-epistemic changes", thus making things be perceived, depicted, stated, classified, known, seen and felt differently from before (Deleuze, 2014, p. 111).

In this Chapter, first, I map out the socialist register constituting the working-classes and their relation to the university. I establish some connections with the first socialist programmes oriented to opening up universities for the working-classes at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. In the second section, I traced the arrival of neoliberalism in Chile, identifying how it constitutes working-classes and universities in both Chicago and Ordo-liberal regimes. Here, I link them with the figure of the working-class as the internal enemy, and in a second moment with the emergence of the entrepreneurial subject aiming to reshape again the working-classes and their relationship to universities. The main force driving the IAPs is Ordo-liberalism, a rationality of

government that recognises market aggressions and yet it retains and reinforces its logic by drawing on the emotional turn in social policy.

The method grounding my analysis is genealogy, in the sense that I try to relate practices of knowledge, practices of power, and practices of affect as part of the production of truth over working-class bodies and their relation to universities. This approach demands paying attention to the affective dimension driving the formation of knowledge and practices of power, a dimension that is normally perceived outside of history (Foucault, 1984, p. 76).

The Socialist Register of Higher Education: Bringing Working-Classes In

The 1967 Reform and the Criticism against the Traditional University

From the middle of the 1960s a process of politicisation of Chilean society was dominant. In higher education, this was reflected on the 1967 university reform movement struggling for a democratisation of universities to increase their social influence and contact with working-class fields (Brunner, 2015). Before that movement, universities were part of the dominant modernisation strategies about Latin America articulated with the financial, expert and political support of the USA, attempting to hold back governments' formation outside the capitalist orbit. In this context, universities were constituted as sites to be intervened in, in order to depoliticise them by technifying knowledge. According to Scherz (1986, p. 94), the aim was to make 'the roles of administrators, teachers and students incompatible … [where] the first command and contract, the second teach and obey, and the third, as the only mission, study' (My own translation).

This imperialist attempt of modernisation pitted against the socialist governments started to crack amid the struggles between two main positions regarding international directions and aid over universities: one supporting the international developmental agencies and another criticising this strategy pushing for independent and democratic government of universities (Scherz, 1986). This conflict activated a series of critical discourses against the so called traditional university which was critised for its over professionalism, its distance from enforcing social change, and thus its abiding contribution to class inequalities. Class inequalities started to be understood as the product of the dominant vision of higher

education as a privilege of the elite, its non-democratic governments, its dependence on external power and aid, and its exclusion of working-class sectors (Scherz, 1986, p. 96).

During the socialist regime, the 8 Chilean universities publicly funded until that time experimented with an expansion of their enrolment, rising from 25,000 in 1960 to146,000 students in 1973 getting a national participation rate of 15,3% (Brunner, 2015, pp. 28-29). This process was twofold: the democratisation of universities' government structures, and a massification process, promoting the inclusion of middle and working-classes into universities that led to a transformation of the power relations within universities and society (Fernández et al., 2014).

The Socialist Discourse about Working-Class Subjects and Higher Education, and the Workers' Access Programmes to University

The access of working-class people to universities was seen for the majority of the university students and academics as a central part of the universities' attempt to strength the bonds with other sectors of society and with the "people" (Rivera, 2012). This was particularly the case for those supporting the socialist political process of the Salvador Allende's government (1970-1973). The growth of higher education enrolment -at levels known today as mass higher education - was seen as a consequence of the activism of the universities and as 'concrete manifestation of the desire to democratise the access to higher education and knowledge' (Brunner 2015, p. 29) (My own translation). Within the universities, what was being constituted was an emerging common sense about the belonging of working-class people to university spaces as part of a broader project of transformation. The right of working-class people to access higher education was strategically advancing a new regime of truth. The discourse of socialist modernisation was opposed to values of hierarchy, tradition and elitism and attached the idea of democratisation to widening participation (Rivera, 2016, pp. 30–33).

In this conjuncture, working-class higher education programmes promoted the access of working-class people to higher education as part of a wider strategy to build up the universities' social bonds with society (Rivera 2012, p. 7). These programmes were organised together by the Technical State University (Universidad Técnica del Estado) and the United Workers Trade Union (Central Unitaria de Trabajadores) (Rivera, 2012, pp. 7–8). They were deemed necessary to deepen the universities' commitment to the views and

experiences of the working-classes. More than 2000 working-class individuals were participating per year.

In this context, the Movimiento Universidad para Todos (University for All Movement, MUPT for is acronym in Spanish) was born. It was a movement across different universities and active agents in the organisation of these programmes. They advocated a class-based education policy pointing out that any education policy not focusing its efforts towards the interests and necessities of the working-class students, were 'impotent policies' (Rivera, 2016, pp.31-32). This discourse also had material effects in the organising practices between universities' actors and secondary students. Both were oriented to constitute working-class secondary students as political agents able to influence higher education policy (Rivera, 2016, pp.31-32). This also aimed at aligning the desires of secondary students to access higher education with the "national development necessities" in order to further orient their professional decisions in those terms (El Siglo newspaper, 9th January, 1967). Thus, the "applicants" to universities were conceived of as active agents in the struggles over access and participation in higher education and in the struggles over the construction of a new type of society (Rivera, 2016, p. 32).

The programmes were more remarkable at the Technical State University than in others more liberal universities, due to the university's close ties with workers of industrial sectors and its participation in the constitution of the class conflict known as the "battle over production". This was a struggle over the control of politics of production of the main industries in the country, by then, controlled by the national and transnational capitalist classes. In this struggle, labour unions, part of the Allende's government, and students, academics and universities, such as the Technical State University, were involved (Rivera, 2016, p. 48).[16]

However, these programmes faced several problems. For example, there was scarce funding for the programmes; chancellors and others universities' authorities were reluctant to make the radical changes needed in terms of administrative structures; and the admission policy administrators faced several organisational pressures to cope with the demands for democratisation (Rivera, 2012, pp. 8-9).

---

[16] Professionals trained at the Technical State University were called to support workers through voluntary work or occupying managerial positions to help governing the productive processes (Rivera 2016, p. 48).

The unfolding of these programmes resemblances to the IAPs; especially in respect with the students' struggles from where the IAPs began to be implemented. Nonetheless, they also highlight a stark difference with the IAPs; differences that can be better understood taking into account the neoliberalisation process experienced in Chile and elsewhere from the decade of the 1970s onwards.

The Changing Views on Power Held by the Socialist Discourse over Chilean Higher Education

The constitution of universities as both spaces of struggle and for working-classes was possible given a change in the understanding of power. There was a shift from a conception of the university as the natural expression of the dominant classes to one that recognised the importance of the popular struggles in the shaping of society. As Enrique Kirberg (1981), the first chancellor of the Technical State University elected democratically in 1967, wrote recalling the changes of this period:

> …the fact that education, especially higher education, is an expression of the dominant classes in the government of a nation and financed by it, does not always mean that it is a mechanical reflection of these forces. The relationship is altered if the education system is pressured by organised popular forces that struggle to obtain a society that better harmonises with the interests of the majority of the country … This historical context led the university to adopt an attitude of opening its doors to the workers and other social strata until then absent from higher education (Kirberg, 1981, unpaged) (My own translation).

This was a rupture with the long-lasting views of elitism, exclusionary modernisation and classism as one of the main discursive points of the universities' formation. This was a shift from a notion of power that is top-down, stable, and property of the ones who are in "positions of power" to a notion that recognises the contingencies and fissures of power, the less stable nature of it, and the centrality of tactical and micropolitical struggles for the transformation of universities.

Higher education as a privilege was questioned not only because it worked for the reproduction of wider inequalities, but also due to a conceptualisation of universities as central for the enactment of a popular democracy and as such as able to work for working-class subjects in order for them to take part on governing and public affairs. It was an attempt to transform higher education into a political institution that could recognise the wrong done to working-class people by those who were in a position of power and pushed them into the nonexistence for the procedures of government (Rancière, 2010, pp.60–69).

In this historical scenario, the "socialist discourse" on access and participation in universities can be viewed as an attempt addressing historical inequalities by intervening in the 'politics of social relations' taking place in and outside higher education (Burke, 2012, p. 53).

This socialist discourse on higher education and working-class subjects also had a disciplinary, policing dimension. It was deeply normative and instrumental to the socialist aims of the time. Incorporating working-class people into universities was functional for the construction of a subject "destined" to study and work for the revolutionary process oriented to intervene on the structure of society. This disciplinary discourse of the revolutionary subject can be viewed in the following President Allende's speech given to university students in Guadalajara, Mexico.

> Revolution does not happen at the university, and we have to understand this; revolution does not happen in the crowds; revolution is achieved by the people. Revolution is achieved, essentially, by the workers … going forward in the paths of life and staying in revolution in a bourgeois society is difficult … but first there is the obligatory study that has to be done as a student of the university. Being a university militant and a bad student is easy; being a revolutionary leader and a good student is more difficult (Allende, 1972).

It was not enough to overcome the alleged necessity of the existence of an elite called or destined to lead the Chilean society and higher education. In fact, during the period 1967-1973, state funding of universities increased enormously -from 1.08% in 1967 of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) to a 2.11% in 1973- but the emergent middle class was the main beneficiary, making the elite university more middle-class and discursively also more meritocratic (Brunner, 2015, p. 30). University was also constructed within the tension between a conceptualisation of it as a democratic space for equality and social transformation and as a place for the middle class to gain power by making the elite a kind of "mesocratic elite"; with social and political commitment, but identifying itself as the avant-garde intelligentsia over the people (Scherz, 1986, p. 96).

The Socialist Register into the Actual Struggle Against Neoliberal Higher Education in Chile

The socialist register of the Chilean higher education had an effect on the constitution of the students' mobilisations and through them on the formation of the IAPs and PACE. There are affective and discursive forces loosely connecting with these programmes. This is

expressed either in the will to recuperate the kind of social impetus experienced at some universities at the time, or as a fear or hatred of the return to class struggles with the negative consequences for the life of many working-classes, thus favouring the economic and cultural dominance of the corporate elites in Chile.

As an example of the constituted will to bring back the social impetus, ethos experienced in some universities between 1968 and 1973, there is the formation of the student movement in 2011 and its formation through the use of a memory politics that started revisiting the dictatorial and pre-neoliberal past in order to bring back socialist imaginaries and anti-dictatorship struggles into their own and thus overcome the entrenched fear of social conflicts that have dominated the Chilean subjectivity since 1990s (Grugel and Nem Singh 2015, p.360). During the demonstrations, images and discourses of Salvador Allende's period were common, and massive events held in 2011 brought back protesting tactics which were typical of struggles against Pinochet's regime. These expressions were about banging pots and pans (cacerolazos) at night in different spaces -streets, squares, and neighbourhoods, in solidarity with the student movement (Larrabure and Torchia, 2015, p. 257).

Some interviews with policymakers revealed links between the involvement of their universities in the making of affirmative action programmes with the socialist experience and later struggle against the dictatorship. As one of the interviewees told me: 'The IAPs are part of the project that the Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez (the founder of that university) had for this university since its inception: to create a university for the workers' (Policymaker 7, Interview). A director of one of the IAPs alongside other collaborators, wrote in the introduction of one of the main books portraying these programmes:

> It is not by chance that this programme occurs at a university like ours. It was the Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez who created the Blas Cañas Professional Institute (now the Silva Henríquez Catholic University), with the aim of providing opportunities to low-income young people and workers. And the Induction Access Programme is one of the institutional responses that give continuity to his legacy (Catrileo, Lobos and Sereño, 2014, p. 71) (My own translation).

In an interview with a Communist militant, a university student union ex-president, and at the time of the interview, part of the government's department implementing the PACE, we can see how the student mobilisation, critiques against elitism in higher education, and the programmes were interwoven.

> I passed all the mobilizations of 2011 as a general secretary and in 2012, I assumed the presidency of the student union here in Santiago. During the whole journey that we did in 2011, I had many approaches with different experiences and institutions in access issues and that's when I got more interested in these programmes ... I thought it was important that at my university we started to see some special admission measures really, because it goes in the same sense as other universities such as the Catholic university, and the University of Chile, it goes towards elitism. When I assumed the presidency, I began to work on the design of the IAP at my university... what I wanted to say is that it is the first IAP that was born from the students, that is, proposed by the student union, and that the chancellor assumed (Policymaker 2, Interview)

I identified other student organisations involved the creation of the programmes, such as the NAU -a centre-left student organisation present at the Catholic University and also part of the Democratic Revolution -the main political party nowadays in the new liberal-left in Chile. Moreover, during the fieldwork, I was approached by one of the "public figures" of the student movement and, at that time, director of a NGO linked to "Democratic Revolution" party. I was told that he and the NGO were looking for ways to move the education debate to affirmative action policies. They wanted to carry out "advocacy research" on the affirmative action policy including "promotional" videos to "raise awareness" of the importance of affirmative actions. I was told they had the support of the UNESCO for that matter.

Moreover, leaders of the IAPs looked for the support of the student movement. The main public figure and leader of the IAPs and PACE –Francisco Javier Gil-, even before 2011 established close ties with some of student unions leading the movement in order to find support for the wider implementation of these programmes. In an open letter published on October 29th 2011, during the peak of the student movement, several student leaders expressed their alliance with and support to Francisco Javier Gil, who was expelled from his position as a chancellor of the Silva Henríquez Catholic University for trying to push further the IAP at that university. In that letter, the student movement leaders declared their admiration and respect for the struggles on equality in higher education that Francisco Javier Gil was fighting:

> Those who signed up this letter have been privilege to work with and contribute from our corresponding student unions to his tireless dream for a system of fair and equitable access for Chileans to higher education, where young people are valued for their academic quality, responsibility and perseverance, rather than their social status.
>
> The forced leaving of a Chancellor who had the intention of transforming his house of studies into the university of talented young people from vulnerable

> sectors does not stop surprising us. In addition, the letter was accompanied by an upward public positioning of the Silva Henríquez Catholic University, leading important achievements at national level in the field of affirmative action programmes…
>
> … we denounce and strongly reject that the Silva Henríquez Catholic University has turned its back against one of the leading authorities that has driven radical and profound transformations towards a more equitable and fair higher education in Chile. (El Mostrador, 29th October, 2011) (My own translation)

Besides the support for these programmes seen as a struggle for a more equitable higher education, we can also read how other discourses such as meritocratic references (e.g. talent, individuals' efforts) and a strong personalisation of policy are entangled. These discursive positionings were and are dominant in the making of the student movement and its relationship with the affirmative action policy. They are also more suited to the languages of liberal and neoliberal rationalities rather than socialist imaginaries. Therefore, what is configured here are multiple rationalities at play, endorsing a more neoliberal stance when ostensibly talking about and supporting the discursive values of the affirmative action policy.

There was a strategic agency deployed by policymakers and advocates to gain the support of the student unions and movement more broadly. From the point of view of the policy actors they 'partnered with and infiltrated into student union' and 'showed them the numbers, the good results, and the ways in which the national entrance test segregated the poorer students' (Policymaker 1, Interview) in order to promote affirmative action policies and find support.

The pressures from the student movement, among other forces led Bachelet's government (2014-2018) to incorporate an affirmative action policy within a general discourse of higher education as a social right. In this framework, the affirmative action policy was oriented to carry out the social right for working-class people within a general 'equity access norm' that the government was aiming to conduct (Michelle Bachelet's Government Programme, 201, pp. 20-21).

The overall reform programme until the end of Bachelet's government, was still stuck in parliamentary discussions and the very government's confusion and attachment to market regulations. Nonetheless, the affirmative action policy was one of the changes that succeeded and entered into the struggles over the meaning and technologies of merit in higher education.

Neoliberalism in Chile. The Constitution of the Figures of the Neoliberal Subject in Higher Education

The year 1973 in Chile marked a violent break from and a shutting down of a popular democracy based on class politics towards the becoming of the working-class as "the people"; that is, as the historical subject of social rights, discipline, power and class consciousness (Todd, 2015).

Since the mid-70s neoliberal economists[17] in alliance with owners of large capital, offered the army a programme of political and economic reforms that brought together economic growth as a promise of modernisation, and a permanent dismantling of working-class politics and mobilisation (Fischer, 2009). Economists formed at the neoliberal Chicago school with important positions in the military government were: Sergio de la Cuadra (Central and Bank President 1981-1982, and Minister of Finance 1982); Pablo Barahona (Central Bank President 1975-1976, and Minister of Economy 1976-1978); Sergio de Castro (Minister of Economy 1975-1976, and Minister of Finance 1976-1982); Rolf Lüders (Minister of Economy 1982, Minister of Finance 1982-1983); and Hernán Büchi (Minister of Economy 1979-1980, ODEPLAN 1983-1984, and Minister of Finance 1985-1989). As we can read, they gained access to strategic positions as advisers, policymakers, and ministers during the dictatorship which 'allowed them to weave a network between the public sector and Chile's financial and industrial power as they were part also of the new economic Chilean elite (Silva, 1993, p. 534). They carried out a neoliberal economic restructuring in different sectors, namely, -labour, pensions, housing, health, education, and the economy.

This restructuring was based on the repression of organised labour movements and unions, and a deregulation of markets orienting them towards an intense extractive model of the exporting of raw materials, free trade, and liberalisation of financial markets (Silva, 1993). This restructuring was also the manifestation of the entrance of economic growth and competitiveness as core imaginaries for economic and social policies.

This neoliberal restructuring cannot be thought without the production of the working-class as the abject object of neoliberal governmentalities. The neoliberal hegemony relied

---

[17] They were formed in the Chicago schools of economics during the 1950s and 1960s under the supervision of Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger in University of Chicago.

on a strategic regeneration of the corporate class in positions of power and of the global capital circulation (Gerrard, 2015, p. 860). All this reconfiguration was possible without resistance given the effectiveness of the technology of terror deployed over the population as a central part of the capitalist revolution experienced in Chile. As Tomás Moulian, in his pathbreaking *Chile actual. Anatomía de un mito* [Current Chile. Anatomy of a Myth] explained it:

> 'Revolutionary dictatorships are the product of normative and legal power; power over bodies in the form of "terror" and power over mentalities and knowledge; being terror the practice of central power … the foundation of absolute sovereignty, of despotism and capable of silencing [even] the arrogance of knowledge' (Moulian, 2002, p. 28) (My own translation).

The encounter between authoritarianism and neoliberalism is not a coincidence. They are the ideal conditions for a neoliberal change to occur, even in the ordo-liberal school; commonly described as more democratic and socially oriented than Chicago neoliberalism. At a conference at the "Centro de Estudios Públicos" in 1982 -one of the main neoliberal Think Tanks in Chile- the ordo-liberal Wolfgan Frickhöffer (1982, pp. 89–90), pointed out that if a free society needs a market economy 'it is not clear if a market economy requires a free society …deep and radical reforms can hardly be carried out with far-reaching effects … in a normal parliamentary system, with all the pressure groups involved insisting on their interests' (My own translation). The neoliberal rationality is intimately linked with a cold war rationality where dictatorship or in any case, the clustering with military elites were most of the time, a crucial aspect.

Neoliberal Governmentality through the Changing of Economics in Universities

The increasing control and legitimacy of the neoliberal policies were also possible through the intervention of universities' production of knowledge, that is, through epistemic governance. Neoliberal ideas in economics, especially, were disseminated through measures that went from allocating neoliberal economists sympathetic to the authoritarian regime to place them at different departments of economics in prestigious Chilean universities' (Pitton, 2012, p. 44). Universities were deployed as one of the nodal points for the construction of the neoliberal rationality and the governing of Chilean society.

The epistemic control linked to neoliberal thinking in Chile can be traced back to the cold war period and the attempts of several international agents to constitute social sciences as

knowledges contending against socialist forms of governmentality. A relevant case in point here, is the Ford Foundation programme to restructure social sciences as "behavioural science" impinging on them to direct them in a 'technical, applied direction' mirroring the development of physics (Hauptamann, 2012, p. 164). This was accomplished by giving scholarships to Chilean researchers to study at American universities and supporting a curricular modernisation of social sciences and economics in the University of Chile taking the American behavioural sciences at its model. It was also deployed by following the "Fourth Programme" agreement between the USA and the conservative Catholic University of Chile which aimed at neoliberalising economics (Holmes 2013, pp.45-49; Fisher 2009 p. 310).[18] This epistemic strategy changed the modes of teaching and thinking economics within Chilean universities as well as the modes of conceiving social policies (Fischer, 2009, pp. 308–310).

Through all this period neoliberal policies acquired an intense negative connotation for both pro-market economists and social democratic and leftist economists. In a way, both acknowledged the perverse dimensions of neoliberalism by dismissing the word from its vocabulary in contrast to its acceptance during the 1960s when it was used widely for liberal and neoliberal economists who related neoliberalism with ordo-liberal developments in Germany after the II world war (Boas and Gans-Morse, 2009). A sort of affective strategy led by shame or guilt oriented to hide the ideological and practical roots of neoliberalism.

There were also those economists within academia using the term neoliberalism to critique the reforms during the dictatorial regime. It was not a critique claiming a return to socialist rationalities but rather a demand to follow more true "liberal" policies honouring economic freedom and political liberty (Boas and Gans-Morse, 2009, p. 152). This critique prepared the return of ordo-liberalism and its use from the 1990s onwards in the practice of neoliberal governmentalities coined in a more friendly light as social market economy.

---

[18] Ford Foundation 'donated $750,000 for a ten-year period to the Centre for Latin American Economics Research at the University of Chicago' (Fisher 2009, p. 310), positioning itself in a leading role in the constitution of the neoliberal economic thinking within Chilean universities. The Foundation sought to form the policy expertise by a 10 million dollars programme of curricular modernisation and postgraduate scholarships at American universities (Holmes 2013, p.45). It 'sen[t] faculty members abroad to teach them the importance of being policy oriented'; learning the American model of behavioural science approach and being able to provide policy advise 'that eschewed ideology and politics' … 'If a faculty member received one of these fellowships to study in America they were required to return to the University and become a full time teacher' (Holmes, 2013, p. 49).

The Return of the Elite University and the Construction of the Working-Class as the "Internal Enemy"

In this context, the working-class higher education suffered a traumatic break, directly affecting –chancellors, professors, administrators, and students, especially those coming from working-class backgrounds. With the violent arrival of neoliberalism, working-class higher education was thrown away to the backdoor of history, and with it, the first programmes oriented to open the universities for the working-class. It was the onset of a rupture from the socialist regime to the practical unfolding of the neoliberal rationality in Chile.

The authoritarian neoliberal intervention on higher education can be understood in two related terms within a general strategy of recovery of capitalist hegemony:

1) as a strategy to reposition the elite university in opposition to the socialist university imaginary, and

2) as a strategy led by epistemic and bodily abjection of working-class subjects, replacing their politisisation for a politics of consumption, debt and incorporation into higher education through "inclusion" policies.

In this section, I hope to clarify the hegemony of the neoliberal rationality of government in the constitution of the affirmative action policy, and its effects on the figures of subjectivity enjoined on the working-class students in relation to universities. This does not mean that the neoliberal rationality is the only one performing the IAPs and PACE. This is what I tried to convey in the section devoted to socialist imaginaries. Nonetheless, beyond all the messiness of forces that sometimes we can find and assume in a *dispositif*, neoliberalism and, specifically, ordo-liberal governmentality has a grip on the affirmative action policy, reminding us that a *dispositif* beyond its multiplicity, has specific effects that can travers the multiple economy of discourses and affects, inclining, disposing its elements -such as affects, meanings, subjects- in response to urgent needs of government coming from the dominant political rationality.

With the advent of the authoritarian neoliberalism the historical bonds between neoliberal governmentality and its constitution against Marxism and socialism reached their highest. This was expressed in the neoliberal reconstitution of the university. In 1974, during the

celebration of the 132nd anniversary of the University of Chile, the Chancellor -general Agustín Rodríguez Pulgar stated that:

> During the Unidad Popular Government (...) the university ceased to be the place of study and coexistence of youths, to become the barracks for activists and elements committed to destroy, from within, the institution that received them to train and be useful to the country and society (Errázuriz, 2017, p. 38) (My own translation).

The university as a legitimate site of class struggles began to be dismantled and policed, excluding and exterminating, what from the emergent neoliberal gaze was, unbridled demagogy and activism promoting dangerous knowledges directed towards society. The turn towards a neoliberal university started following the national security doctrine immunizing the university from Marxist elements and class politics, reconstituting working-class people as the "internal enemy" of the country (Salazar and Leihy, 2013, p. 11; Errázuriz, 2017). The national security doctrine was a neoliberal technology of abjection having at its main target the reshaping of the working-class figure as the enemy of society.

Universities, in this context, were one of the core places for the generation of military policing practices over working-classes and working-class alliances (Fernández *et al.*, 2014). The surveillance and correction of the working-class students and alliances were constitutive dimensions of the universities. The universities were reconfigured as visible places to be policed in order to reduce any multiplicity outside the range of capitalist and elite imagination (Fernández et al. 2013). Neoliberal governmentality has been, from the outset, a politics of de-politisation of higher education. At that time of crisis, 'universities [were] seen as spaces of war, which had been occupied by the enemy, and it urged to recover them' (Errázuriz, 2017, p. 38) (My own translation).

The return of the elite university was accomplished by a series of administrative procedures:

1) the abolition of the legal autonomy of universities;

2) By the militaries taking over of chancellors' positions from which they applied arbitrary power and decisions to hire and fire. As a result, 2,000 professors were fired and 20,000 students were expelled, and some of them, incarcerated, tortured and murdered;

3) by the closing down of humanities and social science departments,

4) and throuh a systematic *dispositif* of surveillance implemented within universities (Fernández, Reisz and Stock, 2013, pp. 260–261).

There was also an intense reduction of direct funding to universities forcing them to adjust their enrolment rates to match their new reduced budget (Fernández *et al.*, 2014, p. 18). As a result, the participation rate was reduced from 146,000 in 1973 to 32,952 students in 1980 -a decrease of 70% of the total enrolment.

The "internal enemy" invoked by the Junta dates back to the image of the "criminal" in the XVIII century (Foucault, 2001a, pp. 89–90). This figure performs the idea of the working-classes as out of place and control, as criminal against society, as a subject deserving punishment, expulsion and visceral rejection. This was a key move in the restoration of a sovereign power; which was a tactical step making almost impossible a working class higher education having at the centre of its practice, working-class people's social rights to govern themselves.

Sustaining this constitutive outside of the working-classes there is a 'humanist imaginary that establishes the fissure between man and animal…[where] the barbarian implies the projection of an inferior and educable "other", exploitable, or in the end, simply someone that can be sacrificed' (Pereira, 2016, pp. 32–33) (My own translation). Working-class people are seen as barbaric subjects exposed to the state of exception which, in turn, expects to see them as exception when they access spaces which they were not called to belong to.

The de-politisation of higher education and the targeting of working-classes as the internal enemy, are in tandem with the marketisation of higher education. From the beginning of the 1980s, the market as competition has been deployed as the governing rationality of higher education. There is competition for students with the introduction of fees and advertisement, and competition for research funding. Moreover, in the transition to "democracy" from the end of the 1980s, the market as the regime of veridiction in higher education is reconstructed by the centre-left coalition as the necessary force for intellectual activity and social solidarity.

> … making the necessary competition possible is mandatory for pushing intellectual activity, which, in turn, should ensure the solidarity, coordination and programmatic care necessary to develop a type of higher education that will enable Chile to occupy a leading position in the Latin American region.

(Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia, 1989:23 in Salazar and Leihy, 2013, p. 16 Salazar and Leihy, 2013, p. 16).

This neoliberal governing ambition through the truth of the market was further reinforced when, in the 1990s, the economic imaginaries of global competitiveness and knowledge-based economy entered the scene. Here, the ruling centre-left coalition furthered entrenched the market competition as the engine of intellectual activities and research:

> ... it is important to achieve high level outcomes in an educational system as it is transformed, by taking part in ¡the revolution of knowledge and information and in the growing process of globalization. Such trends become new requirements for the country and its universities in terms of knowledge creation capabilities, training of highly qualified human resources, and technology transfer (Ministry of Education, 1997:7 in Salazar and Leihy, 2013, p. 22).

Ordo-liberalism in the Post-Authoritarian Chile in the 1990s: The Socio-Emotional Turn in Social Policy

Since the international economic recession in 1982, and more systematically from 1989-1990 onwards, several adjustments have been part of the neoliberal ongoing assemblage in Chile. When the transition to democracy started in 1989-1990, a new momentum of ordo-liberalism emerged. Ordo-liberalism shares with Chicago neoliberalism, the desire that the market determines as many activities as possible, the rejection of democracy when it goes against the truth of the market regime, the visceral abjection towards working-class politics, and the rejection of the politisation of "the economy"(Frickhöffer 1982, pp.89–96). But, when it comes to the construction of the "the social", as we saw, ordo-liberalism focuses on policies that make the negative social effects of the market competition tolerable. As the ordo-liberal Wolfgang Frickhöffer (1982, p. 93) states for the Chilean audience: '[social policy] is not the direct protection of old structures [socialist project] against new situations [neoliberal situation], but, on the contrary, it helps to follow market signals more quickly without major social problems' (My own translation).

The arrival of ordo-liberalism was drive by multiple forces (Silva, 1992; Camargo, 2013):

1) the capitalists and reformed political left's fear of the resurgence of the working-class as collective political subjects;

2) the subsequent subordination of equity issues to market forces;

3) and by the constitution of a wider alliance between the democratic political governments and the business elite, which have had, in turn, a wider access to policy formation to defend their constituted interests (Silva, 1992, pp. 99-103).

A new model of social policy was configured by this new alliance. One based on the desirability of public-private partnership and one intent on giving to business elite class 'privileged access to top policymakers in key ministries, providing them with ample opportunity to modify proposed policy initiatives' (Silva, 1992, p. 100).

Chilean neoliberalism has cemented an elite-led development model, where elite's constituted interests and tactics are the primary assumptions in the formation of policies. This model effectuates a systematic deviation of wealth and other social resources to a small minority (Leiva, 2010; Selwyn, 2016). The elites are class fractions in strategic positions of power with the capacity to 'force the majority of a given population into a socially subservient position' (Selwyn, 2016, pp. 782–784). This modality of power denies working-classes 'agency to forge their own developmental strategies, and advocates and justifies the latter's political repression and economic exploitation for the "higher goal" of national development' (Fishwick and Selwyn, 2016, p. 236). Moreover, as Bonefeld (2012a, p. 636) contends, for ordo-liberals, crises are produced by the revolt of the working-classes which must be contained, the ordo-liberal Röpke (1998, p. 130) thought, by 'the revolt of the elite'.

Social Sciences Knowledge within the Ordo-liberal Diagram in Chile

Nowadays, policy actors entail a complex network of government where the state is just one of its strategic elements. Having a share in the government practices larger international development agencies -like ECLAC, UNESCO, UNDP-, NGOs, big corporations and corporative coalitions, philanthropic foundations, university groups, and even communitarian organisations (Leiva, 2010).

From this larger network new objects and subjects of government are constituted. Social sciences have internalised the necessity of corporate expansion and naturalised the location of business elite at the centre of the Chilean modernisation pathway (Leiva, 2010, p. 14). In this scenario, Leiva (2010, p. 4) points out that the 'left-centred intellectuals [and through them social sciences] have played a fundamental role in the design, production and circulation of … policies oriented to produce a new type of citizenship and subjectivity legitimising the extractive capitalist order in place' (My own translation).

Within the dominant ordo-liberal rationality in the diagram of power, knowledge is oriented to validate and generate policy technologies of social cohesion and inclusion by knowing the affective dimensions of individuals and society (Leiva, 2010 pp. 15-16). The influential UNDP reports (PNUD by its acronyms in Spanish) on Human development in Chile framed under Amartya Sen's capability approach (PNUD, 2017) are good examples, given their influence in the shaping of policies and public conversations in Chile (Ramos, 2014). They have focused on the subjective and emotional threat and opportunities of neoliberal Chilean modernisation (PNUD, 1998); the need of more "society" understood as social capital and networks to govern the future (PNUD, 2000); the people's subjective experience in the making of a common Chilean culture (PNUD, 2002); the uses of power and social empowerment (PNUD, 2004); or the subjective wellbeing and happiness as a matter of development (PNUD, 2012). This last report was recognised by the United Nations for its quality of analysis and its impact on social policy making in Chile (El Mostrador, 19th December, 2016).

These reports focused on the negative effects and opportunities of the penetration of the enterprise society over the capacities of people by exploring their dreams, fears, hopes and frustrations. They do so by a discourse of truth emphasising paradoxes between the achievements of ordo-liberal development and the production of frustrated and unsatisfied subjectivities[19], furthering by way of scientific discourses the legitimation of neoliberalism: 'Today advances challenge us in a new way. The problems that Chile must solve are a product of its previous achievements. The successes do not imply absence of tensions, but the emergence of new challenges' (PNUD, 2017, p. 5) (My own translation).

According to Camargo (2013, p. 215) since 2000 and with the rising of two student movements in 2006 and 2011, there is a re-emergence of the visibility of the fear/hatred complex against the constitution of class struggles and class-based policies to address inequalities; a fear attached to 'the trauma of the remembrance of a discourse of class struggle, such as that which was dominant until the coup of 1973, and in which most of members of the ChPEs [Chilean Political Elites] directly or indirectly participated'.

---

[19] In the publication *"Chile en 20 años Un recorrido a través de los Informes sobre Desarrollo Humano"* PNUD states that: 'If we had to summarize the message that the Human Development Reports of Chile have made throughout this time in a nutshell, this would be: Subjectivity matters. It matters in itself, because ultimately what is relevant, is what happens in the daily lives of people and the senses that they attribute to that life. It also matters because it has concrete consequences in the social reality', functional consequences and also of legitimacy' (PNUD 2017, p. 5).

According to Camargo's research (2012; 2013), from the 1990s onwards, class depicts a terrifying grammar for Chilean policymakers and political elites. Inequality was known by political elites and policymakers but not fully recognised as a core problem of the Chilean political economic model. This misrecognition contributes to maintain the legitimacy of the neoliberal model in Chile. In Camargo's words (2012, p. 23): 'income inequality became a sort of permanent presence, a "specter" that haunted the Concertación governments, and although everyone knew very well that it was there, as a reflection of a divided society, nobody really seemed to know what to do about it'.

Among other discursive stratagems deployed by political elites to deal with persistent inequalities without addressing them is the discourse of improving the "quality of education" (Camargo, 2012). This discursive device has gained prominence in the 21st century, and it refers to a "technocratisation" of inequality detached from actually tackling socioeconomic structures. It also represents redistributed policies as old-fashioned or irresponsible (Camargo, 2012).

In this context, state and non-state policies are configured under the grid of the socio-emotional turn (Leiva, 2010). I argue that this is an ordo-liberal turn in social policy, where the preoccupations, activation and enhancing of subjectivities, emotions, and potentialities are the main targets for generating inclusion and to be articulated with ideals of social mobility, economic growth and competitiveness. In this scenario, social policies- sets the psycho-social conditions that ordo-liberalism required for maintaining order based on market competition by making subjects enduring, enterprising subjects able to strive against the deteriorations that market brings onto them (Bonefeld, 2012a).

The Ordo-liberal Turn to Inclusion in Higher Education

In this context, higher education is constructed as a key site performing the working-classes as responsible for eradicating their own poverty (Ramos, 2016), as a space offering the working-class students the opportunity to become an entrepreneurial subject. The entrepreneurial subject is deployed, for instance, by universities intense advertisement throughout the cities. Nowadays, higher education is the third biggest field expending in advertisement after the retail and mobile phone companies in Chile (Simbürger, 2013). Higher education's advertising is a technology reaching every corner of the city constructing the desirable subject of higher education: 'Advertisements can be found on city buildings and motorways, at bus stops and on buses, inside and outside underground

stations and on trains. This almost gives the sensation of the university coming to one's doorstep' (Simbürger, 2013, p. 67).

The entrepreneurial regime of subjectification is also omnipresent in university campuses. They are populated by brands, promotional events, banks selling and promoting their products and services, and other consumption-related activities. The private universities are those further promoting the development of such commodifying and commodified culture. Social mobility here is an affective economy that relies primarily on the desires of developing the subjects' potentialities to become the enterprising self. In Simbürger's (2013, p. 71) research the discourse of social mobility contrasts with the absence of the discourse about universities as sites of intellectual and political activity.

The contemporary Chilean university attempts to construct the entrepreneurial subject through wider relationships with the discourse of social mobility in higher education. Statements -images, logos, etc- of 'the ladder and the climbing men', the leader, the mobile, the upward, the successful subject one can become in university are connected with the responsible and emotional subject committed with Chile's development and economic growth (Simbürger, 2013, pp. 70-73).

As part of these ordo-liberal technologies or infrapowers are also the affirmative action programmes as well as other admission and access policies oriented to include the "talented working-class student" into higher education. These programmes encompass interventions aimed at levelling skills and knowledges for high-performing students from "socioeconomic disadvantaged" backgrounds. These programmes are run by universities and granted on the base of competitive funds. Examples of this shift towards the competitive inclusion are the Beca de Excelencia Académica (BEA) launched in 2006 and the Beca de Nivelacion Académica (BNA), launched in 2011. The former offer financial support to high-achieving working-class students in the top 5% of their class in secondary school, helping them to pay the tuition fees at higher education institutions, and the latter, BNA supports high-performing working-class students access to higher education and funds affirmative actions or levelling programmes at universities oriented to enhancing the capacities of these new university students (Bernasconi, 2015b; Micin *et al.*, 2015). There is a discourse of knowledge framing these measures as effective to increase equity in access, retention and academic achievements on these students (Bernasconi, 2015b).

López and Pérez (2013) in their study of the levelling programmes in Chile, conclude that they are strongly oriented to intervene "on the psychological" of the working-class students through emotional management courses, psycho-social interventions, aspiration enhancing, psychological tests, alongside academic preparatory courses in different disciplinary areas. They emphasise deficit and responsibilisation discourses that talk about lack of motivation, self-esteem and resilience as problems and solutions of equity. According to these researchers, these programmes are based on 'blaming the victim' models that stress the deficits students have the only way to achieve good academic results in universities that allow is through remedial processes (López and Pérez, 2013, pp. 13–37).

The IAPs, that started in 2007, and PACE, are also embedded in this ordo-liberal psycho-politics. As I will develop in the next Chapter, they are presented as novel policies able to overcome the deficit models as well as to use more novel knowledges and philosophies underpinning them.

The affirmative action policy interrogated in this investigation is often described by government documents and research as policies recognising and rehabilitating the right to higher education. The policy document laying down the foundations of the PACE, started with a number of statements establishing education as a social right:

> Education is a social right whose maximum expression is the person in the exercise of their citizenship … all students, without exception, have the right to a good education that ensures their participation and learning at different levels of teaching (MINEDUC, 2015, p.1).

The discourse of the right to higher education was absence in Chilean policies since 1973. It emerges again with the student' movement in 2011 and taking up directly by the affirmative action policy. Nonetheless, as I will show, the taking up of this discourse is done under the ordo-liberal framework which tames the capacity of this discourse to change the inequalities within the field of higher education.

One of the ways by which these programmes materialise the restitution of the right to higher education for the working-class students, is by placing the emotional life of the students at the centre of their interventions. The aim of this psycho-politics is to promote a change in the way these students develop a relationship within their selves in order to make them suitable for higher education studies. In the interview with one of the directors of the PACE; an important agent in the design of the coaching modules of the IAPs, the view on the emotions that this programmes hold was underscored in the following way:

> That activities that we deliver to the students are important for them to know what they are feeling, what worlds they are discovering, how they can put their emotions at the service of their goals, how they can look their emotions differently, and how they can know if they need to learn new emotions (Policymaker 13, Interview).

The power of their emotions are linked to a wider tendency that tackle the affective dimensions of inequalities as well as of policy practices of individual responsibilisation through character education, emotional (as) skills and potentialities (Brunila *et al.*, 2016, p. 71). In this tendency, working-class students are located as emotional vulnerable; as without the resources to manage and produce the right feelings to face the challenges in higher education.

Privatising Forces, the Government of Knowledge, The Governmentalisation of the State, and the Neoliberal Anxieties Against Politisation

There are more elements connecting the formation of the affirmative action policy and ordo-liberal governmentalities. In this section, I show multiple ordo-liberal lines expressed in the formation of these programmes:

1) The subscription to wider private actors as relevant actors in the making of policy;

2) the government of knowledge about affirmative action policies for neoliberal government and consensus-building;

3) the state as the target of policy and not the state as producer of policy;

4) and the entrance of managerial technologies as technologies of inclusion.

The Multiple Privatising Forces Performing the IAPs, and the Government of Knowledge

The formation of the IAPs is traced not just as a response and part of the student movement and wider discontent with inequalities in higher education, but also as a much wider network of actors that are constructed as legitimate and necessary subjects of policy. These are the Ford Foundation, UNESCO, Equitas, as well as the smaller national corporate philanthropist foundations such as Portas and Colunga Foundations. As I

presented in Chapter I, these organisations are full of individuals belonging to the business elite, younger, social entrepreneurialism and the Catholic Church.

Neoliberal governmentalities interpellate subjects to assume these actors as central, needed to shape the policy processes (Larner and Walters, 2004, pp. 507-510). These organisations, particularly in the making of the IAPs, have contributed to the desirability of the privatisation of higher education policy through the public-private partnership mode of policy.

In addition, the participation of such actors also contributes to a view where ambitions of equity are consonant with aspirations of market expansion and stability. In the contemporary ordo-liberal epistemology, discourses of equity and discourses of market competition need each other. For instance, some of these actors have endorsed the idea of the ultimate importance to the mobilisation of private and philanthropic actors for the implementation of the IAPs as a matter of realising education as a 'right for all'. At the end of 2014, during a celebratory meeting of the scholarships given by Colunga Foundation, Jorge Sequeira, Director of UNESCO Santiago emphasised this importance:

> … realising the right to education for all is one of the main foundations for more just and democratic societies. This depends not only on education, but also on broader social structures. In this sense, the role of the different social actors is fundamental: our sincere recognition and admiration for the crusade undertaken by the Colunga Foundation (UNESCO, 2014).

Similarly, this way of making education policy has been furthered historically by Ford and Equitas Foundations. Both deployed tactics to articulate different non-state actors and unify them by the production of a shared episteme -especially in the case of Chile and South America where they identified a weak understanding of affirmative action policies. In fact, knowledge production is specifically oriented to the purpose of government in this case. María Amelia Palacios - the Educational Reform Programme Coordinator of the Ford Foundation in the Andean Region and the Southern Cone Office, and member of the Equitas Foundation Advisory Board - talking about a larger research project on the state of the affirmative action policies in South America, stated that this was a project aimed at exploring the culture and implementation of affirmative action policies in South America in order to envisage strategies to develop and reinforce affirmative actions as a more 'direct mode' of addressing inequalities (Palacios, 2005, pp. 10-11).

The Ford Foundation wanted to use this project to trigger an 'essential debate with those responsible for directing education and social policy and with representatives of excluded groups' in order to envisage 'which the best strategies to achieve equity were'. For the Foundation, this programme was a tactic to create 'political consensus, dialogues and negotiations on the most effective ways to promote equal rights and opportunities' (María Amelia Palacios 2005, p. 11) (My own translation). The Equitas Foundation and UNESCO are also active nodes on this strategy. They promote affirmative actions in the Chilean higher education as well as in other countries in South America, through studies, seminars and meetings presenting, promoting and analysing affirmative action experiences, and fostering an epistemic community able to produce knowledge supporting these policies.[20]

Augusto Varas (2005, p. 19), a Representative of Ford Foundation in the Andean Region and Southern Cone, and the president of Equitas Foundation, when referring to the state of affirmative actions in Chile and South America, said:

> … Firstly, with regards to the loss of ground at the conceptual level of this integrating vision of social development [affirmative actions], it is necessary to generate the adequate conditions for the values, concepts and goals of social development at the centre of public policies, and the creation of epistemic communities around these new concepts as an urgent need (My own translation).

Policy making is carried out through the construction of an epistemic community comprising different stakeholders such as 'non-governmental organizations, civil society organizations, the private sector, philanthropic institutions and state agencies' in order to have 'a greater opportunity to generate synergies and develop creative communication strategies in these spaces of action' (Varas 2005, pp. 19-20).

The Governmentalisation of the State by the Incorporation of the IAPs as State Policy

For Ford and Equitas Foundation, the state is a space to conquer and was the aim of the IAPs. This was the political ambition shared by UNESCO, University of Santiago and the student movement. One of the points of departure of the network is strategically linked to that "ambition". As an official from the Equitas Foundation revealed:

> In this vocation to do politics, we had to climb to be able to transform affirmative action programmes into something else... This was the possibility of taking the

---

[20] Since 2008, this was the case of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd International Seminars on Social Inclusion and Equity in Higher Education held in Santiago, Temuco and Valparaiso between the universities of Chile, Vaparaiso, Tarpacá and La Frontera, and Fundación Equitas.

model of our programme into the University of Santiago…The idea was to bring our affirmative action model and pilot it at the University of Santiago and climb, so as to imprint some sense of politics that we had not achieved with our affirmative action programme before. That was our motivation [to work with University of Santiago]; there was a motivation that had to do with the institutional objectives, that's why we got involved in that, and for us the consolidation of the objectives was the Government's affirmative action policy: "PACE" in 2014 (Policymaker 3, Interview).

Affirmative action policies are positioned as aims that need the active mobilisation of civil society to safeguard social cohesion amid the desirable expansion of competitiveness; what Jacques Donzelot (2015) calls "the social competitive". According to Donzelot (2015) the United Nations' consensus on social policy is about a withdrawal of the state as a single agent managing the negative effects of neoliberal globalisation and to mobilise, instead, privatising forces under the term "civil society". This consensus constitutes 'exclusion as a problem, social cohesion as the solution, and competitiveness as the objective' (Donzelot, 2015, p. 17) (My own translation).

The Neoliberal Anxieties against Politisation

The neoliberal regime of subjectification expressed through the IAPs and PACE propagates anxieties against working-class students' engagement in politics. This is an important problem for policymakers taking into account the re-politisation of higher education experimented since 2011. In the case of these programmes, the conjunction of the vulnerable students in need of entrepreneurial vitalities with politics at the universities enacted by different political collectives -Marxists, Trotskyist, Feminist, among others- has mobilised fears in some affirmative action policy practitioners. During my fieldwork, an interviewee voiced me that:

> When my students (those under the programme) engage in political assembly and activities, sometimes I go to see what is going on in these spaces, I identify them, I ask them, what they are doing there, I ask them, if I can participate and stay in their meetings" (Policymaker 9, Interview).

Also, I learnt that at a meeting held between monitors and practitioners of these programmes at the beginning of the academic year, concerns were raised about the students' political participation and conversations, reflected in comments about how to avoid and persuade students participating in the programmes to not get involved in political activities. They were worried because these "students", according to them, were easily "absorbed" by political organisations, and that could be a distraction from their duties as students. The policing neoliberal gaze in place is still only about ascribing students

the sole role as technical learners, decoupling education and political practices. The anxieties produced were understandable not only due to the fear of seeing these students failing in their studies, but also due to an ordo-liberal rationality where there is an unequal distribution of the affects dispositioned to participate in politics. In this rationality, politics remains an elitist game.

Final Remarks

Affirmative action policies in Chile are deeply embedded in an ordo-liberal rationality with a progressive face, which can be read as a novel form of ordo-liberal rationality that takes into account new social movements claim and avant-garde positioning. As Fraser asserts:

> [the] progressive-neoliberal program for a just status order did not aim to abolish social hierarchy but to "diversify" it, "empowering" "talented" women, people of color, and sexual minorities to rise to the top. And that ideal was inherently class specific: geared to ensuring that "deserving" individuals from "underrepresented groups" could attain positions and pay on a par with the straight white men of their own class (Fraser, 2017, unpaged).

Neoliberalism in Chile, was more than a discursive regime emphasising the entrepreneurial self from the outset, it was driven by a cold war episteme producing the working-classes as abject bodies. Moreover, the arrival of neoliberalism in Chile was due to the ability of militaries and business elite 'to constitute subject positions from which its discourses about the world made sense to people in a range of different social positions' (Larner, 2000, p. 9). Market reforms were thought and deployed as a mode of governing class conflicts through demobilisation and class re-ordering, and as a mode of promising development by economic growth. Under this neoliberal project, universities were seen by militaries and elites as one of the main spaces of intervention for working-class demonization, while economics and social science started to aligned with neoliberal epistemologies of positivist sciences for policies.

This new constellation of knowledge did not challenge existing class relations. According to Leiva (2010) this has given place to a Latin American form of governmentality featuring a transition from a disciplining of bodies –in authoritarian times- to a disciplining of freedom –in post-authoritarian regimes. The production of desires, dispositions and conducts appropriate to sustain forward neoliberal moves are deemed important through the discourse of new psy-knowledge propelled by social sciences and passes onto social policies.

In this historical trajectory, the affirmative action policy is formed, dispositioned, by contrasting and different rationalities at play. I could find a precarious expression of a socialist rationality coming from the 1960s and 1970s, which was recuperated by some political narratives presented in the student movement and some policymakers, alongside a dominant ordo-liberal rationality that started to gain hegemony from the 1990s onwards. The ordo-liberal governmentality can articulate some of the socialist registers in the formation of the IAPs and PACE, because it has the ability to recognise the damage that the market competition does against working-class subjects in terms of excluding them from the higher education. This rationality recuperates the concerns for equality under the banner of inclusion and of psychologising dispositions of education. This allows it to recognise the working-class students as emotionally vulnerable and yet with the potential to become entrepreneurial of themselves as university students.

This analysis, albeit precariously, contend that a policy *dispositif* cannot be only understood as a multiplicity with no determinations, but rather, as a formation that is featured by its capacity to dispose its multiplicities, its lines of different forces, attending to the necessities that a dominant rationality of government has. The formation of a *dispositif* is always an instrumental formation. It is formed taking into account the utility can have for a certain urgency to intervene over a configuration or tendency perceived as an anomaly (Foucault, 2001b).

Chapter IV. The Discourse of Meritocratic Inclusion in The Affirmative Action Policy in Chilean Higher Education

Introduction

The discourse of inclusion in the Chilean higher education has been around since the 1990s, but in a continuous process of institutionalisation and intensification from 2006 onwards, as a strategic articulation with the student movement demands and wider public discontent with higher education's exclusionary mechanisms. The government's turn to inclusion in higher education, as we saw in the previous Chapter, involves a programming aimed at enhancing emotional skills and knowledges of the so called talented students from "socioeconomic disadvantaged" backgrounds. Critical analyses of this turn in higher education are scarce. López and Pérez (2013), studying retention policies in the Chilean higher education, point out the dominant deficit and responsibilisation discourses that find "in" students -lack of motivation, self-esteem, resilience, etc- the problems and solutions of equity, which lead to a 'blaming-the-victim' model of policy.

The discourse performing the affirmative action policy has not been investigated from a poststructural perspective nor it has been studied by taking into account the affective elements of its configuration. In this Chapter, I contribute to the study of this policy by analysing its discourse of inclusion from the perspective of governmentality and *dispositif*; that is, as a strategic formation and approach oriented to govern the conflicts, "anomalies", and the meaning of merit in higher education. I locate inclusion within the ordo-liberal diagram and the affirmative action policy *dispositif* as part of the emotional turn in social policy. Following a notion of *dispositif* linked to political rationalities, allows us to recognise the different "*agencements*" -different desires and associated discursive formations- with differential forces entangled, reshaping, and strategizing the affirmative action policy (Rizvi and Lingard, 2011; Burke and Kuo, 2015).

I want to overcome the strong tendency to see affirmative actions in higher education as the happy object of research (Ahmed, 2010). In these policies, inclusion is often seen and framed from a normative stance (Baez, 2003). This approach foreclosures the possibilities

to think inclusion otherwise as well as to question the forms of inclusion that comes from the education policy making field and defines the frames of enquiry. Such a critical exercise can contribute to a politicisation of research and policy making (Morsy, Gulson and Clarke, 2014). Following a poststructural positioning and a will for dissensus, I take inclusion as an object of thought, disagreement, and problematisation (Dunne, 2009; Veiga-Neto and Corcini Lopes, 2013).

In what follows, firstly, I analyse the discourse of inclusion in Chile generated amidst struggles over higher education admission policies and government strategies oriented to content the population's discontent with the inequalities produced in the higher education field. Second, I locate affirmative action policies in the Chilean higher education discursively, pointing out its colonial and philanthropic genealogy. Third, I explore how the affirmative action policy is deployed by inclusion in different strategic positions and struggles regarding the market, the measures of merit, and the discursive and affective constitution of the desirable working-class subject of higher education. I claim that, in the specific context of the affirmative action policy in Chile, and despite the contradictory formation of the discourse of inclusion developed here, inclusion is a post-political formation performing the affirmative action policy with the form of an evangelical drive oriented to "rescue" those working-class subjects seen as able to demonstrate their capabilities and merits to be recognised as proper subjects of right to higher education. In this pastoral formation, the discourse of inclusion is driven by affects of elitism and abjection against the working-classes defined in contrast to the higher education spaces.

Inclusion, the Great World Consensus in the Education of the Entrepreneurial Subject

The discourse of inclusion is a political battlefield over people's imaginations (Bottici, 2014). As a struggle over imaginations, it also affects the knowledges, visions and ambitions of policy. The discourse of inclusion in higher education taking up for the IAPs and PACE has had the ultimate aim –discourse is a visceral strategy- of staging the realities that the Chilean and transnational elites want to pursue and govern. Inclusion was the official position and strategy of the government ruling the country between 2014 and 2018. As the Ministry of Education in 2014 bluntly wrote against some positions within the student movement in a statement entitled *Inclusion is the Great World Consensus in education*

> … but everything will be a dream if we do not change the tone of the debate, if
> we do not lower the distrust and leave aside the fantasies and prejudices' …. Our
> duty to future generations, to which we should bequeath a more cohesive society
> and with opportunities for all, is to find ways to advance (Eyzaguirre, 2014) (My
> own translation).

To imagine the affirmative action policy beyond the consensual realities the framework of inclusion attempts to stage, is often discarded as an unjustified, irresponsible fantasy, and as a conduct that causes social disharmony.

The discourse of inclusion sustained the affirmative action policy in Chile, as we can see in the positioning of the Ministry of Education, is a post-political discourse that disavows disagreement. According to Swyngedouw (2011), a post-political discourse is a strategy of managing social problems that attempts to suture the political conflicts and disagreements. It does it by disavowing those views or by including the differences in institutional expert-knowledge arrangements 'as long as [they do] not question fundamentally the existing state of the neo-liberal political economic configuration' (Swyngedouw, 2011, p. 2).

Furthermore, inclusion in the Chilean higher education, functions to further legitimate the production of class inequalities. In the same statement by the Minister of Education referred above, it can be read the following understanding of inclusion.

> We can discuss how many inequalities are acceptable at arrival … But we can only
> agree that equality at the beginning, in education, is a sine qua non condition for
> the legitimacy of those differences that really emerge from personal effort and
> talent and the ability to innovate and take risk. That legitimacy is fundamental for
> the functioning of a modern economy (Eyzaguirre, 2014) (My own translation).

Inclusion gives way to a desirable inequality in so far as it is the product of individual merit, talent, and entrepreneurialism: Inclusion, in this context, is a discourse that frames and validates social policies taking into consideration the competition principles as rules and veridiction for the government of society and individuals (Foucault, 2008).

The post-political context where the discourse of inclusion is anchored must be further contextualised by taking into account the development of the authoritarian neoliberalism in Chile. If during the dictatorship, authoritarian neoliberalism punished and banished political imaginaries outside it, from the 1990s onwards, this authoritarian root followed not coercive forces, but discursive and institutional practices that insulate the social and political dissent (Bruff, 2014, p. 115). In Chile, Tomas Moulian's (2002) theory of consensus echoes this authoritarian -by soft means- neoliberal practice in the post-

dictatorship period. Moulian argues that a politics of consensus is deployed as the epitome of democracy making, and as a foundational event of the production of the new Chile through the practices of oblivion towards different thinking and political projects. A consensus, for him, is the place where 'politics no longer exists as a struggle for alternatives, as historicity, it exists only as a history of small variations, adjustments, changes in aspects that do not compromise the global dynamics' (Moulian, 2002, p. 44) (My own translation).

The policy discourse of social harmonisation through gluing affective notions of inclusion, social cohesion as well as the appropriate potentialities and skills through education, are enduring until the last neoliberal centre-left government. In the Bachelet's government programme (2014-2018), sustainability, inclusion, and social cohesion are in harmony with entrepreneurialism, innovation, economic growth and competitiveness. In this articulation, education is staged at the heart of the neoliberal rationality.

> The most important of these transformations will allow us to move towards a more equitable and quality education at all levels. This will not only produce greater social inclusion ... it will also allow numerous professionals and technicians ... to give the boost that our economy needs. We cannot waste the talent, creativity and drive of all our citizens (p. 9) ... when carrying out a structural reform in education, it also seeks to generate the conditions to maintain economic growth. This is the first step to ensure a more competitive, more productive and more innovative economy (Bachelet, 201, p. 10). (My own translation)

The Discursive location of Affirmative Action Policy in the Chilean Higher Education

The discourse of inclusion performs the affirmative action policy within an international project towards social cohesion. This position is embodied in the United Nations' leadership and consensual force. Within the tactical moves of positioning affirmative action policies in Chile, in 2005, the Representative of the Andean Region and Southern Cone of Ford Foundation and President of Equitas Foundation, Augusto Varas, pointed out that the United Nations Summit and its promotion of social cohesion is 'the most important attempt made to date by the international community to overcome the exclusion and marginalization which millions of people worldwide have been dragged to in recent decades' (Varas 2005, p. 15) (My own translation).Within this global geopolitics of inclusion, affirmative actions are placed as a fundamental axis for the 'modern strategies of

social development allowing excluded sectors and groups to be systematically integrated into the broader processes, structures and social institutions' (Varas, 2005, p. 19).

For Ford and Equitas Foundations -two of the pillars of the construction of the affirmative action policy in Chile- affirmative action policies are placed in a modern gaze, decidedly oriented to tackle directly inequalities. As another representative of the Ford Foundation states: 'The concept of affirmative action was not part of the political tradition in Latin America -more experienced in policies for the alleviation of poverty than in the direct confrontation of inequality' (Palacios, 2005, p. 11)..

Here, affirmative action policies are positioned as departing from the traditional modalities of neoliberal Latin American policies focused on poverty.

Loyal to Ford Foundation's colonial gaze and its civilizing projects of modernisation, in the discursive location of the affirmative action policies for South American Countries, a colonial view pervades, which is rooted in old but vigorously alive notions of development based on the distinction between the North as the modern and best way to address inequalities in higher education and the "traditional" view of the South. In fact, the IAPs, from the positions of the policymakers and supporters, are constructed as mirror of the affirmative action programmes developed in the USA such as the "ten percent admissions plan" implemented in the Texas state since 1996, and the affirmative action programmes developed by the "Grandes écoles" -the elite higher education institutions in France- from the beginning of the 2000s (see Gil and Bach, 2012).

The Ford Foundation, justifying its stand for the affirmative action policy in Chile, cites United Nations' positioning on affirmative actions and social cohesion pointing out that

> they have tried to overcome unilateral views of development, comprehensively including its main elements, integrating economic and social policies into a harmonious unity and including core ethical values of development, such as the human right to equity, peace and human dignity (Varas, 2005, p. 15) (My own translation).

Within this discourse, philanthropy, and the private sector, are always welcomed as leading actors in the crusade for inclusion in higher education. In 2011, María del Carmen Feijoo, Coordinator of Ford Foundation for Andean Region and the Southern Cone, in the opening of a seminar on social inclusion and higher education in Chile, states that social rights, democracy, governance, among other issues of concern for the Foundation, alongside 'philanthropy directed to social justice, are the ways by which, along with our

partners, we walk in the search of more rights for all…eradicating all type of discrimination' (Feijo, 2011, p.21).

For the case of the formation of the IAPs, there is an actualisation of the Christian Democratic thought of the 1950s and 1960s. In this constellation, the desired working-class subjects of higher education are those constituted as talented subjects. In this frame, the director of one of these programmes was justifying the existence of the IAPs:

> 'The existence of [these] programmes that focus on the rescue of talented students, especially those from socially and academically disadvantaged sectors, is an immediate response to the problem of the poor quality of our educational system, the exclusion, and inequality' (Catrileo, 2012, pp.7-8) (My own translation).

This historical force of the Christian ethos further reinforces the fantasies over the affirmative action policy as a direct way that attack the roots of the exclusion and inequality in the Chilean education. Policy fantasies entice to overlook dissonances, crevices, conflicting policy alternatives, and alternatives to policies (Clarke, 2012). Affirmative action policies in the Chilean higher education yield for this fantasy as a consensus as much as possible: 'The consensus reached on this broad vision of development has laid the foundations for generating an international regime that brings social, economic and environmental policies into effective interaction' (Varas 2005, p. 15).

Inclusion against the Aggressions of the Market and Meritocratic Misrecognitions

Inclusion discourse is strategically produced against the aggressions of the national entrance test depicted as a mechanism of reproduction of class inequalities. As one of the main policymakers affectively expressed:

> To me it is violent, that is the word that I prefer to use, it is very violent that you have studied to the fullest and they tell you ... you cannot have a scholarship because you did not get the minimum score in the [national entrance test], the State is not going to give you a scholarship to study at the university (Policymaker 1, Interview).

The inclusion discourse positions the affirmative action policy in a struggle over the privatisation of the national entrance test. A privatisation epitomises by the shadow education services (pre-university private institutes), which reinforce the privilege of those from the upper-middle classes and elites. Affirmative action policymakers, within this

contradictory discursive framework of inclusion, are fighting against the privatisation of the opportunities to get the required scores in the national entrance test. In this struggle, affirmative action policy is unfolded against the privatising strategies that upper and upper-middle classes deploy to secure their children competitive advantages.

In several documents presenting, evaluating, explaining, and promoting these programmes, this discursive register appears:

> The IAPs is presented as a response to the inequality component in the traditional system of selection, given that the students who desire to get a good performance in the national entrance test must pay for their preparation in a private institution called "Pre-Universitario", incurring high costs financed entirely by the family' (Catrileo, 2012, p.6) (My own translation).

> …talented students are equally distributed among schools, independently of their dependence and socioeconomic aspect, talented students from schools that do not offer a good quality education and/or whose families do not possess financial resources to pay "pre- universitarios", have less possibilities of getting into tertiary education, which could allow them to climb up socially and to improve their quality of life' (Figueroa and González, 2013, unpaged) (My own translation)

One of the central rationales underpinning the discourse of inclusion deployed through these programmes argues that the national entrance test is unable to identify and select the students according to their talents and merit, regardless of their educational and socioeconomic conditions, thus contributing to the reproduction of social inequalities and privilege. There is here also, a rationale of inclusion that frames the IAPs and PACE within the discourse of human capital and economic growth. In this logic, the affirmative action policy is thought as a *dispositif* oriented to make a more effective meritocratic selection of the most talented students without taking into account their class background. As Francisco Javier Gil, stated:

> As a country, we are losing a large amount of advanced human capital that tomorrow could be exercising a profession and make the country's economy grow. Because, as I say, the talents are everywhere. That is the essence of the PACE: To go and find those young people who made the most of the learning opportunities they had (CNNCHILE, 2016) (My own translation).

Based on a wider range of research evidence and means of dissemination with powerful performative effects -not just academic research but reports from for profit and non-for profit international organisations such as OECD, The World Bank and Pearson PLC (e.g. OECD and The World Bank, 2009; Pearson PLC, 2013), the discourse of inclusion has had the capacity to expose the arbitrariness of the national entrance test, denouncing its

distancing from the liberal ideals of meritocracy and excellence. Inclusion in the affirmative action policy is a desire to put meritocratic values into practice. The discourse of inclusion produces the national entrance test as a simulacrum of equity, meritocracy and excellence, revealing it as a coated symbol of academic excellence that in practice works with class logic.

As strategic, this discourse is presented in a struggle over the meaning of merit and elitism in the Chilean higher education. From the first attempts to create a fairer admission policy through a bonus point system for the 5% of working-class students of higher performances in secondary education, the agents standing up for affirmative action policies fell into difficult relations with the Council of Chancellors (the most prestigious consortium of universities) given their negative disposition towards positive discrimination measures. It was 2005 and some of the policymakers' leaders, promoting the implementation of affirmative action programmes, felt the Council of Chancellors' position turning back as an act of fear towards the working-classes in universities. As one of the policymakers recalled:

> There is a great deal of ignorance and fear [in the Council of Chancellors]. The fundamental fear they have is that the university is filled with rotos[21] (chavs). This came at first from the chancellors of the main universities in Chile. They do not know how to deal with them [working-class students], so they reject them (Revista Paula, 21th November, 2012) (My own translation).

The discourse of inclusion as the struggle over the redefinition of merit is deployed in various affirmative actions' policy texts claiming to bring a new paradigm of merit in admission policies. This "new paradigm" claims that merit is expressed beyond and outside the class conditions of the students and promote that the talents are equally distributed no matter the class and other social conditions of the students (Figueroa and González, 2013; MINEDUC, 2015). One of the main policy texts -setting up the foundations of the PACE - develops the following statement:

> In the last twenty years Chile has experienced a slow but progressive change in the paradigm of merit granting access to universities. The paradigm still prevalent in Chile establishes that the best students "are those who have achieved a score in the national entrance test that places them within the top twenty thousand places of the list of students who have taken the test" (Art. N ° 3 of the DFL N ° 4 of 1981). A second paradigm emerges again in Chile stating that talents are equally distributed between rich and poor, in all ethnic groups and cultures, so in all

---

[21] The term "roto" has various meaning. In the context of the quotation it refers to working-class people in a derogatory way. It is also a term that was born in the XIX century to depict the first free flow of vagabonds as urban peasants. It has used to refer in intensely pejorative way to the rising of the working-class as a political class during the 1960s and 1970s.

> different schools there are students with academic merit and usually they reach the top scores [within their classroom] (MINEDUC, 2015, p. 10) (My own translation)

The statement that the talents, or rather, talented subjects, are distributed equally across the different categories of inequality such as class, ethnicity, gender, and cultures, operates as the main nodal point of truth from which the affirmative action policy is constructed. It works as both, an act of faith or belief, and as a discourse of truth. As such, it bears a resemblance to Foucault's theorisation of the articulation of fictions and truths. For Foucault (1980, p. 193) fictions and truth are implicated: '… the possibility exists for fiction to function in truth, for a fictional discourse to induce effects of truth, and for bringing it about that a true discourse engenders or "manufactures" something that does not as yet exist' (Foucault, 1980, p. 193). The repetition of a statement becomes little by little as the truth that the policy needs to produce and verified -the truth of the talented working-class students-, and by the same token, it can become the target of attacks and disavowals when this fictional truth fails to become in evidence.

The equality of talents has become in one of the foundations of the affirmative action policy. As such, it triggers a set of strong passionate and divisive attachments. As one of the leaders of these programmes expressed in an interview:

> this simple phrase [talents are equally distributed in all societies] we did not say at the beginning, now we have it and we are heavy, you saw that I said it in a short time sixty times, because it is the stone on which it is built all of this … Everything else is superfluous ... if you do not believe that the talents are equally distributed, get on the path of the front! We feel a deep contempt for you (Policymaker 11, Interview).

In response to this, the affirmative action policy proposes a more inclusive admission system through measures of merit indexed in the position of students according to their marks or academic performance within their classmates in the last two years of secondary school (Gil and del Canto Ramírez, 2012; MINEDUC, 2015). This new measure of merit is presented as able to overcome the classed misrecognition of the potentials that working-class students possess. In this way, this new measure sought to take into account the academic performance of the students relative to others in similar conditions, regardless of their social backgrounds. The effectiveness of these measures was first promoted showing the similar academic performances of the working-class students who participated in these programmes in relation to the middle and upper-class students (e.g. Koljatic and Silva, 2013; Treviño, Scheele and Flores, 2014). In this sense, the affirmative action policy is able

to function as an instrument that can recognise working-class students not as lacking but with the potential to be equals in the competition to access universities.

This discourse of inclusion has recast meritocracy into the public arena. It operationalises merit as a technology able to better isolate the effect of the students' social backgrounds; thus "enhancing" the modes by which individuals can prove their efforts and talents beyond their class conditions. Meritocracy, as the affirmative action policy has managed it, has been recently screened as a measure of a '*meritocracy situated in context*' (Italics are mine) or 'situated-meritocracy' which opposes and overcomes the shortcomings of the supposed 'hegemonic conception of "universal-meritocracy"'.

> …students in each school compete among them for placements in a higher education institution. This contrasts with the hegemonic conception of "universal-meritocracy", which compares the merit of students independently of their school of origin through the results of standardized admission tests. In this way, the selective nature of the higher education system prevails, but using different forms of selection that make competition for placements more context bounded (Villalobos et al. 2017, unpaged).

The discourse of inclusion promises a fairer redistribution of merits, recognising the equal distributions of efforts and talents in society, while at the same time it safeguards one of the most rooted values of higher education -the idea of excellence by retaining the role of universities as "selective spaces". By promoting a practice of inclusion mediated by the values of excellence and merit, the discourse of inclusion diminishes the defensive tendencies of universities against the demands of equality. By not breaking into the limits, rationalities and meanings that the idea of excellence gives to the higher education field an important part of the universities' competitive identity is captured and guaranteed by the affirmative action policy.

The strategic deployment of the discourse of meritocratic inclusion has had important concrete effects in the mode that the admission policy is thought and framed. It has modified the admission system by including new measures and opened the door for further discussions and struggles over how to implement a fairer system of admission that can diminish the class inequalities embedded in the actual national entrance test.

There may be master narratives, or thousands of ideas around higher education, policy and class. But, discourse is not an idea having effects, it is the very mutual constitution of statements and things, it is the ordering of objects/subjects. As Foucault (2002, p. 54) argued regarding the analysis of discourse.

> A task that consists of not – of no longer – treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language (langue) and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe.

Although the affirmative action policy still addresses a small number of beneficiaries. It has had first-order effects (Ball, 2006, p. 51) by changing some of the elements of the admission policy structure. In 2012, the affirmative action policymakers managed to incorporate to the admission system the "ranking score".

This mechanism seeks to favours equity, recognising the efforts of students during their school trajectory taking into account their performances within their own socioeconomic and educational context (www.demre.cl). It was argued that the ranking score would bring more students with academic talent thus improving inclusion and effectiveness in the learning process, retention and graduation rates (Gil, Paredes and Sánchez, 2013, p. 18). So far, in terms of equity in access the effects have been modest, allowing access to 4000 new students; 4% of the total students selected from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Casanova, 2015; Leyton, 2015). The ranking score, as recognised by some of their proponents, has a limited ability to open the gates of higher education to the working-class students who are the targets of the affirmative action programmes (Gil and del Canto Ramírez, 2012). In this context, the national entrance test is still the dominant criterion of admission and scholarships. Nonetheless, it has been the discussion and strategic movements of the agents constituting the affirmative action policy the one that has been able to open the public debate over equity and admissions in the Chilean higher education.

Two last contrasting points on this. Through a politics of knowledge showing that working-class people recognised as talented and with merit can participate in higher education and can do as well as upper-classes, the affirmative action policy has challenged the affective and discursive boundaries delimiting the "reasonable" imaginaries about what type of students should be part of the university.

Yet, even with the taming of inclusion through its inscription in conservative and economising forces of excellence and human capital, it has been difficult to shake the elitist imagination as it is embedded in prestigious -private and public- universities depicting working-class selves as the unchanging subjects of lack. In one of the most prestigious

public universities, which at the time of my fieldwork was under pressure to implement the PACE, an important agent of equity and inclusion at that university declared:

> Look, I've seen the charts, the tests that show that these students are doing better or the same as the traditional students. But I cannot imagine those children in this university. Can you imagine, it's impossible (Policymaker 5, Interview).

Meritocratic Inclusion as Ordo-liberal Psycho-politics

The regime of truth shaping this meritocratic inclusion, understands that it is through policy technologies able to recognise and empower the inner psychological forces of individuals that an inclusive and equal higher education system can be achieved. Meritocracy becomes re-legitimised and rescued as it promises inclusion by recognising the individual potentials without taking into account its social moorings. The recognition of the inner efforts and attitude towards success of the individuals is linked to assumed "normal, democratic distribution" of talent that the affirmative action policies seek to make visible. The indicators oriented to identify the talented and meritocratic working-class student are located in the inner capacities of the self in the form of resilience, persistence, or strong personal character.

> While performing well on the national entrance test may signal that a student comes from a high socioeconomic background and more educated parents … being at the top of the class is likely to reflect actual merit, which is understood by the IAPs as intellectual ability, discipline, resilience, and persistence .... Following this rationale, students at the top of their class, regardless of their high school's social context and their families, will tend to have the personal character and academic skills necessary to access and succeed in higher education (Gil and del Canto Ramírez, 2012, p. 66).

The struggle of affirmative action policies to recognise the potential of working-class students to participate in higher education is an integral part of the strategy to acknowledge the historical exclusions of working-class people while at the same time not clashing with the competitive logic of neoliberal governmentalities. Inclusion through the link between meritocracy and the affective and psychological potentials of individuals is based on old traditions of character education that sell cruel optimisms of mastery over our subjectivities, emotions and agencies (Saltman, 2014, p. 44). The possibilities of being the master of oneself are produced in the affirmative action policy by the propagation of several technologies: ontological coaching, motivational theories and interventions (both

analysed in Chapters V and VI), and leadership literature. In this Chapter, I will exemplify this trend with the use of leadership literature by the affirmative action policy.

The emotional turn to leadership and management are seen as central to inclusion policies to boost the potentialities in students (Staunæs and Bjerg, 2011; Staunæs, 2016). For the case of the IAPs and PACE, "best sellers" leadership and managerial philosophies from the corporate world are widely used in the personal management modules that working-class students must learn in order to unleash leadership dispositions. In the syllabus of the personal management modules, there is a bulk of bestsellers books and enterprising discourses circulating in the making of the new working-class student of higher education. Among this literature worked in this module I found: *The BrainSmart Leader* (Buzan, Dottino and Israel (1999); *Los siete hábitos de la gente altamente efectiva [The seven habits of highly effective people]* (Covey 1999) as basic readings, and as complementary ones there were also La empresa emergente [*The emergent enterprise]* (Echeverria, 2000) Inteligencia Emocional [Emotional Intelligence](Goleman, 1996), Liderazgo sin limites [Leadership without limits] (Heifetz and Linki, 2003) [Leadership without limits], La quinta disciplina [*The fifth discipline* (Senge, 2000) (Fundación Equitas, 2010; Diego Portales University Equity Programme, 2013).

We can see the intimate link between the pastoral discourse of knowing yourself and the figure of the entrepreneurial leader in the following example. One of the Chapters that working-class students had to read was on "proactivity" in *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People* (Covey) (Fundación Equitas, 2010; Diego Portales University Equity Programme, 2013). In that Chapter students are told that proactivity is an ethical imperative and part of human nature, that conveys not just a human natural tendency to take actions or 'the initiative', but most importantly that humans are held responsible for their own lives and that 'behaviour is a function of our decisions, not our conditions' (Covey, 1999, pp. 43-44). For to make things happen people 'can subordinate feelings to values' (Covey 1999, p. 44). There is here a discourse valorising subjects just in so far as their actions have concrete and planned effect in reality, as if they have the power of freedom to make whatever goals they have by being proactive and having emotional control. The assumption that proactivity is human nature has further pathologising effects on working class students and populations who cannot show enough evidence of their proactive behaviour.

> Very proactive people…do not say that their behaviour is the consequence of their conditions or circumstances. Your behaviour is a product of your own

conscious choice; is based on values and is not the product of conditions nor is founded on feelings. Since by nature we are proactive, if our lives are so dependent on conditioning and conditions, this is because, by conscious decision or omission, we choose to grant those things the power to control us (Covey, 1999, p. 44).

There is here a corporate discourse of the self as the true self and parameter of veridiction to grant social recognition to and govern multiple working-class existences. Overcoming their class destinies are processed by the ordo-liberal political rationality as if there were 'nothing outside of the individual which determines his action; he and his decisions are the ones which define his life, his success, his happiness' (Marín-Díaz, 2017, p. 712).

This trend is also a local example of a broader movement towards the production of emotional skills, emotional discipline, and non-cognitive traits, as central aspects of (human) capitalising on working-class subjects for the "new challenges of the century". For the OECD (2015, p. 35):

> Individual capacities that can be (a) manifested in consistent patterns of thoughts, feelings and behaviours, (b) developed through formal and informal learning experiences, and (c) important drivers of socioeconomic outcomes throughout the individual's life.

OECD postulates emotions as a particular specie of human capital, and thus at the heart of political and expert governing practices, reshaping multiple experiences -'perseverance, sociability and self-esteem'- as primarily emotional ones and with the power to fix multiple social and economic problems: among them 'their likelihood of graduating from universities' (OECD, 2015, p. 3).

For the Chilean Agency for the Quality of Education [Agencia de la Calidad de la Educación] (2017) strongly aligned with OECD's overseeing practices, emotional or soft skills are part of a much deeper strategy of inclusion aiming to redefining the society. Even more, "the Agency" performs emotions as a commensurate space for the monitoring of quality of education through the so called "social and personal indicators". This is a central background because the IAPs operate also as a bridge programme between secondary education and higher education, intervening in schools in the last one or two years of secondary education, helping students to develop not just maths and language skills but a series of emotional management capabilities constituted suitable for the developing of:

> 'the moral, spiritual, intellectual, emotional and physical fields' 'positive self-esteem and self-confidence', conduct the conduct 'in accordance with values and civic norms, peaceful coexistence…their rights and responsibilities, and assume

commitments with themselves and with others…positive awareness of 'democratic life and its institutions, human rights…supportive and responsible citizen participation, with awareness of their duties and rights, and respect for the diversity of ideas, ways of life and interests', practice physical activity appropriate to their interests and aptitudes…and for acquiring habits of hygiene and care of one's own body and health' (Agency for the Quality of Education, 2017, unpaged) (y own translation).

Developing such emotions -self-esteem, self-confidence- as skills is nowadays seen in the Chilean education policy world with ultimate importance for 1) 'the reproduction and survival of a better, more just and friendly society' as they constitute 'an engine for the social, economic and cultural progress'. They are also seen as able 'to reduce social inequities' by for example, promoting a 'growth mindset [given its] positive effect on performance equal to or even greater than the negative effect of socioeconomic status' (Agency for the Quality of Education 2017, unpaged) (My own translation).

These emotional skills are seen central to deepen in the project of creating more self-responsible subjects. Affirmative action programmes through their discourse of meritocratic inclusion give the universities the opportunity to transit from an image of spaces of privilege to spaces of equity and moral legitimacy by a responsibilisation 'premised on the construction of moral agency as the necessary ontological condition for ensuring an entrepreneurial disposition in the case of individuals and socio-moral authority in the case of institutions' (Shamir, 2008, p. 7).

The Desirable Subject of Meritocratic Inclusion: Rescuing the Working-Class Talented

So far, I have glimpsed the desirable subject of higher education that these programmes produce: one that is valued and recognised for its merits, understood as their proved capacity to prevail, to be resilient and disciplined, let alone intellectually capability. But, intellectual capability is secretly contested by some of the policymakers. This disagreement does not appear in public statements- being the non-intellectual traits those sustained the most as indexes of the equal distribution of talents as merits.

Neither do we say intelligence … we say motivation, ease and fondness for study. Because there are others who get into the subject of intelligence and for me that's not … I refuse to talk about intelligence … I only say that the person took the opportunity and we published

a work that said they had motivation, ease and fondness for study. Are they the smartest? I don't know (Policymaker 8, Interview).

Although, it is unclear why intelligence is rejected in this visceral defensive way, what appears important is the preference for those traits closely related with motivational notions. Intelligence seems to bears a kind of fixity that would not allowed to change the distributions of inequalities, and/or it captures the fear of portraying the working-class students as lacking the necessary cultural capital to be recognised as a desirable subject of higher education.

The primacy of the motivational factors is also connected with one of the closest genealogy I identified of the discourse of inclusion. This genealogy is directly connected with a discourse of the importance to rescue the talented subjects for Chile's development.

According to the IAPs and PACE, the working-class students they work with are standing out from the rest of their peers given some basic traits they have: their capacities to maximise the learning opportunities offered by their "adverse" educational context, higher motivation, ease and fondness for study in comparison with the rest of their classmates, and a stronger disposition to read in their own interest more frequently.

The configuration of this features can be seen for the first time in a study that Francisco Javier Gil (2000)carried out at the end of the 1990s and published in 2000 in a book entitled '*Niños y jóvenes con talentos: una educación de calidad para todos*' [Children and young people with talents: quality education for all]. The Chapter was entitled "Características educacionales de estudiantes de enseñanza media chilenos, con alto nivel de rendimiento" [Educational characteristics of Chilean high school students, with high level of performance]. In this study what was constituted through statistical measures was the talented subject. In the conclusion, after several "statistical measures", the subjectivity performed was 'above all, one that has a:

> motivation to learn, fondness and ease of study, interest in reading rather than computing, a willingness to be squeezed to the fullest, and an ability to perform at a level clearly superior to that of its peers (Gil, 2000, p. 339) (My own translation).

In the conclusion of this study, the talented students are conceptualised as 'talent capital'. As such, it is stressed that these students need to be treated creatively and with excellence in order to stimulate this potential capital that Chile has. It is from here that the talented

subject was infiltrated into the production of the working-class subject of higher education, and also as a broader way to imagine merit in admission policies.

Among all the things of interests to me here, is the identification of a will with high motivation 'to be squeezed to the fullest' is a dimension to keep in mind. This notion of talent carries a will to exploit the anxieties and passions to access and study in universities. It reflects the revival of character education as part of a wider therapeutic and affective turn as important shift-shapers of education policies and their subjects (see Ecclestone, 2012; Saltman, 2014; Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015; Sellar, 2015).

This genealogy of the discourse of inclusion also reflects the pastoral power constituting the affirmative action policy. This form of power applies a will to know the depth, the interiorities of working-class subjects. It runs through an individualising will to know 'the needs and deeds, the sins and wishes, the contents of the soul, of each member of the flock' (Hook, 2007, p. 238). As Foucault (2001b, p. 333) points out: 'this form of power cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets. It implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it'. Following Foucault, (2007, pp. 170–176) I argue that the will to emphasise the working-class motivations and passions to be rendered exploitable is one of the main features of a neoliberal pastoral power based on disciplines of the will and obedience as central factors that work in an economy of merits.

Moreover, and important for the development of the next section, this modality of affective governmentality is also associated with the ambivalent affective forces driving the affirmative action policy in intense connection with the historical constitution of the neoliberal reason against the working-classes. It has to do with the evangelical, Christian drive governing the configuration of the affirmative action policy that links governing ambitions of salvation with therapeutic and normative submissions to an order of de-classed subjectivities.

Meritocratic Inclusion as Fear of a Political Grammar of Class

The arrival of the IAPs takes the form of an emotional remembrance of the destinies of working-class students killed during the dictatorship. In this sense, it can be traced back to a history of blood deployed amid memories of the elite's hostile and deadly responses

against working-class bodies, subjectivities and political dreams of workers government, constituted in the 1960s and 1970s.

> The programmes started in 2007, but before 2007 there is a story, and from my point of view the IAPs are born in 1990. In 1990 I had the opportunity to chair the university reconciliation commission after the dictatorship. In my capacity as president, a report was issued in which 62 people from the university were executed and detained missing (detenidos desaparecidos). For me that was a very strong impact. I discovered two things that make me stand at the root of all these ideas [regarding affirmative actions]. The first one I discovered is that it is not different to take a person's life from a bullet than to take away his life project from continuing to study in higher education, because when you cannot continue studying in higher education despite having interest, motivation, ease and taste [or enjoyment] for studies you will no longer be able to fully develop your project of life. The second thing I discovered was that I could not give those 62 people their lives back because they are already dead, but I could save other people's life projects and that's the idea at the bottom of the programmes (Policymaker 1, Interview).[22]

The constitutive other of this affective genealogy is not the elitist subjectivities constituted at authoritarian times in higher education (as I showed in Chapter III), but the "wasted" destinies of working class people in those times. This wasted lives are nostalgically recast - as personal and cultural ghosts of the past- nowadays through ordo-liberal practices of governmentality that set forth agendas of personal transformations and individualising inclusion projects, turn the affirmative action policy into the creation of an ordo-liberal vital, 'moral stamina', capable of self-help 'when the going gets tough' (Bonefeld, 2013a, p. 37). Working-class people can feel interpellated by this *vitapolitik* due to its promises of leading them to major social recognition and desirability.

This genealogical policy story also highlights a heroic and evangelical subjectivity configured as part of the affirmative action policy. But this narrative marking one of the mythical points of departure of the programmes also underlines the importance of "reconciliation" and "truth" over and about working-class students: reconciliation, as a modality of ritualistic ending of conflicts, and "truth" as a rescuing of the valuable selves of working class students. Here, affective forces put at play the other three lines of the affirmative action policy *dispositif*: truth, subjectivities, and power. In these complexities, truth is constructed in the opposition between wasted and saved lives; subjectivities –of the policymaker and of the working-class students- are staged as exceptional; and power, as the

---

[22] This is an affective narrative publicly known as it has been repeated in other media in order to promote this programme through a heroic and pastorate subjective positioning. It is part of the storyline of the Induction Access Programmes known as 'La Parabola de Los Talentos' [The Parable of Talents] mirroring Matthew's gospel story appeared in the Bible.

constitution of an envisioned plan to act upon possible futures and projects otherwise wasted.

This is a salvation-oriented power rooted in the expression of love and suffering and linked to a production of a truth over and for the future of working-class students (see Foucault, 2001b, p. 333). Pastoral power as an affective force directs knowledge around working-class population through quantitative metrics with the development of measures of motivations and aspirations, and around the inner selves of individual with the development of qualitative knowledge about motivational features and experiences (see Foucault, 2001b, p. 335).

But what is also behind and pushing for a discourse of meritocratic inclusion, is the other side of this affective remembrance: a submission and defence of the elite and a strategy to avoid a class grammar within the policies and political grammar of class politics and struggles. In a way proper to the ordo-liberal governmentality when the affirmative action policy is confronted with a grammar of class, the subjectivities constituted in it become defensive and this unleashes the fear of a working-class grammar and its mode of political subjectification. This can be seen in the following policy story.

During a seminar in 2014 on these programmes, where most of the researchers/supporters were also participating, I read a paper about the discourse of inclusion of these programmes in which I used a vocabulary stressing the elite and upper-class privilege and dominance seen as part of the challenges these programmes are facing in order to enact deeper degrees of equality. I spoke about the limit of the discourse of inclusion to address the overrepresentation of elite students in higher education. After the presentations, a policymaker deeply involved and attached to the making of the affirmative action policy addressed me and said: 'Look, we cannot speak and revive a language of class struggle, if we do that, the government will burn us' (Field note, January, 2014). The same pastoral policy agent stated:

> We have to remember that it is our responsibility to make these policies … We have to be politically competent. When this policy is presented, it presents itself without enemies. Indeed, we never say that we are removing places to students from private schools, we haven't said it in the last 7 years … fighting against the most powerful people in the country is very difficult. Why we haven't used the other discourse [class privileges] because we knew that we would lose … Thus, we had to go from the other look that was inclusion and that was quality. These arguments were unquestionable … The other thing we learned it is impossible to

> take benefits from those who already have them (Transcript presentation, Seminar on IAPs, January, 2014) (My own translation).

In this statement we can see the identification with elitist fears that this line of subjectification expresses within the affirmative action policy. The "we" addressed, points to an affective political economy oriented to align or call to order the recalcitrant subjects that may be willing to disrupt the epistemic framework and passionate attachments of the discourse of inclusion. Elitist fears can be terrifying such as the threat of being governed by working classes, the poor, the part of no parts, in the words of Ranciere, as impossible rulers or productive of disorder. These fears can also be disruptive and enduring leading to change in the understandings, in the common sense of institutional spaces such as higher education and its role in the reproduction of societies. Affirmative action policy can be threatened because they are able to expose the profound inequalities reproduced in universities as well as to expose the elitist order constructed upon such an arrangement.

These fearful fantasies driving the affirmative policy formation, for example, are feed in through particular imaginaries not just those articulating in neoliberal discourses such as knowledge based economy or human capital, but also through imaginations of the people and nations. From this context, it makes sense some statements about affirmative action policies as the sites where 'country's understanding and portrayal of itself' is at stake (Htun 2004, p. 61), or as the spaces where 'different and rival assumptions of justice cause bitter and irreconcilable arguments and can trigger deeper divisions that border on civil war and the disintegration of the state' (Premdas, 2016, p. 450). All of these affective statements are not just about affirmative action policies, but drive them, constitute them in relation to fantasies of what constitutes the people, the nation, and the state.

Following, Hunter's (2017) theorising about institutions as affective formations sustaining classed, racialised and gendered power, I argue that traumatic fantasies, such as those produced by dictatorships and mass killings, get fixed and are able to configure policies and policy subjectivities. I contend that affects constitute figures of subjectivities historically and intensively charged and with the capacity to hold together seemingly contradictory discourses -such as those of equality and submission to elite privilege.

Conclusion

The discourse of meritocratic inclusion is a contradictory one that shapes the affirmative action policy. It challenges certain elitist and exclusionary technologies of admission in higher education, while at the same time it accepts and reproduces some of the elitist framings and attachments of the higher education field. It is a discourse that constitutes the affirmative action policy amidst different and contrasting sets of policy imaginaries such as excellence, competitiveness, and human capital, on the one hand, and equality, justice and commitment with the lives of working-class young people, on the other.

In this game of power and truth, the affirmative action policy has attempted to challenge the dominant upper and middle-class figure of the student felt and seen as a suitable and destined for higher education. Nonetheless, from within the episteme of inclusion -the ruling modality of understanding what inclusion is and can does- emerges also a strong impossibility, in the given political economy of merit governing the affirmative action policy, to grant legitimacy and value to those working-class subjectivities that this policy seeks to recognise and affirm.

Through this specific discourse of inclusion, the affirmative action policy constitutes its evangelical drive to rescue both working-class talented students and universities as legitimate sites of excellence and equality. Meritocratic inclusion is an ordo-liberal discourse of recuing working-classes potentialities from the aggressions of the market and from meritocratic misrecognitions. In doing so it reinforces and legitimates the same exclusionary dynamics of higher education against these programmes stand out.

The discourse of meritocratic inclusion is formed in an intense connection with an affective neoliberal governmentality of elitism and abjection against working-classes that brings into the present painful histories of death, evangelical drives of salvation and naturalised submissions to the dominance of elites and upper-classes over the opportunities and government of higher education. Meritocratic inclusion has been developed as the contradictory strategy against classism and exclusions, while at the same time, unfolded within the terms of elitist neoliberal affectivities that fear and pathologise working-class subjectivities and rights.

Chapter V. The Remaking of the Working-Class and the Vital Politics of the Self: The Case of Ontological Coaching in Affirmative Action Policies

Introduction

During the fieldwork among the things that caught my attention were the kind of sneaky discomfort or embarrassment that I perceived -which was also my own discomfort- when asking for the contents, teaching and activities delivered in "personal development" or "personal management" modules. They are one of the main components of the IAPs and PACE, alongside levelling courses in Math and Language, among other activities oriented to "increase" the volume of cultural capital in working-class students. I asked permission to participate in the coaching activities delivered in these programmes. I got the acceptance of one of the coordinators in one university. But, when I went to observe the activities, I sensed and I could see strong students' embarrassment and resistance against my presence. They did not raised objections publicly. They murmured, complained in silence between themselves. I could hear more or less what they were trying to say and I could sense the change and the tension in the affective atmosphere with the arrival of my presence. I could not understand at that moment why so much resistance in that space, in contrast to the teaching spaces of maths or language within these programmes; spaces I got in and observed with the approval or indifference of the students for my presence. I decided to leave. I told the coordinator my decision and explained to him that the reason was that I realised of the students' uneasy with my presence. This event marked my embarking on the exploration I did on ontological coaching as an affective technology of subjectification and inclusion.

I started to look for the programmes' curriculum, images, videos, manuals, and rationales where I could find descriptions and the rationality of the coaching practices delivered in these programmes. I started to look at how these practices are connected with a pedagogy of teaching students how to conduct themselves as higher education subjects. What I found was a primary role of emotions, language and the body. For example, I found practices of affective recognition and bodily exercises oriented to the production of suitable emotional dispositions such as those needed to be a proper university student, and

reflexive and disciplining practices over the narratives of success and failures students were carrying with them. These were practices based on ontological coaching.

The Ontological Coaching in the Context of the Affirmative Action Policy

The activities based on ontological coaching were not mentioned as such -as ontological coaching practices- in the policy documents, syllabus or research publications I gathered. Nonetheless, I came across the fact that the "monitors" running these modules were ontological coaches or based their practices on "ontological coaching"; a brand and philosophy of corporate coaching taught at the "Newfield"; a company founded by the sociologist Rafael Echeverria. His philosophy will be analysed in the next sections.

Ontological coaching, as part of the affirmative action policy technologies of inclusion, has become one of the dominant modes of "activation" and alignment of the working-class students to manage themselves as successful, meritocratic and desired subjects in higher education. Ontological coaching is a technology made out of the encounter between philosophy, sciences and the business world. The arrival of the ontological coaching at the affirmative action policy, means a recontextualisation of its corporate functions to nurture business leadership and entrepreneurialism towards the education and equity field.

In this context, the Personal management module -where ontological coaching is the core element of it- aims 'to provide these talented students, who come from vulnerable contexts, with all possible tools so that from their attitude and emotions they can successfully overcome and navigate the demanding challenges in higher education' (Fundación Equitas, 2010) (My own translation).

Ontological coaching is first of all a compound practical philosophy. It comes out from different philosophical strands, among which we found Heidegger's phenomenology; Gadamer's hermeneutics; Maturana and Varela's Biology of cognition or cultural biology; philosophies of language based on Wittgenstein, Searle and Austin; Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the body; and Nietzsche's philosophy (Sieler, 2010; Echeverría, 2011). Ontological coaching refers to a multiple management discourses and transformational learning. In Chile and elsewhere, it is associated mainly with the intellectual and business

work of the philosopher and engineer Fernando Flores, and of the sociologist and philosopher Rafael Echeverría (Solari, 2013, p. 303).

Ontological coaching places language, affects and the body at the centre of its interventions on the modes of beings. Language is seen as an active process of bringing and creating a world as well as a force of commitment. Affects, are seen as tools of effective communication, social relations, and as achievement-oriented tools. Affects, in the form of emotions, feeling and moods, are sites to be governed by body postures and other attempts to master them for effective engagement with aims and tasks (Sieler, 2010). The assumption is that the interaction and changes between language, emotions, and the body, shape the ways in which subjects perceive themselves, their potential, and their conducts (Sieler, 2010, p. 109).

Modes of being are at the heart of ontological coaching practices of subjectification. Therefore, ontological coaching is about 'triggering a shift in the coachee's way of being to enable him or her to develop perceptions and behaviours that were previously unavailable' (Sieler, 2010, p. 109). For ontological coaching, to change subjectivities in individuals, the alignment/disciplining between thoughts, emotions, and body is deemed crucial. For instance, exercises endeavouring to control emotions through bodily comportments are presented as key elements for the production of subjects feeling capable, confident, and with self-esteem. Sieler (2010), in order to provide a vivid example of what ontological coaching aims to do over subjects, gives us the following story, narrated by an ontological coach, about a person facing feelings of insecurity in the face of an important meeting.

> He could not shift feeling intimidated merely by changing his thoughts, so focused on his body and breathing, adopting a posture and breathing pattern from which he felt competent and confident, practising this as he walked to the appointment and maintaining it during the conversation (Sieler, 2010, p. 109).

From these introductory notes, I argue that ontological coaching is strongly convincing because it mobilises a discourse that overcomes the construction of the subjects as lacking or without capabilities and potential. It believes in human capabilities of all human beings.

The Affective-Discursive Forces of Ontological Coaching in Education Policy

Ontological coaching in education policy can be seen emerging from different affective governmentalities in and through education: psychologisation, therapeutisation, and potentialisation. Through them, ontological coaching ascends and makes sense as a legitimate affective technology of inclusion. These are the overlapping and competing affective governmentality gazes within which ontological coaching must be located.

Psychologisation depicts a rationality that uses psychological discourses to generate social policies and address 'social disorder produced by socioeconomic dislocation' (Yang, 2015, p. 6). Psychologisation emerges in the context of emotional capitalism from the first decades of twentieth century. In this context, emotional capitalism designates the use and circulation of various psychological knowledges to conduct the conducts of workers and managers for the sake of capital accumulation and social stability (Illouz, 2007). Psychology not just represents a system of knowledge but an episteme; a mode of understanding and imagining individuals, social life, and a desirable order to produce (Yang 2015, p. 18).

Nowadays, the psychologisation of social imaginaries and management of human conducts are objects of dispute between, on the one hand, psychologies of industrial capitalism aiming at stabilising selves by controlling desires and suffering and, on the other hand, those constructivist and humanist psychologies more consonant with neoliberal capitalism emphasising not so much the development of an inner self but the construction of 'fluid, flexible and networking selves' (Brinkmann, 2008, pp. 105–106). This psychologisation of the social reduces society to a series of networks (Brinkmann, 2008, p. 106). Psychologisation correlates with the multiple explosions of 'psychological technologies such as coaching, appreciative inquiry, short-term therapy, stress management and also quasi-esoteric practices like mindfulness therapy … point[ing to] a psychological flexibilization of human beings' (Brinkmann, 2008, p. 106).

The therapeutic turn is depicted as a pervasive cultural and affective sensibility aiming a virtuous relationship between market rationalities and working-class selves. It designates a melting pot that brings into policy multiple lay expertise and branches like coaching, well-being trainers, and mentors, as well as views informed by neuroscience and biological accounts of the selves for the composing of competitiveness and entrepreneurialism with

social cohesion, social mobility and inclusion through the work on emotions (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015, pp. 486–490). As culture, the therapeutic turn, frames exclusion/inclusion in psycho-emotional terms and intertwine in issues and struggles for recognition wherein the constitution and value of identities are at play (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015, pp. 490–492). This "turn" is described as deeper and more extended than psychologisation as it encompasses multiple agents and perspectives that make therapeutic discourses and techniques accessible, and thus amplifying its resonance in popular views and fantasies (Brunila, 2014, p. 9; Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015, p. 489)

Finally, the turn to potentiality is the closest to the contested and emergent academic field of the "affective turn". Here, potentialities are affective political economies seeking to animate and vitalise subjects and environments through practices that constitute and circulate moods, feelings and intensities throughout specific populations and spaces (Staunæs, 2016, p. 66).

Affects as potentialities are often depicted as central to education policies seeking to boost and inscribe motivations, aspirations, desires for mobility and leadership (Staunæs and Bjerg, 2011; Staunæs, 2016). Potentialisation refers to practices unfolding students' capacities to "optimise" themselves so as to be able to reach out beyond themselves (Bjerg, 2013, p. 1170). Potentialities are centred in subjects but also in the management of affective atmospheres (Anderson, 2009). They are said to be less governable than "emotions", always in tension between disorder and determination, threat and opportunity (Anderson, 2012, p. 29). Yet, as targets of governmentality are also often understood as 'the possible actualization of a hidden capacity…that has yet [to be] materialised' (Yang, 2015, p. 18).

These are three affective registers through which to read the entrance of ontological coaching into the affirmative action policy. First, they share the tendency to configure totalising and yet flexible epistemes that can make sense and constitute social problems and inequalities as issues of inclusion through "activation". Second, they make possible the constitution of educational settings and policies as core sites from which to unfold their affective and discursive forces whether in the form of intensities and vitalities and/or in the form of technologies to govern emotions. Third, they make possible to think in affective dimensions as equity outcomes and measures in themselves, for instance, in the form of wellbeing, aspirations, soft-skills, self-esteem, or motivations. Finally, they can be loosely assembled by different governmentalities, *dispositifs* and technologies.

This last point is central to understand the possible constitution of multiple dispositions of affective technologies in education policy. Bringing into analysis the governmentalities at play in the formation of policies provides the conditions of possibility for these technologies to be deployed in different ways and contexts. This allows us to examine how these three registers have been dispositioned in particular technologies and knowledges that emphasise different and contrasting elements from them (Youdell, Harwood and Lindley, 2018, pp. 221–222). This means, that technologies such as coaching can be understood and developed in multiple ways by reactionary, progressive and more ambivalent rationalities.

Reading Affective Governmentalities from Ordo-liberalism

Ordo-liberal rationality in the form of progressive neoliberalism (Fraser, 2016a, p. 113, 2016b, pp. 283–284), as we saw in the "Final Remarks" of Chapter III, is the current dominant political rationality of the affirmative action policy, which was born from the match between new social movements' demands, and third way left politics, and managerial, avant-garde business elite. This encounter celebrates diversity, empowerment, and meritocracy as the way to crack the glass ceiling for minoritised groups as a replacement of equality and class sensitive struggles in anti-capitalist movements.

This governing rationality is able to mobilise and perform these "affective turns" through affective entrepreneurial technologies deployed as tactical modes of addressing class inequalities. These technologies, such as coaching, attempt to deal with class without reanimating it as a collective and political category but decoding it as barrier for flourishing and realising entrepreneurial potential. In so doing, it enables both its deeper propagation and the re-establishing of its legitimacy. A main element of its mode of functioning is through the incorporation of the emotional, the affective, as central elements of equity connected to optimistic dimensions of enhancing the self.

Ontological coaching is linked to an emotional turn in management and business theories emerging from the 1970s wherein topics such as emotional agility, the management of negative feelings such aggression and frustration, started to be thought as strategic elements for making leaders capable of skilled business negotiations and enhancing the productivity of workers through encouraging motivation and engagement (Padios, 2017, pp. 10–11).

Ontological coaching is attuned to the rolling back of social investment and care and to the rolling out of investment in privatisation and for-profit industries of "character

education" (Saltman, 2014, pp. 43–44). Saltman (2014) links these industries with the expansion of repressive control over working class kids in schools drawing on the revival of old behavioural modes of body-control and political economy of attention while promising that through responsibilisation and self-control they can 'make themselves into allegedly entrepreneurial subjects of capacity' and compete in equal conditions in the market for economic resources and recognition (Saltman, 2014, pp. 47–48).

One of the main discursive elements in the neoliberal regime of subjectification performing the affirmative action policy is the assumption that policy must effectuate an improvement of working-class selves deemed with the potentialities to succeed in higher education. This discourse assumes self-diminished identities that make possible policy passions towards the overcoming of working-class inner deficits by repositioning them as hidden capacities or potentialities.

In the current context of further economic transformations and neoliberalisations, the affective work of the self becomes economised; that is, following Foucault's (2007; 2008) thoughts on governmentality, recognised and valorised as capital, competition, government, and truth. The centrality of affects, although not new for the purposes of capitalist governmentality, marks an important shift from the modes of industrial capitalism and its subject of instrumental reason to the modalities of progressive neoliberal capitalism and its subject of affect and vitalities (Bialostok and Aronson, 2016, p. 97). In this shift, affects get localised and intensified as targets of governmentality, and education is construed as a privileged site for these interventions.

This framing configures the regime of subjectification "braised" in the affirmative action policy by technologies of the self that interpellate working-class subjects to believe in their capacities while recognising themselves as lacking and damaged but with the duty and capacity to overcome those injures by themselves and with the support of masters. In the same way as the link that Foucault made between medical knowledge and ethics, in the context of ordo-liberal affective practices of governmentalities, such as the case of the ontological coaching,

> there is the inducement to acknowledge oneself as being ill or threatened by illness. The practice of the self implies that one should form the image of oneself not simply as an imperfect, ignorant individual who requires correction, training, and instruction, but as one who suffers from certain ills and who needs to have them treated, either by oneself or by someone who has the necessary competence (Foucault, 1986, p. 57).

Ontological Coaching, Higher Education and the Affirmative Action Policy

In ordo-liberal governmentality, ontological coaching gets tremendous traction in a higher education policy that takes for granted desirable futures mobilising economic and extra-economic actions deemed vital for the functioning of economic competition (Jessop, 2016, p. 10). Higher education is a site of struggles over structures of inequalities and dominant rationalities. But these disputes are often displaced by policies functional for avoiding -and yet producing- issues of class inequalities and dominations. In fact, ontological coaching and other enterprising activities for overcoming exclusions are appealing because they can feed empowering economising forces with ethical mandates. These carry with them critiques of the working or malfunctioning of institutions and policies while presenting themselves as powerful and "real" tools for the constituted needs of social transformation (Rose, 1998, p. 153; Boltanski and Chiapello, 2007, pp. 55–60; Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015, pp. 490–495). Thus, ontological coaching in affirmative action policies, as well as other instruments such as psychologies of motivation (Chapter VI) and leadership teachings (Chapter IV), are part of the multiplying 'infrapowers' (Foucault, 2001b) that mobilise entrepreneurial modalities and mentalities of government to authorities in order to decide how to 'improve national well-being, the ends they should seek, the evils they should avoid, the means they should use, and, crucially, the nature of the persons upon whom they must act' (Rose, 1998, p. 153).

Moreover, ontological coaching is in line with globalising policy discourses such as that of the OECD, highly and openly influential in Chilean higher education system, that construed inequality as opportunity of unleashing individuals' potential extending notions of human capital to human emotions and motivations reconfigured as skills for the twenty-first century (Sellar, 2015, pp. 208–211).

On the other hand, the enterprise culture that brings ontological coaching into the affirmative action policy, is attuned with the promotion of celebrity-like figures of success and mobility -full of grammar of big men and women and heroic subjectivities such as gurus, as well as catch terms projecting reconciliatory images of individual growth, gratification, and common goods (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2007, p. 59). In the next quote about the power and ethics of ontological coaching this is expressed with grandiosity by one of its actual leaders Julio Olalla:

> … often our woes are woven into us by our history. By coaching from this understanding, coaches are working beyond just coaching an individual, they are also contributing to the healing of humanity. Living in this understanding can provide a huge relief from "it's just me" and lead to a never before experienced freedom to step into new possibilities (Olalla, 2018)

The entrance of ontological coaching into affirmative action policy mirrors and deepens the socio-emotional turn in social policy in Chile (Leiva, 2010). Ontological coaching, in the field of inclusion policies, can be seen as a new ordo-liberal strategy directed towards the activation of stigmatised working-class subjectivities as passive and useless for the economic and social imperatives of growth and social harmony.

Ontological coaching here shares with other multimillion psy-industry products -such as positive psychology, mindfulness, emotional intelligence, psychologies of success and grit-, a view on responsibilising and motivating subjects to take actions in order to overcome structural and discursive inequalities by deeper reflexivity over their emotional states and history, and by emotional control in order to attain specific and life goals and a certain state of realisation or happiness (Binkley, 2011a, pp. 94–95). These are neoliberal technologies unfolded through self-writing, reflections, or body-postures to bring out new ways of being and to pull out a new, real truth about themselves. These technologies allow

> 'individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality' (Foucault, 1997, pp. 224– 225).

In fact, as one of the founder of ontological coaching, Rafael Echeverria (2006) asserts regarding the notion of power which ontological coaching practices are based on:

> The notion of Nietzsche's overman is nothing more than a human being committed to his own overcoming. The way to achieve it involves expanding my capacity for action and transformation. For me the power is that, the power is fundamentally to increase my capacity of intervention, and in particular in myself to be better, to become what I am not yet (Echeverria and Warnken 2006, p. 28).

> An essential part of what we teach in these programmes is how we participate in the immense power we have to invent ourselves (Echeverria and Warnken 2006, p. 29).

This notion of power inverts the understanding of the overman in Nietzsche as a process of decentring the subject of truth and power for a notion of power understood as "superman", which is intensively focused on the individual capacities and will to improving

her/himself; a will for attain, as Foucault pointed out, a certain degree of perfection, assuming from the outset a subject as lack.

In what follows I will analyse the specific rationality shaping ontological coaching trying to grasp its powerful attraction for the affirmative action policy in higher education.

The Practices of Ontological Coaching in the IAPs

Ontological coaching practices were oriented to three related targets of subjectification: unleashing "entrepreneurial" potential, responsibilisation and networking. Networking was not a separate aim from responsibilisation, but a condition of it. As one interviewed policymaker stated:

> What these courses do is form networks and once students have the ability to form networks, they must use them in order to succeed. If you do not have that ability to form networks, to approach another person, to ask for help, you will go wrong…all this is achieved through personal management (Policymaker 8, Interview).

Combining coaching and networking was further perceived by one of the coaches and designer of the personal management curriculum, as a kind of sparkling effective trick where what was important was its effectiveness, its results: 'What I did was to incorporate ontological coaching, networking, the generation of networks, a "mixture of herbs" to do this cooking. And it worked! (Policymaker 13, Interview).

If at the beginning coaching and socioemotional skills' discourse were not taken seriously by some of the affirmative action policymakers, the effectiveness of coaching' interventions convinced them to take them up and support its responsibilisation discourse. Nonetheless, responsibilising working-class students for their "failures" triggers an anxious response that requires reinforcing the idea that making them responsible for their results is not the same as humiliating them: 'The realization that you are responsible for your actions, that if you promise something you have to do it and that you can ask for help, both things and that it is not humiliating at all' (Policymaker 7, Interview).

Here, I want to pause and speculate with some data that seems to suggest the affective connection between the responsibilising power of ontological coaching practices and the traumatic experience of the dictatorship. In an interview Rafael Echeverria, a centre-left intellectual who supported Allende's socialist government and founder of ontological

coaching and Newfield (the company teaching ontological coaching) articulated the following historical reflection on the importance of the individual responsibility:

> Many of the actors who participated in this process [the socialist Allende's government] understand that they had some kind of responsibility in the drama that we lived, even if it is about magnitudes of responsibility not always comparable. I look back and see, for example, what was the experience of the dictatorship, of a dictatorship that for me implied years in exile, and I say to myself: I am responsible for having generated it; with my own actions, actions that contributed to this happening. I helped to precipitate the dictatorship. With my behaviour, I contributed to produce fears on others, to break the minimum conditions of trust that underpinned social integration. I behaved irresponsibly (Echeverría and Warnken, 2006, p. 26)

Here, we find an intense connection between the traumatic event of the dictatorship, feelings of guilt, and the acceptance of being responsible for something that went wrong; in this case the socialist project and the developing of a capitalist and neoliberal revolution commanded by the economic elite and the army. It is in this context, that the tendency towards responsibilising the individuals for their destinies not only makes sense but also acquires an intense affective, traumatic force.

Ontological coaching in these programmes is described as a practice that allows different coaches' expressions and "hallmarks". For instance, there were programmes approaching students putting at the centre the relation between the body, the emotions, and the challenges and aims of the students, and others with a 'less comprehensive views' (Policymaker 13, Interview) focusing more directly on the formation of entrepreneurial competencies.

> Temuco looked at things in terms of corporality, which is like putting the body in terms of your challenges. The look was a bit more comprehensive, more related to issues of judgments and emotions ... and he has a look more linked to the entrepreneurial and business, but also to the body ... The University of Antofagasta perceives things half coach half psychology. The Catholic University of the North was more inclined to entrepreneurship (Policymaker 13, Interview).

Not just effectiveness, freedom to stamp your own signature, but also the appeal it has to grant authority to explore and interrogate what has led working-class students 'to become what they are' and to link that critical view of themselves with the 'challenges they have for the next years, and to trace in detail the actions and learning that they can choose to arrive at the state they want' (Fundación Equitas, Course 2010).

The power of ontological coaching relies not just on the games of self-disclosure and self-reflection, but also on the knowledges coaches have to cast away the sense of class destiny rooted in the exclusionary dynamics of higher education. This is done through individualising exercises that promise fantasies of self-mastery by rendering to working-class subjects to formalise -granting truth- new knowledge about themselves; a knowledge that embodies public fantasies and ideals of self-formation; a knowledge closer to them - not requiring disciplinary level of expertise, thus becoming easier to learn and incorporate. Thus, working-class students can become the coach of themselves.

In this line, this power -ontological coaching power- is a kind, intimate, optimistic form of power that makes possible the diffusion and legitimacy to the 'great strategies of power' at the micro-relations of power (Foucault, 1980, p. 199). They work as 'micro-sovereignties' and 'distributed points of attachment that allow the power of government to take hold' (Hook, 2007, p. 245). As one of the coaches said about the importance of linking intimacy and sense of ownership over the truth of oneself:

> We concentrated at least two or three weeks in preparing the spirits to speak seriously. Preparing the spirits was to generate a bond of greater confidence and intimacy. They themselves were appropriating the idea that this serves them: it is not that you learn a formula on how to do this or that ... The only one who knows what to say or who can come to know is you (Policymaker 12, Interview).

In the personal management module, coaching positioned the task of knowing oneself as central to finding effective solutions and better results, as well as identifying opportunities to change that working-class students might like to attempt. They could do this by listening to themselves and incorporating 'the emotions [in order to] identify them in their personal daily life and in other people, and separate them from the states of mind' (Fundación Equitas, 2010) (My own translation). In this module, knowing oneself is discursively mobilised as necessary work to increase resilience, capacities, self-confidence and social trust, as well as to develop 'another relation with respect to "the truth" [of themselves], analysing the phenomena versus their explanations … and to develop other interpretations to historical or current events in their lives. These would help them 'to acquire also new vistas, new style of relationship with their families, academic life and existence' (Fundación Equitas, Course 2010) (My own translation).

In essence, knowing yourself is a core tactical norm of individual responsibilisation. The recognition of the effects of class relations and the way they are arbitrarily constituted is a threat to the unleashing of potential these affirmative action programmes aim to produce.

In ontological coaching, central to accomplishing this tactic, is showing subjects that 'the phenomena' that have happened to them were not because 'the explanations' they believed, but rather were most of the time caused by their own behaviours and decisions.

Ontological coaching practices have an entrenched passion rooted in a discourse of human nature. This is not just about locating enterprising dispositions in human beings' nature, but also about promoting and teaching emotional control. Inspiration is drawn for instance, from Susan Block's neuropsychology of "basic emotions" and her experiments about facial expressions and respiratory patterns. In this epistemology, emotions are viewed as natural, pancultural, and genetically hard-wired independent of the meaning system and general social conditions where emotional and affective forces are produced (Leys, 2011, pp. 441–442). Ontological coaching taught to working-class students in the affirmative action policy, starts with these basic assumptions and teaches them how to use these emotions in an opportune and regulated way according to the situation. Ontological coaching here develops techniques of 'emotional state designing':

> We will see in more detail the emotional domino decomposing it into the basic emotions according to the classification of Dr. Susana Bloch (joy, fear, anger, sadness, eroticism and tenderness) and the design of moods of Rafael Echeverría. Coaching is used to learn to channel the energy of each emotion in a timely manner and in the precise magnitude according to each occasion and for the design of emotional states. (Alberto Hurtado University Induction Access Programme, 2014) (My own translation).

The Rationality of Ontological Coaching

To understand better and take seriously the question of what is driving the force of ontological coaching it is important to examine its political rationality. I review selectively its main rationality of governing as it appears in Rafael Echeverria's thought. He is a sociologist and one of the founders of ontological coaching, the founder of Newfield -the main company expanding and selling ontological coaching worldwide, and where affirmative action coaches were trained. He is also one of the main intellectuals with connections to business, philosophy and politics. But first, I will delineate briefly the entrepreneurial figure of subjectivity that underpins the development of ontological coaching, incarnated by Fernando Flores -an engineer, philosopher, a co-founder of ontological coaching and a leading figure in business.

In *Disclosing New Worlds: Entrepreneurship, Democratic Action, and the Cultivation of Solidarity* (1995) -a central writing in the philosophy sustaining ontological coaching- Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus, pictured the entrepreneurial self as one of the main domains of activity where the subject discovers new worlds from within himself/herself and projects his inner world to outside in order to make history. In this philosophy, ontological coaching is bent to reconfigure the image of the entrepreneurial subject, departing from the one who risks and invests in search for profit, to the one that holds onto 'some anomaly in his life' and 'finds that aspect of his life in which the anomaly is important', and transforms its understanding and practice in a central aspect of success (Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus, 1995, p. 10). For them, an entrepreneur is the most potent human figure. As they propose: 'we are at our best [when] we are exercising skills similar to those of the entrepreneur and living lives felt to be both meaningful and free' (Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus, 1995, p. 10).

These authors tried to make entrepreneurship a more meaningful activity proposing entrepreneurial practices as those able to reconfigure personal life in a more effective and successful one so as to elevate it as one of the paradigmatic beings capable of making history. This potentialisation and healing capacity of the entrepreneurial is the discursive effect that we can see in the uses of ontological coaching by the affirmative action policy. In this reconfiguration of the entrepreneurial self, there is no specific social field for it, it is rather within the subject, it speaks through the subject, producing and recognising entrepreneurial spirit within her. In such a way enterprising dispositions and subjectivities are to be activated in any field -business, education, health, philosophy- but always wanting to make history. The entrepreneurial self is the new subject of history.

This connects with the way that ontological coaching, and coaching as a broader field of enterprising humanist activity, is welcomed in several places such as social policy and higher education. Its pervasiveness can be appreciated when coaching is connected with critical theories having the role to fix the neoliberal crisis. In this line, du Toit and Sim (2010, p. 5) proposes to incorporate critical theory to coaching practices in order to use coaching 'as the conscience of those charged with the rebuilding of the sector, providing a constant source of challenge the mind-set that has led to the debacle in the first place' (du Toit and Sim, 2010, p. 5). Coaching read the crisis as an ethical crisis within the souls of those in power -ready to make history.

Alongside the entrepreneurial subject, elevated as the subject of history, the political rationality of ontological coaching develops an ethical philosophy against global

inequalities, as it is elaborated by Rafael Echeverria's philosophy of potentiality. Ontological coaching, from this perspective, is described as an "ethical" tool tackling two of the so-called crises faced by society today due to globalisation. This relates to the need to find meaningful life, to develop meaningful intimate relations and to consolidate harmonious relationships within our communities (Echeverría, 2011, pp. 11–13). This last dimension of the global crisis is thought to be engrained in the growing inequality and democratic deficit:

> In a society that presses for increasing levels of equity, we observe how inequality and exclusion become productive. In a society that emphasises democratic values, we often see how the exercise of violence, separation and discrimination is imposed. We urgently need to move towards a new ethic of coexistence that allows us to rectify the path to ensure the preservation of our species and the planet (Echeverría, 2011, p. 12) (My own translation).

According to this system of reason, these existential crises are expressed in two main effects: human suffering and inefficiency, which are in turn

> 'the result of our own blindness, incompetence and ignorance…and [the result of] not realizing the immense transformative potential we have. This results in a significant loss of our effectiveness and productive capacity (Echeverría, 2011, p. 13) (My own translation).

It is in this point that ontological coaching connects inequalities and suffering to entrepreneurialism; conceived as the most appropriate and desired modality of our self, closer to our "ontology". The solution against existential crisis, global inequalities, and inefficiency is to be found in a repeated asking about the nature of ourselves, in finding our true inner self so as to transform our being beyond the "biased" conception we have of ourselves. According to Echeverría (2011, pp. 14–17), this gives us the chance to narrate our biography and future differently, and to reinforce the idea that we can not only be affected by the world, but we can also become active participants through our capacity to transform ourselves and act.

Ontological coaching is a programme aiming to move subjects from 'being' to 'becoming', as the effect of transformational learning (Solari, 2013, p. 311). In this way, subjects can see themselves 'not only passively affected by it, but as participants in defining the direction it can take'…That which allows us to assume this second role is our ability to act, it is human action that enables us to participate in the processes of transformation' (Echeverría, 2011, p. 17) (My own translation). In short, ontological coaching interpellates subjects to rethink "their selves" from the gaze of the entrepreneurial agency.

As agentic beings in "action" ontological coaching proposes to evaluate subjects according to the results that emerge from the actions we undertake. Here lies a strong link with performative culture. Ontological coaching emerges as a need, Echeverría argues, when the expected results do not arrive and we say that these are not possible because of the way we 'are', which causes resignation and a "wrong" acceptance of our inability to change our behaviour and the social system (Echeverría, 2011, p.35).

Although ontological coaching assumes that we are more a product of the social than of ourselves, it is inclined to explicitly promote the second: "our-selves"; that is, the inner realities assumed inside the bodies. In this strategy, ontological coaching aims to develop 'a greater awareness and sense of responsibility towards our social and natural environments' (Echeverría, 2011, p.44) and to increase 'our sense of responsibility towards our actions' (Echeverría, 2011, p 45). The main objective of this is to unleash the 'will to power' of individuals 'so that they can influence their lives, their ways of being as well as their respective environments' (Echeverría, 2011, 46-47). It argues that the main 'challenge in life is [our] own self-improvement, the transformation of itself to become the kind of being that each one aspires to be. 'Ontological coaching is a practice at the service of that purpose'(Echeverría, 2011, p. 47) (My own translation).

The main figure of subjectivity, able to restore therefore the social and the self in harmonious relationships, is the entrepreneurial self. It is the entrepreneurial subject that is called to transform not only herself in an enterprise but also the social system through her enterprising power and initiative. In the ontological coaching episteme, the entrepreneurial self who is oriented to transform society is called "the leader" (Echeverría, 2011, p. 39). But ontological coaching offers more. There is a progressive will, an emancipatory ethos in the rationality of ontological coaching as it is seen from Echeverria's perspective. According to him, ontological coaching is against metaphysics, dualist thinking and fixed notions of beings entrenched in common sense. It stands for becoming. In order to overcome these limitations, ontological coaching must 'bring philosophy closer to the people and convert citizens into philosophers' (Echeverría, 2007: 56) (My own translation).

Ontological coaching realises its ethical and political potential when is unleashed from the world of business elite and makes an intervention into the grassroots, when, precisely, in attempting to disrupt the metaphysical common sense, it is expressed as popular, common knowledge. Based on the diagnostic of an actual crisis of being, this rationality positions philosophy not as bastion of philosophers but a bridge between them and non-professional

philosophers and foster philosophy to encounter with ordinary people and make philosophy again from the guts (Echeverría, 2007, p. 55-58). The present needs a 'promise [...] willing to sacrifice their guts to get the philosophy to meet with ordinary citizens [...] as we will see, the philosophy is usually done from the bowels' (Echeverría, 2007: 55) (My own translation)

From a sociology of critique -the analysis of the functions that critique has played in the transformation and reproduction of society-, I assert that critiques against ontological coaching as elitist in nature have been functional to the expansion of ontological coaching to other spheres of practices beyond the corporate world. Moreover, this is exactly what is going on with the affirmative action policy in Chile. This policy legitimates and harbours ontological coaching as a progressive philosophy at the service of the working-class "talented students". If there is at first a monopolisation of ontological coaching by corporations, this is more a phenomenon associated with a corporatisation of philosophy started with the work of those thinkers in awe with the figure of the entrepreneurial subject as the subject who makes history.

Ontological coaching is a neoliberal technology of governmentality re-signified with ethics. Thus, it also implies and describes its concern with an expansion of its field of action, now directed towards more social-sensitive fields as well as towards politics. For one of the founders of ontological coaching, its philosophy and practices have the power to give the people voice and reason and rehabilitate them in order to participate actively in the shaping of their lives.

Ontological coaching's rationality aspires to reshape politics as the image and space of entrepreneurialism. 'The ethical transfiguration of managerial power would have the essential meaning of marking the gap left by politics and explains the urgency of a philosophical spirituality that attends this claim' (Solari, 2013, p. 318) (My own translation). For Echeverría, politics is a

> space for the development of entrepreneurial individuals. [A] figure that, consequently, responds with greater loyalty to what we sustain is that of individual as an entrepreneur, in a community of free and autonomous human beings, open to encourage individual entrepreneurial capacity. This is a community committed, on the one hand, to provide maximum openness to all its members so that these participate, with mutual respect, in the development of their respective paths of power and, on the other hand, to accept the differences that would result from following such paths. A community, in short, based on the recognition of human

life and, consequently, the basic conditions of subsistence, as fundamental values (Echeverría, 2003, p.239) (My own translation)

Ontological coaching advocates not so much for a society of enterprising individuals but for a society of entrepreneurial leaders not oriented to destroy each other in competition but committed with 'the meaning of life and expanding the possibilities of human existence'. Hence, for this governing rationality 'is not contradictory to consider a society made by a multiplicity of leaders, influencing each other and generating mutual possibilities, in different domains of existence' (Echeverría 2003, p. 239) (My own translation). It is here that politics appears as the 'space devoted to the development of entrepreneurial individuals' (Echeverría 2003, p. 239) (My own translation). This entrepreneurial subject has an ethical commitment with social cohesion, community, and equality of opportunities so everybody can realise their potential, their 'respective pathways to power'.

Conclusion

The affirmative action policy in Chilean higher education consists of a set of programmes expressing a penetrating discourse of inclusion advancing "scientific" based critiques against inequalities and discrimination in admission policies and university cultures. At the same time, it deploys discursive practices focusing on the making of motivated, vitalised working-class subjects through "ontological coaching". The ordo-liberal context from which ontological coaching arises needs to be read not just in economistic terms –oriented to capital accumulation and profit-, but also as a rationality able to propagate dominant psychic economies of pleasures, fantasies, disruptions, and promises tying up subjects constituted by personal aspirations of social mobility, attachments, and common good, with general ideas of justice and social harmony.

Ontological coaching is one of the technologies coming from wider turns of psychologisation, therapeutisation and potentialisation, and it can be located alongside other knowledge/power/industries tendencies, such as psychologies of success, grit and wider emotional turn in management. Nowadays, these are the technologies looking at how to resolve inequalities identifying issues other than inequalities themselves, echoing a cruel optimism (Berlant, 2011) in elite, corporate and individualising values.

To address inequalities with the same vectors of subjectification that have deepened class inequalities and suffering -such as entrepreneurial discourse and individualising and

responsibilising practices of the self- has a cruel dimension because their promises of a better world, in the context of a dominant ordo-liberal rationality, produce attachments 'to compromised conditions of possibility' (Berlant, 2006, p. 21). These attachments can endure in these conditions precisely because the promises of ontological coaching interpellate the anxieties of working-class students and activate pleasures and popular fantasies of having a good life by incorporating practices of self-governing that are in tune with the mandates of autonomy, independence and freedom (Butler, 1997; Konings 2015).

The easy and silent but convincing way that ontological coaching entered to the affirmative action policy was possible not just because its agreement and attachment with the enterprise form, but also due to its eclectic, multifarious formation. This post-disciplinary formation does not only draw on from multiple philosophies but from counselling, management and "human potential movement" (Binkley, 2011b). This assemblage-like formation makes it difficult to trace specific, dominant rationalities. It presents itself as an all-encompassing modality of intervention disposed to infiltrating beyond management and business fields contributing to the therapeutic turn in education. Moreover, I argue that the connections we can make between ontological coaching practices, corporatisation and privatisation, and inclusion policies in education are not enough to fully grasp ontological coaching's traction. In order to understand this, we need to turn our analytics to its genealogy of normative and popular rationality attached to long-standing progressive values and diagnostics oriented to reinventing the harmonies between enterprise, equality and democracy. Corporate diffusion in education policy needs more than promising profit, competition, and economic growth to be seen as "natural" or suitable tools for equity purposes.

Through this rationality we can see both a logic of entrepreneurial governing and of progressive reason; an impetus to "empower" working-class population. If the first is not contested, because of the fact that ontological coaching practices can be located across the new modes of neoliberal governmentalities coming from management-philosophies, the second argument has not been explored deeper. I could find in Rafael Echeverria's thought the popular rationality I am suggesting. In this line, to see ontological coaching as a kind of psychologising/enterprising technology colonising higher education is no longer clearly sustainable. Ontological coaching, in the affirmative action policy, is also an expression of its desire to bring philosophy to the grassroots and to restore language, emotion and the body as a weapon of empowerment. What is important to emphasise here is that

ontological coaching has a kind of progressive/expansive narrative that allows us to see it as a suitable technology of inclusion, affirmative action, and critique. It is also its critical edge against inequalities and knowledge elitism, which drives it to operate a progressive reason and impetus to "empower" working-class population. This is what gives it a grip.

Ontological coaching stands itself as a key site to resolve capitalism malfunctioning. By making critiques against social inequalities and suffering, ontological coaching is epistemically constituted as suitable mode of critique. This trend of making critique functional to the fixing of neoliberalism has been one of the main drivers of sociologies of critique, where the genealogies and use of critique are evaluated and relaunched with the purpose of being resistant to the purposes of corporate formations and actors. In this context, ontological coaching works as one of the social and psychic pre-conditions to sustain market competition, as ordo-liberal thinking believes. And as such, in Foucault's words, is one of the multiple infrapowers sustaining capitalism and because of it, one the multiple but central targets of critical work (Foucault, 2001b, p. 87).

The discourse and rationality of ontological coaching also shares some features with recent scholarship criticising the neoliberal underpinning of widening participation policies. This scholarship draws on one of the readings of the affective as individualised potentialities and imaginations thus making those dimensions -potential and imagination- central to boosting the capacities of excluded subjects so they can succeed in their attempts to be included (e.g. Sellar and Gale, 2011; Gale and Hodge, 2014; Hickey-Moody, Harwood and McMahon, 2016).

This "critical scholarship" emphasises, in ways disposed towards ontological coaching and similar technologies, the importance of 'strengthening capacities to cultivate networks (mobility), shape futures (aspiration) and narrate experiences (voice) to increases people's ability to access, and benefit from' higher education (Sellar and Gale, 2011, pp. 116–117). In my view, these discourses about the truth of the subject of higher education deserve critical scrutiny given their reliance on the affective exploitation of the self, the ambivalent treatment of working-class people as lacking, and with potential, and its coupling with neoliberal progressive rationality.

Chapter VI. Sociology of Meritocracy and Psychology of Motivation in the Making of the Affirmative Action Policy in the Chilean Higher Education

Introduction. The Transformation of Social Sciences and the Constitution of Psychology in Chile

In this Chapter what is at stake is to grasp both, the performative function played by a sociology of meritocracy and social mobility, and by a psychology of motivations, in the constitution of the affirmative action policy; and their contribution to the regime of subjectification mobilised through this policy. In order to accomplish this aim, it is important to take into account the historical context from where they emerge as knowledge disciplines of the government of subjects and populations regarding education in Chile.

The historical context of the transformation of social sciences and its constitution as sciences for policy have to be placed within two historical events: the parallel beginning and construction of social sciences as sciences for education policies around the middle of the twenty century in Chile on the one hand; and their constitution of disciplinary and individualising technologies from the capitalist revolution experienced with the arrival of the dictatorship in 1973, on the other. In the first case, social sciences, and especially Chilean sociology, started from the middle of the 1950s to be configured as a scientific discipline oriented to empirical work and to the production of useful relevant knowledge, following the model of the North American sociology. The influence of Ford Foundation and FLACSO (Latin America Faculty of Social Sciences) are important here as the main international spaces of power aiming to contribute to modernisation through the application of social scientific knowledge (Brunner, 1985).

In this context, since its beginning, a sociology of education was present. In the first years, studies related to higher education –students' socialisation, academic performance and conflicts within university, among others sites-were some of the principal foci of sociology (Brunner, 1985). Alongside this, globally, a sociology of higher education emerged after the II World War with an increasing focus on admission and widening participation policies following the demands for massification (Brunner, 2015). Within this sub-field, there is a

tension between the practice of an academic sociology of higher education and policy management-oriented practices through which a network of global players such as UNESCO, Interamerican Bank of Development, OCDE and World Bank gain influence.

Since the middle of the 1940s to 1950s, an education reform in Chile was in process, marking the introduction of social scientists as expert agents for the formulation of education policies (see Toro, 2017, pp. 322–323); that is, as practitioners of government. According to the historian of education Pablo Toro, (2017; 2018) at the heart of the education policy reform were new discourses of knowledge about the nature and emotionality of the youth. In this period, the soul of young people in education was a site of struggle and target of education policy from expert discursive sites. Psychological knowledge and new experts of the soul -psychologists, mentors, and professional counsellors- entered as experts of pastoral power within schools and the education policy. Important here, is the constitution of the inner life of the student as a central target of education policies in Chile. Centrality was given to the experiential aspects not related to the intellectual dimensions of the students but rather linked with their emotional, inner world (Toro, 2017, p. 329).

In this context, the government of rage, anger, frustration, of emotions in excess, was at the heart of disciplinary practices of the will, as well as functional to the political construction of the nation. From the 1950s onwards, a psychological discourse of emotions expressed in politics of the body relating physical health with desired positive emotions in young people started to emerge. Happiness was deemed important for health and intellectual work; and hatred, angry, or melancholy were deemed negative for the health of students (Toro, 2018, pp. 56–60).

These historical links made between the production of psychologies as a technology of the constitution of subjects in education spaces were primarily referred to school years, not to higher education. In contrast, in this Chapter, what I will be problematised, is the role played by a psychology of motivation oriented to constitute a desirable working-class subject of right to higher education.

As we saw in Chapter III, in 1973 social sciences were dismantled and universities reconfigured as dangerous places for the production of knowledges when disobeying the given social order. This paved the pathway to the contemporary configuration of social sciences as sciences for government.

The re-incorporation of social sciences into the public arena of education from the 1990s onwards, meant not a democratisation of education research, but an extension of its depolitisation by a deepening of the role of technocratic and expert knowledges in the making of the social (Ruiz and Boccardo, 2014).

By taking into account this brief historical account, what is important to retain here is the historical production of social or human sciences as spaces of power/knowledge oriented to help in the governing of practices and subjectivities in Chile. The games of truth and power constituting these disciplines are important for understanding the changes in the planning and thinking of education policy through these different historical events, and their constituting effects over the formation of these disciplines.

It is within the field of governmentality that I locate the analysis of both sociology of meritocracy and social mobility, and psychology of motivation, as a means to govern social processes (Procacci, 1989). In this frame, these disciplines can be seen as epistemological technologies of a political rationality oriented to construed social reality as 'amenable to political programming' (Sharma and Gupta, 2006, pp. 147–152).

Although these disciplines are historically different disciplines, both share an individualisation process and meet and articulate in the formation of the affirmative action policy.

In what follows, I theorise their knowledge/power production. Then, I analyse the sociological discourse of social mobility operating in the constitution of the affirmative action policy. I contextualise this sociology as the "context of desire" or "structure of feeling" in which a psychology of motivation research programme emerges. I analyse this psychology of motivation research programme as an important technology of class and class abjection produced from the knowledge practices apply onto the working-class subjects participating in the affirmative action policy. This knowledge was also generated as a strategic production of the new desired subjects of right to higher education.

In sociological analyses the predominant trend is to treat sociological thinking and research practices outside the empirical so as to construct a sense of uniqueness (Adkins and Lury, 2009). The empirical is understood as what is produced by the techniques of data collection drawing almost exclusively in human experiences and practices. In contrast to this, and aligned with my approach, in this Chapter, I take a closer look at the sociological and

psychological knowledge production about the affirmative action policy as empirical phenomena, in order to investigate their practices of knowledges and modulation of policy discourses and affects. It is worth noticing that in these analyses, the selection of research texts, where discourse and affects are indexed, is not aleatory. Those constituting the most important authorities of knowledge within the affirmative action policy were given priority taking into account their practical influence in the formation of the affirmative action policy.

Theorising Sociological and Psychological Knowledge as Power/Knowledge/Affect Complex of Government

To further think about the role of sociological and psychological knowledge in the formation of the classed regime of subjectification configured through the affirmative action policy, it is important to locate them as historical practices of people and space making by producing truth effects over them. From a genealogical point of view, the questions are about the images of those spaces and subjects that these practices of knowledges produce, and how they are related to the constitution of subjects to be governed (Flick and Foster, 2008, p. 93).

This leads me to the notion of epistemological power as part of the dimensions of governmentality. For Foucault epistemological power is 'a power to extract a knowledge from individuals and to extract a knowledge about those individuals who are subjected to observation and already controlled by those different powers'. (Foucault 2001b, p. 83). It is a type of knowledge-power[23] that is observational, clinical knowledge that makes possible new forms of control over the subjects this power-knowledge is exercised (Foucault, 2001b, p. 84).

These knowledges also produce discourses of truth that regulate the micropolitics of policies by making certain things possible to be done and said (Edwards 2008, pp.22-23). Thinking specifically about the sociology of meritocracy and psychology of motivation analysed here, it is important to consider the self-inner space of individuals that is produced through knowledge practices by generating diverse modes of intelligibility such as inside/outside, desirable/abject, mobile/fixed (Bröckling, 2016).

---

[23] I use the expression knowledge-power instead of the classical power-knowledge in order to emphasise the effects of power coming from knowledge practices.

Following Popkewitz, (2007) I argue that these knowledges are constituted as multiple technologies of measurement of agency which are ontologically and epistemologically constructed in psychologising and humanistic fashions. They are the expression of a will to know and govern driven by hopes and fears over those deemed with deviant agencies, no agencies, or hidden agencies. Popkewitz talks about those scientific notions such as personality, attitude, motivation, and achievement, that emphasise the work of the self as a pathway of improvement and social progress, and which operate as embodied and normative 'inscriptions about the possibilities and characteristics of who is and who is not agential' (Popkewitz, 2007, p. 70).

The Sociology of Meritocracy and Social Mobility as the Governed Structure of Feeling of the Affirmative Action Policy

The power-function played by the psychology of motivation in the affirmative action policy cannot be understood separately from the changes in related social sciences such as sociology. Even if this is not the space for a fuller political sociology of the sociology of education policy in Chile, the rendering of sociological knowledge by the notion of social mobility under the governmental reason of meritocracy is given as an aim, needs and aspiration of subjects and education. As such, it plays out an important epistemological frame for the affirmative action policy, the constitution of higher education, and for the deployment of psychology as a technology of inclusion.

The Sociological Discourse of Meritocracy and Social Mobility

The sociology of education embraced a grammar of mobility and individual capacities while it abandoned the grammar of conflict and class. In that context, the sociological discourse of social mobility sets the "meaningful context of desire" of these programmes and of the knowledges and subjects wanting to be produced. The discourse of social mobility is a constituting force of the "rationality of inclusion" of the IAPs and PACE. This sociology of social mobility is strategically mobilised against classism and social exclusion in higher education and as such it is an assumption to be defended from these affirmative action programmes. In one of the main sociological texts presented as the general framework of the programmes there is the following statement:

> Social mobility occurs when individuals from traditionally excluded socio-economic groups access high-status positions and / or manage to develop into

> social positions of greater well-being ... In general, social mobility is associated with merit, that is, promotion in the stratification through their own people's efforts. In other words, it is the opposite of concepts such as classism and social exclusion (Treviño and Scheele, 2012, p. 11) (My own translation).

The discourse of social mobility reconfigures the problem of inequality as classism and social exclusion, abandoning any reference to collectivities and the constitution of social structures, emphasising the capacities of individuals to navigate up the ladder of social privileges and well-being. What is naturalised is the social structure and the discourses sustaining it and what this sociology asks subjects to do is to strive to navigate upward the given strata; the same one that produces inequalities. Rather than attributing the deprivation, precarity and misrecognition of working-class lives to classism and social exclusion, this sociological discourse opposes to them merit and people´s effort, therefore individualising the modes a society can draw upon to overcome classism and exclusion, and resposibilising excluded individuals for their own exclusion.

There are important epistemic shifts in this sociological discourse that mark the limits and possibilities of the affirmative action policy: From the questioning of privilege to the naturalisation and desirability of them; from the problematisation of the constitution of well-being as a privilege to the emphasis on the "effort" as a must to constitute social mobility and merit as the necessary desire to rise up in the social strata of society. These shifts deny value to classes constructed below or lacking those desires. Paradoxically, on the one hand, this discourse of social mobility naturalises the working-class subject as one without merit or efforts, and as such, legitimately excluded from the spaces of well-being; on the other hand, privilege is constituted as valid and desirable as well as against classism and exclusion.

Emerging research in Chile about the discourse of merit and education as well as on the experiences of such a discourse by different social classes, suggests the extension and force of meritocracy and social mobility in Chile, and how they are linked to the pressure over the education system for providing various kinds of resources oriented to enable social mobility (Araujo and Martuccelli, 2015; Peña and Orbeta, 2017). These approaches counterbalance the hegemony of merit in the Chilean society. They remind us that sociology -from being a space questioning the rationalities, *dispositifs,* and technologies forming the common sense- reinforces the burden of merit when dealing with higher education policy and equity issues.

Peña and Orbeta (2017, pp. 513-514) conclude that the discourse of merit in Chile legitimates the perpetuation of elites and the sentiment of abjection against those marked as losers rather than turning the antagonism and critique to the forces -discourses and affects- constituting the class structures. They point out that the discourse of merit and social mobility operates under the logic of symbolic violence because it exercises a work of forgetting the conditions and histories of privilege and inequalities by hiding the relation of power producing them. On the other hand, Araujo and Martuccelli (2015, p. 1516) identify that the discourse of merit -as a regime of subjectification I would add- is more intensively felt by the working-classes exercising anxious relationships with education as almost the only way to social mobility. These authors notice contrasting affective forces carried out by the discourse of merit: The hope produced by the perception of the existence of a more competitive society felt as allowing social mobility, and an increasing feeling of injustices and frustrations given the very same competition. Similarly, for the case of the United Kingdom, Reay (2013, p. 667) states that social mobility 'is a wrenching process' that implies violence against working class subjects as they are forced to rip off 'valuable aspects of self out of the socially mobile themselves [and] to discard qualities and dispositions that do not accord with the dominant middle-class culture that is increasingly characterized by selfish individualism and hyper-competition'.

This individualising sociological knowledge connects to the configuration of inclusion as the accepted impossibility of overcoming the monopolization and naturalisation of the privileges of the elite in terms of access, participation, construction, and value within the higher education field (see Chapter IV). This configuration of social mobility and individualisation of sociology is an effect of the operation of what Foucault called discipline. It is the epitome of a discursive formation that governs the proposals and practices of education policies.

This sociological knowledge also offers a strategic dichotomy between external -sociological and economic- and internal factors where motivations are supposed to reside. Within this system of reason, motivations are positioned as more suitable, important, and in need to be developed in order to give students the necessary protection and skills to face their risks and vulnerabilities. As one of the main policy advocators and sociologist leaders on these policies, Pamela Diaz-Romero, argues:

> 'To address these causes [structural causes of inequality in higher education] require coordinated strategies both at the governmental level and within

institutions, adjusted to diagnoses that not only account for the monetary resources and material goods available in the homes of first-year students, but also allow for better information about the motivations and abilities of themselves (and their environment) to protect themselves and face risks and vulnerabilities that challenge their effective inclusion and progression in higher education' (Diaz-Romero, 2016, p. 18).

The same operation of this system of reason can be seen in the following excerpt written, in the context of the 1er Congreso Inclusión en la Educación Superior: Acciones afirmativas para iguales oportunidades [First Congress of Inclusion in Higher Education: Affirmative Action Policies for Equal Opportunities] by other two important researchers of the affirmative action policy, one of whom has been elevated by the affirmative action policy network as the leader of these programmes.

> … analysing the participation of the first generation in university as a proxy of social class, and the 10% of best performance during secondary education as an indicator of good performance during secondary education, allows us to distinguish those external factors -sociocultural environment of students' family background, social environment and educational process- from the internal, such as the talent and effort of students' in high school (García-Huidobro, 2006), and ponders what we are effectively evaluating in this process. In this case, a plausible explanation of why first-generation university students belonging to the top 10% overcome their lower academic knowledge, corresponds to their high motivation (Gil and Frites, 2016, p. 64) (My own translation).

The 'plausible explanation' of the success of the working-class student participants of these programmes refers to the phenomenological, humanistic subject that stands out from the social -being the social those external factors that in the lives of the working-class students addressed by the affirmative action policy seem to not constitute them. Motivation is an epistemic construction inscribed in the interiorities of the subjects and it can be seen clearer ones the sociological knowledge is capable to distinguish this internal force of the subjects from the social.

The working-class subject of the IAPs and PACE is a figure produced by 'scientific knowledge' over multiple experiences attempting to divide, classify, objectify, and ultimately regulate them by the creation of an inner reality or soul dispositioned to be the target of practices of government. What we have is a practice of subjectification that makes the talented working-class subjects through an identification to and production of individualised agencies -motivation or talent are removed from the social possibilities of liberty and equality, and as such, responsibilising subjects for their success, results, and

capacities; and by the same token, making abject subjects of those working-classes not conforming with this normalising figure of the subject.

Emerging critical discourses on affirmative action policies, underscore the link between them and strategies of social mobility, showing how this logic privileges those individuals regarded as most suitable for mobility according to the hegemonic neoliberal regimes of valuation (Crichlow and Gomez, 2015). In these conditions, affirmative action policies are successful attempts to ensure the 'flow of relatively well-positioned individuals from the vulnerable groups into the middle and upper classes of the society'. In this line, affirmative actions work as a 'device that projects a "politics of fulfilment" and that appeases some constituents as it makes claims on behalf of certain marginalized groups while distancing others' (Crichlow and Gomez, 2015, p. 11).

Accepting the desires of affirmative action policies to produce social mobility through social inclusion reinforces stigmatizing and classist discourses about working-class subjects. To depict higher education as a space that grants recognition to subjects through the possibility of social mobility, comprises a knowledge that is submissive to a civilising project of transformation of the self, and that promotes forms of being assumed to be superior, desirable and valuable. This knowledge formation creates a relation of debt between working-class subjects and higher education, wherein universities are the creditors for being supposedly the saviours (Loveday, 2015, p. 583).

A Short Genealogy of Meritocracy in Sociological Discourse

In order to fully unsettle this pervasive discourse of meritocracy, which gives force and form to terms of social mobility and inclusion and to the importance of motivation in the affirmative action policy, I turn to its genealogies. Following Jo Littler's (2013) critical account of meritocracy, I trace two beginnings and one main reconstitution under the gaze of an ordo-liberal governmentality in the UK. The first beginning of meritocracy can be traced back to the 1956 sociological discourse of Alan Fox, in his text *Class & Equality* in the journal *Socialist Commentary*. Framed under a socialist governmentality imagination, meritocracy was defined as an organising principle of society

> in which the gifted, the smart, the energetic, the ambitious and the ruthless are carefully sifted out and helped towards their destined positions of dominance, where they proceed not only to enjoy the fulfilment of exercising their natural endowments but also to receive a fat bonus thrown in for good measure (Fox, 1956, p. 13 in Littler, 2013, p. 56).

Meritocracy is set forth as critique of a society where effort, talent, individuals' energies and ruthless dispositions are rewarded at the level of excess and abuse. On the other hand, there is a second beginning of meritocracy as a satire in the thinking of Michael Young's *The Rise of Meritocracy* (1994 [1958]). Here, the sociological discourse is responding to the social democratic political reasoning which understands meritocracy as a non-classed organising principle of privilege where efforts and intelligence were to be its parameters to debunk and replace class inequalities by another caste-like organisation. It argues, albeit ambivalent, for the impossibility of a society based on those competitive principles.

Under an ordo-liberal political rationality meritocracy was taken by New Labour government in the UK during the 1990s and started to pave a new common sense by moving forward meritocracy as the aim and promise of contemporary society. In this context, elaborating on Michael Young's (2001) sad complaint over the spanning circulation of meritocracy, I argued that the buying into meritocracy has meant the formation of affects of abjection against working-class people which are deemed unworthy and demoralised as effects of the circulation of meritocratic imaginaries and attachments.

Psychology of Motivation, the Formation of the Subject of Policy in the Affirmative Action Policy against Working-Class Subjects

From a genealogical and also a broader post-empirical perspective (Graumann and Gergen, 1996)see Chapter I, section "Research Technologies"), I understand psychology as a constituted discourse situated in a specific historical context. Psychology is an episteme; a historical and contingent mode of understanding and constructing the soul, the inner self of subjects. It is a technology taking part of a hegemonic regime of subjectification. In this line of thought, psychology of motivation is put into question when participating in the construction of the affirmative action policy in the Chilean higher education, in its attachments and commitments within power, knowledge, and affective relations regarding the constitution of class.

A Brief Historical Context of the History of Psychology of Motivation in Education

Commonly, psychology of motivation distinguished two main approaches: Behavioural and Humanist. The first one is based on the identification of primary -innate- and secondary - learned- drives, and motivation is measured as the likelihood to react to a stimulus in relation to the strength of these two main drives. Then, from the 1950s onwards, cognitive dimensions started to be included in the understanding of the motivational forces. Here, a goal-oriented model of motivation enters into psychology exploring the importance of established goals and its incentives as motivating forces of behaviour. On the other hand, there are humanist psychologists who based their knowledge on motivation on the assumption that human beings have a natural desire for improvement, strive, and testing their capacities. One of the most influential motivation theories in psychology is the so called 'expectancy-value model' (Weiner, 1985). This model is focused on achievement, where the hope for success and the fear of failure play a crucial role in motivating people. In my view, this is an affective model oriented to modulate hopes and fears for the production of necessary motivation for goal achievement. These sets of ideas and psychological grammar of motivation can be found in the development of a research programme on students under the IAPs.

From a genealogical perspective, psychology of motivation emerged from industrial capitalism and thrives for finding and improving the emotional dispositions that motivate workers (Ahl, 2008, p. 152). One of the strongest discourses coming out from this context stresses the importance of self-confidence and the belief in one's own capacities for the construction of a motivated person (Edwards, 2008, p. 152). Psychologies of motivation often used in educational theories and settings share the will to know what moves[24] people, students; what and how instigates and directs their conducts, shapes their conducts' intensity, and orients them to achievement.

I locate psychology of motivation research programme as a technology that mediates between discourses of entrepreneurialism, flexibility and innovation, and pedagogic practices involving the fashioning of students' subjectivities aligned with subjective figures of success. Psychology of motivation mobilises discourses of activation and passionate learners (Edwards, 2008) that constitute the affirmative action policy's regime of

---

[24] Motivation comes from the Latin "movere" meaning "to move".

subjectification. Within these discursive arrangements, the psychology of motivation can be conceived as a technology of government oriented to produce and mange subjects and population and to incite them to act on themselves in neoliberal terms (Rose, 2008; Binkley, 2011b). In this way it also practices a prescription or identification of those undesirable, abject ways of being subjects. Psychology as governmentality technology is also a terrain of contestation (Cromby *et al.*, 2017). It is in this terrain that this Chapter is positioned.

The Case of the Research Programme on Motivation and Expectations for learning in Students who participate in the IAPs at the Silva Henríquez Catholic University

This section draws on a specific research programme on students who were taking part of the IAPs in the Silva Henríquez Catholic University; one of the first universities taking up and publicly engaging in the widespread of the affirmative action policy in Chile. The research project was entitled "*Motivation and expectations for effective learning in students of secondary and university education, from vulnerable contexts, who participate in the UCSH Induction Access Programme in Higher Education'.*[25] This study was financed by the *National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research* (CONICYT) since 2011. It lasted 3 years and it was positioned officially with the aim to strengthen these programmes by complementing the epistemological activities related with the extrinsic and intrinsic motivational aspects of students, and the expectations and self-efficiency conducts of the students (Roman, Maureira, Catrileo, 2012, p. 6).

This is by no means the only research focusing on motivations producing the affirmative action policy (e.g. Valenzuela, 2012; Muñoz *et al.,* 2012). These research projects share approaches to motivation on working-class students participating in the IAPs. All of them are based on the 'Expectancy and Value Model' developed by Eccles and Wigfield (2002) and in Weiner's (1985) theory of motivations. This body of research also gives ultimate importance to motivation in order to support these students in their process of inclusion to university life.

---

[25] In Spanish "Motivación y expectativas para el aprendizaje efectivo en estudiantes de enseñanza secundaria y universitaria, de contextos vulnerables, que participan en el Programa Propedéutico y Bachillerato en Educación Superior UCSH".

In the next sections, I draw specifically on the research programme mentioned above because, on the one hand, it combines testing techniques about motivation with qualitative techniques of research closely linked to the practices of sociology and other social sciences. On the other hand, it was in this strand of research and policy production where I found a clearer site for the production of class and working-class subjectivities. I take this specific case because it allows me to get a closer understanding of the ways in which research and knowledge produce particular psychic spaces for the configuration of the desirable subjectivities of the working-class students.

Cromby *et al.*.(2017, p. 79), following a Foucauldian approach to psychological practices of knowledge and subjectification, argue that to analyse a specific research project enables to demonstrate the individualising trend of psychological research and the modes in which its methods perform social reality and subjects through scientific screening of their results. It is about identifying the agentic braiding of assumptions, concepts and methods. From this methodological strategy, I see psychological measures of the psyche as instantiations of neoliberal governmentalities. It is not about questioning its scientificity but rather exploring its performative and governmental power (Cromby *et al.*, 2017).

In the following section I analyse the rationalities -style of reason- and knowledge/power practices producing the subject of the affirmative action policy and their relationship with the production of working-class subjects as abject. Beyond the analysis of the validity of motivation research regarding its proposition of truth and assumptions, what I want to address through this case is the relevance of this discipline as practice of truth with power effects, and how this is connected to the methods of measurement it deploys as objectifying practices and as a system of control of the production of discourses of truth over the working-class students in and outside the affirmative action programmes (Foucault, 1971).

The Scientific Aura of Studying Motivation in Working-Class students

The rationales followed for the launch of such a research programme on motivations are related to the 'scientific and exhaustive' evidence stating that 'a characterisation of the main motivation, beliefs and expectations of students and teachers, regarding population lacking the learning of basic contents…can be of enormous help to institutions with a clear inclusion-formative mission' (Maureira, 2012, p. 65). It is also assumed that the efficacy of the IAPs can be improved through the knowledge of the motivational factors, precisely

because they are 'alterable' through curriculum and formative processes (Maureira, 2012, p. 65). In this context, there is a strong assumption of the direct benefit of policy through research.

> One of the fundamental issues to strengthen the effectiveness and sustainability of a programme…so unique as the Induction Access Programme, is that it can be nourished by research, especially in those factors that determine the students' learning. Thus, motivational factors and expectations of students, can constitute a relevant way of knowledge production both to contribute to the scientific knowledge of these factors, as well as to improve the training intervention of the Induction Access Programme (Maureira, 2012, p. 67)

The research-policy nexus as well as the scientificity and objectivity of the research endeavour are assumed as given and desirable, strategically positioning the research in direct engagement with the aspirations for policy improvement and legitimacy. In this positioning, instead of being the "other" of government, there is a blurring between research and 'civil servants of knowledge production and implementation' leaving unquestioned the link between discipline practices and power, representation of "reality", transparency, consensus and certainty (Lather, 2006, p. 785-790).

The Production of Working-Class Students as Desired and Abject Subjects

This research programme, based on motivation scales and interviews as technologies searching for the true self of the talented working-class students, was also driven by a will to know what differentiates these students from the rest, what is it that is "in" these students that makes them talented and deserving to be part of university education. Through this will to know, the research did both operations, it tested the IAPs in its capacity to recognise their motivation as central aspect of the construction of a new way of understanding merit, and it tested the students' motivation as a technology that activates, directs and makes conduct persist (see Roman, 2012, p. 78).

The grid of features constructed to measure the motivation of these students were formed by the search for dispositions such as: planification, organisation, control and evaluation of mental, emotional, and conduct processes; the existence of emotional beliefs such as enthusiasm, pleasure, satisfaction, self-confidence, self-efficacy; the disposition to persist, and to manage anxiety, among others (see Roman, 2012, p. 79). These aspects of the self, constituted the grid of the motivated self. Through the operations of codification and

opposition, the research constructed the motivated working-class student in opposition to a set of other categories of working-class subjects. Both subject positionings point out, strikingly, class relations of antagonism and abjection, revealing affective discourses against working-class people. For instance, a grid of motivated students' positive identifications with being a professional was opposed with being a worker as the space of abjection for those students.

> "Be a professional". This constitutes a positive identity…education in the university, acquires a relevant assessment and opposes to "being a worker" as this situation is associated with people who are outside the university or do not study in it. To be professional (+): In the university, good salary, with knowledge, happy, to have family, to be useful. Proud of myself. Being a worker (-): out of college, poor, ignorant, frustrated, unbalanced, being a burden (Roman, 2013, p. 270) (My own translation).

From this set of classed identifications and abjections this research programme mobilises a kind of subjectification regime of exceptionality that interpellates the working-class students participating in the IAPs.

> ... These young people are represented and present as a different type of student. Students who stand out because their merits and gifts are not associated with the social class from which they come from (Roman, 2013, p. 276) (My own translation).

Paradoxically, in order to break with classism and exclusion, the subject of inclusion is constituted through an exclusionary matrix through which "other" working-class individuals are recast as abject working-class lives, as "unlivable spaces", outside the domains of recognition of subjects of rights, as not yet "subjects" (Butler, 1993). The subjectivities constructed through this knowledge operations are positioned in a "regime of exception": Just the exceptional ones are able to overcome inequalities and have the right to higher education. In this matrix of exceptionality, those who are "registered" as subjects of the affirmative action policy are only thinkable as being outside working-class lives, configuring a context of affective practices of repudiation and disidentification with the working-classes. In Butler's (1993) terms, the constitution of these working-classes as "other" of those working-classes deemed as motivated, with clear goals, cleavers and the likes, institutes the very limit of the discourse of inclusion and the affirmative action policy. In this affective and discursive configuration, universities are also constructed and reaffirmed as spaces not made for working-class people who do not thrive for personal transformation through motivation for social mobility.

The motivated subject is made equal to the professional middle-class subject -the desired class subject that higher education is committed to produce. The successful working-class subject who is part of the affirmative action policy is positioned as an individual able to overcome classism and exclusion when they show traits such as high motivation, perseverance, effort, having clear goals, achievement oriented, alongside a desire to oppose to what is constituted to be part of the working-class self -to be a worker, have weak will, or to be willing to produce disorders.

> For the young people interviewed, an intelligent subject becomes the desired or professional object when they perform the action of studying at the university. The opposite effect occurs when a mediocre subject performs the action of working; a fact that turns the [worker] subject into a limited person.
>
> In this case, it is possible to identify that, in order to be a professional, an intelligent subject is necessary, but also requires skills that translate into clear goals, organization, and attention to classes, effort, responsibility and abilities to learn. In opposition is laziness, disorder, vices, parties and irresponsibility (Roman, 2013, p. 275). (My own translation).

This research programme about the motivational dispositions of the working-class students subjected to the affirmative action policy renders professional and working-classes in a classed topography, filled up by an affective economy inscribing good and bad, right and wrong, desirable and undesirable existences. Motivation research, in this context, divides bodies in motivated and unmotivated, motivating and un-motivating subjects, as well as locates "motivation" in specific strategic maps of success that inhibits to expand the understanding of merit and talents beyond the rigid classed regimes of subjectification produced. This sounds contradictory with one of the principal endeavours that some of the policymakers, and other discursive positioning performing the affirmative action, are trying to achieved: The transformation of the limited understanding of merit in the national admission policy.

The Micropolitics of Epistemic Intimidation against Critical Affirmative Action Policy Research

The production of this classed regime of subjectification is not a practice that operated by the automatic action of an epistemic regime. In my research, I found a micropolitical strategy of epistemic intimidation over some researchers who were identified as part of the policy network. Some policymakers were attempting to regulate and produce a discourse coming from research by asking researchers to present some particular evidences and not

others and produce particular truths, or by demanding loyalty and compliance with the assumptions and aims of the affirmative action policy. As one of the researchers, who were part of the investigation programme analysed here, expressed:

> I was saying [convincing myself] for a long time that this first part of the research I will comply. But I cannot keep doing what others think I must do (…) I cannot continue to do a political servility work…When I started the research project on the IAPs, two important people from and leaders of the IAPs network gave me every chance and facilities to research. But my conflict was that I found myself with a psychological therapeutic line of research leaving aside all critical aspects, which is against my own biography and values…I felt, since the beginning, that the investigations are developing knowledges for the policies in order to have evidence of something that one can prove … My research was for a discourse to be installed in order to legitimate these affirmative action programmes. I already did my contribution; that was the task that these people gave me. Now I want to revisit the IAPs critically. (Policymaker 6, Interview).

In a similar vein, another researcher and important policymaker revealed to me the reactions of some other policymakers when someone presented some critical points of view about the IAPs.

> The other day I gave a presentation where all of them [policymakers] were present, and I made some critical comments on the programmes regarding their ways of using prior student beneficiaries as mentors/teachers of the current beneficiaries and not passing the necessities of the programme to the university organisational culture …. they just wanted to kill me…I would say more things to you…but that's all I can say I think (Policymaker 3, Interview).

Working under this epistemic governance –definitions of problems, questions, discourses, interpretations and interventions- defined by the interest of the dominant policymakers is particularly tiring and silencing when the epistemic imposition goes against the critical conatus of the researchers. Morley (2001: 469) suggests that suppression of critical engagement in research and academic activism may generate forms of sufferings when researchers are subjected to work under prescribed categories of policy thinking. These were the affects and expressions that the policymaker 6 was conveying on the day of the interview. It was clear that the discourse produced in that research process was not a knowledge she was identified with. Her critical stances and biography were left outside that production.

The symbolic violence exercised over the researchers, constrains the researchers' critical conatus, compelling them to put in practice self-governance mechanisms ("I was saying [convincing myself] for a long time that this first part of the research I will comply") in

order to adjust to the disciplining episteme and to avoid feelings of guiltiness or responsibilisation for the future of the policy, or to be marginalised from the field.

Through these practices of epistemic intimidations -among which I also take into account the attempting to silence my own discourse about privilege and class (Chapter IV)- what was secured was the constitution of an epistemic community. This community can frame modes of researchers' and policymakers' subjectivities when doing fieldwork, analysing data or policy, regulating the discursive practices of knowledge generated, and therefore making room for some statements to be possible and excluding those stances which are outside the specific policy episteme governing the policy network. Through the exercise of power, policymakers try to construct consensus within and outside the network, and attempt to limit resistance, over policy discourse and its epistemic community, reputation and legitimation (Ball and Junemann, 2012: 3-12).

Conclusion

The struggles over merit, against classism and exclusion in the Chilean higher education delivered by the disciplines of sociology and psychology involved in the construction of and constructed by the affirmative action policy, have generated a classist discourse of the motivated subject of social mobility. From this grid emerges a subject that in order to be recognised as a desirable subject of higher education needs to be seen as exceptional and over its social class background, making working-classes the abject context-subject to escape from. The discourses of truth produced form a nexus mobility-motivation that circulates around both, the motivated working-classes, performed as potential constituency of the professional class and, the working-classes deemed as the impossible selves of higher education.

I argue that, through this analysis, meritocracy and the project of recognising and affirming the "potential" and "motivation" of diminished, historically excluded working-class selves, is part of an ordo-liberal programming that is functional to make inequalities more tolerable. The critique to inequalities that the affirmative action policy deploys through these knowledges is attached to point out the unfulfilled promise of a meritocratic society - which is so often part of the current mainstream sociological critique-. In this way, this critique contributes paradoxically to both, to the questioning of the elitist modalities that admissions and universities take, and to the renewal of the very same promise every time

that this critique is linked to demands for real meritocracy and to technologies of merit that attempt to make meritocracy work through the recognition of the inner strengths of the working-class subjects. These dispositions are attached to the very same modalities of the production of inequalities, classism and elitism reproduced in higher education that the affirmative action policy also strives to reduce.

An important point to take into consideration when we analyse the contribution of social sciences knowledges to neoliberal governmentalities, is the micropolitical relationships deployed to govern the type of questions and knowledges that these disciplines are expected to produce. I suggest that the epistemic governmentality that configures the field of affirmative action policy research in Chile has been actively generated by the strategic actions of some important policymakers through practices that intimidate the possibilities to conduct critical research that can question some of the foundations or effects of these programmes.

Finally, I argued that the playing out of sociology and psychology disciplines here, are saying something about how ordo-liberalism operates nowadays. It operates not just constituting subjects in lack and in need to work on his/herself to overcome their lacks, but also, and more prominent here, by saying that one has potential and the right and responsibility to fulfil it. In that way individual responsibility becomes not an aim of neoliberalism but a means to fulfil its project and a means to make itself legitimate.

Chapter VII. Conclusions

This thesis was built upon fieldwork conducted in Chile between 2014 and 2015 which consisted of counter-archival assemblage made by archival explorations, ethnographic participation in a seminar devoted to affirmative action programmes, and interviews with policymakers and working-class students addressed by these programmes. I took as cases in point two related affirmative action programmes -the Induction Access Programmes (IAPs) and the Support and Effective Access into Higher Education Programme (PACE). They share the same structure, ethos, and policy technologies, and are the most extended network of these programmes across the country. They were formed by a network of diverse agents comprised by international organisations such as UNESCO; philanthropist international foundations such as Ford and Equitas Foundations; national foundations closely linked to the business and entrepreneurial world and catholic church; policymakers inside and outside the state; and scholars and policymakers from different universities. These last agents alongside UNESCO, and Ford and Equitas Foundations, were the most active in the construction of the affirmative action policy.

Through the assembling of these materials, I attempted to look at the formation of the affirmative action policy and some of the lines of force constituting its regime of classed subjectification. Drawing on the work of Foucault (1980; 1984; 2001b) and Bröckling (2016), I defined this regime not as embodied human subjectivities expressed by the intimate experiences of individuals, but as a field of forces that ambush and appeal to working-class subjects by establishing specific normative figures of subjectivities that promise them broader possibilities of being recognised and desired by, in this case, respected historical formations such as universities and higher education.

I explored the relationship between the main rationalities of government in the Chilean higher education, specifically ordo-liberalism, the different discursive and affective dimensions performing the affirmative action policy, and the constitution of diverse working-class figures of subjectivity that were deployed through the genealogy of this policy. Different figures of subjectivity emerged through the counter-archival assemblage; figures passing unnoticed and unproblematised in the knowledges produced within the dominant rationality governing the field of affirmative action policy studies.

This research started by problematising the field of affirmative action policy research. I identified a strong link between the knowledge produced and the necessities to defend and develop the affirmative action programmes in higher education, as well as an intense affective atmosphere related to the link between these policies and the historical social struggles for recognition and equality across different geographies of the globe. In this context, I found that most of the research was aiming to contribute to the legitimacy of these policies by showing different positive effects that these programmes have on students' experiences and universities. The field of affirmative action policy research was bound to the struggles to defend and develop these programmes further. In order to do so, research about the affirmative action policies were drawing on dominant notions such as social mobility, inclusion and diversity; notions and approaches highly accepted among different social actors and fields that could broaden the acceptance of these policies in higher education.

By using these discourses, I argued that, this research runs the risk to subscribe to strategies of neoliberal governmentalities which are functional to the reproduction of privileges and inequalities in higher education. Because of the pressures to produce functional evidence for the advancement of these policies, the majority of these investigations were producing evidences regarding the academic performances of the students who were beneficiaries of these programmes. In this regard, I suggested that this landscape configured an affective-epistemic governmentality that positions researchers in a network of positivist pressures oriented to design research questions that intensify the performative culture featured by the constant reporting of working-class students' academic performances. I contended that this sacrifices the possibilities to question affirmative action policies from different critical views, and that it reinforces a regime of subjectification that makes working-class students responsible for their academic results without taking into account wider social relations and forces.

I pointed out that this phenomenon was intense, in the case of Chile, given the dominant regime of researchers' subjectification in place, wherein there is a strong interpellation towards scholars to be attached to notions and issues defined by the policy-making field. Based on some analysis of the field of higher education research in Chile (Bernasconi, 2014), I showed that this configuration threatens to punish and exclude research practices and knowledges that posit problematisations and truths outside the dominant policy-

making interest. In the Chilean case, this interest, I showed, was strongly governed by different neoliberal rationalities.

By doing a brief account of the mobile genealogies of the affirmative action policy, mainly in the USA and Chile, I identified that the emergence of these policies was strongly connected to different affective forces. I mapped out some of these affective traces. I found that the development of these affirmative actions was linked not just to feelings of solidarity with the social struggles of recognition and equity demanding more inclusive higher education, but also to fears, sadness, and other affects, that led universities and policymakers to attempt to govern these social upheavals and perceived insubordinations of these different social groups and discourses of truth, by developing and extending affirmative action policies across universities.

These critical reviews -of the field of research and of the "affective" genealogies of affirmative action policies- directed my attention to the relationship between affects, governmentality, and neoliberalism, in order to understand what was driving the construction of this policy in Chile, and how the students addressed by it were thought, imagined and interpellated.

I defined governmentality, not just as the conduct of conducts, but also as a political rationality oriented to configure suitable subjectivities for the regulation of threats of disobedience, disorder and upheaval that are constructed as risky by the dominant visions of a good and productive society (Foucault, 2007). By attempting to disembarrass the over rationalisations of the notion of governmentality, I considered affects as forces at work in the governing of conducts. Through a critical reading of affect theory (Massumi, 2002), I stressed that affects can be considered as an affective political economy; comprising intensities, feelings, passions, desires, fantasies and traumas; that has the force to guide the generation of policies, knowledges and truths. Affect, in this vein, constructs the targets of governmentalities, and at the same time, can be constituted itself in those targets, depending on the way that the dominant political rationalities construed them.

In this theorisation, I moved forward the notion of policy *dispositif* for the study of education policies. In this framework, I attempted to specify the original understanding of a *dispositif* as a multiplicity of discursive and non-discursive elements (Foucault, 1980). I did this, by re-theorising a *dispositif*, drawing on the work of Foucault (1980; 2007) and Deleuze (1997; 2006; 2014), as a historical formation made out of multiple and contradictory

knowledges, truths, affective forces, and lines of subjectification, organised in response to urgent needs of government. I pointed out that a policy *dispositif* is constructed amidst technologies of power and rationality of governments. In this sense, I stated that a policy *dispositif*, although made out of multiple and contradictory elements, is always disposed by the dominant rationalities; its formation presupposes a diagram of government (Deleuze, 2006).

In line with my interest to incorporate affects into the analysis of the practices of governmentalities, I also payed attention to some nuanced suggestions coming from Foucault (1984) and Tamboukou (2003) regarding the places of the *dispositif* to problematise. I noticed that both authors insisted in that a critical analysis should be directed to the places that are commonly felt and seen as without history; one of those places, for these two authors, are affects (Foucault, 1984, p. 76; Tamboukou, 2003, p. 219). These are the places where captures, practices of government can happen unnoticed.

By having these theoretical and methodological points of departure in mind, and in contrast to the dominant normative assumptions found in the research field, I advanced a twofold definition of affirmative action policies by bringing together both poststructural onto-epistemologies and the historical developments of the affirmative action policies. I conceptualised affirmative action policies as micropolitical battlefields where knowledges, affects, power, and subjectivities are in permanent strategic struggles for the definition and enactments of what constitutes merit in higher education admission policies.

From this definition, I stressed the significance to acknowledge, for the case of the Chilean higher education, that the affirmative action policy is a core "classed *dispositif* of government" that influences the construction of the working-class students as new constituencies in higher education. By following this line of argument, I argued that universities and admissions can be understood as genealogical sites of struggles over the government of classes' positioning, privilege, knowledges and policy imaginations. From a poststructural perspective, I posited, class must be seen as an affective and discursive regime by which individuals become intelligible subjects, and suitable for the purposes of government. In this sense, in my research, the focus was not so much on what class does, but on what makes a class.

By drawing on Foucault's critical reflections about human sciences, I specially developed an understanding of knowledge as bounded to and enabled by visceral and affective forces.

Hence, I conceptualised knowledge away from the rational conceptions of scientific knowledge production. From this point of departure, I reflected critically on the knowledge produced by social sciences as governmentality and affective practices that can be produced at the cost of exclusions and abjections of the subjects that these knowledges reclaim to know (Foucault, 2012). Importantly, throughout this research, I stressed the relevance of the practices of knowledge developed by sociology and psychology within the affirmative action policy. These knowledges came forward in my thesis, taking into account that in Deleuze's (2014) understanding of Foucault, it was the knowledge form that makes power to be seen and felt as a stable formation.

In Chapter II, in order to further understand the formation of the affirmative action policy and its contribution to the formation of working-class subjectivities, I explored the workings of neoliberal governmentalities, especially ordo-liberal governmentality. First, by following the methodological suggestions of Peck (2013) and Brown (2015) that in order to understand neoliberal governmentalities we need to place them amongst its others, I claimed that the criticism against neoliberalism, as an analytical category, is embedded in a nostalgic positivist strategy of conceptualisation that impedes to understand the multiple and contradictory ways by which neoliberalism operates. This point does not mean to renounce to find working definitions, but to renounce to find consensual, "objective" definitions and embrace the idea that the work of conceptualisation is always a political work.

Drawing on the neoliberal discourses found in some of the most prominent ordo-liberal thinkers, such as Röpke and Muller-Armack, and the analysis of Bonefeld (2013a; 2013b), I argued that ordo-liberalism is an affective and elitist governmentality associated with the constitution of a classed regime of subjectification that configures working-class subjectivities and spaces as abject. I pointed out that ordo-liberal political rationality, through its notion of *vitalpolitik* and "the revolt of the elite" (sat against the "revolt of the masses") constructed working-class subjects as devitalised, and as such, in need, of what we can call today "activation" through social policies of inclusion that recognise the aggression of the market, not for overcoming those aggressions but for securing their march forward.

I contended also that, although ordo-liberal governmentality and neoliberalism more generally is set against the working-class as a political category, it constantly necessitates recurring to the category of the working-class in order to exist as governmentality. In this manner, the working-class subjects are the constitutive outside of neoliberalism. As such,

the working-class is positioned as a loaded affective category that represents the fears of neoliberal governmentalities.

I suggested a link between the ordo-liberal regime of subjectification directed towards the working-classes and the way that the affirmative action policy *dispositif* unfolded under the dominant discourse of inclusion. In this vein, I also suggested a link between what Leiva (2010) coined as the emotional turn in social policy in Chile, and the conditions of possibility of the formation of the affirmative action policy. Hence, in Chapter III, in order to further explore these links, I attempted a genealogical analysis of the constitution of the main historical figures of the working-class subject in Chile, in relationship to the constitution of the university as a historical institution.

In these analyses, I drew on the notion of the diagram recuperated by Deleuze (2006; 2014). I defined it as a space where shifting and competing rationalities of government intertwine. This notion gave me the possibility to place the affirmative action policy as a product of the dominant ordo-liberal rationality that, nonetheless, also has the influence of socialist rationalities which were mediated by the influence of some expressions I found in the students' movement since 2011. These expressions were brought to the present by a political work of revisiting the dictatorial and pre-neoliberal past so as to bring into the current struggles socialist imaginaries and anti-dictatorship struggles.

Four main figures of the working-class subject were found in this analysis. In the emergent socialist rationality (1968-1973) the figure of the political and disciplined working-class was prominent. In this context, what was important to remark was the programmes oriented to open the access to universities for the working-class amidst a growing politicisation of the Chilean higher education. From 1973 onwards, the following three figures were found: the internal-enemy, the poor, and the vulnerable and entrepreneurial subjects. All of them, I suggested, are part of the policy imaginaries and affectivities leading the practices of the affirmative action policy.

In these subjective configurations, universities were constructed as spaces of surveillance and punishment over the working-class lives and allies, as well as spaces where social science knowledges were dangerous if they were conforming with socialist rationalities or with a working-class politics. This first neoliberal configuration determined the university as a space of power made for the middle and upper classes, and a space where just the talented, exceptional working-class students can have the opportunity to access.

From the 1990s onwards, I highlighted the transformation and role played by social sciences in the governing of the social, and in the configuration of the emotional turn in social policy. In this historical context, I showed an individualisation of social sciences oriented to hold subjects responsible for their ways of dealing with the aggression of neoliberalism and for finding and valuing the opportunities that neoliberalism offers. In this turn, social sciences and the knowledges focused on education policies started to contribute to social and education policies, tackling and promoting the individuals' potentialities of their subjectivities and emotions in order to turn subjects into entrepreneurs of their own of inclusion.

In this same line of argument, I suggested that the individualising and emotional turn indexed in these knowledges and policies were also affected by the traumatic affective experiences of the dictatorship. Following the studies of Camargo (2013), I argued that one of the forces driving the construction of social science and policy knowledge for ordo-liberal governmentalities -that is, knowledges that recognise the damages of the market competition (in terms of inequalities and lack of social rights) in order to promote it- was the fear of a discourse of class struggles and working-class politics attached in the collective memories.

In this trend, I located the arrival of the IAPs and PACE as policies of inclusion, and their focus on social mobility, meritocracy, motivations, leadership philosophies, and coaching, as part of the arsenal of technologies of inclusion oriented to prepare the talented working-class students for university studies.

In this same chapter, I illustrated broader configurations of the affirmative action policy that indicate its disposed elements towards neoliberal governmentalities. On the one hand, there are the privatising agencies -international organisations, philanthropic organisation, individuals- that were promoting the links between this policy and wider business elite actors, social entrepreneurialism and the Catholic Church. In the affirmative action policy these actors were assumed central to its development. Following Donzelot (2015), I argued that in this configuration affirmative action policies were positioned as in need of the mobilisation of civil society to secure both ordo-liberal aims: social cohesion and the expansion of competitiveness through the promotion of the "inclusive potential" of the entrepreneurial subject.

On the other hand, the effects of the ordo-liberal rationality could be seen in the affirmative action policy anxieties against the working-class students' participation in politics within universities, in a context where multiple leftist student groups are part of the daily construction of universities wherein the participant students of these programmes develop their studies. Here, the engagements in citizenship practices outside the expected behaviour sets up by these programmes were understood as a waste of time and risky practices.

In Chapter IV, I analysed the discourse of inclusion deploying the affirmative action policy. I asserted that this discourse of inclusion, developed in the specific context of the struggles over merit in the Chilean higher education, is a strategic meritocratic and post-political formation, that leaves outside conflicts, disagreements, and struggles for alternative modes of equality in higher education, in order to contribute and secure the functioning of the national and global dynamic of the neoliberal capitalism in the spaces of education and wider society.

I also recognised that the main form of power this discourse expresses is the pastoral power that tackles and constructs the inner selves of the working-class students in order to "rescue" them from the working-class contexts and shape them into desirable souls for higher education. In regard to the affective forces driving the formation of this discourse of inclusion, I identified affects of abjection against the working-class subjectivities; affects that at the same time were the expressions of the acceptance of the "impotence" of this discourse of inclusion to affect the privilege of the elite and upper-middle classes in the access, experiences, and shaping of higher education.

Importantly, in this chapter, I concluded that the discourse of meritocratic inclusion is made out of multiple contradictions that shape the affirmative action policy. On the one hand, I could show certain affective and discursive lines that were challenging certain elitist and exclusionary technologies of admission such as the national entrance test. On the other hand, it is a discourse that succumbs to the ordo-liberal rationalities desiring a classed regime of subjectification that constitutes working-class subjects as entrepreneurs of their own inclusion, and it accepts elitist policy imaginaries such as excellence, competitiveness and human capital that limit the possibilities of equality. Moreover, I showed that inclusion configures a publicly known discourse, affectively connected with a melancholic remembrance of the tragic destinies of the working-class students during the dictatorship.

From this melancholic force comes the evangelic drive that constitutes the affirmative action policy as a *dispositif* of salvation of the proper working-class subjects deemed worthy to benefit from higher education. One of the key articulatory devices that I identified of these two modes of attachment that connected this policy to the past, was "reconciliation" as an approach pointing to the end of class conflicts.

Finally, I argued that, despite this contradictory formation, the discourse of inclusion, as part of the ongoing configuration of the affirmative action policy as *dispositif,* is the expression of the execution (Deleuze, 2006, p. 37) of a ruling neoliberal modality of "epistemic governmentality" that delimits what inclusion is and does. This modality organises (disposes) the contradictory elements towards modes of feeling and perceiving that make it impossible to grant recognition to the working-class subjects that this policy seeks to affirm.

In this interpretation what is also at stake is the understanding of *dispositifs* as formations that hold possibilities of flight and becoming, or as totalising formations of capture. In my position, both possibilities are always present and in ongoing micropolitical transformations. To see the possibility of other regimes of subjectification to emerge, beyond the neoliberal subjectivities, is a matter of empirical analysis.

In this matter, there are, at least, two important things to take into account. First, is to resist normative, romantic understanding of the process of becoming: in this analysis some working-class students were interpellated by a regime of subjectification aiming to construct working-class subjects deemed as talented, meritocratic, motivated, and able to contribute to the accumulation of capital of the country. This was an agenda of the transformation of the working-class self that marks a process of becoming other (in contrast to other subjectifications still present also such as the internal enemy, the abject, or the vulnerable). Lastly, in my perspective, what is at stake in the notion of the *dispositif,* is also the way that different elements, albeit contradictories and in opposition between each other, are "disposed", "arranged", "oriented" to the needs of government that the dominant political rationality has. In the case of Chile, this political rationality is still neoliberalism, and in the field of inclusion policies, ordo-liberalism (or German neoliberalism).

In Chapter V, I explored one of the main technologies of inclusion operating within the affirmative action policy: Ontological coaching. In order to understand more specifically

how ontological coaching became to be seen as a suitable and powerful technology of inclusion to be deployed in this policy arena, I identified three main affective-discursive forces that forged the conditions of possibility for the unfolding of ontological coaching. These were the historical processes of psychologisation, therapeutisation, and potentialisation. I analysed these processes as the different modes by which the subjects are seen, known, and governed in individualising terms by appealing to different dimensions of their "selves". By framing these processes as conditions of possibility, I stated that ontological coaching ascends and makes sense in the policy spaces of inclusion and affirmative actions.

I located ontological coaching as a part of the technologies that the ordo-liberal rationality mobilises as strategic modes of tackling class inequality in higher education without reanimating the grammar of class that constructs the working-classes as collective and political expressions. On the contrary, I argued that ontological coaching responds to a political rationality that codifies and construes the belonging to the working-class as a barrier to flourish, and as in opposition to the figure of the entrepreneurial subject, being this subject, for ontological coaching philosophy, the new and desirable subject able to make history.

I also pointed out that ontological coaching has traction in the field of equity and inclusion policies in higher education, because it presents itself as a philosophy with political ambitions to reach out for wider populations -beyond entrepreneurs from the corporate world- describing itself as with the potential to contribute to social struggles for equality and against suffering. I argued that here lays one of its central grips that allows it to be seen and reconfigured as a technology of inclusion for the working-classes.

Additionally, based on thinkers such as Butler (1997) and Konings (2015), I contended that this type of coaching resonates with wider popular fantasies and desires of self-government by teaching practices of the self to the working-class students, oriented to modulate and produce emotional and somatic states deemed appropriated to face the social and academic challenges presented to them in higher education and general life. Following this line of argument, I maintained that ontological coaching, as a post-disciplinary formation, has an outlook from where to reach out closer to wider audiences without requiring a mastery of disciplinary skills.

In this scenario, ontological coaching turned out to be, in my analysis, a technology that tackles issues of inequalities by moving forward an agenda of personal transformation wherein the emotions, the inner self, and the inner truth of the self of the working-class students subjected to the affirmative action policy, are the primary targets of its practices. These practices were part of the programme of the affirmative action policy oriented to three key objectives: unleashing "entrepreneurial" potential, responsibilisation, and networking.

The last three points I have made here are important because they help us to understand how ordo-liberal practices of government accommodate to struggles of recognition through what can be considered, from a neoliberal point of view, as a set of "iconic" supplies for the demands of recognition and social rights that promise the overcoming of social exclusions by the reinvention of the harmonies between politics, enterprise and equality.

In Chapter VI, I analysed two main disciplines of knowledge which are constitutive of the affirmative action policy. These disciplines were sociology of meritocracy and social mobility, and psychology of motivation. I analysed them together because I maintain that they produce discourses of truth which are articulated between each other. Whereas the sociology of meritocracy and social mobility naturalises these notions and sets the meaningful context of desire that gives and stabilises the aims of the affirmative action policy -to include through social mobility-, the psychology of motivation research programme establishes the "necessary" knowledge about the inner strengths -such as resilience, determination, the capacity to have clear goals and to aspire to become somebody else- that moves these students and makes them exceptional working-class students able to become the motivated subject of social mobility.

Drawing on Popkewitz (2007), I argued that the scientific notions that these disciplines mobilise as key ideas to be stabilised, emphasise a regime of subjectification that demands subjects to work on themselves as a competitive way of enhancement and social progress that defines who is, and who is not, a subject with the proper agency to be recognised by the dominant values in higher education and in neoliberal governmentalities. I contextualised these practices of knowledge in a wider shift wherein social sciences are shaped by the frameworks of ordo-liberal governmentalities directed them to focus on the subjectivities and emotions of the population in order to guide the social policies produced from the 1990s onwards.

In relation to the sociology of meritocracy and social mobility, I argued that this discipline interpellates working-class students to aspire to be part of the unequal social structure, discourses, and affects of abjections that excluded them before from higher education. Nonetheless, this knowledge has presented itself as the way to overturn the classism in higher education and Chilean society.

In regard to the analysis of the role played by the psychology of motivation, I took a closer look to a research programme about the motivational forces of the students selected by the affirmative action policy. I took this programme as a central case in the formation of the affirmative action policy because, on the one hand, it illustrates more neatly the modes by which this type of knowledge constructs working-class subjectivities as well as class antagonism.; and on the other hand, the knowledge this programme produced was widely promoted and put into circulation by the affirmative action policy makers. By taking a closer look at the knowledge produced by these programmes it was possible to show the modes by which their methods and modalities of presentation of their results are performing divisions between different types of subjects.

I argued that psychology of motivation, in this context, delivers both: dividing practices validating the unequal social structure and recognition that impoverish the conditions of the working-class people, and the desires of moving away from the working-class. The programme of research about the motivations behind the working-class student participants of the affirmative action policy was driven by a will to differentiate different kinds of working-class subjects. As such, it was prescribing and marking those working-class subjectivities deemed undesirable and abject, recasting working-classes as "unlivable" spaces for both working-class student subjects of the affirmative action policy and for universities.

In this Chapter, I was also able to point out some micropolitical practices governing the knowledge production about the affirmative action policy and its subjects. In this regard, I found that some policymakers were trying to influence the research agendas and truths, by pressuring researchers to present particular evidences, by silencing other truths or by suffocating or diminishing critiques in the name of the loyalty and compliance that some researchers should have towards the affirmative action policy. I conceptualised these practices as micropolitics of epistemic intimidations. I could demonstrate here that, for some researchers, the knowledge produced in their investigations about the affirmative action policy was not reflecting their critical conatus. By following Morley (2001) here, I

suggested that the suffocation of the critical stances embodied in some researchers may generate forms of sufferings that are difficult to speak out. I argued that the exclusion of the critical stances by the micropolitics of epistemic intimidations are part of the regime of subjectification that demands to submit to the policy categories attached to the affirmative action policy.

One of the things that cross all the formation of the affirmative action policy and its regime of subjectification is the individualising ways that class inequalities are addressed. The affirmative action policy in the Chilean higher education, in spite of the struggles it sustains against other exclusionary dynamics in the admission policies and the commitment with inclusion that some of the policymakers have, is deeply embedded in an ordo-liberal agenda of entrepreneurial transformation of the self as the main strategy directed towards a more equitable society.

Following Walkerdine (2017), I argued that when policy prioritises strategies of personal transformation -under neoliberal governmentalities- as a pathway to inclusion or equity, it makes it difficult to question the constitutions of the conditions that construct social class relationships of inequalities. In this study of the affirmative action policy what was also salient was the privileging of the exceptional working-class subjectivities and the will to reject the working-class lives non-conforming with the exceptionalities required by being granted with the right to higher education. These non-conforming subjectivities become the abject other of the affirmative action policy; an abject other that is deemed and branded as restrictive and unworthy to be considered a legitimate subject of higher education and rights.

Against this backdrop, throughout the writing of this thesis, I struggled against my own initial humanist attachments to a will to know the inner selves of the working-class students. The sociological, psychological and post-disciplinary knowledges I studied as part of the affirmative action policy were featured by the production of truths of the self of the working-classes that were linked to exclusions, responsibilisation and rejections of those working-class subjects deemed as not capable to transform themselves.

From a Foucauldian stance, I argued, there are no assumptions or questions for the "interiorities" of the subject. I think that the fundamental interpellation to make is not to subjects in order to get an account of themselves, but to interpellate and deconstruct knowledges and their attachments to governmentalities that lead them to constitute

exclusionary orders and foreclose other possibilities to construct the social. This leads me to some further research questions and painstaking territories that demand careful approaches. How do we account for the embodied, visceral effects of multiple regimes of subjectification, such as the one delineated in this research? How do we explore embodied subjectifications without producing and reifying assumed existences of inner selves which dispose individuals to inwards to understand themselves? How do we account for the embodied formation of subjects and their experiences of the multiple regime of subjectification without positioning them as the principal subjects of knowledge and masters of their truth? These are epistemic and political challenges which are at the same time the limits of my own research. With the counter-archival assemblage constructed, one of the absences were the productions of documents of life of subjects accounting for their very 'capillary experiences'. An absence related, in part, to the analytical struggle of not replacing those visceral and carnal experiences by subjects' voices and perceptions that could tell us something about them.

I do not think that is possible to leave outside voices and perceptions, that is, something of the cognitive equipment that subjects develop for interpreting and giving an account of themselves. Nonetheless, the more we really decentred the subjects as masters and centres, the more we can think about sensory methodologies that maybe are available for telling us something of capillary experiences without relying so much on subjects' voices, or in the production of voices that reinsert subjects into the humanist and thus precarious positionalities where submissions and cruel optimisms are the dominant logics of social relations. But the pathway towards sensory methods is also today part of the multiple *dispositifs* and technologies for the governing of subjects and populations. I think that there is no easy way to get out of this trap for me as a sociologist and for those educational researchers committed to freedom and equality. Epistemological vigilance is necessary in order to research taking into account the broader rationalities of domination at play and how they are capable to use whatever practices and inventions we make. Perhaps the creation of narratives and empirical truths which are at the same time temporary 'limits-experiences' might be taken into consideration. For Foucault (2001b) this experience was featured by a stark contrast against those tendencies to make individuals responsible and punish them for whom they are and for whom they want to become A "limit experience" for Foucault had the political function of 'wrenching the subject from itself, of seeing to it that the subject is no longer itself, or that it is brought to its annihilation or its dissolution'

(Foucault, 2001b, p. 241). A limit experience, thus, seeks to deterritorialise individuals and collectivities from the operations of power.

Finally, beyond that methodological and epistemological challenge, one major strand of research to be further explored stands out from this work: The spread and workings of different affective technologies oriented to rewire, reshape and optimise emotions and intensities in different subjects of higher education. Within this field, questions around the transformation of the meaning and practices of equality, inclusion and education remain prominent, as well as the further changes in the politics of knowledge around policy debates in higher education. What are the new knowledges and disciplines shaping affirmative action policies today? What are the knowledges shaping the affirmative action policies of tomorrow? Alongside these questions, another major area of exploration arose related with the new policy subjectivities that may emerge from the operations of these affective technologies and psycho-political culture. These subjectivities can be further explored taking into account the possibilities to encounter resistances against those technologies, new policy practices counter-acting them or using them with different political rationalities, and of course, this must be explored looking for those subjectivities engaging more intensively and optimistically with these affective and entrepreneurial policy technologies.

These questions and explorations are urgent needs in view of the limited visibility they have in the investigations about affirmative actions, given their pervasiveness within wider culture, policymakers, and the ruling elites, and given the functionality they have for the reproduction and advancement of individualising and competitive discourses of social mobility and meritocracy in education.

References

Adkins, L. and Lury, C. (2009) 'Introduction: What Is the Empirical?', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 12(1), pp. 5–20.

Agencia de la Calidad de la Educación (2017) Michele Bachelet's speech in International Seminar ¿Cómo educamos para vivir en sociedad? La importancia del colegio para el desarrollo de las Habilidades Socioemocionales, 15th November, 2017. Salón Fresno, Centro de Extensión UC.

Ahl, H. (2008) 'Motivation theory as power in disguise', in Fejes, A. and Nicoll, K. (eds) *Foucault and Lifelong. Governing the subject*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 151–163.

Ahmed, S. (2004) 'Affective Economies', *Social Text*, 22(79), pp. 117–139.

Ahmed, S. (2010) 'Happy Objects', in Gregg, M. and Seigworth, G. (eds) *The Affect Theory Reader*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 29–51.

Ahumada, P. P. (2012) 'Movilizaciones sociales y conflicto de clases en Chile . Consideraciones para una teoría crítica de la sociedad', *Actuel Marx/ Intervenciones*, 13(2), pp. 65–91.

Alberto Hurtado University Induction Access Programme (2014). Course Syllabus "Gestion Personal" [Personal Management].

Allende, S. (1972) *Discurso en la universidad de guadalajara*. Available: http://publicaciones.anuies.mx/pdfs/revista/Revista19_S2A2ES.pdf. [Accessed 21th May 2015].

Anderson, B. (2009) 'Affective atmospheres', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 2(2), pp. 77–81.

Anderson, B. (2012) 'Affect and biopower: Towards a politics of life', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(1), pp. 28–43.

Anderson, B. (2016) 'Neoliberal affects', *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(6), pp. 734–753.

Araujo, K. and Martuccelli, D. (2015) 'La escuela y la cuestión del mérito: reflexiones desde la experiencia chilena', *Educação e Pesquisa*, 41(Numero Especial), pp. 1503–1518.

Arribas-Ayllon, M. and Walkerdine, V. (2008) 'Foucauldian Discourse Analysis', in *The Sage Hanbook of Qualitative research in Psychology*, pp. 91–109.

Bachelet, M. (2014) Chile de Todos. Programa de Gobierno. Michelle Bachelet, 2014-2018.

Baez, B. (2003) 'Affirmative Action, Diversity, and the Politics of Representation in Higher Education', *The Journal of Higher Education*, 74(1), pp. 96–107.

Bailey, P. (2013) 'The policy dispositif: historical formation and method', *Journal of Education*

Policy, 28(6), pp. 807–827.

Ball, S. J. (2006) '"I heard it on the grapevine": "Hot" knowledge and shcool choice', in Ball, S. J. (ed.) *Education Policy and Social Class. The Selected works of Stephen J. Ball.* London and New York: Routledge, pp. 237–263.

Ball, S. J. (2012) 'Performativity, Commodification and Commitment: An I-Spy Guide to the Neoliberal University', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 60(1), pp. 17–28.

Ball, S (2013) *Foucault, Power, and Education.* New York and London: Routledge.

Ball, S. J. (2015) 'What is policy? 21 years later: reflections on the possibilities of policy research', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 36(3), pp. 306–313.

Ball, S. J. (2016) 'Following Policy: Networks, education policy mobilities and glocalisation', *Journal of Education Policy*, 31(5), pp. 549–566.

Ball, S. J. and Olmedo, A. (2011) 'Global Social Capitalism: using enterprise to solve the problems of the world', *Citizenship, Social and Economics Education*, 10(2), pp. 83–90.

Ball, S. J., & Junemann, C. (2012). *Networks, New Governance and Education.* Bristol: Bristol University Press.

Ball, S. J. and Olmedo, A. (2013) 'Care of the self, resistance and subjectivity under neoliberal governmentalities', *Critical Studies in Education*, 54(1), pp. 85–96.

Barnett, C. (2005) 'The consolations of "neoliberalism"', *Geoforum*, 36, pp. 7–12.

Bazzicalupo, L. (2010) *Biopolítica: un mapa conceptual.* Madrid: Editorial Melusina.

Bellei, C., Cabalin, C. and Orellana, V. (2014) 'The 2011 Chilean student movement against neoliberal educational policies', *Studies in Higher Education*, 39(3), pp. 426–440.

Berlant, L. (2006) 'Cruel Optimism', *Differences: A journal of feminism cultural studies*, 17(3), pp. 20–36.

Berlant, L. (2011) *Cruel Optimism.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Bernasconi, A. (2014) 'Policy path dependence of a research agenda: the case of Chile in the aftermath of the student revolt of 2011', *Studies in Higher Education*, 39(8), pp. 1405–1416.

Bernasconi, A. (2015a). Introducción. In: Bernasconi, A, *La educación superior de Chile: Transformación, desarrollo y crisis.* Santiago: Ediciones UC. pp. 7-20.

Bernasconi, A. (2015b) 'Inclusion Programs at Elite Universities: The Case of Chile', in *Mitigating Inequality: Higher Education Research, Policy, and Practice in an Era of Massification and Stratification*, pp. 303–310.

Berrey, E. (2011) 'Why Diversity Became Orthodox in Higher Education, and How it Changed the Meaning of Race on Campus', *Critical Sociology*, 37(5), pp. 573–596.

Bialostok, S. and Aronson, M. (2016) 'Making Emotional Connections in the Age of Neoliberalism', *Ethos*, 44(2), pp. 96–117.

Binkley, S. (2011a) 'Happiness, positive psychology and the program of neoliberal governmentality', *Subjectivity*, 4(4), pp. 371–394.

Binkley, S. (2011b) 'Psychological life as enterprise: social practice and the government of neo-liberal interiority', *History of the Human Sciences*, 24(3), pp. 83–102.

Bjerg, H. (2013) 'Staging the future – potentializing the self', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 26(9), pp. 1169–1191.

Boas, T. C. and Gans-Morse, J. (2009) 'Neoliberalism: From new liberal philosophy to anti-liberal slogan', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 44(2), pp. 137–161.

Boltanski, L. and Chiapello, E. (2007) *The new spirit of capitalism*. London and New York: Verso.

Bonefeld, W. (2012a) 'Freedom and the Strong State: On German Ordoliberalism', *New Political Economy*, 17(5), pp. 633–656.

Bonefeld, W. (2012b) 'Neo-liberal Europe and the transformation of democracy. On the state of money and law', *Globalisation and European Integration. Critical approaches to regional order and international relations*, pp. 51–69.

Bonefeld, W. (2013a) 'German ordo-liberalism and the politics of vitality', *Renewal*, 20(4), pp. 35–40.

Bonefeld, W. (2013b) 'Human economy and social policy: On ordo-liberalism and political authority', *History of the Human Sciences*, 26(2), pp. 106–125.

Bottici, C. (2014) *Imaginal politics: images beyond imagination and the imaginary*. Columbia University Press.

Braidotti, R. (2013) *The Posthuman*. Cambrigde and Malden: Polity.

Braun, B. P. (2014) 'A new urban dispositif? governing life in an age of climate change', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 32(1), pp. 49–64.

Brenner, N., Peck, J. and Theodore, N. (2010) 'Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways', *Global networks*, 2(2010), pp. 182–222.

Brinkmann, S. (2008) 'Changing psychologies in the transition from industrial society to consumer society', *History of the Human Sciences*, 21(2), pp. 85–110.

Bröckling, U. (2016) *The Entrepreneurial Self: Fabricating a New Type of Subject*. London: Sage.

Brown, W. (2015) *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. New York: Zone Books.

Bruff, I. (2014) 'The Rise of Authoritarian Neoliberalism', *Rethinking Marxism*, 26(1), pp.

113–129.

Brunila, K. (2011) 'The projectisation, marketisation and therapisation of education', *European Educational Research Journal*, 10(3), pp. 421–432.

Brunila, K. (2012) 'From risk to resilience: The therapeutic ethos in youth education', *Education Inquiry*, 3(3), pp. 451–464.

Brunila, K. (2014) 'The Rise of the Survival Discourse in an Era of Therapisation and Neoliberalism', *Education Inquiry*, 5(1), pp. 7–23.

Brunila, K. *et al.* (2016) 'Revisiting the vulnerability ethos in cross-sectoral transition policies and practices for young people in the era of marketisation of education', *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 11(1), pp. 69–79.

Brunner, J. (1985). *Los orígenes de la sociología en Chile*. Santiago: FLACSO.

Brunner, J. (2011) 'Visión histórica de la evolución del sistema de educación superior chileno: hitos desde 1967 a la fecha', in *UN RECORRIDO POR LA HISTORIA RECIENTE DE LA EDUCACIÓN SUPERIOR CHILENA 1967 - 2011*, pp. 21–39.

Brunner, J. (2015). Medio siglo de transformaciones de la educacion superior Chilena. Un estado del arte, in Bernasconi, A, *La educación superior de Chile: Transformación, desarrollo y crisis*. Santiago: Ediciones UC. 7-20.

Burke, P. J. (2012) *The right to higher education: Beyond widening participation*. Milton Park: Routledge.

Burke, P. J. and Kuo, Y. (2015) 'Widening Participation in Higher Education: Policy Regimes and Globalizing Discourses', in Huisman, J. et al. (eds) *The Palgrave International Handbook of Higher Education Policy and Governance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 547–568.

Butler, J. (1993) *Bodies that Matter. On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York and London: Roudedge.

Butler, J. (1997) *The Psychic Life of Power. Theories in Subjection*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Butler, J. (2010) 'Performative Agency', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 3(2), pp. 147–161.

Buzan, T Israe, R and Dottino, T. (1999). *The brainsmart leader*. Hampshire and Burlington: Gower.

Camargo, R. (2012) 'Dealing with Income Inequality during the Bachelet Administration: A Critical Analysis of the Discourse of Chilean Political Elites', *Latin American Perspectives*, 39(4), pp. 19–33.

Camargo, R (2013). *The New Critique of Ideology Lessons from Post-Pinochet Chile*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Canales, A. and De los Ríos, D. (2009) 'Retención de estudiantes vulnerables en la educación universitaria', *Calidad en la Educación*, 30(1), pp. 50–83.

Cantor, N. and Thomas, J. (2010) 'Affirmative Action and Higher Education in the United States and South Africa', in Featherman, D. L., Hall, M., and Krislov, M. (eds) *The next 25 years. Affirmative Action in Higher Education in the United States and South Africa*. Ann Arbor: The university of Michigan press, pp. 110–125.

Casanova, D. (2015) 'Equidad de acceso a la educación superior: El "puntaje ranking de notas" como mecanismo de inclusión en el sistema de admisión de Chile', *Archivos Analíticos de Políticas Educativas*, 23(72).

Castillo, J. and Cabezas, G. (2010) 'Caracterización de jóvenes primera generación en educación superior. Nuevas trayectorias hacia la equidad educativa', *Calidad en la Educación*, 32(1), pp. 44–76.

Catrileo, C. (2012) 'Introducción', in Román, C., Maureira, Ó., and Catrileo, C. (eds) *Contextos formativos y sociales de Programas propedéuticos en Chile; una aproximación a sus principales características y factores*. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez/CONICYT, pp. 7–10.

Catrileo, C., Lobos, P. and Sereño, F. (2014) 'Propedéutico UCSH, un programa de acceso inclusivo a la educación superior', in Román, C. (ed.) *Contexto, experiencias e investigaciones sobre los Programas Propedéuticos en Chile*. Santiago: Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez- Conicyt, pp. 69–86.

Childs, P. and Stromquist, N. (2015) 'Academic and diversity consequences of affirmative action in Brazil', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*. Routledge, 45(5), pp. 792–813.

Chiroleu, A. (2009) 'La inclusión en la educación superior como política pública: tres experiencias en América Latina', *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, 48(5), pp. 1–15.

Chiroleu, A. and Marquina, M. (2017) 'Democratisation or credentialism? Public policies of expansion of higher education in Latin America', *Policy Reviews in Higher Education*., 1(2), pp. 139–160.

CIDE (2012) *IX Encuesta a Actores del Sistema Educativo*. Santiago.

CIDE (2010) *VIII Encuesta a Actores del Sistema Educativo*. Santiago.

Clarke, M. (2012) 'Talkin bout a revolution: the social, political, and fantasmatic logics of education policy', *Journal of Education Policy*, 27(2), pp. 173–191.

Claro, M. (2005) *Acción Afirmativa: Hacia Democracias Inclusivas*. Edited by P. Diaz-Romero. Fundación Equitas.

Clifford, M. (2001) *Political genealogy after Foucault*. New York and London: Routledge.

Clough, P. T. (2010) 'The Case of Sociology: Governmentality and Methodology', *Source: Critical Inquiry*, 36(4), pp. 627–641.

CNN Noticias, (2016). [TV programme] CNNCHILE.

Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia. (1989) Programa de gobierno. Santiago: Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia.

Connell, R. and Dados, N. (2014) 'Where in the world does neoliberalism come from?: The market agenda in southern perspective', *Theory and Society*, 43(2), pp. 117–138.

Covey, S. (1999). *Los siete hábitos de la gente altamente efectiva*. Barcelona: Paidós Ibérica.

Crompton, R. (2008) *Class and Stratification*, 2nd edition. Cambridge: Polity

Crichlow, M. a. and Gomez, E. T. (2015) 'Revisiting affirmative action, globally', *Cultural Dynamics*, 27(1), pp. 3–18.

Cromby, J. *et al.* (2017) 'Psychology as practical biopolitics', in Pykett, J., Jones, R., and Whitehead, M. (eds) *Psychological Governance and Public Policy*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 75–95.

Deleuze, G. (1992) *Expressionism in philosophy: Spinoza*. New York: Zone Books.

Deleuze, G. (1997) 'Desire and Pleasure', in Davidson, A. I. (ed.) *Foucault and his interlocutors*. The University of Chicago Press, pp. 183–194.

Deleuze, G. (2001) *Pure Immanence. Essays on A Life*. New York: Zones Books.

Deleuze, G. (2006) *Foucault*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Deleuze, G. (2013). *El saber. Curso sobre Foucault.* Tomo I. Buenos Aires: Editorial Cactus.

Deleuze, G. (2014). *El poder. Curso sobre Foucault.* Tomo II. Buenos Aires: Editorial Cactus.

Departamento de evaluación medición y registro educacional (DEMRE). www.demre.cl

Diego Portales University Equity Programme, (2013) Course Syllabus "Gestion Personal" [Personal Management]

Diaz-Romero, P. (2006) *Caminos para la inclusion en la educación superior en Chile*. Edited by P. Diaz-Romero. Fundación Equitas.

Diaz-Romero, P. (2016) 'Inclusión y equidad en la educación superior. El desafío de las universidades selectivas', in Diaz-Romero, P. (ed.) *1er Congreso Inclusión en la Educación Superior: Acciones afirmativas para iguales oportunidades*. Santiago: Universdad de Santiago, pp. 11–26.

Donzelot, J. (2015) 'Lo social competitivo', *Fronteras*, (8), pp. 17–30.

du Toit, A. and Sim, S. (2010) *Rethinking Coaching. Critical Theory and the Economic Crisis*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Dunne, L. (2009) 'Discourses of Inclusion: a critique', *Power and Education*, 1(1), pp. 42–56.

du Toit, A. and Sim, S. (2010) *Rethinking Coaching. Critical Theory and the Economic Crisis*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Ecclestone, K. (2012) 'From emotional and psychological well-being to character education: challenging policy discourses of behavioural science and "vulnerability"', *Research Papers in Education*, 27(4), pp. 463–480.

Ecclestone, K. and Brunila, K. (2015) 'Governing emotionally vulnerable subjects and "therapisation" of social justice', *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 23(4), pp. 485–506.

Eccles, J. S. and Wigfield, A. (2002) 'Motivational Beliefs, Values, and Goals', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53(1), pp. 109–132.

Echeverría, R. (2003) La empresa emergente. La confianza y los *desafíos* de la transformación. Buenos Aires: Granica.

Echeverría, R. (2003) *Ontología del Lenguaje*. Sixth Ed. Santiago: JC SAEZ.

Echeverría, R. (2011) *Etica y coaching ontológico*.Santiago: JC SAEZ.

Edwards, R. (2008) 'Actively seeking subjects?', in Fejes, A. and Nicoll, K. (eds) *Foucault and Lifelong. Governing the subject*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 21–33.

El siglo, 9th January, 1967.

El Mostrador. (2011) *Renuncia forzada de Francisco Javier Gil: Chile no puede seguir desperdiciando el talento.* Available: http://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2011/10/29/renuncia-forzada-de-francisco-javier-gil-chile-no-puede-seguir-desperdiciando-el-talento/. [Accessed 20th March 2015].

El Mostrador. (2015) *Derogación DFL2: ¡Es la hora de democratizar!* Available: http://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/opinion/2015/08/05/derogacion-dfl2-es-la-hora-de-democratizar/?php%20bloginfo(%27url%27);%20?%3E/cultura. [Accessed 20th July 2015].

El Mostrador. (2016) *Informe de Desarrollo Humano de PNUD muestra como han cambiado los sueños de los chilenos en 20 años.* Available: http://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2016/12/19/informe-de-desarrollo-humano-de-pnud-chile-muestra-como-han-cambiado-los-suenos-de-los-chilenos-en-20-anos/?php%20bloginfo(%27url%27);%20?%3E/cultura. [Accessed 13th July 2017].

Errázuriz, J. (2017) 'Control y disciplinamiento de la comunidad estudiantil en los primeros

años del régimen militar (1973-1975): Los expedientes de Geografía y Teatro en la Universidad de Chile', *Cuadernos Chilenos de Historia de la Educación*, (8), pp. 36–56.

Espinoza, Ó. (2008) 'Creating (in) Equalities in Access to Higher Education in the Context of Structural Adjustment and Post-Adjustment policies: the case of chile', *Higher Education*, 55(3), pp. 269–284.

Eyzaguirre, N. (2014). *El gran consenso mundial en educación es la inclusión*. Available: http://www.elmercurio.com/blogs/2014/11/15/26895/El-gran-consenso-mundial-en-educacion-es-la-inclusion.aspx. [Accessed 20th July 2015].

Feijoo, M. del C. (2011) 'Presentación', in Abarzúa, Y. et al. (eds) *Inclusión Social, Interculturalidad y Equidad en la Educación Superior. Seminario Internacional Inclusión Social y Equidad en la Educación Superior 2º Encuentro Interuniversitario de Educación Intercultural.* Fundació Equitas, pp. 20–21.

Fernández, E., Reisz, R. and Stock, M. (2013) 'Entre democracia y dictadura: Inclusión en la educación superior en países de Latinoamérica, Europa oriental y Europa Occidental (1950-2000)', *Calidad en la Educación*, 39(2), pp. 246–275.

Fernández, R. *et al.* (2014) *El poder económico y social de la Educación Superior en Chile*. Santiago de Chile: Fundación Centro de Estudios de la Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile.

Figueroa, L. and González, M. (2013) 'PROGRAM "PROPAEDEUTIC USACH-UNESCO". "Nueva Esperanza, Mejor Futuro (New Hope, Better Future)"'.

Fischer, K. (2009) 'The Influence of Neoliberals in Chile before, during, and after Pinochet', in Mirowski, P. and Plehwe, D. (eds) *The road from Mont Pelerin. The Making of the Neoliberal Collective*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, pp. 305–346.

Fishwick, A. and Selwyn, B. (2016) 'Labour-Centred Development in Latin America: Two cases of alternative development', *Geoforum*. Elsevier Ltd, 74, pp. 233–243.

Flew, T. (2014) 'Six theories of neoliberalism', *Thesis Eleven*, 122(1), pp. 49–71.

Flick, U. and Foster, J. (2008) 'Social Representations', in *The Sage Hanbook of Qualitative research in Psychology*, pp. 91–109.

Folkers, A. (2016) 'Daring the Truth: Foucault, Parrhesia and the Genealogy of Critique', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 33(1), pp. 3–28.

Foucault, M. (1971) 'Orders of discourse. Inaugural lecture delivered at the College de France', *Social Science Information*, 10(2), pp. 7–30.

Foucault, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. The Harvester Press.

Foucault, M. (1984) *The Foucault Reader*. Edited by P. Rabinow. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1986) *The care of the self. Volume 3 of The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1988) *Politics, philosophy, culture: interviews and other writings of Michel Foucault, 1977-1984*. Edited by L. Kritzman. New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1991) *Remarks on Marx. Conversations with Duccio Trombadori*. New York: Semiotext(e).

Foucault, M. (1997) *The Politics of Truth*. New York: Semiotext(e).

Foucault, M. (2001a) *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. New: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (2001b) *Power. Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*. Edited by J. Faubion.

Foucault, M. (2002) *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London and New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (2005) *The Order of Things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. London and New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (2007) *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the College de France, 1977–78*. Edited by Michel Senellart. Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M. (2008) *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M. (2011) 'Power and Liberation. Previously Unpublished Interview with Michel Foucault. By Four LCR1 Activists, Contributors to the Cultural Column of the Daily News Journal Rouge (July 1977)', *Revue du MAUSS*, (38), pp. 33–50.

Foucault, M. (2012) *Freedom and Knowledge: a hitherto unpublished interview*. Amsterdam: Elders Special Productions.

Ford Foundation (2008) *Pathways to higher education: A Ford Foundation global initiative for promoting inclusiveness in higher education*. Available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100202100434/http://www.hefce.ac.uk/pubs/hefce/2007/07_35/. [Accessed 15th September 2017].

Fox, A. (1956) 'Class and Equality', Socialist Commentary, May, pp. 11-13.

Francis, A. M. and Tannuri-Pianto, M. (2012) The redistributive equity of affirmative action: Exploring the role of race, socioeconomic status, and gender in college admissions', *Economics of Education Review*, 31(1), pp. 45–55.

Fraser, N. (2016a) 'Contradictions of Capital and Care', *New Left Review*, 100(July-August),

pp. 99–117.

Fraser, N. (2016b) 'Progressive Neoliberalism versus Reactionary Populism: A Choice that Feminists Should Refuse', *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*. Routledge, 24(4), pp. 281–284.

Fraser, N. (2017) 'From Progressive Neoliberalism to Trump—and Beyond', *American Affairs*, 1(4), pp. 46–64.

Frickhöffer, W. (1982) 'Mercado: El Modelo Alemán Y El Modelo Chileno', *Estudios Públicos*, (6), pp. 89–98.

Fundación Equitas. (2008) *Fundación Equitas: Políticas Públicas para la inclusión* [ONLINE] Available at: https://issuu.com/fundacion.equitas/docs/propuestas_final [Accessed 10th March 2014].

Fundación Equitas. (2010) Course syllabus "Gestión Personal" [Personal Management]

Fundación Portas. 2016. Fundación Portas – Abriendo Futuro. [ONLINE] Available at: https://fundacionportas.cl/. [Accessed 10th November 2016].

Fundación Colunga. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.fundacioncolunga.org/. [Accessed 10th November 2016].

Gago, V. (2015a) 'Financialization of Popular Life and the Extractive Operations of Capital: A Perspective from Argentina', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 114(1), pp. 11–28.

Gago, V. (2015b) *La razón neoliberal. Economías barrocas y pragmática popular*. Buenos Aires: Tinta Limon.

Gale, T. and Hodge, S. (2014) 'Just imaginary: delimiting social inclusion in higher education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 35(5), pp. 688–709.

Gartland, C., Ingram, N. and Courtney, S. J. (2017) 'Research and policy in education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. Routledge, 38(3), pp. 403–414.

Garretón, M. A. (2005) 'Social sciences and society in Chile: institutionalization, breakdown and rebirth', *Social Science Information*, 44(2/3), pp. 359–409.

Garretón, M. A., Cruz, M. A. and Espinoza, F. (2010) 'Ciencias sociales y políticas públicas en Chile: qué, cómo y para qué se investiga en el Estado', *Sociologias*, 12(24), pp. 76–119.

Gerrard, J. (2015) 'Public education in neoliberal times: memory and desire', *Journal of Education Policy*, 30(6), pp. 855–868.

Gil, F. and del Canto Ramírez, C. (2012) 'The Case of the Propedéutico Program at Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH)', *Pensamiento Educativo: Revista de Investigación Educacional Latinoamericana*, 49(2), pp. 65–83.

Gil, F.J. and del Canto Ramírez, C. (2012) 'The Case of the Propedéutico Program at Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH)', *Pensamiento Educativo: Revista de Investigación Educacional Latinoamericana*, 49(2), pp. 65–83.

Gil, F.J., Paredes, R. and Sánchez, I. (2013) 'El ranking de las notas : inclusión con excelencia', *Temas de la agenda pública. Centro de Políticas Púlicas UC*, 8(60), pp. 3–19.

Gil, F.J. (2013) *Talent is equally distributed among the rich and the poor Available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/talent_is_equally_distributed_among_the_rich_and_the_poor/*. [Accessed 20th June 2015].

Gil, F. J. (2000). Características educacionales de estudiantes de enseñanza media chilenos, con alto nivel de rendimiento. In C. Romagnoli & S. Bralic (Eds.), *Niños y jóvenes con talentos: una educación de calidad para todos'*. Santiago de Chile: Dolmen Ediciones, pp. 329–341.

Gil, F. J. and Frites, C. (2016) 'Claves para la equidad y la eficiencia en las políticas de inclusión en la educación superior. Estudiantes de primera generación universitaria que fueron top 10% en la enseñanza secundaria', in Diaz-Romero, P. (ed.) *1er Congreso Inclusión en la Educación Superior: Acciones afirmativas para iguales oportunidades*. Santiago: Universdad de Santiago, pp. 53–66.

González, L. (2016) Ingreso equitativo a la universidad, Programa Propedéutico UCSC: estructura de módulos y modelo de calificación por evolución. In: Diaz-Romero, P *1er Congreso de Inclusión en Educación Superior: Acciones afirmativas para iguales oportunidades*. Santiago: Lom. pp. 181-194.

Goleman, D. (1996) Inteligencia emocional. Barcelona, Kairós.

Gowlett, C. (2013) 'Deterritorialising the dominant assemblage of social justice research', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 34(1), pp. 145–154.

Graumann, C. and Gergen, K. (1996) 'Psychological discourse in historical context: An Introduction', in Gergen, K. and Graumann, C. (eds) *Historical dimensions of psychological discourse*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–17.

Gregorutti, G. *et al.* (2016) 'What if privatising higher education becomes an issue? The case of Chile and Mexico', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 46(1), pp. 136–158.

Grinberg, S. *et al.* (2014) 'Espacios y subjetividades: Narrando las trayectorias de la vulnerabilidad', *Estudios Pedagógicos*, 40(2), pp. 203–219.

Grinberg, S. (2015) 'Governmentality and Pedagogical Apparatuses in Management Times',

Sisyphus-Journal of Education, 3(3), pp. 88–109.

Grosfoguel, R. (2013) 'The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities - Epistemic Racism/Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long 16th Century', *Human Architecture: Journal of the sociology of self-knowledge*, 9(1), pp. 73–90.

Grossberg, L. (2010) *Cultural Studies in the Future Tense*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Grugel, J. and Nem Singh, J. (2015) 'Protest, citizenship and democratic renewal: the student movement in Chile', *Citizenship Studies*, 19(3–4), pp. 353–366.

Hall, S. (2001) 'Constituting an archive', *Third Text*, 15(54), pp. 89–92.

Hamann, T. (2009) 'Neoliberalism, Governmentality, and Ethics', *Foucault Studies*, (6), pp. 37–59.

Hammer, D. (2009) 'Roman Spectacle Entertainments and the Technology of Reality', *Arethusa*, 43(1), pp. 63–86.

Hauptamann, E. (2012) 'The Ford Foundation and the Rise of Behavioralism in Political Science', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 48(2), pp. 154–173.

Hickey-Moody, A., Harwood, V. and McMahon, S. (2016) 'Feeling futures: The embodied imagination and intensive time', in Bland, D. (ed.) *Imagination for inclusion: Diverse contexts of educational practice*. Routledge, pp. 128–140.

Higgins, V. and Larner, W. (2017) 'Assembling neoliberalism', in Higgins, V. and Larner, W. (eds) *Assembling Neoliberalism: Expertise, Practices, Subjects*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–19.

Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. (2008) 'Researching Defended Subjects with the Free Association Narrative Interview Method', in Given, L. M. (ed.) *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Sevenoaks, California: Sage, pp. 296–315.

Holmes, J. M. (2013) *From Modernization and Development to Neoliberal Democracy : A History of the Ford Foundation in Latin America 1959-2000*.

Hook, D. (2007) *Foucault, Psychology and the Analytics of Power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Htun, M. (2004) 'From "racial democracy" to affirmative action: Changing state policy on race in Brazil', *Latin American Research Review*, 39(1), pp. 60–89.

Hunter, S. (2017) 'The role of multicultural fantasies in the enactment of the state', in Jupp, E., Pykett, J., and Smith, F. M. (ed.) *Emotional States: Sites and spaces of affective governance*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 161–176.

Illouz, E. (2007) *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism*. Cambridge and Malden:

Polity.

International Institute of Education (2016) *Social Justice and Sustainable Change: The Impacts of Higher Education.*

Jenkins, L. D. *et al.* (2014) 'Assessing affirmative action programs on six continents', in Jenkins, L. D. and Moses, M. S. (eds) *Affirmative Action Matters: Creating Opportunities for Students around the World.* New York and London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

Jessop, B. (2007) 'From micro-powers to governmentality: Foucault's work on statehood, state formation, statecraft and state power', *Political Geography*, 26(1), pp. 34–40.

Jessop, B. (2013) 'Putting neoliberalism in its time and place: A response to the debate', *Social Anthropology*, 21(1), pp. 65–74.

Jessop, B. (2015) 'The course, contradictions, and consequences of extending competition as a mode of (meta-)governance: towards a sociology of competition and its limits', *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory*, 16(2), pp. 167–185.

Jessop, B. (2016) 'Putting higher education in its place in (East Asian) political economy', *Comparative Education*, 52(1), pp. 8–25.

Karabel, J. (2005) *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Kenway, J., Fahey, J. and Koh, A. (2013) 'The Libidinal Economy of the Globalising Elite School Market', in Maxwell, C. and Aggleton, P. (eds) *Privilege, Agency and Affect. Understanding the Production and Effects of Action.* New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 15–31.

Kirberg, E. (1981) *LOS NUEVOS PROFESIONALES. Educación Universitaria de Trabajadores en Chile : UTE, 1968-1973.* Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara.

Koljatic, M. and Silva, M. (2013) 'Opening a side-gate: engaging the excluded in Chilean higher education through test-blind admission', *Studies in Higher Education*, 38(10), pp. 1427–1441.

Koljatic, M., Silva, M. and Cofré, R. (2013) 'Achievement versus aptitude in college admissions: A cautionary note based on evidence from Chile', *International Journal of Educational Development*, 33(1), pp. 106–115.

Konings, M. (2015). *The Emotional Logic of Capitalism. What Progressive have Missed.* Standford: Standford University Press.

Koro-Ljungberg, M. *et al.* (2015) 'An Unfinished Dialogue about Problematization Knowledge Production in the Peer Review Process', in Denzin, N. K. and Giardina, M. D. (eds) *Qualitative Inquiry and the Politics of Research.* New York: Routledge.

Larner, W. (2000) 'Neo-Liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality', *Studies in Political Economy*, 63, pp. 5–25.

Larner, W. (2003) 'Neoliberalism?', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21(5), pp. 509–512.

Larner, W. and Walters, W. (2004) 'Globalization as govenmentality', *Alternatives*, 29, pp. 495–514.

Larrabure, M. and Torchia, C. (2015) 'The 2011 Chilean Student Movement and the Struggle for a New Left', *Latin American Perspectives*, 42(204), pp. 248–268.

Lather, P. (2006) 'Foucauldian scientificity: rethinking the nexus of qualitative research and educational policy analysis', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 19(6), pp. 783–791.

Lather, P. and St. Pierre, E. A. (2013) 'Post-qualitative research', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 26(6), pp. 629–633.

Law, J. and Urry, J. (2004) 'Enacting the social', *Economy and Society*, 33(3), pp. 390–410.

Leathwood, C. and Hey, V. (2009) 'Gender/ed discourses and emotional sub-texts: theorising emotion in UK higher education', *Teaching in Higher Education*, 14(4), pp. 429–440.

Legg, S. (2011) 'Assemblage/apparatus: Using Deleuze and Foucault', *Area*, 43(2), pp. 128–133.

Leiva, F. (2010) 'Acumulación, cohesión social y subjetividad en el capitalismo latinoamericano contemporáneo. El aporte de la economía política cultural crítica', in *Asociación Centro-Americana de Sociología (ACAS)*. San Jose.

Lemke, T. (2001) '"The birth of bio-politics": Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality', *Economy and Society*, 30(2), pp. 190–207.

Lemke, T. (2002) 'Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique', *Rethinking Marxism: A Journal of Economics, Culture and Society*, 14(3), pp. 49–64.

Lemke, T. (2011) 'Critique and Experience in Foucault', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 28(4), pp. 26–48.

Leys, R. (2011) 'The Turn to Affect: A Critique', *Critical Inquiry*, 37(3), pp. 434–472.

Leyton, D., Vásquez, A. and Fuenzalida, V. (2012) 'La experiencia de estudiantes de contextos vulnerables en diferentes instituciones de educación superior universitaria (IESU): Resultados de una investigación', *Calidad en la Educación*, 37(2), pp. 61–97.

Lingard, B. and Gale, T. (2007) 'The emergent structure of feeling: What does it mean for critical educational studies and research?', *Critical Studies in Education*, 48(1), pp. 1–23.

Littler, J. (2013) 'Meritocracy as Plutocracy: The Marketising of "Equality" Under Neoliberalism', *New Formations*, 80(80), pp. 52–72.

Lizama, C. (2013) *TRAYECTORIAS EDUCATIVAS DE JÓVENES QUE INGRESAN A LA EDUCACIÓN SUPERIOR POR MEDIO DE PROGRAMAS DE ACCIÓN AFIRMATIVA QUE PROMUEVEN EL ACCESO*. Universidad de Chile.

Loveday, V. (2015) 'Working-class participation, middle-class aspiration? Value, upward mobility and symbolic indebtedness in higher education', *The Sociological Review*, 63(3), pp. 570–588.

Lloyd, M. (2015) 'A Decade of Affirmative Action in Brazil: Lessons for the Global Debate', in *Mitigating Inequality: Higher Education Research, Policy, and Practice in an Era of Massification and Stratification*, pp. 169–189.

López, L. and Pérez, P. (2013) *Asesoría en Equidad y Retención en la Educación Superior*.

Lubienski, C., Scott, J. and DeBray, E. (2014) 'The Politics of Research Production, Promotion, and Utilization in Educational Policy', *Educational Policy*, 28(2), pp. 131–144.

McMahon, S., Harwood, V. and Hickey-Moody, A. (2016) 'Students that just hate school wouldn't go': educationally disengaged and disadvantaged young people's talk about university education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 37(8), pp. 1109–1128.

Marín-Díaz, D. L. (2017) 'The key is the individual: Practices of the self, self-help and learning', *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 49(7), pp. 710–719.

Massumi, B. (2002) *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Maureira, O. (2012). Una mirada sobre la experiencia formativa e investigativa de la UCSH en factores claves de aprendizajes de sus estudiantes ingresantes. In C. Román, Ó. Maureira, & C. Catrileo (Eds.), *Contextos formativos y sociales de Programas propedéuticos en Chile; una aproximación a sus principales características y factores*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez- Conicyt, pp.64–74.

May, T. (2006) *The Philosophy of Foucault*. Chesham: Acumen Publishing.

Mazzarella, W. (2009) 'Affect: What is it Good for?', in *Enchantments of Modernity. Empire, Nation, Globalization*, pp. 291–309.

Meneses, F. *et al.* (2010) 'Ingreso a la Educación Superior: La Experiencia de la Cohorte de Egreso 2005'.

Micin, S. *et al.* (2015) 'BECA NIVELACIÓN ACADÉMICA: LA EXPERIENCIA DE UNA POLÍTICA PÚBLICA APLICADA EN UNA UNIVERSIDAD CHILENA',

Calidad en la Educación, 42(1), pp. 189–208.

Mignolo, W. (2009) 'Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 26, pp. 159–181.

MINEDUC (2015) 'Fundamentos del Programa de Acompañamiento y Acceso Efectivo: Elementos que fundamentan este programa y su etapa piloto', pp. 1–10. Available at: http://www.pace.mineduc.cl/usuarios/UsuarioMin064/File/2015/Fundamento del PACE 2015.pdf.

Morley, L. (2001) 'Producing New Workers: Quality, equality and employability in higher education', *Quality in Higher Education*, 7(2), pp. 131–138.

Morley, L. (2011) 'African Higher Education: researching absences, equalities and aspirations', *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 6(4), pp. 341–347.

Morley, L. (2012) *Gender and Access in Commonwealth Higher Education, As the World Turns: Implications of Global Shifts in Higher Education for Theory, Research and Practice (Advances in Education in Diverse Communities: Research, Policy and Praxis, Volume 7)*. Emerald Group Publishing Ltd.

Morsy, L., Gulson, K. and Clarke, M. (2014) 'Democracy, "sector-blindness" and the delegitimation of dissent in neoliberal education policy: a response to Discourse 34(2), May', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 35(3), pp. 444–461.

Moulian, T. (2002) *Chile actual. Anatomía de un Mito*. Santiago: Lom.

Muehlebach, A. (2012) *The Moral Neoliberal. Welfare and Citizenship in Italy*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Muñoz, C., Ferreira, S., Sanchéz, P., Santander, S., Pérez, M., & Valenzuela, J. (2012). Escala Motivaional por la Lectura Académica. In *Contextos formativos y sociales de Programas propedéuticos en Chile; una aproximación a sus principales características y factores.* (pp. 51–63). Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez- Conicyt.

Navarrete, S., Candia, R. and Puchi, R. (2013) 'FACTORES ASOCIADOS A LA DESERCIÓN / RETENCIÓN DE LOS ESTUDIANTES MAPUCHE ACADÉMICO', *Calidad en la Educación*, 39(2), pp. 44–80.

Julio Olalla (2018) Newfield *Ignite* Podcast, Episode 19. 23th March. Available: http://newfieldignite.libsyn.com/episode-19-julio-olalla

Newman, J. (2017) 'Rationality, responsibility and rage: the contested politics of emotion governance', in Jupp, E., Pykett, J., and Smith, F. M. (eds) *Emotional States: Sites and spaces of affective governance*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 21–35.

Nicoll, K. and Fejes, A. (2008) 'Mobilizing Foucault in studies of lifelong learning', in Fejes,

A. and Nicoll, K. (eds) *Foucault and Lifelong. Governing the subject*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1–18.

Olssen, M. and Peters, M. (2005) 'Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: from the free market to knowledge capitalism', *Journal of Education Policy*, 20(3), pp. 313–345.

Ong, A. (2007) 'Boundary crossings: Neoliberalism as a mobile technology', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 32, pp. 3–8.

Padios, J. M. (2017) 'Mining the mind: emotional extraction, productivity, and predictability in the twenty-first century', *Cultural Studies*, 0(0), pp. 1–27.

Palacios, M. A. (2005) 'ACCIÓN AFIRMATIVA: UNA VÍA PARA REDUCIR LA DESIGUALDAD', in Diaz-Romero, P. (ed.) *Acción Afirmativa: Hacia Democracias Inclusivas*. Santiago de Chile: Fundación Equitas, pp. 9–14.

Peck, J. (2013) 'Explaining (with) Neoliberalism', *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1(2), pp. 132–157.

Peña, M. O. and Orbeta, C. T. (2017) 'DISCURSOS SOBRE CLASE SOCIAL Y MERITOCRACIA DE ESCOLARES', *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, 47(164), pp. 496–518.

Pereira, C. (2016) 'El Dispositivo Gubernamental, su totalización moderna y el afuera de los paganos', in PINCHEIRA, I. et al. (eds) *Maquinas del saber, mecanismos del poder, practicas de subjectivación. Actas 1ra jornada transdisiplinar de estudios en gubernamentalidad*. Santiago: Escaparate, pp. 27–36.

Petersen, E. B. (2015) 'What crisis of representation? Challenging the realism of post-structuralist policy research in education', *Critical Studies in Education*, 56(1), pp. 147–160.

Petersen, E. B. and O'Flynn, G. (2007) 'Neoliberal technologies of subject formation: a case study of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme', *Critical Studies in Education*, 48(2), pp. 197–211.

Petersson, K., Olsson, U. and Popkewitz, T. (2007) 'Nostalgia, the Future, and the Past as Pedagogical Technologies', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 28(1), pp. 49–67.

Pitton, V. (2007) 'Disentangling Chile's authoritarian neoliberalism and its effects: the downfall of public higher education and its implications for equitable access', *Critical Studies in Education*, 48(2), pp. 249–267.

Pitton, V. (2012) *NEOLIBERALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY DISCOURSES IN CHILE*. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

PNUD (1998) *Las paradojas de la modernización*. Santiago de Chile: Programas de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.

PNUD (2000) *Más sociedad para gobernar el futuro*. Santiago de Chile: Programas de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.

PNUD (2002) *Nosotros los Chilenos: Un desafío cultural*. Santiago de Chile: Programas de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.

PNUD (2004) *El poder: ¿Para qué y para quién?* Santiago de Chile: Programas de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.

PNUD (2012) *Bienestar subjetivo. El desafío de repensar el desarrollo*. Santiago de Chile: Programas de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.

PNUD (2017) *Chile en 20 años. Un recorrido a través de los Informes de Desarrollo Humano*. Santiago de Chile: Programas de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.

Popkewitz, T. (2007) 'Alchemies and Governing: Or, questions about the questions we ask', *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 39(1), pp. 64–83.

Popkewitz, T. (2008) 'The Social, Psychological, and Education Sciences', in Smeyers, P. and Depaepe, M. (eds) *Educational Research. The Educationalization of Social Problems*. Springer, pp. 171–190.

Power, S. (2012) 'From redistribution to recognition to representation: social injustice and the changing politics of education', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 10(4), pp. 473–492.

Premdas, R. (2016) 'Social justice and affirmative action', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 39(3), pp. 449–462.

Procacci, G. (1989) 'Sociology and Its Poor', *Politics and Society*, 17(2), pp. 163–187.

Ramos, C. (2014) 'Datos y relatos de la ciencia social como componentes de la producción de realidad social', *Convergencia. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, (66), pp. 151–177.

Ramos, C. (2016) *La producción de la pobreza como objeto de gobierno*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Alberto Hurtado.

Rancière, J. (1999) *Disagreement. Politics and Philosophy*. University of Minnesota Press.

Rancière, J. (2010) *Dissensus. On Politics and Aesthetics*. London and New York: Continuum.

Reay, D. (2005) 'Beyond Consciousness?: The Psychic Landscape of Social Class', *Sociology*, 39(5), pp. 911–928.

Reay, D. (2013) 'Social mobility, a panacea for austere times: tales of emperors, frogs, and tadpoles', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34(5–6), pp. 660–677.

Rimke, H. (2010) 'Consuming Fears: Neo-Liberal In/Securities, Cannibalization, and

Psychopolitics', in Shantz, J. (ed.) *Racism and Borders: Representation, Repression, Resistance*, pp. 95–112.

Rivera, F. (2012) 'La Reforma Universitaria en Chile (1960-1973): Las experiencias de modernización y politización en tres Universidades', pp. 1–20.

Rivera, F. (2016) 'Las experiencias de reforma universitaria en las Universidades de Chile, Católica y Técnica del Estado. Una aproximación comparativa. Chile 1967/1973', in Ireland, T. and Rivera, F. (eds) *Memorias y testimonios de la refoma universitaria en la Universidad Técnica del Estado*. Santiago: Universsdad de Santiago, pp. 30–53.

Rizvi, F. and Lingard, B. (2011) 'Social equity and the assemblage of values in Australian higher education', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 41(1), pp. 5–22.

Robinson, D. and Walker, M. (2013) '"Working-class" education: Notions of widening participation in the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries.', *Journal of Adult & Continuing Education*, 19(2), pp. 3–23.

Román, C. (2012). ¿Qué hay detrás del buen rendimiento escolar en los estudiantes que ingresan a la universidad a través del Programa Propedéutico de la UCSH (Chile)? *Educere*, *16*(55), pp. 331–338.

Román, C. (2013). Más programas propedéuticos en Chile . El discurso de los estudiantes en la Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez. *Estudios Pedagógicos*, *XXXIX*(2), pp. 263–278.

Rose, N. (1998) *Inventing ourselves. Psychology, Power and Personhood*. Cambridge University Press.

Rose, N. (2008) 'Psychology as a social science', *Subjectivity*, 25(25), pp. 446–462.

Rose, N. (2017) 'Still "like birds on the wire"? Freedom after neoliberalism', *Economy and Society*, 46(3–4), pp. 303–323.

Rose, N. and Miller, P. (2010) 'Political power beyond the State: problematics of government', *The British Journal of Sociology*, (61), pp. 271–303.

Rowlands, J. and Rawolle, S. (2013) 'Neoliberalism is not a theory of everything: a Bourdieuian analysis of illusio in educational research', *Critical Studies in Education*. Routledge, 54(3), pp. 260–272.

Ruiz, C. and Boccardo, G. (2014) *Los chilenos bajo el neoliberalismo. Clases y conflicto social*. Santiago de Chile: Nodo XXI/El Desconcierto.

Salazar, J. M. and Leihy, P. (2013) 'The Invisible Handbook: Three decades of higher education policy in Chile (1980-2010)', *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 21(34), pp. 1–35.

Saltman, K. J. (2014) 'The austerity school: grit, character, and the privatization of public education', *Symplokē*, 22(1–2), pp. 41–57.

Scheele, J. and Treviño, E. (2012) 'Oportunidades de movilidad educacional y social en Chile: El prepedéutico UNESCO', in *Contextos formativos y sociales de Programas propedéuticos en Chile; una aproximación a sus principales características y factores*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez- Conicyt, pp. 11–26.

Scherz, L. (1986) 'La universidad del año 2000. Entre Napoleón y Humboldt', *Nueva Sociedad*, 84(Julio-Agosto), pp. 91–99.

Schwartzman, L. F. and Paiva, A. R. (2016) 'Not just racial quotas: affirmative action in Brazilian higher education 10 years later', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 37(4), pp. 548–566.

Sellar, S. (2015) '"Unleashing aspiration": The concept of potential in education policy', *The Australian Educational Researcher*, 42(2), pp. 201–215.

Sellar, S. and Gale, T. (2011) 'Mobility, aspiration, voice: a new structure of feeling for student equity in higher education', *Critical Studies in Education*, 52(2), pp. 115–134.

Sellar, S., Gale, T. and Parker, S. (2011) 'Appreciating aspirations in Australian higher education', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 41(1), pp. 37–52.

Sellar, S., Savage, G. C. and Gorur, R. (2014) 'The politics of disagreement in critical education policy studies: a response to Morsy, Gulson and Clarke', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 35(3), pp. 462–469.

Selwyn, B. (2016) 'Theory and practice of labour-centred development', *Third World Quarterly*, 37(6), pp. 1035–1052.

Shamir, R. (2008) 'The age of responsibilization: on market-embedded morality', *Economy and Society*, 37(1), pp. 1–19.

Sharma, A. and Gupta, A. (eds) (2006) *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*. Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.

Sieler, A. (2010) 'Ontological Coaching', in Bachkirova, T., Cox, E., and Clutterbuck, D. (eds) *The Complete Handbook of Coaching*. Sage.

Silva, E. (1992) 'Capitalist regime loyalties and redemocratization in Chile', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 34(4), pp. 77–117.

Silva, E. (1993) 'Capitalist Coalitions, the State, and Neoliberal Economic Restructuring', *World Politics*, 45(4), pp. 526–559.

Simbürger, E. (2013) 'Moving through the city: Visual discourses of upward social mobility in higher education advertisements on public transport in Santiago de Chile', *Visual*

Studies, 28(1), pp. 67–77.

Solari, P. (2013) '"Hablar no es inocente" Filosofía, gestión y política en la "Escuela de Santiago"', in Domingo, G. and Rodríguez, R. (eds) *Evaluación, gestión y riesgo Para una crítica del gobierno del presente*, pp. 313–327.

Spinosa, C., Flores, F. and Dreyfus, H. (1995) 'Disclosing New Worlds: Entrepreneurship, Democratic Action, and the Cultivation of Solidarity', *Inquiry*, 38(1–2), pp. 3–63.

Staunæs, D. (2016) 'Notes on inventive methodologies and affirmative critiques of an affective edu-future', *Research in Education*, 96(1), pp. 62–70.

Staunæs, D. and Bjerg, H. (2011) 'Self-management through shame: uniting governmentality studies and the affective turn', *Ephemera Theory & Politics in Organization*, 11(2), pp. 138–156.

St. Pierre, E. A. (2017) 'Deleuze and Guattari's language for new empirical inquiry', *Educational Philosophy and Theory*. Routledge, 49(11), pp. 1080–1089.

St. Pierre, E. A. and Jackson, A. Y. (2014) 'Qualitative Data Analysis After Coding', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 20(6), pp. 715–719.

Stulberg, L. M. and Chen, A. S. (2014) 'The Origins of Race-conscious Affirmative Action in Undergraduate Admissions: A Comparative Analysis of Institutional Change in Higher Education', *Sociology of Education*, 87(1), pp. 36–52.

Sugarman, J. (2015) 'Neoliberalism and psychological ethics', *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Pscyhology*, 35(2), pp. 103–116.

Sum, N.-L. and Jessop, B. (2013) 'Competitiveness, the Knowledge-Based Economy and Higher Education', *Journal of the Knowledge Economy*, 4(1), pp. 24–44.

Swyngedouw, E. (2011) 'Interrogating post-democratization: Reclaiming egalitarian political spaces', *Political Geography*, 30, pp. 1–11.

Tamboukou, M. (1999) 'Writing Genealogies: an exploration of Foucault's strategies for doing research', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 20(2), pp. 201–217.

Tamboukou, M. (2003) 'Interrogating the "emotional turn": making connections with Foucault and Deleuze', *European Journal of Psychotherapy & Counselling*, 6(3), pp. 209–223.

Tamboukou, M. (2012) 'History and ethnography: interfaces and juxtapositions', in Delamont, S. (ed.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 82–91.

Tamboukou, M. (2017) 'Reassembling Documents of Life in the Archive', *European Journal of Life Writing*, 6, pp. 1–19.

Taylor, M. (2003) 'The Reformulation of Social Policy in Chile, 1973-2001', *Global Social Policy*, 3(1), pp. 21–44.

Tie, W. (2004) 'The psychic life of governmentality', *Culture, Theory and Critique*, 45(2), pp. 161–176.

Todd, S. (2015) *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class, 1910-2010*. London: John Murray.

Toro, P. (2017) '¿Técnicos de la política y del alma? Un episodio en las discusiones sobre políticas de educación secundaria en Chile y la instalación de la orientación escolar a mediados del siglo XX', in González, T. (ed.) *Templos del Saber. Discursos políticos y utopías educativas*. Madrid: Mercurio Editorial, pp. 313–336.

Toro, P. (2018) 'De Fortificar la Voluntad a Desarrollar la Personalidad: Cuerpo y Emociones en La Educación Chilena (C.1900-C.1950)', *Cadernos CEDES*, 38(104), pp. 49–62.

Treviño, E., Scheele, J. and Flores, S. M. (2014) 'Beyond the Test Score: A Mixed Methods Analysis of a College Access Intervention in Chile', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, pp. 1–11.

Trow, M. (1973) 'The Expansion and Transformation of Higher Education', *International Review of Education*, 18(1), pp. 61–84.

Trow, M. (1999) *California After Racial Preferences, Research & Occasional Paper Series: CSHE.7.99*.

Valenzuela, J. (2012). Motivación y Talento Académico ¿Donde Mirar? In C. Román, O. Maureira, & C. Catrileo (Eds.), *Contextos formativos y sociales de Programas propedéuticos en Chile; una aproximación a sus principales características y factores*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez- Conicyt, pp. 27–38

Varas, A. (2005) 'ACCIÓN AFIRMATIVA, DESARROLLO E INTEGRACIÓN SOCIAL', in Diaz-Romero, P. (ed.) *Acción Afirmativa: Hacia Democracias Inclusivas*. Santiago: Fundació Equitas, pp. 9–14.

Veiga-Neto, A. and Corcini Lopes, M. (2013) 'Gubernamentalidad, biopolítica e inclusión', in Salcedo, R. C. and D. Marín Díaz (eds) *Gubernamentalidad y Educación. Discusiones contemporáneas*. Bogotá: Instituto para la Investigación Educativa y el Desarrollo Pedagógico, IDEP, pp. 105–126.

Venugopal, R. (2015) 'Neoliberalism as concept', *Economy and Society*, 44(2), pp. 165–187.

Villalobos, C. *et al.* (2017) 'Social Justice Debate and College Access in Latin America: Merit or Need? The Role of Educational Institutions and States in Broadening Access to

Higher Education in the region', *Archivos analíticos de políticas educativas*, 25(73).

Wacquant, L. (2012) 'Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism', *Social Anthropology*, 20(1), pp. 66–79.

Walkerdine, V. (2003) 'Reclassifying Upward Mobility: Femininity and the neo-liberal subject', *Gender and Education*, 15(3), pp. 237–248.

Walkerdine, V. (2011) 'Neoliberalism, working-class subjects and higher education', *Contemporary Social Science: Journal of the Academy of Social Sciences*, 6(2), pp. 255–271.

Walkerdine, V. (2017) 'Of dinosaurs and divas: is class still relevant to feminist research?', *Subjectivity*, 10(1), pp. 1–12.

Weiner, B. (1985). An Attributional Theory of Achievement Motivation and Emotion. *Psychological Review*, *92*(4), pp. 548–573.

Williams, S. M. and McDermott, K. A. (2014) 'Social Science Research and School Diversity Policy', *Educational Policy*, 28(2), pp. 325–346.

Youdell, D. (2006) 'Diversity, Inequality, and a Post-structural Politics for Education', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 27(1), pp. 33–42.

Youdell, D. (2011) *School Trouble: Identity, Power and Politics in Education*. London and New York: Routledge.

Yang, J. (2015) *Unknotting the Heart: Unemployment and Therapeutic Governance in China*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Young, M. (1994). The Rise of the Meritocracy. 1870-2033. An Essay on Education and Equality. Mitcham, Victoria: Penguin Books.

Young, M (2001). Down with Meritocracy. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/jun/29/comment [Accessed 10th November 2017]

Youdell, D. (2006) 'Diversity, Inequality, and a Post-structural Politics for Education', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 27(1), pp. 33–42.

Youdell, D. (2011) *School Trouble: Identity, Power and Politics in Education*. London and New York: Routledge.

Youdell, D., Harwood, V. and Lindley, M. R. (2018) 'Biological sciences, social sciences and the languages of stress', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 39(2), pp. 219–241.

Appendices

1. Information Sheet forms

1.1.Information Sheet form for policy makers and stakeholders

INFORMATION SHEET –
For policy makers and stakeholders

In these pages you will find an invitation to participate in the research project alongside the relevant information about the study. Please take time to read all the information carefully. In case you have enquiries please ask me or contact me to talk this through. Contact information is at the end of this information sheet.

Invitation: Dear...(name of the person or role)...of the Induction Access Programmes, I would like to invite you to take part of the study **"Affirmative Action Policy in Chilean Higher Education"** by participating in an interview to be carried out by myself. Before you decide whether or not to participate I invite you to read carefully the following information about the research project.

Context and purpose of the study: What is the context and purpose of the study? And what activities are involved in the study?

The study is part of my PhD studies in Education at the University of Sussex, United Kingdom. It is about the implementation of the Affirmative Action Policy in Higher Education known as Induction Access Programmes. In particular, the study explores the ways in which you and others actors have been participating in the implementation of this policy, and how you perceive the program, the university system within this policy context, and the student beneficiaries This study will also explore the students' experiences of the program and of the university life; taking into account the feelings and emotions involved in their experiences.

I will carry out the study from November 2014 until November 2015. During this period I will conduct interviews with policy-makers, stakeholders, professionals working on the program, and with student beneficiaries. I will also be observing some classes, meetings and others program's activities involving the student beneficiaries and the professionals who

are running the curses oriented to prepare the students for the university. Finally, I will collect important documents related to the program.

About the interview: What is the interview about?

You have been invited to take part in the study by participating in an interview given your role in the institutionalisation and implementation of these programmes. During the interview the idea is talk about the implementation of the program, how do you see the universities, the professionals running the interventions, and the students who are participating in the program. The interview will take 1 hour and half approximately and will be audio-recorded if you give your consent.

The interviews will all be confidential. I am the only person who will know what you have said during the interview. For the purpose of analysis and writing the results, I will keep in anonymity your age, sex, ethnicity, class background and formal political party affiliation. I will also replace your name using non-personal labels such as "policymaker 1" "policymaker 2", and others people's name you may mention, and the name of recognisable places. I have to identify your role in the implementation of the program because it may represent important information for the analysis.

About the decision to participate or not in the study: You decide whether or not to take part.

I wish to reassure you that your participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You decide whether or not to take part in the study at any time. This means that you can also withdraw at any moment without reason. If you decide to participate in the interview I will ask you to sign a consent form that states that you are willing to participate in the research.

If you decide to have an interview, please contact me and we will arrange at what time and place suits you better for the interview to take place.

Contact Information

Daniel Leyton
Email: dleyton@sussex.ac.uk
Telephone number: (I will provide a telephone number when possible)
Mobile phone number: (I will provide a valid mobile number for Chile)
Address: (I will provide an address where people can find me when possible. Ideally I will manage for an office space during the fieldwork)

Thank you very much for taking the time to read the information provided

Date: Day/month/year

1.2. Information Sheet form for student beneficiaries of the programme IAPs

INFORMATION SHEET –
For student beneficiaries of the IAPs

Hi, my name is Daniel Leyton and I am doing a study about the IAPs. Here you will find and invitation to participate in the study alongside the relevant information about it. Please take time to read all the information carefully. In case you have enquiries please ask me or contact me to talk this through. My contact information is at the end of this information sheet.

Invitation:

Dear students, I would like to invite you to participate in the study **"Affirmative Action Policy in Chilean Higher Education"**. Before you decide whether or not to participate please read carefully the following information about the research.

Context and purpose of the study: What is the context and purpose of the study? And what activities are involved in the study?

The research is part of my PhD studies in Education at the University of Sussex, United Kingdom. It is about the actual programmes known as "Induction Access Programmes" and the students' experiences of this program and of going to university. I am interested also in what feelings you have regarding this program and university.

I will carry out the study from November 2014 until November 2015. During this period I will do interviews with the people in charge of the program, important people supporting this program, the professionals/mentors of the program, and with some student beneficiaries. I will also do observations during the days in which the program will take place in the university and in other places. Finally, I will collect important documents related to the program.

About the observations: What is the observation about?

The main purpose of the observations is to take notes on the relationships between the professionals such as teachers, mentors, and their student beneficiaries, the feelings related to the program and university life, and on the activities of the program developed in classrooms, and in other places used by students and professionals during the program

such as meetings and celebrations. I will not be observing the students' private characteristics.

About the interview: What is the interview about?

You may be invited to take part in an interview where we would talk about your participation in the program and in the university. The interview lasts between one hour and half and two hours approximately, and it will be audio-recorded.

I will be the only person knowing what you have said during the interview. I will replace your name by non-personal labels such as "student 1"; "student 2". The information about you or linked to others students such as their pseudonyms, relatives' names, and schools' name where they come from will be also altered. I will also change the name of your university and the name of recognisable places. The data I will use will be the sex and year of study of the students.

About the decision to participate or not in the study: You decide whether or not to take part.

I wish to reassure you that your participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You decide whether or not to take part in the study at any time. This means that you can also withdraw at any moment without reason. If you decide not to take part of the observation this means I will not take notes and analysis based on what you are doing or saying.

You can also decide to withdraw at any moment of the interview without giving me any reason. I will support your decision at any moment.

If you decide to participate in the interview I will ask you to sign a consent form that states that you are willing to participate in the research. In this case, please contact me and we will arrange at what time and place suits you better for the interview to take place

For any or further inquiries please feel free to contact me at any time by email, mobile and/or in person.

Contact Information:

Daniel Leyton
Email: dleyton@sussex.ac.uk
Telephone number: (I will provide a telephone number when possible)
Mobile phone number: (I will provide a valid mobile number for Chile)
Address: (I will provide an address where people can find me when possible. Ideally I will manage for an office space during the fieldwork)

Thank you very much for taking the time to read the information provided!

Date: Day/month/year