Private schools vs state schools in Argentina: Discipline or citizenship?

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Abstract. This paper aims to review the link between public education policies on social inclusion and the institutional practices in state-run and private secondary schools in Argentina in the current context of compulsory secondary education. The methodology used is in line with socio-educational management studies oriented to analyze educational practices qualitatively from an institutional perspective. The data was collected through 28 semi-structured interviews with state and private secondary school headmasters, and supplemented by the analysis of relevant documents. The contributions hereto prove that, in practice, discipline and citizenship are not compatible goals at secondary school. Secondary schools are either oriented towards the control and punishment of behaviours that deviate from the objectives set by a minority (as is clearly shown in private educational management), or towards the collective discussion of decisions and agreements (as clearly shown in state educational management). This has direct implications on the analysis of the success of education policies on social inclusion at secondary school being realized through compulsory education. The results of this piece of research go beyond the quantitative analysis about how many students graduate from school, to include the issue of the social relevance of secondary school training processes. Particularly, it is not just a matter of quantity, but of whom and how are youths and adolescents trained at secondary schools.

Keywords: Education policies, state and private schools, social inclusion.

INTRODUCTION

In the origins of secondary school in Argentina, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the training models assumed a young male student passing through that stage of preparation in order to become that who should manage the State under construction; back then, secondary school demand was related to training the Nation's management (National Schools). Furthermore, the training model assumed a young female student compelled to undertake a professional role, rigidly prescribed, namely, being trained to be a teacher in the Normal Schools, also known as teachers' colleges (Southwell et al., 2005).

At present, the identity of secondary school attendants is plural, diverse, with heterogeneous traits, sometimes quite different and seemingly irreconcilable (Greco, 2007). Besides, there are almost 3 out of 10 youths whose daily tasks detach them from schooling as their main activity. Whereas some of them combine education and work, others only develop a working activity, and some have dropped out of school and do not participate in the labor market (Miranda and Otero, 2010).

In this scenario, as at 2006, the National Education Law made secondary school compulsory. According to Puiggrós (2007), this sanction intends to place the focus of the reform on a crucial issue: it is not the same to think of a compulsory school and one that is not. This issue

Table 1. General features of secondary school in figures as of 2014.

Parameter	State	Private
Secondary school enrollment in Latin America	46,915,519	12,198,035
Number of secondary school students in Argentina	3,286,714	1,164,027
Number of secondary school graduates in Argentina	195,620	120,039
Secondary Schools in Argentina	7,917	3,841

Source: Compiled by author based on CIPPEC, DiNIECE, Ministerio de Educación and EPH - INDEC.

Table 2. Socio-educational characteristics of secondary school (percentages), in final 2000s.

Indicator	State	Private
Students living at homes with low educational climate	6.5%	0.7%
Economic level of the sector	58% of tertile with lower incomes	92% of tertile with higher incomes
Percentage of students aged 15 or over who work	16.1	6.5
Percentage of middle-level students with two years or more of lag for the course they attend	35.8	11.1
Percentage of students who have repeated	30.5	11.9
Rate of overage	42.3	18.3
Difference in the performance in science between state schools and private schools after eliminating "out-of-school socio-economic effects"	3%	

Source: Compiled by author based on CIPPEC, DiNIECE, Ministerio de Educación and EPH - INDEC.

forced the education system to think beyond vacancies, physical areas and equipments, to face a cultural change given that it was not until the beginning of the 21st century that secondary education was made available to every youth. Thus, compulsory secondary school is called to rethink their inclusion mechanisms, from what happens to youths that prefer non-schooling trajectories, to repeaters who have been qualified by assessment and accreditation systems that do not recognize their knowledge, to overage groups whose needs must be addressed by accelerated learning programs, and to those who demand for special school support due to particular working conditions or tasks at home, such as looking after their siblings or helping their parents.

In this context, some contributions (Tiramonti, 2011; Tedesco, 2010; De Luca, 2016) note that compulsory education resulted in the construction of different alternatives and the forcing of traditional institutions to include the varied social groups that incorporate to school (Tiramonti, 2011; Tedesco, 2010). In the first decade of 2000, secondary school "becomes unstrung." In the state sector, only 40% of the initial roll managed to survive in the system, whereas in the private sector, the percentage of survival was twice as much: the 2008 roll representing 80% of that registered in 2003. At the same time, seven out of ten students drop out of academic school and are first absorbed by formal adult education (usually delivered as evening classes), to finally get into the various proposals for completion of secondary studies effective since 2008. De Luca (2016) states that there is no certainty as regards the literacy of such youths and adolescents since they have not been evaluated by any official tests yet.

In this regard, as it can be observed in Table 1, although the state management sector keeps most of the roll at secondary school age, it is the private management sector that reveals a greater graduation rate in comparison to the state management sector. It is noteworthy that the data contained in Table 1 reflects traditional or academic secondary school (Jacinto, 2009) rates and does not include enrollment and graduation rates from proposals for completion of secondary studies (such as *Plan FinES*, at national level, or *CeSAJ* at the provincial level) nor from proposals of cooperative and civil society management (such as *Bachilleratos Populares*).

In this sense, and for these authors (Tiramonti, 2011; Tedesco, 2010; De Luca, 2016), it is the private management sector that would present ideal graduation trajectories, whereas the state sector achieves graduation by forcing or allowing the existence of alternative proposals to the unique and legitimate educational institutions whose qualifications are worthy. However, as it can be seen in Table 2, differences in educational quality between the state and private sectors disappear when considering only the effect of schools

and not the socioeconomic status of students (Rivas, 2007).

The average performance of private school students is higher than their state school counterparts, but that gap is predicted entirely by the students' social origin, the school social composition and the availability of resources in the institution. On equal terms, state and private schools would obtain similar results (Cervini, 2003). The PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) tests developed by the OECD for the Argentine case show that private school students have 21% superior performance than state school students (difference observed in the Operational Quality Assessment). However, when the "socio-economic effect" is removed, the disparity is reduced to 3%, a non significant statistical difference (Rivas, 2007, OREALC/UNESCO, 2008).

In this sense, this piece of research intends to participate in the debate about how educational private and state management headships comply with the education policy on social inclusion, in a context where attendance to secondary school is not a choice and socio-cultural inter/intra-institutional diversity is a fact.

THEORETICAL STARTING POINTS

I) Educational management types construct particular links between the institutional-organizational, curricular and community aspects of schooling.

Managing an educational institution involves the development of professional practices different from those carried out in other organizations (Antúnez, 2011). First, educational institutions are organizations that provide a universal service, sustained and prolonged over time, to which multiple actors are asked to attend. Second, the school is an institution where rights should be fulfilled and their exercise taught, just as they do with obligations.

The specificity of the educational institution involves the acknowledgement of the two aspects in which it unfolds (Poggi, 2001): on one hand, the substantive task of teaching and learning that takes place at schools, and implies a position as regards the cultural heritage and inter-generational links; and on the other hand, the training of citizens and building of social ties. Understanding educational institutions as made up of these dimensions aims, mainly, to deploy the various ways of analyzing the articulation of institutional-organizational, curricular and community aspects in educational management.

In this context, educational management practices operate daily in three dimensions (Gvirtz et al., 2011). Firstly, the didactic-pedagogical dimension in which management practices are aimed at improving educational practices within the school and leading the

organization's curricular process. Secondly, the socio-community dimension, in which headmasters recognize strategies not only to forge bonds between the school and the environment but also to manage the institution, build appropriate scenarios, and look for the feasibility and legitimacy of the management decisions. Finally, the technical-administrative dimension guarantees the legal order within the school.

Meanwhile, the public space includes the State as an important part of itself, but it goes far beyond (Follari, 2004). The State "mediates" in the domination of some sectors over others for the purpose of legitimizing it and, at the same time, making it plausible and socially tolerable. In that process, the State restrictedly "universalizes" certain rights, such as the free access to school. Meanwhile, the market accepts no right other than the gain of those who have the conditions to prevail in the relentless logic of competition.

Education Law No. 1420, enacted in 1884, defined that "public" management related to State management in so far as common academic education, whereas the Church and individuals belonged to the private sphere. When the bourgeoisie assumed power, it removed the Church from state education to legitimize its worldview through state instruction (Gadotti, 1993). That education was "popular" only in so far as it disciplined the popular sectors (goal of bourgeois formation) for them to have a slavish faith in the hegemonic social group and the State by assimilating its ideology, facilitating their conversion to a mass of labor serving the capitalist accumulation.

For Silveira (2016), the temptation to put the State apparatus at their service to remain in power is inherent in any government. All this has very direct consequences on the field of education. If governments were completely free to govern education, there would be a strong risk of putting this machinery in favor of their will to remain in power. These were the arguments that led precisely to the conversion of public education systems in large bureaucracies governed by general and rigid rules.

A person who receives formal education not only benefits themselves but the rest of society, becoming an employable and rational person who can fulfill the duties of a citizen. Thus, the generation of public goods occurs regardless of school type attendance. In 1993, on the basis of this argument, the sanction of the Federal Education Law established that all education is public and that it is a matter of management practices what distinguishes it into state or private (Karolinski, 2006; Feldfeber, 2003).

In these terms, when an institution belongs to the state management sphere, there are three basic aspects: The first is that its authorities are subject to political control, they respond to hierarchical authorities who act on behalf of all citizens (the Parliament, the Senate, the Ministry of Education, etc.). Secondly, officials of that institution integrate the public bureaucracy, understood in a broad sense that includes the central government, provincial

governments, the legislature and the judiciary, regulatory bodies and the like. Thirdly, the decision making and resource allocation processes are subject to the rules and control mechanisms of public administration, with some variants that may exist depending on country and sector of the State apparatus.

In the case of private educational management, the authorities are not accountable to state representatives (although usually regulated by them); they act on their own behalf: a board of directors, partners or shareholders meeting, a group of cooperative members or the members of a religious order. Officials are employees who carry out their duties under private law and decision-making and resource allocation are governed by such rules as well as effectiveness and efficiency criteria defined by the organization itself (Silveira, 2016).

For Gadotti (1993), it is necessary to break with the conception of state school because it privileges the rationalization, bureaucratization, social and technical division of labor and the fragmentation of knowledge. Instead, school specific role should not be the individual appropriation of knowledge, but the generation of an alternative knowledge linked to a new quality of life, aimed at strengthening class solidarity. This combination of efforts would lead to the so-called Popular State School to break the dichotomy between state and private school.

It is recognized that education is not self-exhausting, but rather links to society, to the question of the land, the foreign and national debt, unemployment, health, lack of transportation, living conditions, among others; hence the relevance to deprive the state of the control of the educational process, so that it is exercised by an organized civil society. In this process, state education can play an important role in building an effective popular sovereignty, articulating the pedagogical struggle with the social struggle, aimed at achieving the emancipation of society.

Following this line of thought, the National Education Law enacted in 2006, retains the assumption that all education is public and incorporates a third type of educational management: the cooperative and civil society management (Gennuso, 2004; Karolinski, 2006). This form of management departs from the pyramidal structure of schools, introducing a horizontal functioning where there is no headship but temporary organizations, and students participate of decisions in assembly spaces; management flexibility and debureaucratization better serve the needs of the respective populations; and finally, its autonomous nature allows its members to assume more power.

II) Each education policy raises a different relationship with educational management processes leading to their organizational structures.

Two main educative institutional structures are

recognized, on the one hand, the traditional structure of education bureaucracy and, on the other hand, the structure of education democracy. Both theoretical models are ideal types that would be placed on opposite ends of a continuum allowing for the analysis of different educational management practices.

The former, originated in the early Argentine education system, and currently in force, involves a bureaucratic organizational structure designed to promote social processes of discipline and control. In this model, schools are put under pressure to adopt and enforce all bureaucratic rationality in order to exercise control over a potentially rebellious youth. At the same time, in an effort to adapt, educational institutions ritualize their relations with the bureaucracy. Thus, processes are standardized resulting in irrelevant objectives for the institution and excessive hierarchical organization causes multiple and indeterminate institutional processes that hinder the search for solutions that suit each institutional reality (Oszlak, 1977; Bates, 1989; Weber; 1991).

In this regard, schools' educational management, or "management as fatality" (Duschatzky and Birgin, 2001) would be characterized as aiming to adjust educational reality to an "ought to" model, where trajectories are already defined. Thus, it would only be a matter of taking advantage of the benefits and controlling the risks. As a result, the headships' driven participation practices, namely authoritarian and administrative (Ball, 1989), would aim to control the flow of information within the organization, through standardized and regulated processes; debate suppression being the most direct means of control, intended to prevent subordinates' public expression.

An example of this model can be found in the initial stage of the Argentine education system as regards the conception of the student and the inspector. In order to access social life, the student was considered an object of discipline and control, whereas the inspector was the person in charge of ensuring that the education policy laid down in the Education Law be applied in the educational institutions. In this regard, schools' mission was reduced to the mechanical application of the laws.

The latter educative organizational structure sparks off when secondary education massification processes and the rapid growth of the education system appear as an opportunity to resignify and democratize the institutional structure. This second model is conceptualized as "education democracy" (Rothshild-Whitt, 1979; Bates, 1989) and is characterized by the recognition of the key role human action plays in triggering unique and creative responses to experience and the variety of local circumstances. Another key feature of this second model is that it advocates a re-politicization of the individual in order to achieve a domination-free autonomy.

In this regard, schools' educational management or "ethic management" (Duschatzky and Birgin, 2001) means being susceptible to the problem and not just
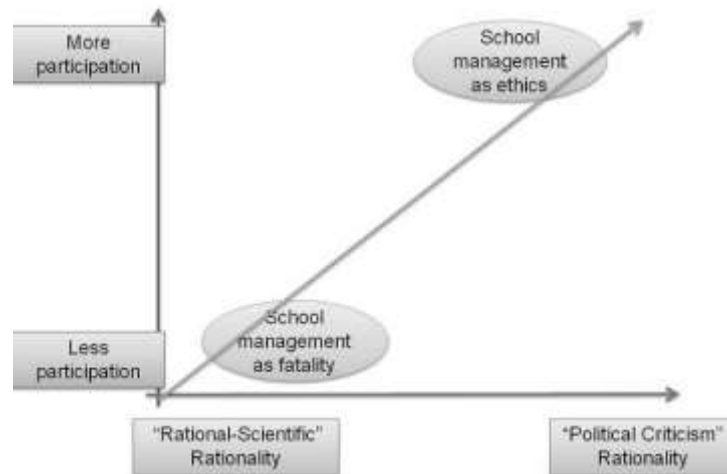
Figure 1. Different styles of educational management. Source: Compiled by author based on Ball (1989), Duschatzky and Birgin (2001) and Gairín (1996).

doing something about it, it involves changing positions and exceeding usual metrics of analysis. 'Conflicts invite to think about what goes beyond the learned image, the stereotype, the habitus (schemes learned about students, school, family, teachers) to address them from unusual perspectives' (Ibid., 146). It is not about importing or applying here what is defined there, but about doing of questioning the main feature of management practices (Frigerio, 2007).

An example of this second model can be recognized in some redefinitions of the education policy that gave rise to the National Education Law currently in force, as regards the individuals previously mentioned, the inspectors and the students. On one hand, the student is recognized as an individual endowed with rights and obligations, that is, as a citizen; and by recognizing their social lives, they are also recognized as individuals with trajectories, previous experience and knowledge that should be considered essential for the development of pedagogical proposals and decisions in educational institutions. On the other hand, the inspector is conceived as a social actor who advises and accompanies institutional decisions and practices in order to develop regulations, without losing sight of the problems, priorities and dynamics specific to each institution (Gvirtz and Podesta, 2009; DiNIECE, 2013).

Figure 1 summarizes the contributions of this theoretical line through which educational management practices may be analyzed from different perspectives, namely: 1) the approaches applied in order to understand the practice (Gairín, 1996; Poggi, 2001) which respond to the Habermasian rationalities that allow for the recognition of the assumptions upon which educational management practice is based; 2) the types of educational management (Duschatzky and Birgin, 2001) oriented to recognize two types of management in order to distinguish a world of institutional possibilities not necessarily compatible; 3) the forms of participation promoted by the educational management (Ball, 1989) in terms of the different headmasters' management styles that promote particular practices as regards the organization and participation of institutional actors in the adoption of policies and allocation of resources in the organization.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used is in line with socio-educational management studies oriented to analyze educational practices qualitatively from an institutional perspective.The research design falls within the category of comparative studies, its primary objective being to spot conceptual relations through analogy, also known as "pedagogical comparison" (Grosser, 1973). The study design is as follows:

• Subjects of comparison: the decisions and practices carried out by headmasters of state and private secondary schools in the city of La Plata.
• Time and place of comparison: the comparison is based on the answers offered by the headmasters of secondary schools in the city of La Plata at present, within the framework of an education policy aimed at strengthening social inclusion at secondary school through compulsory attendance.
• Type of comparison: descriptive; empirical results (Hartmann, 1980) undergo an evaluative interpretation. To do this, the characteristics of both management types are reconstructed and analyzed around the following

Tabla 3. Secondary schools by management sector and territory, 2014.

Secondary schools	State	Private
In Argentina	7,917	3,841
In Buenos Aires province	2,375	1,563
In La Plata	104	75
Schools that compose the sample – represented by the headmasters interviewed	16 (15%)	12 (15%)

Source: Compiled by author based on DiNIECE. Ministerio de Educación/SPU/The World Bank.

Table 4. General characteristics of the sample.

Management	Number of headmasters interviewed	Gender	Seniority in years	Education	Access to position	Number of students	Socio-economic sector
State	16	13% M 87% F	Between 2 and 10	16 with teaching training	16 by selection	Between 150 and 2000	Middle and low sectors
Private	12	70% M 30% F	Between 1 and 7	8 with teaching training/4 other profession	12 upon request	Between 140 and 500	Medium-low, medium and high sectors

criteria: I) the predominant tasks in the headmaster's agenda; the particular activities of the managerial function; II) school relationships with the community, parents and students; III) conflict management and decision-making processes.
• Sense of the comparison: synchronous; since it is horizontal and simultaneous between the management styles of secondary school headmasters, corresponding to two different management sectors: state and private.

Regarding the observation unit, Table 3 shows that in Argentina there are 7,917 state schools, 2,375 of which are located in the province of Buenos Aires and 104 in the city of La Plata. For its part, there are 3,841 private schools, 1,563 of which are located in the province of Buenos Aires and 75 in the city of La Plata. The sample used in the present study consists of 28 secondary schools' headmasters of the aforementioned city, who represent 15 to 30% of state management and 15% of private management of secondary educational institutions in the city of La Plata.

In Table 4, the main characteristics of the headmasters interviewed are shown.

As regards the analysis strategy, this piece of research follows a qualitative approach, understood as a set of practices and tools, which are not conceived as a "method" but rather as a particular way of organizing field experience and analytical work (Rockwell, 2009). Thus, the analysis strategy is content analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994), which includes categorization, fragmentation and coding of interviews data. The dimensions of analysis, observed in Table 5, were established prior to the beginning of this research study

and served as a basis for the design of a semi-structured interview[1].

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Characteristics of participation in the institutional processes

As Alonso poses (1995), consensus does not build community; in any case, it contributes to solve specific disagreements. The idea of community, based on a certain social homogeneity, legitimizes an order and the mechanisms of democratic participation, but eliminates heterogeneity, which neutralizes centrifugal or dissenting forces. Community is rather constituted as an organized diversity where pluralities, heterogeneity, order and disorder co-exist giving rise to a certain balance that allows that community to evolve. Frigerio *et al.* (1992) points out that conflict is inherent to each and every school, being part of its own dynamics. Hence, on the basis of the allocation of resources, schools' capacity to satisfy interests and the ways in which the differences have historically been settled, the headmasters will have more or less possibilities of generating a climate of cooperation towards the fulfillment of the school-society contract. In this context, Santos (2009) recognizes that a headmaster's primary dilemma is between their obligation

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[1] The interviews were conducted during the classes in charge of the author of the article, corresponding to the subject of Educational Management and Schools at the National University of La Plata.

Table 5. Dimensions of analysis in accordance with the theoretical concepts adopted.

Concept	Dimension
Participation	School relationships with the community, parents, students and staff
	Conflict management
	Decision-making processes
Rationality	Predominant tasks in the headmaster's agenda (taking into account the didactic-pedagogical, community and technical-administrative dimensions)
	Specific activities of the managerial function

Compiled by author based on Ball (1989), Duschatzky and Birgin (2001), Gairín (1996), and Gvirtz *et al.* (2011).

to exercise control and their interest in eliciting participation.

In this respect, it should be noted that school is not isolated. On the contrary, many of its activities are directly linked to those of other community actors. The headmaster is in this case a builder of networks (Gvirtz *et al.*, 2011) that enable the link between school and the actors that build it daily, such as teachers, students and parents. Table 6 shows the characteristics acquired by the participation processes according to state and private educational managements.

As regards the relationship between the school actors, in this case, the teachers and families, there is a trend that would indicate that the state management sector develops greater processes of participation than their private counterparts, given that families and teachers are key players in decision-making and agreement development:

> "Sometimes you need to step aside and let the teacher's leading role to grow; the teacher figure should be important, as well as that of the student, who may be doing well on a subject, or wins a tournament, whose trophy they bring to school, that is, continuously generating different spaces for them to be creative, take center stage, etc... This is how school identification is generated, feeling it as one's own." (Headmaster of state secondary school)

> "As regards parents, we always invite them to show them how the school works and how we organize after-school subjects, because the youngsters have to go home and then back to school. The school is permanently open." (Headmaster of state secondary school)

It seems that in private educational management, families and teachers would not play a fundamental role in the decision-making processes, which are probably handled by the organization leadership (headmasters, owners or the foundation). Regular meetings with teachers (90%) to inform decisions already made or to update some kind of information regarding curricular and institutional issues are seen as a distinctive feature. On the other hand, the main characteristic of the relationship with parents relates to their calling on any behavioral problem of their children (41%). The links are also developed individually, and to a lesser extent (25%), between each family and the headmaster according to specific queries of these families:

> "Conceptually, its object and creation [the Council of Coexistence] are perfectly clear, but its deployment does not seem to be operationally feasible. In practice, it is difficult to develop, since the Council hinders and puts off the resolution of minor daily issues while awaiting notification of Council meeting. For our part, it is constituted for the application of severe disciplinary measures or the treatment of serious situations. Sincerely, it has never been necessary to call a meeting." (Headmaster of private secondary school)

> "The meeting where we give the school report is an occasion to talk about these things [with the family]. Especially, if the student wants to stay in the school, they should align with school norms and change their behavior to receive the crumbs of goodness that can be given in a school like this. And if not, they will have to decide what to do outside of school, because I have to watch over the other students, since it is not only one student that is affected but the whole lot." (Headmaster of private secondary school)

For its part, the question of conflict is a constant feature when the managerial function is analyzed. Educational institutions have adopted different positions as regards constituent expressions of human life, such as conflict,

Table 6. Characteristics of institutional participation by educational management sector.

	Dimensions	State schools (%)	Private schools (%)
Relationship with teachers	Participation in decisions (and institutional arrangements)	50	0
	Through heads of department/institutional leaders	32	0
	Regular meetings	6	90
	Work organization hinders the development of a sense of belonging	6	0
	Through books of agreement	6	0
	Complex relationship due to lower-middle class origins	0	10
	Total	100	100
Relationship with parents	Participation in school decisions through institutional agreements	44	0
	Call on any issue	19	41
	Information given about all of the activities developed (lectures, workshops)	19	17
	Personal and informal relationship (spontaneous meetings)	6	25
	School is considered the sole responsible for children's education (some interviewees did not reply)	6	17
	Difficult relationship/not willing to listen/friends of students	6	0
	Total	100	100
Conflict management	Intervention of all the institutional actors (Consultative Council meetings with the Institutional Academic Council and the Council of Coexistence, made up by students)	82	0
	Resolution through strengthening of relationships	12	0
	Protocol	6	0
	Through conversations with the person involved, if behavior is not modified, disciplinary measures/admonitions are applied	0	100
	Total	100	100

Source: Compiled by author based on interviews conducted between 2011 and 2014.

which has been and will always be present in social ties. It is not about dissimilar experiences generated by changes of the time and updated general guidelines. Contrasts are expressed even during the same periods, dissimilar situations account for radically different conceptions that generate different conditions for the others, for that "other" that frequently belongs to a younger generation or has a lower educational trajectory, and before whom coexistence does not place us in a place of symmetry. These various ways of positioning, generate a space in which the other is visualized and received in a specific manner. The ways of looking at them, i.e., of conceiving them, opens certain doors and closes others (Southwell, 2012). In this regard, state and private educational management practices have quite distinct positions.

According to Table 6, and as regards state school headmasters, there is an important level of recognition of conflicts and the need to gather different voices and positions to achieve a reconciling synthesis to overcome the conflict situation It is an educational management practice where, according to Ball (1989), the existence of competing interests and ideologies in the school is recognized, and therefore, allowed to participate into the formal discussion and decision-making processes. That is, conflict is recognized as an inherent feature of institutional functioning, manifesting itself in the coexistence of different positions:

"There are always conflicts at school, they can be between students, between students and teachers, and between adults ... there are all kinds of conflicts. When something happens, the first thing we do is meeting with everyone involved, so that everybody can state their point of view. And after everyone has said what they had to say, we ask: How do we solve it? Because we have to live side by side with each other, we have no other choice. Then we either iron out the differences or agree to some minimal norms, a compromise, and we do it in writing." (Headship of state secondary school)

"That presence-based pedagogy is formative of youths since we provide spaces of contact with the students. There

is an overlapping of those worlds which occurs at school but we have to understand that for them the concept of violence and justice is absolutely different from ours. So, the question is how we can develop, build citizenship with students that belong to worlds where the concepts of freedom, justice, etc. have another value, totally different from ours." (Headmaster of state school)

On the other hand, as regards private school headmasters, conflict relates to behavioral problems or those practices that deviate from the norm, from the establishment. In these practices, there are rules according to which students' behaviors and learning are measured against their degree of deviation. Hence, the functionalist idea of "modeling" and disciplinary measures as a solution that reinforces the trajectories and pre-established behaviors:

> "Always and in principle, through dialogue, then, the Discipline Book is signed, and depending on the misconduct, they may be admonished, or eventually suspended depending on the seriousness of the case." (Headmaster of private school)

> "I spoke personally to each and every student and made a list of those who considered themselves responsible, and on the basis of such knowledge, I took the necessary measures." (Headmaster of private school)

> "And we must practice what we preach, taking each student as a unique human being, towards whom we have the enormous responsibility but also the incredible privilege of positively marking for the rest of their lives." (Headmaster of private school)

In this way, it is possible to recognize two main and different management styles between state private schools as regards conflict management. On the one hand, the actions carried out in private schools are aimed at complying with procedures and protocols that respond to a bureaucratic way of managing conflict that denotes an administrative type of management (Ball, 1989). The headmaster would be a chief executive that responds to a senior management and decision-making team, namely the school's owners or foundation.

On the other hand, state schools' attitude recognizes the complexity and diversity that characterizes school, it does not regard actions out of compliance but rather considers the singularities of the situation through a collectively constructed response; it does not pretend to homogenize, but to create the necessary conditions for differences to find their place.

Characteristics of the managerial role

The school management is a meeting point between the lines of the administrations' education policy and the realization of the school activity. The headship is the hard core of management, as articulator, negotiator and interlocutor between the central management and the school (Sverdlick, 2006). In the headship's articulation practice, a bureaucratic related knowledge oriented to organize resources rationally, maintain a legal order and apply rules at school is developed (Bates, 1989), as well as pedagogical and political knowledge oriented to lead the curricular process at school (Gvirtz *et al.*, 2011). Table 7 shows the main tasks and purpose of state and private educational management.

In the state management sector, the priorities of the managerial role are mainly oriented towards achieving social inclusion through strategies that involve and recognize the social processes undergone by students, whereas in the private management sector, the managerial role is mainly oriented towards maintaining behavioral patterns in line with the school purposes, achieved through control and monitoring.

In relation to the processes of social inclusion at secondary school, Puiggrós (2007) points out that the school must address the question of the large number of youths and adolescents who work and are already part of productive labor and those different causes that show lack of relation between school and work, and lead to dropping out of school. But at the same time, even if the situation were different or in relation to those who can continue studying, they must be trained as productive citizens, capable of enjoying creative work, reflecting on their historical and current social situations, and the plethora of positions that every youth and adolescent could reach studying. Most agenda priorities of state school headmasters (45%) are in this line. As the interviewees say:

> "Being a headmaster is currently a team work; a headmaster cannot be a headmaster if they do not work with other people; as it happens with learning, since being a headmaster entails a learning task. (...) It is the one who has to articulate everything that comes from the central management, everything that is due, to what can be and is intended to be done." (Headmaster of state school)

> "The first thing is that the service should

Table 7. Characteristics of the managerial role by management type (state and private).

	Dimensions	State schools (%)	Private schools (%)
Headmaster's role and agenda	Facilitate inclusion (strengthening ties, facilitating the training of pregnant students, making agreements with clubs and development centers, getting to know the students, asking teachers for activities to give when they are absent, starting with what students have, providing homework for those who miss classes for long periods)	45	0
	Coordination task (between what one counts on, what is intended and what can be done, making decisions between all instances of representation)	19	0
	Administrative tasks (organization of schedules, staff, supply teaching, demands from the central management)	12	25
	Reflect on the regulations and then apply them	12	0
	Pedagogical task (eg, building a pedagogical block, intelligent trajectories, breaking with gradualism)	6	0
	Social assistance	6	0
	Monitoring and surveillance to maintain order (handling of "behavioral patterns equality")	0	75
	Total	100	100

work every day and that service is to provide educational assistance to all the youth and adolescents; it is offering all the resources the school has up and running for the students to know them and receive them. Another priority is that they should learn something new every class, and if they do not, they have the right to complain to their teacher, their headmaster, their tutor. If they have a problem out of school that interferes with their learning, there is a department that helps them; they have the possibility of receiving additional assistance." (Headmaster of state school)

The tasks of 75% of the private school headmasters interviewed are oriented to reach a balance or normality manifested through the norms that prescribe how students and teachers should act; hence, management is oriented towards the control and supervision of situations and people (Gairín, 1996):

"I provide guidance and monitoring, I delegate (I do not "control" since I do not like the word), and I monitor the development, with absolute freedom and confidence in those that report to me." (Headmaster of state school)

"The headmaster is the one who should set a target, a direction, the goals of the school, as well as its operating guidelines. This role sets institutional goals, and indicates the steps that should be followed. It could be said that the most important capacities entailed are those of leadership, management, counseling and supervision in all the areas and for all the members of the educational community." (Headmaster of private school)

"For me, the current educational system does not educate, although it does provide a structure –we have the pastry, but we should add the filling to it. Then, the bibliography that is more appropriate for our educational project must be reviewed; and if I find a book or bibliography that I consider suitable, I try to hand it out to the teacher without being invasive so as to work with them reasonably about the correspondence between their practices and our worldview and our project." (Headmaster of private school)

Thus, on the one hand, the headship role of private schools is mainly characterized by the specialization of

labor, the division of competencies, regulations and hierarchical obedience relationships. This hierarchical system of responsibilities strips the individual of–or denies them–any responsibility for the actions that conform to the rules and interests of the organization, which in turn operate in the prevailing elites' interests (Bates, 1989).

On the other hand, the headship role of state schools is mainly a model of collective debate whose purpose is to provide people with the necessary resources through which their lives and the social system may change and increase the possibility of satisfying their needs (Álvarez and Varela, 2009).

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this research study not only demonstrate that disciplining and training citizens are not compatible educational goals, but also that state schools are oriented towards citizenship training and private schools to achieving discipline training.

In the first place, the different types of management present different institutional, organizational, curricular and social characteristics. On the one hand, state schools recognize the diversity in the characteristics of their students and do not intend to get rid of them. To this effect, agreements are developed and decisions are made in collaboration, considering emergencies and conflicts as they arise. In other words, public participation–of all school actors–is a feature of the type of management called "management as ethics."

On the other hand, the objective of private schools is oriented towards achieving the control of the students and their learning, through discipline and deletion of any conflict or issue that can deviate from the goals set. Control is a feature of the type of management called "management as fatality."

Secondly, different types of management have different organizational structures. On the one hand, state schools develop public debate practices and participation of all school actors, which constitutes a school organization oriented to the horizontality of relations. There are different institutional instances (the councils of coexistence or students centers) where each of the actors–teachers, headmasters, students, parents–is represented and the issues and conflicts are addressed and settled. Everyone can express their interests and points of view. This demonstrates a management that recognizes that everyone has something to contribute to the development of the school and to the resolution of conflicts. The recognition of the importance of all the actors is a characteristic of the organizational structure called "education democracy."

On the other hand, private schools develop practices aimed at preserving the institutional order and protecting the objectives defined by a group of people–the

foundation, the religious order or the headship team. The rest of the actors are hierarchically below this group and, as a consequence, they must obey and execute the decisions and directions set by this group. The authority of a minority group above the rest of the school actors is a characteristic of the pyramidal structure called "education bureaucracy."

Thirdly, what are the implications of these results for the achievement of compulsory secondary education in Argentina? The data demonstrate that the private sector has an important administrative efficiency that succeeds in applying rules and disciplinary measures for the reduction of times and the standardization of processes by means of expelling non compliant students who stray off the behavioral pattern set by the school, or avoiding the participation of different actors in decision-making and in the construction of agreements.

On the other hand, the reduction of times and standardization of processes is not a feature of state educational management. On the contrary, recognizing and addressing complexity takes time. The emphasis is rather placed on the social and cultural relevance of attending school to achieve a greater sense of belonging. For this reason, the collective construction of spaces and the joint coordination of decisions are resorted to, aimed at strengthening social inclusion.

Thus, the original value of this piece of research aims to overcome the quantitative discussion about how many students graduate from state or private schools, and what capacity each sector has to get students to finish the level. From this perspective, it has been demonstrated that the private sector has a higher graduation rate than the state sector. However, defining the success of state and private school management in terms of graduation rates is a definition that overlooks the question of the social quality of secondary school education processes: how to build citizenship at the school denying diversity? How to contribute to the common good if the conflict is not recognized as constituent of social relations? The question of social inclusion would not only be oriented towards how many students graduate, but to whom and why is secondary education being provided.

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