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Research Paper

Innovation, Exclusion, Segmentation and Educational Inequality

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Abstract: This work addresses the dynamics of changes in education in San Luis, its consequence of exclusion, segmentation and inequality in the framework of the discourses of innovation that have emerged from the Government of San Luis and at the same time examines the main socio-economic mobilizing factors of the province of San Luis present in the government management, some of which show fatigue and restrictions over thirty-nine years. Keywords: Innovation, inequality, segmentation, exclusion

1. Introducción

San Luis in Argentina, is a land of contrasts. It is a small province in the center of the country with a population of less than five hundred thousand inhabitants. In almost forty years, since 1983 with the renewal of democracy, after the cruel Military Dictatorship (1976-1983), the same party has governed. The brothers Rodríguez Saá Adolfo and Alberto have successively been governors with the Justicialist Party, building absolute power and progressively disciplining provincial legislators and judges, with strong control of the media.

The Peronist party became a powerful electoral machine that has produced a political and cultural hegemony in San Luis since December 1983, incorporating material resources from the provincial state in the elections and symbolic resources adopting narratives, myths and appropriating popular symbols. Personalisms feed on symbolic and emotional forms as a way to increase power or legitimize it. They co-opt symbols and create their narratives and myths favoring social domestication (Quiroga, 2021).

2. Political Personalism

The factors of emergence of political personalism in different latitudes in recent years correspond to various causes. Some of them are the crises of traditional political parties, the conception of politics as spectacle (Edelman, 1960), the development and rise of the media and social media or networks and their use as channels of exhibition and communication. politics. On the other hand, the lack of citizen interest in participating in public affairs, the construction of epic narratives and the use and appropriation of popular symbols linked to political identities have contributed to the emergence of

political personalism as a strategy for building power and management in government.

Populism and personalist action in politics creates symbols or takes advantage of existing ones that refer to identity or representative historical symbols, such as the veneration of heroes of their own history, create and guarantee collective identities that contribute to the identity of a province.

3.San Luis: Industrial and Technology Promotion

The Industrial Promotion Law made it possible for various companies with tax benefits to settle on San Luis soil since 1980. According to Wiñaski (1995, p. 90) "the decrees for the establishment of promotional companies were sold in San Luis. The only one of those interviewed who denied the sale of decrees is Governor Adolfo Rodríguez Saa himself." The journalist highlights that "the highest hierarchies of the General Tax Directorate (DGI) of Argentina pointed out that a fraud was perpetrated in San Luis that has the dimensions of the external debt" (Wiñaski, 1995, p. 91).

In 1983, Adolfo Rodríguez Saá won the provincial elections. The government led by the young Peronist leader reacted by managing the transfer of the enforcement authority from the federal to the provincial one. The Industrial Promotion that had benefited a few Argentine provinces, made possible the settlement of industries in the province. The Ministry of Industry was created to make the bureaucratic process more efficient and speed up filing. Governor Adolfo Rodríguez Saa discretionally promulgated authorization decrees and the result was impressive. Attracted by the considerable tax benefits, around 2,000 industries settled in San Luis in the 1980s. Industrial production, which in 1983 represented 16.2% of the bulk

of the provincial product, in 1990 was 63.4%.

The incipient and precarious industrialization of San Luis began around 1980, with the Industrial Promotion Regime that governed some of the country's provinces. The industrial regime established that the industries established in the provinces of La Rioja, Catamarca, San Luis and San Juan were exempt from paying income tax and value added tax. Law 22,021 was enacted in 1979 and only granted these benefits to the province of La Rioja. Then, between 1982 and 1983, the extension and validity of the fiscal promotion regime for Catamarca, San Luis and San Juan was sanctioned (Quiroga, 2018). The application of the law first corresponded to the national government and since 1983 to the government of the province of San Luis, and this fact helped to build the idea of a San Luis with "full employment" and the political use in management.

The offer of employment in San Luis was attractive due to the stagnation and recurrent economic crises that Argentina was experiencing in that period and allowed new settlers to arrive in search of employment in San Luis. On the other hand, employees of the public administration of San Luis, teachers, police officers and doctors, among others, received meager salaries that were always paid on time to guarantee "social peace", as the government advocated.

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that were always paid on time to guarantee "social peace", as the government advocated. Public education was on the way to privatization with the birth of self-managed schools that "de facto meant the beginning of teacher labor flexibility because since then the State no longer hires teachers and professors with stability, but rather they are taken through garbage contracts by private associations or by the University of La Punta" (Heredia, 2019, p.473).

3.1 Technology

The incorporation of technology was taken as a state policy at the provincial level. The San Luis Digital strategic plan was pioneering in Argentina and received advice from the Canadian government. Subsequently, projects were developed such as the creation of the Information Highway, a provincial broadband telecommunications network, and its Data Center, an operations and monitoring center for the Highway, the La Punta Information Park, so that information technology companies' technology could be installed and developed in San Luis.

4. San Luis Schools

According to Corti, Godino and Montiveros (2015), the concern for educational inclusion is heir to a profound process of educational fragmentation experienced in Argentina in recent decades. In this time, educational plans and programs offered as educational alternatives outside the formal school system have proliferated. The rise of dictatorial governments and the expansion of neoliberalism in the 1990s is considered a key time in which the fragmentation of the National Educational System begins to deepen, causing a process of educational exclusion and failed attempts to re-enter the excluded populations. to the school system.

In 2011, the Digital Free Public School was established in San Luis with some criticism, with strong financial support from the provincial state, to the detriment of traditional schools. Previously, the provincial government had developed the Self-managed Schools project that it had acquired from the State and Society Foundation of the liberal economist Miguel Broda. This type of school emerged in San Luis under the name of "Schools 2001", in a Bill presented by the Executive to the Legislature in April 1999 and which, due to the resistance carried out by teachers, parents and students, did not could be punished. They were finally approved by Decree No. 2562 of the Executive Power, in August of the same year, under the name of Self-Managed Experimental Schools (Pelayes, 2011, p.5).

In the case of San Luis, the appearance of educational policies that sought inclusion, as one of the essential flags of his speech, understood that the differentiation of school devices was the strategy to expand the inclusive capacity of the system (Corti, Godino, Montiveros, 2015), of populations excluded from the school system and to produce higher quality proposals associated with innovation.

This segmentation of the school system occurred with the creation of "new school formats", which coexisted with ordinary schools. They are the Self-managed Public Schools and the Digital Public Schools. Although both school formats arise in different historical periods, as indicated by Corti, Godino and Montiveros (2015) with different political historical situations, namely, the Self-Managed Schools at the end of the 90s and the Digital Public Schools in the year 2011, its creation is part of the official discourse, in the need to create institutions that are capable of adapting to the new times.

One of the new school formats that are produced in the educational map of the province, are the Self-managed Experimental Schools. The modality of these schools is adopted from the so-called charter schools, a North American school model (USA), which is mainly characterized by having fewer regulations by the state.

Since 1999, different initiatives of the Provincial Executive have been observed for its creation (Corti, Godino, Montiveros, 2015). The first attempt was through a Bill, called "Schools 2001", presented to the Legislature in April 1999, but due to resistance from teachers and parents, it was not finally approved. Its creation was established through two Executive Decrees: 2562 (99) and 2342 (02). Already in the year 2004 the Legislature ends up sanctioning the Law that gives them a framework and regulates (5692).

This Law enabled the Government of the Province to create new schools under this modality through the reconversion of existing common schools, whose incorporation should have been carried out through a public call. The concession is granted to Educational Associations, non-profit civil associations. These generally "government-friendly" associations were responsible for organizing the pedagogical project, managing the institution, the results obtained, and financial administration.

The financing is guaranteed by the State and for this an allocation per student USE (School Subsidy Unit) is determined, which is delivered monthly to the institution. The basic USE corresponding to the provision of the minimum required hours varies according to the educational level, the area established for each establishment and the provision or not of the building by the State (Pelayes, 2011, p.5).

5. The New Education in San Luis

The provincial education law establishes compulsory education at the initial and primary levels, without stipulating in any article that it be free. It points out the right of free choice of the family of the educational establishment for their children and expresses that equal opportunities can only be guaranteed with the contribution of different sectors of the community. In the chapter on financing included articles that point to "shared financing" and even self-financing.

In the educational field, initiatives were sought to achieve levels of excellence in education, creating "digital" and generative schools for groups of people related to the government who formed educational associations that received a good amount of public funds to the detriment of traditional schools. Teachers have historically been discriminated against in San Luis by successive provincial governments, educators earn very little, just like teachers throughout the country and educational projects that sought to improve education without the participation of teachers in all cases, ended up segmenting and fragmenting educational services.

On October 6, 2010, the Chamber of Deputies of the province of San Luis granted half sanction to the Digital Public School Law Project (EPD); Finally, on November 17 of the current year, it became the first Educational Law of the province (Corti, Godino and Montiveros, 2014). The new types of schools arise in a context of marked conflict, between the teaching sectors, unions and the provincial government, based on old claims, which were never resolved, about the conditions of teaching work, that is, about decent wages, stability, charge coverage.

In San Luis, the Project of the Experimental or Self-managed Schools

of the Province of San Luis emerged within the framework of a process of educational transformation, carried out without the participation of teachers and the policies developed in recent decades in Argentina, they have been guided by discourses and practices tending to legitimize a new economic, social, political, cultural and educational model (Feldfeber, 2003). The Experimental Schools Project in the Province of San Luis was inspired by the model of charter schools in the United States, and the Government of the Province presented it as a pioneering case at the regional level. The Experimental Schools of San Luis have been characterized from official expressions as non-state public organizations. These hybrid organizations (Quiroga, 2021) arise in response to the crisis of the bureaucratic social model of the State and the requirements of a more efficient public administration in the context of globalization (Bresser Pereira, 1998). They are organizations that are situated in a context of opacity between the State and the market, and on many occasions the teachers of these schools have wondered if they are employees of the State or non-governmental organizations that administer these schools. Teachers have always received the salary increases granted by the provincial government, and in many years, the services of the government's social work "Dosep", without being common state employees.

Educational associations must provide "quality education" in the establishments they administer based on the sustained increase in student learning and skills. These organizations to administer the schools had to develop an Institutional Educational Project (PEI) in order to propose lines of action and the objectives to be achieved. The PEI is the main instrument that the Ministry of Government and Education

of San Luis uses to supervise the achievement of the standards set for students. The authorization to operate was given for five years and is considered cause for revocation of the authorization to operate, the continuity of unsatisfactory results in the performance of the students, as well as the improper use of the funds received. The first cause could be an incentive for the probable makeup of data on student performance of these schools, under the pressure of what it would mean that they cease to function and the loss of employment of the teachers who work in the establishment.

Self-managed schools can invest up to 85% in salaries and the rest in training, equipment and consumables. Teachers - according to the legislation - who choose to work in these schools stop depending on the state (which constitutes a privatization of public education) to become employees of the Educational Associations that enjoy the freedom to establish the labor regime and the salaries that may not be lower, nor higher, in more than fifty percent of the rest of common public schools.

Feldfeber (2003) highlights that the official discourse on these schools equates self-management with autonomy, at the same time that innovation is presented as a synonym for quality improvement. This assumption is wrong to think that innovation can, by itself, improve the so-called "educational quality. The autonomy of teachers is also limited in that not all of them can participate effectively in the decisions of the Educational Associations and the definition of the projects that guide the work of the schools. Contreras (1997) has wondered if the appeal to the autonomy of teachers constitutes an element to enhance their professional work or only constitutes an official strategy to make teachers believe that

they have the working conditions and are solely responsible for the results they achieve. students get.

The governmental - official - discourse equates self-management with autonomy and innovation with quality improvement. But it's not the same. Teachers' autonomy is limited insofar as not all of them can participate effectively in educational associations and in the definition of projects that guide the work of these schools. There are almost no examples of teacher participation in the construction of these school projects. More than anything, it seems like an official strategy to make the teacher believe that he owns the working conditions and is solely responsible for the results of the students. This means a very heavy burden for educators.

Values linked to social democratization do not appear at the center of these proposals and when they are incorporated, they are associated with the "efficiency discourse" on management and the new modes of management that are closer to the business world. The model adopted over the years has exposed various cracks such as the labor flexibility of teachers and the privatization of education.

The state, without abandoning responsibility to what is called the educational system – state the official speeches – transfers responsibilities, attributions and resources to citizen associations. Now, what interests exist in the private sphere that led individuals to form an association and participate in the bidding for a project?

The government and the State and Society Foundation selected the first projects that they awarded to associations made up of groups of people that we could characterize as "friendly" with the provincial

government. Most of these associations formed without any experience in managing educational organizations and people with little academic background. In addition, as Feldfeber (2003) points out, the values linked to social democratization do not appear as the center of this proposal and are associated with the efficiencyist discourse on management and the new modes of management that are closer to the business world than to the political field aimed at guaranteeing the realization of the rights of citizens. Finally, it is highlighted that despite the fact that schools have autonomy to manage funds, their financing depends on the number of students, and this could become an element that threatens quality in relation to the permanence of students, favoring or not the survival of the school or promoting competition between them.

5.1 Intervention of the Teacher Training Institute of Villa Mercedes

In August 2022, the provincial government appointed Adriana Bazzano as normalizing delegate to manage the Teacher Training Institute of the city of Villa Mercedes, which according to its internal authorities was operating normally.

The image shows a sign at the entrance that expresses student rejection in the year 2022, to the intervention of the Provincial Government to a State Teacher Training Institute, without a clear reason. The educational body continued to carry out its activities with apparent normality. The attitude of intervention of the provincial government in this teacher training institute, budget abandoned by the provincial government itself, is not understood. This institute is based in the city of Villa Mercedes, San Luis.



Image of the IFDC of Villa Mercedes

5.2 Generative Schools

The Generative Schools Project was sanctioned by the Provincial Legislature through Law No. II-1011 of the year 2019. The educational system known as the innovative pedagogical project "generative school" is created within the framework of Law No. II-0035-2004. The guidelines that characterize it are that these schools are public and free, socially managed (an association made up of citizens "friends" of the provincial government administers it, is non-graduated and favors the freedom of students, taking them as the center of the learning process as the educational norms establish.

These schools carry out their activity in non-formal education spaces that begin to play a role in formal education such as clubs, dance academies, government spaces linked to culture, art and sports. These spaces are not comfortable for a school, because they have not been built for that purpose. In such a way that, when using them, the association that administers them must readjust them to use them for educational purposes, which firstly raises an investment with this objective.

It is also suggested that this organization must develop a contextualized institutional educational project that must have a trigger axis

such as sports, dance, communication, the environment, music, theater, computing, science, as if traditional schools almost abandoned by the provincial administration they did not have.

As usual, the school grants official titles with national validity, complying with all regulatory and administrative requirements. Like other schools, it proposes new designs for learning spaces, encourages new modes of social interaction and use of time, and should form something that should be normal in all schools, teams of teachers/coordinators with horizontal and participatory dynamics, which the very bureaucratic organization of provincial education, instead of encouraging, prevents.

You must work in groups made up of up to twenty students with a teacher in charge who becomes your tutor throughout your school career. This is the new. A teacher who begins with a group and ends with that group. The text of the law does not clarify the background of this idea and what would be the probable benefits of this form of educational management of the group.

As should happen in each school, the generative ones must develop their own evaluation devices based on the innovative educational project. In

practice, each school, based on its group of teachers, develops evaluation guidelines in line with provincial provisions. And as it happens in all educational establishments, it establishes its coexistence agreements from a collective and democratic work. However, the rules that regulate the teaching activity such as the Teaching Statute itself, a true "bible" for education workers, must be subject to changes in some aspects that bring the work of educators closer to the new context of the knowledge society. . The changes that may possibly occur must have the consensus of the majority of teachers and a government that draws clear agendas and is truly interested in the education of citizens.

The Generative School as an innovative pedagogical project, can cover all the compulsory levels of the Provincial Educational System -Initial, Primary and Secondary-, as well as the modalities of: Technical-Professional Education, Artistic Education, Special Education, Permanent Education of Youth and Adults, Rural Education, Bilingual Intercultural Education, Education in Contexts of Deprivation of Liberty and Home and Hospital Education. In educational establishments, the innovative educational project is decided by the teaching community, not by law. Innovative educational practices usually emerge from the freedom of teachers to produce them and from the fact that they receive adequate remuneration for their services. But, the teachers are poor in San Luis and in Argentina.

The provincial state also financially supports denominational schools through subsidy funds, and does not do so with schools run by non-governmental organizations, which are not religious.

The Generative School as a pedagogical project of social management can be

implemented by legal entities such as social organizations, foundations, non-profit civil associations, non-governmental organizations and sports clubs, says art. 4 of the law. However, it is the teaching communities that, in freedom and based on the provincial educational project, can choose and build an innovative educational project. The Application Authority evaluates the Generative Institutional Educational Project, which must be approved for the opening of a Generative School based on the established procedures and requirements. The Generative Institutional Educational Project must address minimum contents within the framework of current regulations for the accreditation, mobility, promotion and graduation of students.

Once the Generative Institutional Educational Project has been approved by the Enforcement Authority, the Generative School will be created and awarded to the interested legal person by Decree of the Provincial Executive Power. The Application Authority will supervise the implementation of the Generative Institutional Educational Project and, in addition, must guarantee compliance with the administrative, formal and legal requirements established for all the institutions of the Provincial Educational System, to ensure the granting of official titles with national validity for their students.

The law establishes that the State may revoke the award of management to the legal person, once breaches have been verified through pedagogical and accounting audits, guaranteeing the continuity of the pedagogical project. The State will also guarantee the economic contribution to solve the material needs that are not of a structural nature, in order to ensure minimum standards that allow the development of the activities inherent to the innovative pedagogical project.

The professional profiles called to form part of the Generative School must have a teaching degree or qualification, as provided by law. It is striking in the curriculum of these schools, the almost absence of social subjects and democratic and civic education.

The main strategy to include the school populations in Argentina and the countries of the region have been the policies of universalization of basic schooling and of focusing policies on the "effects of exclusion", that is, on the illiterate, on the one who dropped out of school, etc.

These strategies, which, in Argentina and specifically in the province of San Luis, materialize in plans and programs "to finish studies" in limited periods, and in the creation of new school formats, favor educational segmentation (Corti, Godino, Montiveros, 2015). Segmentation refers to the existence of different circuits through which students go, depending on the socio-economic and socio-educational level of the social groups to which they belong. A segmented system establishes the presence of a field differentiated by segments integrated into a whole, with positions relative to actors and institutions that made them recognizable.

Educational segmentation caused in a short period of time the fragmentation of the educational system. The school as a social institution is challenged by new demands, mandates, challenges and the exclusion that includes groups in circuits of social relationships and access to non-hierarchical material and symbolic exchange goods and that behind the illusion of "Inclusion" of the themselves, makes invisible the effect of exclusion and inequality. It is estimated that more than ten thousand students dropped out of school between the years 2020 and 2022.

6. Internet

The computerization of the State, the control of meteorological data, implementation of free Wi-Fi connection in the entire territory through antennas and fiber optics, among many others, with advances and setbacks, was also carried out. In 2022, there are still a good number of schools and educational organizations without Internet connection.

Since 2011, the Provincial Constitution includes a new Human Right: the right to Digital Inclusion, the first human right of the digital age.

The provincial government assures that, for the first time in the history of the Argentine Republic, a state in the center of the country, it took new technologies as a necessity of the State, for which a set of policies, strategies and actions were generated that made digitization a priority issue. San Luis was the first province with a public policy for the new information society and could have developed government policies that would make state management and the evolution of government spending transparent, but it was not. The governor of San Luis Alberto Rodríguez Saá showed few signs of republican austerity by excessively increasing reserved expenses, which are funds that are not surrendered to the administration. He came to have in a period of five years, fifteen million dollars of reserved expenses.

According to government officials, it is assured that the strategic vision regarding the scientific and technological revolution would have changed the lives of the inhabitants. In San Luis where progress was made in providing free connectivity to all inhabitants and much remains to be done. It was included in its Constitution as a right, to digital inclusion.

San Luis became the first province in Argentina with strong digitization. A

place where free Wi-Fi connectivity has advanced and proposals have been created in education, public services, research and industry that incorporate new technologies into everyday life. However, much remains to be done in education. Teachers' salaries are low, teacher training is insufficient, school infrastructure is poor, and there is still a lack of connectivity in some schools. Currently, knowledge is the key factor that allows the transformation of inputs into goods and services in added value. It is at this point where technology begins to play: in access to information. Through the use of new technologies, governments can resolve the issue of the opacity of their management and provide accurate and adequate information to citizens about the destination of public funds.

7. Strategic Plan of San Luis

The provincial government drew up a Strategic Plan in the 1990s, organized into six provincial axes. The infrastructure that sought to increase and maintain updated connectivity throughout the territory of the province. The Government that intended to improve the services provided by the state by digitizing procedures, allowing inhabitants to carry out procedures online and guaranteeing transparency. The experience over the years is that there has been less transparency and more opacity of government actions. The production processes that aim to promote the incorporation of information technologies to companies, both in production and management. In recent years, more than twenty thousand jobs have been lost in the industry, which demonstrates the ineffectiveness of the public policies adopted.

7.1 San Luis Programs

The province of San Luis has centralized its self-management options

in the following areas: technology, legal framework, connectivity.

Technological focused on developing the software industry itself, making the province an attractive place for investment in this area, with facilities for the establishment of knowledge companies and training of human capital. A legal framework formalized with the idea of providing the legal norms and conditions for the implementation of the vast digital agenda of the province. Connectivity is the ability of people to connect to the Internet. Ensuring that all citizens of a province have free internet access is an effort not only in budget for a Provincial State, but also in development, engineering, hardware implementation, logistics, development of computer solutions, among many other aspects.

The agenda of this Plan was much broader than mere connection and the attempt to involve all sectors of society and take advantage of Internet access in all aspects of life in society. The government always made decisions on its own, without consulting the neighbors. There are several examples of this methodology, one of them was the La Pedrera Complex Project, which Governor Alberto Rodríguez Saá himself came up with and there was no consultation with the people. This way of proceeding has in some respects characterized the provincial government as an autocracy.

Some of the Programs that were carried out in San Luis (Tomasevich, 2017) are the following:

- The electronic Government linked to the digital expressions of the government. Despite the promotion of modernization to optimize processes, provide new and better services, no democratically agreed state policies were generated with the

political opposition, and there was little government transparency of government acts. Taxes were increased in the years 2020-2022, instead of lowering and decreasing them. The lack of statistics and reliable information, on the one hand, means that citizens do not know how the government manages, and on the other hand, the government itself sees its management hampered, by running the state, without data, without information.

- A citizen has the right to access Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and their appropriation, to develop digital skills, to access information online in a safe, transparent and private way, as well as to participate through media technological, as advocated in a digital citizenship. With this idea, the use of ICTs for digital literacy and development of digital skills involving teachers, students and institutions and access and participation is essential, shortening the digital divide, the right of access to the Internet for an electronic democracy. A particularly relevant trend on the rise is the linking of education for responsible cyber citizenship with the prevention of ICT risks.
- The Electronic Provincial Identity Card (CIPE) that allowed the physical identification, the digital identification of its holder and the digital signature, incorporating an electronic chip that contains the basic information to electronically prove the identity of its holder and the signing of electronic documents with full legal validity.
- The creation of the Digital School that aims to change structural paradigms of education, -in a descriptive way-and that it contributed to generate, like other educational projects, a progressive inequality and growing educational segmentation. The first inequality is the one established with the volume of public funds received by schools with new school formats and common ones.
- The Program “Todos los chicos en la Red” (All the boys in the network) were a provincial predecessor of the “Conectar la Igualdad” (Connect Equality Program of the National State), by which computers were delivered to primary school students. As experience has shown, innovation per se, or the mere provision of computers and the sole use of technology, does not improve education or its quality. There is a lack of professional teachers, highly trained, prepared with good salaries.
- The Puntano Portal is used to make complaints in Defense of the Consumer, access to taxes and debt status, consultation of wafers of the Real Estate Registry, and enter notes at the entrance tables of all the ministries, always through the use of the identification card. (CIPE) that allows the digital signature.
- The Virtual Police Station allows the citizen to carry out police procedures online, such as certificates of residence, stay,

- survival, loss, background, exposure and complaint.
- The MOOC is an Open Educational Platform of San Luis. It is an online platform for distance education, which enables access to various courses and training for all the inhabitants of San Luis. Despite the existence of this device, it is recognized that teacher training and updating have other urgencies and other unmet demands.
 - The Puntana Alarm plan, which is a tool that allows citizens to issue a direct alarm to the 911 platform to notify the Police, request an ambulance, report a fire or accident, or report an act of violence or bullying.

In San Luis, the volume of public works carried out under a centralist management of the provincial state stands out, where the Municipal Mayors have the option of adhering or not to what the central government proposes. The public works of San Luis stand out for being of low quality and developed by few companies that the government hires.

Today, San Luis society suffers from 47.8% of the poor, the provincial state has grown enormously and has stopped providing adequate services to the needs of citizens in a significant proportion.

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