RE-READING THE STRUGGLES OVER EDUCATION POLICIES IN CHILE: 1964-1973

Paula Mena

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Declaration

I, Paula Mena, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis

Abstract

This thesis looks at the struggles over education policies in Chile between 1964 and 1973; that is, the period immediately before the authoritarian regime of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). Contrary to common assumptions that the dictatorship completely redefined the symbolic and practical dimensions of education policies, I offer a re-reading of policy developments as discursive struggles that exhibit both continuities and discontinuities. I do so by looking at records of and accounts about education policies during a decade that was particularly rich in the production of new vocabularies, rhetorical devices, forms of protest, utopias and technologies. I adopt a broadly Foucauldian perspective so that historical changes in policies are not understood as a mere chronology of crucial events that trigger spectacular transformations. Rather, I research a period that was full of episodes of open unrest without however overlooking those trivial routines that persisted in the background. This thesis delivers three empirical products: Firstly, it produces a historical background of education developments in Chile. This is a synthesis of the aspects that are problematized in the secondary literature and by policy experts that I interviewed in 2010 and 2011. Secondly, I offer a reinterpretation of a specific education policy controversy at the time as an instance of discursive struggle. In order to do so, I carried out a documentary analysis of the transcripts of the sessions of the National Council of Education that was issued by President Salvador Allende's Government in 1973. Thirdly, I provide an interpretation of the narratives of nine teachers about the decade 1964-1973 in terms of the biographical struggles they configure. These data come from individual interviews with retired teachers that I carried out in 2012 and 2013. Each part of the thesis conveys distinctive ways of historicizing the struggles over education policies.

Statement of Impact

The fundamental question that orients my research is *how discourses from and about a circumscribed past – the decade between 1964 and 1973 – inform the historical nature of struggles over education policies in Chile.* My empirical work contributes to the identification of key dimensions of these struggles that have hitherto been overlooked by the literature, in a context where most of the contemporary discussion focuses on the long term consequences of the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1990) regarding education policies*.*

A first form of impact of my thesis is that it makes available a method to inquire into policy struggles in general, not only in the field of education. I sought to highlight a socio-historic perspective that allows for the *problematization of those normalized discourses* that have become central in a given field of policy. Another particularity of this method is that it combines different kinds of data-sources without the aim of triangulating them. My thesis embraces the challenge of establishing a dialogue between different kinds of results without seeking to provide a unified account at the end. I also offer a reinterpretation of a specific school policy controversy – the ENU – as a particularly important instance of discursive struggle. I carried out a documentary analysis of the transcripts of the sessions of the National Congress of Education. Potentially, this kind of examination of minutes and transcripts of meeting is perfectly applicable to the study of other historical processes. In the case of Chile at least, minutes of this kind are available for all kinds of official commissions and working groups, both past and present, and in all fields of policy. They are an invaluable source of data that has not been fully explored yet.

Finally, my thesis has the potential for impact in the realm of public discussion. Education policies in general, and the public or private nature of education provision in particular, have been at the centre of attention in Chile for the past decade. The main coordinates within which these debates take place – for instance, the legitimacy of for profit organisations acting as education providers or the universality of free higher education – are still very much informed by structural trends that in the case of Chile were first constituted during the

period I study in my thesis. The ability of the state to deliver education outcomes, the internal differences within private providers of education (e.g. for profit organisations vs. the Catholic Church), institutional diversity and autonomy as key values within the education field, have all remained among the most contentious topics for the past fifty years. The shape of current debates is very much informed by the trends that I uncover here.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

CCP: Chilean Communist Party

CEPAL: Economic Commission for Latin America

CD: Christian Democratic Party

CONICYT: National Commission for Science and Technology

CORFO: National Corporation for Industrial Development

CPEIP: Centre for Pedagogic Training, Experimentation and Research

CSP: Chilean Socialist Party

CUT: National Union of Workers

CUV: Catholic University of Valparaiso

DDS: Democratization Decree of Schools

DSCG: Democratic Statute of Constitutional Guaranties

ENU: The National Unified School

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization (United Nations).

FECH: Federation of Students University of Chile

FEDECH: Federation of Chilean Teachers

FESES: Federation of Secondary School Students

FEUC: Federation of students of Catholic University (Santiago)

FIDE: Federation of Private Schools

JUNAEB: National Board of Schooling Assistance

JUNJI: National Board of Early Years Education

LOCE: Organic Constitutional Law of Education

LGE: General Law of Education

MAPU: National Popular Action Movement

NCE: National Council of Education

OEA: Organization of American States

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

OIT: International Labor Organization

PAA: Academic Aptitude Test

PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment

PU: Popular Unity

PUBP: Basic Programme of Government of Popular Unity

SIMCE: System of Education Quality Measurement

SUTE: National Union of Education Workers.

TIMSS: Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

Names

Alejandro Ríos Valdivia. 2nd Minister of Education for Salvador Allende.

Aníbal Palma. 3rd Minister of Education for Salvador Allende.

Carlos Ibáñez del Campo. President of Chile for two terms (1927-1931, 1952-1958).

Eduardo Frei-Montalva. President of Chile (1964-1970).

Gabriela Mistral. Teacher and poet. Nobel Prize for Literature in 1945.

Gonzalo Vial. Conservative historian, editorialist. Minister of Education for Augusto Pinochet.

Jorge Alessandri. President of Chile (1958-1964). He was also runner up to Salvador Allende in the 1970 presidential election.

Jorge Tapia. 4th Minister of Education for Salvador Allende.

Juan Antonio Ríos. President of Chile (1942-1946).

Mario Astorga. 1st Minister of Education for Salvador Allende.

Mario Leyton. Head of the Centre for Pedagogic Training, Experimentation and Research (1967-1973). Christian Democrat.

Oscar Vera. President of the Commission for Integral Planning of Chilean Education (1962-1964).

Patricio Cariola. Jesuit Priest, President of the Federation of Private Schools (1965-1970).

Radomiro Tomic. Candidate to the presidency of Chile in 1970 for the Christian Democrats.

Raúl Silva Henríquez. Archbishop of Santiago (1961-1983).

Rodrigo Vera. Member of the MAPU. Education Expert.

Salvador Allende Gossens. President of Chile (1970-1973).

Chapter 1. Context of justification and research question

In Chile, most public services like health, pensions, water and education are made available to the population under the principle of subsidiarity. There is one dominant notion of subsidiarity that underpins the text of the National Constitution regarding the regulation of economic affairs (Articles 1st, 3rd and 19th, *Constitucion Politica de la Republica de Chile*, 1980s). The Constitution consecrates the economic freedom, the protection of private property and explicitly limits the state partaking in the provision of goods and services. Furthermore, according to the dominant interpretation of the Constitution, the state must refrain from intervening in those spheres of social life that are already run by private providers and should not participate of the property of any enterprise (Larroulet, 2000; Taylor, 2004). As a consequence, those who can pay for a private provision will do so, whereas pauperized state services look after the needs of those who cannot afford extra fees (Taylor, 2004; Guardia, 2015).

This approach to public policy is especially relevant in the education field (Jofré, 1988).[1] In fact, twenty-five years of democratic governments, between 1990 and 2015, have not modified substantially the role given to private providers and families in the running of the education system. During this period, private schools and higher education institutions have outnumbered state institutions, their representatives have gained increasing influence in the definition of educational policies and the financial contribution from households under the form of fees has also increased (Cox, 2005; Bayer and Velasco, 2010). All of this, while the state spends considerably more on education than Pinochet (Cox, 2005).

Historically, the Chilean state has always provided funding to *some* private schools and universities. This means that the publicly funded sector includes

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[1] The main areas that are excluded from this principle of subsidiarity are national defence, public order and the administration of justice (Guardia, 2015).

not only state schools – which since 1985 depend from local rather than national authorities – but also a wide range of private providers. Both kinds of institutions are financed under a scheme of 'subventions'; that is, a subsidy to the demand that sets an amount per pupil so that the more students attend a particular school, the more resources are allocated to it. What happened during the Pinochet dictatorship in the 1980s is that, alongside the decentralization of state schools (the so-called process of *municipalization*), the regime lowered the entry requirements for private providers at school and higher education levels (Cox, 2005).[2] In 1982, 24% of Chilean students attended a private school. Today, 64% of school students go to private schools, most of which are state funded (Ministerio de Educación, 2003, 2015).[3] In addition, only 58% of private schools that receive support from the state are free of fees (Ministerio de Educación, 2015).

Higher education policies in the last four decades have not escaped the effects of this mutation. First, the state increasingly retreated into the role of a spectator of private interchanges; for instance, in the case of technical education at tertiary level, *all* providers are private since the state does not own a single institution. Second, and similar to schooling, universities owned by the state must compete with private providers that also receive public subsidies: they have to fight the threats of insolvency and debt. In this context, the government promoted and eventually required the institutions it owns to adopt managerial practices akin to those of private firms. Third, after it had externalized many of its functions, the state was compelled to purchase back some services from private providers. For instance, the Chilean government buys credit from private banks in order to sustain a system of student loans, while it systematically injects money into those banks in order to keep interest rates relatively low (Kremerman, 2005; Atria, 2007; Kremerman, Páez and Sáez, 2017). The state has become the *guardian* of the free market

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[2] Municipalities are the name of local governments in Chile. The reform transformed primary and secondary 'state schools', which were administrated by the Ministry of Education, into 'municipal schools' that now receive funding only through the municipalities. Central government continues to set a national level of subvention per pupil.

[3] Only 7.8% of school enrolment in Chile attends private schools with no public resources (Ministerio de Educación, 2015).

competition that oversees the system: as private agencies award accreditation of quality to higher education providers, they are regulated by a public agency which, in turn, is managed by a board of trustees that represents a whole range of higher education providers (state universities, private universities, state and private technical colleges, government authorities, etc.) (González, 1999; Frens-String, 2013).

1.1. Worldwide policy trends, the global and the local

This local picture is situated in a global context where the logic of privatization and marketization has permeated domains for which the state used to take responsibility. For example, in their account of the changes introduced to public services in England from Margaret Thatcher onwards, Clarke, Gewirtz and McLaughlin (2003: 3) highlight that one of the aims of market-like reforms of welfare provision was the deployment of a privatizing project that 'juxtaposed the "private sector"– equated with the market – and the "public sector" – equated with the state – and wore down some of the boundaries separating the two'. One of the dimensions characterizing this privatizing project is the demand that public services conduct themselves like firms, which in turn involves competition with other providers and the regulation of the relationship between various agents (providers, users and the state itself) under rules set by contractual means. Concepts such as New Public Management (NPM) – as Hood (1995) coined it – are attempts to synthesize the group of practices and expectations that result from the redefinition of the role of the state and its relationships with individuals through public services.

Indeed, private actors now execute public duties or have acquired partial ownership of assets that the state gave up, while not completely taking over the state's infrastructure and functions. Under this logic, just as companies have to strive for better strategies to position themselves in the market, public services are required to 'upgrade' their functioning to be competitive. It is then only natural that management emerges as a device of paramount importance for the governments in order to 'prove' their efficiency (Flyn, 2000). But there is also a second aspect of the shift; namely, that the responsibility for welfare

shifts from the 'public' to the 'private sphere' of the individual and the family. In that content, Nikolas Rose (1992: 175) makes an apt observation about this new enterprise culture:

> Bureaucratic regulation of family life is no longer needed to ensure a harmony between social objectives and personal desires. The ethics of enterprise can infuse the 'private' domain that for so long appeared essentially resistant to the rationale of calculation and self-promotion. Through this new mechanism, the social field can be governed trough an alliance between the powers of expertise and the wishes, hopes and fears of the responsible, autonomous family, committed to maximizing its quality of life and to the success of family members

Notably, the metamorphosis of the interactions between individuals and society is not a spontaneous process; rather it is actively driven by governmental agencies. According to Barry, Osborne and Rose (1996), the political reason of neo-liberalism [4] assigns governments the responsibility for creating the conditions that facilitate an entrepreneurial and competitive conduct – a worldwide trend that has been registered in a variety of national and geographical contexts (Taylor, 2004; Berman et al, 2007; Hawkins, 2007; Marginson, 2007; Taylor and Henry, 2007; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). Far from an oversimplification, the consideration of the commonalities of educational policies in different settings allows us to grasp such pervasive practices as the middle classes' attitudes towards the democratization of education for purposes of social cohesion in a context where these policies have been colonized by economic imperatives (Ball, 1993; 2003). These views have in turn had subsequent impact on the distributions of educational opportunities (Walzer, 1982; Gutmann, 1987; Perkin, 1992; Tooley, 2008).

At any rate, the extent to which these trends are realized in the reforms of different bureaucracies across the globe depend on local circumstances

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[4] I understand neo-liberalism as an approach to economics and politics that considers 'most forms of state intervention as an impediment to the operation of the market which is seen as being the most efficient means of economic organization' (Selwyn and Brown, 2007: 160).

(Larner, 2000; Whitty and Power, 2000; Ong, 2007). Regarding the emergence of new sensibilities about education, it must be noted that even when the rhetoric of managerialism, privatization and devolution may not necessarily be preceded by the deployment of special regulations, they nonetheless have a role in the shaping of subjectivities. What is more, the ideas that one government may borrow from other countries or indeed international agencies have an impact even if none of the specific programs brought from the outside eventually gets implemented. Singling out actors and processes that are involved in the struggle for common sense is analytically and empirically fruitful (Ozga and Lingard 2007; Ball, 2008). For the purposes of my thesis, a key argument so far is that *the struggle to recreate consensus on education is a relevant aspect of the practical enactment of education policies*.

While we can situate broadly similar education transformations in different countries, questions remain about particular implementation mechanisms, resources available, the reach of policies and how local political and cultural traditions are able to make sense of these reforms in terms of *windows of opportunities* (Larner, 2000; Flyn, 2000; Dale, 2007; Arnove, Franz and Torres, 2007; Ong, 2007). Windows of opportunity are 'particular conjunctures where broad-based restructuring is promoted' (Goodson, 2010: 768). They suggest a sense of change within certain conditions, where the more stable features of the social landscape co-exist with contingent developments. While the extent and direction of that change cannot be predicted, it allows for a deeper understanding of specific phenomena at the local level.

1.2. The struggle over the education agenda in Chile 2006-2016

In 2006, a wave of demonstrations carried out by secondary school students expressed discontent with the abandonment of public (state) schools at various levels: the use of school time, the inequalities of funding across the school system, and the legal and administrative structure that remains in place from the Pinochet dictatorship between 1973 and 1990 (Bellei, Contreras, Valenzuela, 2010; Ruiz-Tagle, 2010). Later, in June 2011, around 200,000 people occupied the main avenue of the Chilean capital meanwhile, in other

smaller cities, equivalent demonstrations also took place. Most demonstrators were students between 14 and 25 years old – although there were many older participants as well. Throughout that year, protesters in the streets condemned debts that higher education students and their families had to endure in order to access a kind of tertiary education that, in many cases, was also of a dubious quality (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013).

Since then, Chilean governments have offered an array of strategies in response to social mobilizations in the streets: from police repression to parliamentary discussion and the formation of advisory committees to reach a consensus around 'the education problem'. Indeed, the dynamics of the protest, police action, and media coverage present their own interest for academic research (Santa Cruz, 2016; Hernández, 2017). In terms of the formation of public opinion, there is a renewed interest in defining what constitutes the purposes of 'public education' and, therefore, to reflect on the role of the state and privates in education; indeed, this is an ongoing debate that takes place in editorials and columns (Atria, 2010; Bellei, Gonzalez, Valenzuela, 2010). For example, Agustín Squella – a former Vice-Chancellor of University of Valparaiso – elaborates a defense of the republican ideals that drove the initial push for the creation of public educational institutions. In particular, he focuses on *pluralism* as the trademark of state universities:

Chile is such an odd country that only here it is necessary to argue in favor of a preferential treatment of the state to its own universities. We say preferential, not exclusionary, because such a deal should not mean ignoring private institutions of higher education. A preferential treatment is justified not only because of the ownership and the effective absence of profit-seeking, but also in the fact that only state universities guarantee *a public space for pluralism in higher education*. *Pluralism* is merely an option for privates but for state institutions *it is a matter of duty* (Agustín Squella, *El Mercurio*, 9 July, 2010, my italics)

From a different perspective, and now in the context of school education, José Joaquín Brunner spells out his discomfort with the excessive attention to the

wellbeing of municipal schools at the expense of private schools. A former Education minister in previous governments of the *Concertación*[5], he argues that:

> Chile has a mixed regime of educational provision that is rooted in its society and history. It is part of its configuration as a nation and part of the nature of its state. Today, that regime is consolidated juridically, institutionally and in the preferences of the population. That is the reason why it is a paradox that instead of acknowledging the mixed character of our system, our debates tend to focus on one type of providers, and that the future of public education is discussed *by ignoring the future of two out of three Chilean students* [who attend private providers] (José Joaquín Brunner, El Mercurio, 6 February 2011, my italics)

Brunner is opposed to the use of the term 'public' only to name state education. The underlying logic of his reasoning is that, in seeking the public good, the state should not *discriminate* against those students attending private institutions by giving extra support to municipal schools. Reflecting on the sphere of higher education, some of those who are more vocal go further and question the legitimacy of public funding for state universities:

> Other idea seems to be strong: state universities should receive, by default, more money. Whose money? Chileans, obviously; tax payers contributing the treasure for the sake of the common good, that is, for all and not for those who have decided freely to work or study at universities owned by the state. But those Chileans, under the rule of law, should not demand privileges; only have the right of competing for resources and prestige as any one studying at or working for a university of a particular kind. That is what public is all about. (Gonzalo Rojas. *El Mercurio*, 30th June, 2010).

Another implication of his premise is that, if public does not equal the state, then there is no reason for people to contribute taxes to fund institutions they

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[5] *Concertación* is the centre-left coalition that was in government between 1990 and 2010.

do not use (unless the effectiveness of such education is explicitly proved). But lack of effectiveness is exactly the focus of the attacks on municipal schools and their (in)capacity to deliver a good educational service: their poor results in standardized tests are seen as confirmation of the intrinsic deficiencies of their provision (Valenzuela, Bellei, and De los Ríos, 2008).

Chilean governments have applied standardized tests to measure learning outcomes of schools since the 1960s. The Pinochet regime explored different uses for these measures and even 'updated' them in the 1980s. However, it is since the 1990s that the media and politicians alike started to claim a causal relationship between test performance and the quality of teaching. In the 2000s, additional tests were implemented in order to measure the 'quality' of the teaching of new graduates as well as teachers already working (Ávalos, 2010; Waissbluth, 2010). As part of this process, school teachers must not only sit standardized tests; they are also requested to prepare a portfolio that accounts for the planning and teaching activities that they carry out over a certain period. In addition to these assessments, an external consultant observes one of the teacher's lessons to complete the evaluation (Manzi, 2010). Schools and teachers alike are classified, punished and rewarded according to their performance in these standardized and non-standardized instruments. Once a year, the aggregated results of teachers' and students' performance determine whether a school 'deserves' the allocation of extra resources that rewards its 'academic excellence' (Avalos, 2010; Flores, 2015).[6]

Interpreted as a matter of effectiveness, the discussion about the *raison d'être* of education becomes inextricably linked to the drive for measuring performance. This emerges as the key indicator of quality in the absence of other more substantive definitions about what is to be expected from schools (Paris, 1995). In Chile, at least for the past two decades, positions in the debate have made a simplistic use of that evidence in order to compare municipal and private schools as this is expected to guide, for instance, parental choice of schooling (Elacqua, 2009; Gallego and Hernando, 2009).

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[6] Between 2002 and 2005, several mechanisms were created to offer individual incentives to teachers based on levels of attainment in these instruments (Manzi, 2010).

This is how defenders of the current system of evaluation of schools put it in 2010:

> It is known that one of the realities in municipal schools is the high heterogeneity in performance among classrooms of the same stage, something that is not observed in private schools that are publicly funded. This tends to happen when providers, and particularly school heads, are not paying attention to their teachers' performance and their limited effort in rising academic attainment (Beyer and Velasco, 2010: 187)

The urgency of accountability has transformed the devices to measure performance into ends in themselves. As the purposes of education are unstable, unclear, ambiguous, contentious and vague, it follows that the only realm that offers certainty is the evidence that results from these assessments. But in the process of operationalizing these policies, the very practice is subjected to the logic of measurement. This performativity becomes a principle of distant steering that plays a significant role in framing the debate about the meaning and purpose of education. It is this performativity that produces the range of meanings that are available for articulating a notion of the 'common good', so measurements of this type end up colonizing the idea and the materiality of schooling through the logic of privatization and individual attainment (Ball, 2004, 2008). In fact, recent changes to the state administration of the school system in Chile consist in creating new public entities in charge of the control mechanisms to which the schools are subjected.[7]

Speaking of the sphere of legislative activity, in 2009 the government sought the replacement of the Organic Constitutional Law of Education (LOCE) – issued by Pinochet just before he left power in 1990 – with the General Law of Education (LGE, Act. 20370). Like its predecessor, the new LGE is a comprehensive legislation on school and higher education that kept intact the core of the funding mechanisms imposed by the dictatorship (Kremerman,

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[7] For instance, a Superintendence of School Education and an Agency of Quality for evaluating the school system, both of which were created in 2009.

2006; Kremerman, Paez and, Saez, 2107) and is still permissive in relation to the selection of students (Carrasco *et al*. 2104; Godoy, Salazar and Treviño, 2104).[8] Also, in 2015 a new act introduced further regulations to the provision of private schools that receive public resources. First, every school that receives subsidies must become gradually free of additional charge and cannot select students. Second, all schools must conform to the status of not-for profit associations. Third, the building(s) where a school functions must be the property of a trust. This is a way of preventing the withdrawal of money using as a facade a firm that owns the premises and charges an elevated sum for its rent (Act 20,895).[9] In practice, the implementation of this act only started in 2017 and its definitive outcomes are still very much open to negotiation, mainly due to the pressure of stakeholders from the private sector (Guzmán and Bustos, 2017).

Looking at the 'legacy' of the Pinochet regime (1973-1990), Tomás Moulian argues that the dictatorship's reforms were truly revolutionary since they substantially transformed Chilean society, both materially and symbolically. Whether the majority of the population considers the private provision of public services as desirable or not, the result is that people perceive this as the only attainable order (Moulian, 1997). Constant invocations of individual responsibility, labor flexibility, improvement of standards and freedom of consumers went relatively unchallenged until the massive demonstrations that started almost a decade ago (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013; Hernández, 2017).

Roger Dale (1994) makes an important contribution to this discussion by making a distinction between 'education politics' and 'politics of education'. In his view, education research spends too much energy on the content of the education agenda (education politics), neglecting the constitution of that agenda (politics of education). Except for broad references to phenomena such as the decline of the welfare state, he contends, researchers tend to

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[8] It prohibits selection based on academic attainment up to year 6 and, because of some inconsistencies, it render regulation weak to stop selection practices.

[9] Older regulations increased the allocation of subsidies based on the number students from poor backgrounds in each school and compelled schools to enrol at least 15% of students classified as poor (Acts 20,247 and 20,248, 2008).

ignore the politics of education, thus reinforcing the belief that 'education can be explained from within education'. Studying the politics of education is, on the contrary, paying attention to 'the process and structures through which macro-social expectations of education as an institution are identified and interpreted and constituted as an agenda for the education system' (Dale, 1994: 36).

An example of politics of education comes to mind in the case of Chile, for instance, in the setting out of committees that were attended by experts and civil society actors in response to the mobilizations of 2006 and 2011. Embedded in the configuration of these working groups, there were various operations of inclusion and exclusion; for instance, in the ways in which some people were invited and some were ignored. Also, their material conditions and methodologies to gather opinions during debates have also proved contentious. Although not many of the participants in those committees credited the instances as effective tools for democratic debate or creating consensus (Garretón, *et al.*, 2011; Garretón, Cruz, Aguirre, 2012), their organization had an effect in defining what was at stake in the struggle over education and other social issues. Ultimately, discussions in these committees were possible within the limits of other discursive practices that lay outside the conclusions they delivered (Burns and Kamali, 2003). In Dale's words: 'modes of interest representation lay down which 'voices' are considered legitimate in policy formation' (cited in Ball, 1994: 110). If anything, these devices exemplify – in the Foucauldian sense that is explained in the next chapter – a practice whose implications are beyond the pool of topics addressed in the discussion about education policies.

The critical issue is to avoid the 'normalization' of the object we know as 'the education system' as something that is naturally constituted around a common social mandate and capacity; that is, studying it as something 'unproblematic, as a departure of, rather than a destination of the analysis' (Dale, 1994: 34). As much as the demonstrations of 2006 and 2011 are landmarks in the debate over education in Chile, the co-existence of competing currents of thought is not the privilege of a specific period. On the one hand, the school policies

imposed by Pinochet exhibit different versions, emphases and internal contradictions (Almonacid, 2005). By way of example, even in the context of decentralization and privatization of school provision there was room for communitarian notions of local power that are not easily compatible with market-like designs (Gauri, 1998). This is not strange, because, 'theoretically, we should not always expect to find coherence and should not be surprised to see struggle within the state over the definition and purpose of policy solutions' (Ball, 1994: 108).

On the other hand, the definition and delivery of education has always been done through combinations of the state, the market, and civil society, and the relationship between these concepts should not be left un-problematized (Dale,1994: 38). For this account, the assimilation of 'state school' to 'public school' is in itself an instance in the long running constitution of the private/public divide (Archer, 1984; Weintraub,1997). To be sure, comparisons show a dramatic drop in the proportion of state schools as a direct consequence of the policies implemented during the dictatorship and afterward: for instance, more than 80% of students attended state-schools by 1973. In fact, however, while universality was almost achieved in primary schooling, figures show less than 50% of attendance at the secondary level throughout the 1960s (Cox, 2005).

It seems to me that the role of the state, of standardized tests, of interest groups, of devices of representation and indeed protest themselves should be the object of historical and sociological scrutiny to interpret the nature of the changes that are commonly attributed to neo-liberalization practices in Chile. Therefore, instead of taking for granted that Pinochet completely redefined the symbolic and practical dimensions of education policies, *I build my research from the premise that education policies form a field of discursive struggles that exhibits continuities and discontinuities over the time and across subjects/knowledges*. With that in mind, my goal is to examine various records and accounts of education policies between 1964 and 1973; that is *before the authoritarian regime in Chile inaugurated its so-called neoliberal education policies*. I contend that a re-reading of the years that immediately preceded the

dictatorship will contribute to put into historical perspective the allegedly revolutionary character of the reforms that were carried out in the 1980s.

1.3. Pinochet is not enough. Enquiring into the decade 1964-1973

The fundamental question that orients my research asks *how discourses from and about a circumscribed past – the decade between 1964 and 1973 – inform the historical nature of struggles over education policies. My empirical work contributes to the identification of key dimensions of these struggles hitherto overlooked by the literature.*

The period between 1964 and 1973 is marked by a messy production of vocabularies, rhetoric, utopias and the proliferation of new technologies in a context of intense political mobilization. One reason to concentrate on this decade is that open social unrest around education policies was highly visible. Methodologically, this research is inspired by a Foucauldian idea of genealogy while it also diverges from it in one crucial respect. It is perhaps more accurate to say that I diverge from a poststructuralist approach insofar as it conceives the self as strictly an object of discourse and disregards agency in its capacity to create meanings (Gewirtz and Cribb, 2009). Chapter 2 then unpacks this consideration and questions the idea that Foucault is 'against a notion of subject' at an ontological level or that his methodology is incompatible with other research perspectives.

I do take from Foucault the notion that the subjective being and public policies are realms of permanent struggle, hence the importance of exploring their historical constitution. I also subscribe to the idea that normalized discourses are historical developments, so that enquiring into policy struggles in a different historical time will probably unpack continuities and discontinuities with the present (Rabinow, 1991). From this viewpoint, a description of a decade of struggle is, firstly, a window for an exploration of the specific dynamics involved in certain discursive formations over school policies in the past, while at the same time paying attention to trivial routines and subtle mechanisms that may reproduce long-standing effects. Secondly, this line of enquiry

enables the *problematization of those normalized discourses* that have become central in the field of education policies over the last four decades. The enquiry focuses here on the historicity of certain dispositions as they are actualized in our present mind-set and 'being' in the world.

In terms of structure, this thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 1 has already explained the rationale of my thesis. Chapter 2 unpacks its research question and gives further information about its research design. It also introduces the concepts that play a key part in the formulation of my study – discourses, struggles, policies – and it also defines some of the elements that inform my methodological approach: discourse analysis, interpretation, narrative, and memory. Additionally, I expand on the sources I worked with and my methods to gather and analyze empirical data.

Chapter 3 begins the historical reconstruction by looking at education developments in Chile since the late 19th century. I look at some initial justifications for a reform of the Chilean education system, the early relationship between teaching unions and political parties, and some preliminary attempts to increase primary school enrolment. Chapter 4 moves forward chronologically and looks at 12 years, between 1958 and 1970, during which education policies achieved huge significance in the country. This Chapter then explores the increasingly troubled relationship between the Catholic Church and the state and pays special attention to the 1965 education reform that was put forward by the Christian Democrat government of Eduardo Frei-Montalva. Chapters 5 and 6 then focus on the three years of the Allende government and the extent to which he built on the policy developments from the previous government whilst also attempting to pass a hugely ambitious educational reform, the National Unified School (ENU). More specifically, Chapter 5 looks at the election campaign and first 18 months of Allende's government, whereas Chapter 6 focuses on the second half of his presidential mandate. All these chapters (3, 4, 5 and 6) are based on a combined account of some of the most influential secondary accounts of this period and primary materials that I gathered through nine interviews with experts and policy makers that I conducted in 2010 and 2011.

The last three Chapters of my thesis focus mostly on primary sources. Chapter 7 looks into one primary source that has not been addressed systematically by works on the education policies of this period. Here, the struggles over school policies are re-read through the minutes of the first sessions of the National Council of Education (NCE) in January 1973. These sessions inaugurated a series of meetings where the Council discussed Allende's ENU report. The transcripts of these meetings convey a series of discursive practices that touch on educational and procedural matters that resonate but also complement secondary accounts. Chapters 8 and 9 trace discursive struggles that are embedded in biographical accounts of events during this decade. Through both chapters, I use narratives generated by nine teachers that I interviewed in 20121013 as active agents of memory. Their personal and professional experiences are seldom considered by the specialized literature, but in my thesis they are deemed key to understand the presence of the past in the discursive struggles of today. Chapter 8 then looks at the positive evaluations and emotions that constitute their identities as teachers: their vocation, their relationship with students and with a specific school ethos. Chapter 9, finally, complements this positive account by looking at how teachers themselves construe the narrative about educational struggles at that time. This chapter explores in depth how three interviewees saw their work as teachers back then in relation to question of class, political interference in pedagogical matters, and the uniqueness of rural schools.

The contribution of my thesis is, therefore, threefold. Firstly, I deliver a historical background of the education developments in Chile as advanced by experts. This is a synthesis of those aspects that have been addressed the most both in the secondary literature and by the policy makers I interviewed between 2010 and 2011. Secondly, I offer a reinterpretation of a specific school policy controversy – the ENU – as a particularly important instance of discursive struggle. I carried out a documentary analysis of the transcripts of the NCE, all of which revolve around a single document that was issued by the government in January 1973. Thirdly, I provide an interpretation of the accounts of nine retired teachers, as they emerge from the individual interviews I conducted on their professional experiences between 1964 and

1973. Substantively, each of these data sets advances a different understanding of the struggle over education policy during this period; methodologically, each one highlights different strategies to gather and analyze empirical information.

Chapter 2. Conceptual and methodological framework. Linking history and sociology through agency and interpretation

The fundamental question that orients my research asks how discourses from and about a circumscribed past – the decade between 1964 and 1973 – inform the historical nature of struggles over education policies. My empirical work contributes to the identification of key dimensions of these struggles that have been overlooked by the literature.

My thesis sits in the intersection between history and sociology. This may be seen as a truism if one believes, as I do, that sociology cannot be other than historical. But it is a statement that also calls for further justification given the nature of the empirical materials I have looked into. The first set of empirical materials consists in an historical background of education developments in Chile according to experts. This is a synthesis of the aspects that have been problematized in the secondary literature and by those policy experts that I interviewed in 2010 and 2011. The methodological challenge here is to achieve a coherent analysis by using both primary and secondary sources that were produced at different points in time and with different aims in mind (see section 2.4). My second set of empirical data offers a reinterpretation of a specific education-policy controversy in the last few months of the Allende government in 1973. It consists in a documentary analysis of the transcripts of the first session of the National Council of Education (NCE) that discussed the key education proposal of Allende's government. The third and final set of empirical material provides an interpretation of the accounts of nine teachers about events, experiences and recollections of the decade 1964-1973. These data come from individual interviews with retired teachers that I carried out in 2012 and 2013. Each section of the thesis presents different and distinctive ways of historicizing the struggles over education policies in Chile. In using these different kinds of empirical materials, I contend that no definitive or even coherent narrative can be sustained. Nor was it my goal to achieve a certain "consensus" or unified voice over the causes or implications of the various

struggles that took place during the decade addressed. As I explain in greater detail below, the Foucauldian inspiration of my work is expressed here in the way I sought to unpack these different historical layers to see how voices from the past inform and help us configure the present. The thesis was inspired by certain Foucauldian sensibilities in relation to history but it is not a Foucauldian thesis as such, as will become apparent

Indeed, my research has a dual affiliation. On the one hand, it is couched in such Foucauldian terms as 'discursive struggles' and 'subjects/knowledges'; while, on the other, it uses a mix of qualitative methods to describe and interpret the empirical materials that I gathered. In situating my investigation, I have found especially helpful considering the trajectory of historical sociology as an academic field that occupies a crucial yet ambiguous place between history and sociology. This chapter then starts by briefly outlining the recent tradition of historical sociology (2.1) and then looks at the notion of history of the present (2.2). Having completed this conceptual clarification, the chapter delves into discourse analysis and the methodological consequences of asserting the centrality of agency and meaning (2.3). The chapter closes with an account of my sources and general methodological decisions (2.4). My study of the historicity of education policies in Chile between 1964 and 1973 required a range of conceptual and methodological tools coming from different traditions.

2.1. The 20th century tradition of historical sociology

Intellectually speaking, historical sociology may be classified as a subfield of sociology. The concept 'historical sociology' was only coined in the 1960s even if its roots extend to the *annales* school of thought in the first part of the 20th century (Delanty and Isin, 2003). One of the aims of the French school of *annales* was to shift the study of history away from political events and closer to the questions of society and culture, thus drawing 'upon the insights of anthropology' and including the consideration of elements such as climate, geographical location and the economy (Arnold, 2000: 99). Another contribution of this school to social thought is the concept of *mentalité*, that is,

the amalgam of multiple and slow changes in different spheres of society in the past that sets into a characteristic 'thinking of an age' (Elliot, 2014).[10]

Among the most prominent exponents of this approach was French historian Fernand Braudel, who assumed that there is 'a multiplicity of historical temporalities proceeding at their own pace' (Dean, 1994: 26). Braudel distinguishes the 'high-profile time of events from the time of institutions and from the still slower and almost imperceptible time of environmental change' (Burke, 2003: 62). For Braudel (1993), an idea of *conjunctural history* addresses periods of crisis and cycles, the discontinuities associated with human action
(e.g. the economy) and/or with occurrences in nature (climate). Yet, 'at the depths of *long durée* history all discontinuities observed at the level of events are erased. The significance of the presence and the ruptures it introduces recedes in the face of this deep history' (Dean, 1994: 26). This is the reason why Braudel accused his contemporaries in the social sciences of 'not so much of ignoring time, or change, as of restricting it unduly to the short run, thus ignoring what he called the *long durée*' (Burke, 2003: 62).

From the prism of social theory, the intellectual project of the *annales* school sought to historicize the formation and transformation of modernity as a complex process that goes beyond the short-term changes provoked by the rulers' political actions and decisions (Dean, 1994); he also sought to move beyond the historiography of the 18th and 19th centuries that focused mostly on the political foundation of modern nation-sates (Fine and Chernilo, 2003; Thompson, 2003). Instead, this approach engaged in the study of everyday life and material culture in micro- and macro-spaces during lengthy sweeps of history. Hence, the historical sociology that is anchored in this tradition concerned itself with modernity as a comprehensive process that starts with the Enlightenment and conveys a certain *mentalité* that was embedded in everyday practices that had been neglected up until that point (Burke, 2003).

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[10] *Mentalité* conveys the idea of different 'ways of thinking' in the past. Alternative labels from other intellectual traditions are 'spirit of an age' or 'cultural consciousness', but *mentalité* is the most used (Arnold, 2000: 98).

The more historical sociology moved 'in the direction of everyday life practices, the more it moved into a post disciplinary context' (Delanty and Isin, 2003: 3).

Influenced by the idea of *mentalité*, Norbert Elias proposes a '*processual* theory of the making of the modern individual as the distinctly disciplined (or regulated), reflexive creature of civilization' (Mandalios, 2003: 66). This is a constant movement whereby individuals are both agents *and* subjects of those long-term historical processes of *becoming* civilized. There are numerous civilizing processes creating a *modus operandi* that defines a person's relationship with the world, instead of one powerful force like capitalism or liberal democracy that shapes up an individual's entire life. Material conditions and self-consciousness are interdependent, so that a change in material culture impacts upon the *sociogenesis* and *psychogenesis* of the individual but not in any deterministic way: 'social constraint has its correlate levels of self-restraint' (Mandalios, 2003: 67).

Crucially, Elias (1978) warns against the tendency to read the past through the categories of the present. In this regard, he is compatible with the French tradition of historical sociology, from Braudel to Foucault, and its way of understanding the temporality of social change. However, as I discuss in the next section (2.2), Foucault distances himself from both Elias and Braudel when it comes to their belief in a 'total history',

> For Braudel, there is the tension between the multiplicity of historical temporalities and the structural or unifying instance of the *longue durée*. For Elias, there is the call for detachment together with the recognition that involvement is one of the conditions for social scientific knowledge. In both cases there is the supposition that only some version of a total or global history can be of assistance in understanding the present' (Dean, 1994: 27-28).

In addition to the influence of French historians, historical sociology is also a child of the functionalist social sciences that came to prominence after World War II (Wagner, 2003: 169). The 1950s and 1960s were dominated by the

theories of modernization which tried to conceptualize the development of societies. If at the beginning they focused mostly on the relationship between culture and economic progress, they focused more and more on the relations 'between culture and political development and economic growth and democracy' (Knobl, 2003: 96). One problematic version of modernization theory in historical sociology tries to portray general trends or typologies of transformation as linear trajectories so that the elites (i.e. professional middle class) become the key actors that push for modernization. In this way, traditional societies become modern societies because they develop specialized structures (from an independent judiciary to roads and infrastructure) that then allow them to function more efficiently (Knobl, 2003). In Latin America, these approaches are best known as theories of development – their influence will become apparent in the secondary literature that I use in chapters 3 to 6. Development theories focus mostly on the problem of democracy versus authoritarianism as a function of the economic structure of different countries. They also look at the conduct of organized actors in dealing with the challenges of national development (Mahoney, 2003).

To counter 'developmental' perspectives of social change, theories with a Marxian influence have attempted to understand critically the history of modernity. Barrington Moore's seminal work on the relationships between class structures and political regimes had an enormous impact in the literature that analyzed social and political processes in the 1960s and the 1970s (Mahoney, 2003; Huber and Safford, 1996; Winer, 1976). The most prominent example of a Marxist inspired problematization of development in Latin America is the theory of dependency. By looking at the relationships between class configurations, state industrialization and international actors, this line of research concludes that countries in the periphery of capitalism are prone to become economic and culturally dependent on the core countries (Prebish, 1950; Cardoso and Faletto, 1969). A vicious circle then traps poor countries with no chance of capitalist 'progress' because their industrialization was precarious or none existent amid conditions imposed by the rich countries (Mahoney, 2003).

In general, development and dependence theories share an ambition to explore the structural relationship between the level of industrialization and the class structure as the variables that interact with various actors' ideological drives and political strategies (Amenta, 2003). Both lines of enquiry rely on the notion of modernity as a discernible constellation of social and cultural dispositions and both faced criticism as soon as the idea of modernity started being questioned. One major question about the heuristic value of the concept of modernity is whether the content of what is known as modernity is too vague or varies too much across different contexts to sustain modernity as the central concern of social research (Delanty and Isin, 2003). In the case of modernization theories, after the waning influence of development studies in the 1970s, reflexive modernization theories have sought to reinvigorate the concept of modernization by adding more factors to the empirical analysis such as social movements, institutional processes and contingency. But increasing the elements and actors in the constellation of variables that form modernity weakens even more the explanatory power of these theories (Knobl, 2003). Nowadays, comparative studies are still looking for explanations of grand scale processes in terms of causal claims (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003).

Alongside objections with a positivist flavor, there is also the fundamental critique against the unifying aspirations of 'general theory': Marxist and functionalist approaches that sought to offer a single ontological, epistemological and political argument all at once. Here, the historical narrative of modernity is subordinated to finding universal patterns that ultimately reify the superiority of present in relation to the past (Dean, 1994; Hall, 2003). Furthermore, there are practical and methodological issues that enhance this suspicion about a general theory of modernity. The study of 'new' historical subjects (e.g. women, gays), as well as the use of tools from anthropology and cultural studies (e.g. oral histories), is not attuned to the idea of a progressive modernization that culminates in a better present (Appadurai, 1981; Calhoun, 2003).

Most of these revisionist positions in twentieth-century social thought arise from or are in permanent tension with the so-called 'linguistic turn'. This was a

major shift in recent intellectual history that turned its attention to the philosophy of language. In simple terms, sociologists and historians started taking language more seriously, especially in relation to the inherent difficulties in the analysis of historical documents (Wagner, 2003). Up until then, the focus had been largely – though not exclusively – on the history 'of "large-scale structures" that easily translates as states and capitalism and "fundamental process of change" as democratization, commodification and bureaucratization as well as revolution as a crucial form of change' (Wagner, 2003: 169). The linguistic turn does not necessarily mean that *all* relations between human beings and the world are constituted *entirely* by language, but that language mediates this relationship in the sense that the relation with one another and the world is of interpretation (Wagner, 2003). Foucault takes the linguistic turn further by introducing a methodological innovation that redefined the debate that opposed positivism to interpretivism in the practice of historical sociology (Hall, 2003; Wagner, 2003).

2.2. Histories of the present

In his historical research, Foucault starts from a 'problem' that matters to him in the present and then explores how that object or issue became a problem and how certain devices of thought shaped it as a problem. In his work, the word 'problematization' designates both a method of analysis and 'the historical process of producing objects of thought' (Bacchi, 2012: 1). Unlike the Marxist tradition, the method of problematization is 'more a description of thinking as a practice than the diagnosis of the ideological manipulation' of thinking. As historical processes, problematizations 'emerge in practices' and do not equate to 'mental images' (Bacchi, 2012: 1). More radically, he conceives discourses as practices 'that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972: 49). This performative attribute of discourses must be regarded carefully and beyond the duality positivism v constructivism. A Foucauldian investigation does not study historical materials in the hope of verifying or falsifying propositions that will get us closer to facts (Roth, 1981). Yet, when Foucault stresses the relevance of discursive practices, he does not have in mind a linguistic analysis of propositions either. It is the combinatory

exercise of different layers, the juxtaposition of different voices, materials and practices, that ultimately configures his approach.

The historical pursuits Foucault engaged in addressed discursive practices that, however differentiated, were relatively unified into a system of concepts; that is, *disciplines* that claim the status of science in relation to a domain of phenomena. This *epistemological* kind of enquiry he referred to as an *Archaeology of Knowledge*. Archaeological research starts with the problematization of the criteria through which a discourse may assume the status of a human science and the rules that govern the production of statements in a discursive formation (Foucault, 1972). In doing so, Foucault advocates for the suspension of the norms of already constituted disciplines as this allowed him to find out new ways in which discourses rationalize or systematize themselves while 'saying the truth' about the world (Dean, 1994: 24). His chosen sciences are both 'of increasing prestige but of relatively low level of formalization' (Dean, 1994: 30) such as History and Philosophy, which he regarded as disciplines in the double meaning of the term: 'highly structured institutions for the production of particular bodies of knowledge' and as instances of the 'insidious exercise of power in modern society' (Goldstein, 1994: 3).

However, Foucault's general concern is not with issues or disciplines but with practical, political, aesthetic or ethical forms of knowledge, irrespective of whether they are formalized or institutionalized in the way that, for example, the social sciences are (Bacchi, 2012). Archaeology then deals with:

> those discourses charged with the task of self-rectification and selfelaboration with the aim of reaching the truth. Archaeology is thus not a form of conversation analysis of everyday encounters, not even an analysis of the encounters between various specialists and their clients. Rather, it is an approach to all those discourses that seek to rationalise or systematise themselves in relation to particular ways of 'saying the true' (Dean, 1994: 32)

The task is to examine the terms of reference by which an issue is cast, how it is defined, questioned, analyzed and regulated at specific times and under specific circumstances (Dean, 1994). To this end, Foucault coins the notion of power/knowledge, where 'power' is a 'series of mechanisms, definable and defined, that seem capable of inducing behaviors or discourses' (Foucault, 2007: 60). By making power/knowledge inseparable, Foucault conveys that 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations' (Foucault, 1972: 27). As a dyad, power/knowledge then has an instrumental value because what really matters are the *social consequences of any power/knowledge dynamic*. Determining the exact nature of power/knowledge is less important than what the concept allows us to analyze; namely, the relationship between subjects and the games of truth that constitute both objects and subjectivities (Bridges, 2007; Bacchi, 2012).

If we now move on to the notion of discourses, they 'exercise power because they institutionalize and regulate ways of talking, thinking and acting' (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 35). The delimitation of what is material and what is discursive is not at the center of Foucault's analysis and he subordinates language to the problem of discerning the inscription of truth *within practices of speaking and acting* that form the basis of power/knowledge (Jäger and Maier, 2009; Bacchi, 2012). As part of an archaeology, Foucault then 'digs' into the various conditions that form and govern the emergence of objects, concepts, theories; equally, he uncovers the forms of subjectivity that they permit within a specific historical context.

In a second 'moment' of his historical enquiry, the challenge is to trace what he refers to as a 'genealogy'. This is an account of the kind of the statements collected by the archaeology and the power of their affirmations in establishing regimes of truth *in the present*. If archaeology is the systematic description of discourses, genealogy introduces a serial component that places such analysis in relation to contemporary concerns (Dean, 1994): genealogy is 'selfconsciously writing in a field of power relations and political struggles' (Roth, 1981: 43). In so doing, moreover, genealogy avoids presentism by

making explicit both its own relationship with the present and the singularity of historical materials (Dean, 2003).[11] A history of the present thus 'examines the fabrication of human kinds as formed within a grid of historical practices that makes the object of research possible to 'see' and 'act on' (Popkewitz, 2013). A history of the present is, therefore, an attempt to make intelligible forms of organized discursive and non-discursive practice to problematize those contingent features of the present that are revealed within contemporary fields of contestation (Dean, 1994).

Nowadays, historical periodizations do not comply with the conventional spans of Ancient times, the Middle Ages, the Enlightenment, etc. These categories do not capture the richness of human history across diverse cultures; they simplify social life by attributing regularity to what is complex and multidimensional (Appadurai, 1981; Toohey, 2003). Likewise, historical assertions based on a periodization by decades fail to note that much of what is supposedly characteristic of a decade, for example the 1960s, extends variously both temporarily and geographically (Arnold, 2000, Elliot, 2014). Following this train of thought, Foucault decidedly favored our immersion within that complexity

> Foucault has often mistakenly been seen as a philosopher of discontinuity. The fault is partially his own; works such as *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *The Order of Things* certainly do emphasize abrupt changes in the structures of discourse of the human sciences. But Foucault has also stressed, in other contexts, the longer-range continuities in cultural practices. The sharp lines of discursive discontinuity in the human sciences and the longer lines of continuity in non-discursive practices provide Foucault with a powerful and flexible grid of interpretation with which to approach relations of knowledge and power (Rabinow, 1991: 9)

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[11] From a methodological perspective, presentism is 'the unwitting projection of a structure of interpretation that arises from the historian's own experience or context onto aspects of the past under study' (Dean, 1994: 39).

History is neither a chronology of revolutionary episodes with periods of stability in between nor a sequence of crucial events that trigger spectacular transformations in a continuous road towards a progressive future. Besides, some historical events that are conventionally called 'revolutions' may have left intact key operations of power/knowledge in society, while periods of relative calm can be incubators of profound transformations (Foucault, 1980). The choice of dramatic landmarks in history may give rise to 'adolescent' attempts to adumbrate general principles to explain change (e.g. the theory of class struggles, Foucault, 2003). However, all narratives about historical events offer the possibility to dissect the discourses that constitute that narrative (see next section of this chapter).

There are of course other traditions that also entail a notion of historicity and they are usually anchored in 'phenomenological' or hermeneutic principles.[12] Most prominently, social research adopting these paradigms aims to derive meanings from the words, gestures and practices under study (Alexander, 2007). These research traditions define in their own way such key terms as 'discourse' and 'subject' and make their own use of terms such as 'narrative'. The next section discusses some premises of a Foucauldian approach and how they may enter into dialogue with the premises of phenomenology, hermeneutics, and hence with concepts such as collective memory, generation, identity and the value of testimony. Instead of labelling my research as a genealogy, I would like to draw upon a different concept that Foucault (1974: 523) coins to explain his take on historical methods,

> I would like my books to be a kind of tool-box which others can rummage through to find a tool which they can use however they wish in their own area... I would like the little volume that I want to write on disciplinary systems to be useful to an educator, a warden, a magistrate, a conscientious objector. I don't write for an audience, I write for users, not readers. (Claire O´Farrell translation)

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[12] See, for instance, the debate on whether the symbolic interactionism of G. H. Mead is compatible with a more historical approach (Calhoun, 2003).

To this extent, as noted previously, this thesis is inspired by Foucault without being Foucauldian as such. I draw on other perspectives that I consider appropriate to complete my tool box of concepts and methods in order to take full advantage of the richness and variety of my empirical data-sets. Having said this, I still argue that the inclusion of agents' voices through the use of semistructured interviews is compatible with Foucault's interest in those discourses that have been ignored or neutralized under a given regime of truth. Let me unpack this idea further in the next section.

2.3. Analysis of policy struggles in this thesis: Discourses, subjects, agency and narratives

From a genealogical perspective, the power effect of a policy becomes apparent through the subjectivation processes associated with it; that is, the extent to which individuals become subjects by enacting the set of truths and practices that the policy encompasses (Ball, 1993). We are subjects insofar as we become *subjected* to something or someone else 'by control and dependence'; we are then tied to our 'own identity by conscience or self-knowledge'. These uses of the term 'subject' suggest, therefore, 'a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to' (Foucault, 1982: 778). This means that the realm of subjectivities and temporary accepted truths also concerns a way to establish a relationship with one's own body and the materiality around us. Foucault then points out the need for an 'historical investigation into the events that have led us to constitute ourselves and recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying' (Foucault, 1984a: 46). A genealogy presupposes

> a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledge, discourses, domains of objects, etc. without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness power throughout the course of history (Foucault, 1980: 117)

A Foucauldian treats 'the autonomous subjects of research as events made possible and produced within a historical grid that gives intelligibility to the objects of thought and action' (Popkewitz, 2013: 443). If the subject is just another possible narrative of the historical process, a discursive product susceptible to being understood in terms of continuities and discontinuities just as any other object, then this is an argument to tone down the study of the social as the manifestation of autonomous agents that create meaning (Elliot, 2014). For Popkewitz (2013: 445) the discourse of 'agency', 'paradoxically, brings together two registers normally placed in opposition: registers of freedom and of social administration. Agency is a strategy that connects individuality and the social as part of the same phenomenon'.

On the one hand, the experiencing subject of phenomenology is not the same as the discursive subject of Foucault. In the former, subjectivity is a starting point rather than a problem. The 'I' and the 'world' are inextricably intertwined and it is logically impossible to detach one from the other (Levering, 2007). On the other hand, it does not follow that disputing the existence of an autonomous subject constitutes an argument 'against the subject. Individuals are fully involved when it comes to realizing power relations in practice; the individual also faces the problem of having to prevail, to assert himself' (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 38). Pondering about his own method, Foucault reflects,

> To depict this kind of research as an attempt to reduce knowledge (savoir) to power, to make it the mask of power in structures, where there is no place for a subject, is purely and simply a caricature. What is involved, rather, is the analysis of complex relations between three distinct elements none of which can be reduced to or absorbed by the others, but whose relations are constitutive of each other. These three elements are: forms of knowledge (savoirs), studied in terms of their specific modes of veridiction; relations of power, not studied as an emancipation of a substantial and invasive power, but in the procedures by which people's conduct is governed; and finally, the modes of formation of the subject through practices of self. It seems to me that by carrying out this triple theoretical shift from the theme of acquired

knowledge to that of veridiction, from the theme of domination to that of governmentality, [13] and from the theme of the individual to that of practices of self, we can study the relations between truth, power, and subject without ever reducing each of them to the others (Foucault, 1984b: 9)

If we now move on to the issue of power, we find it defined as something that is 'exercised with intention - but not individual intention. Foucault focuses on what is accepted knowledge about how to exercise power' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9). As noted earlier, Foucault does not give in to a hermeneutic quest to find the 'meaning' that may have been originally intended by an author and which may lay behind the linguistic structure of a text. Methods such as discourse analysis are mostly hermeneutical but not exclusively; there are interpretative perspectives with different emphases (Wodak, 2008). Drawing on Foucault's work, Thomas Lemke (1995: 7) understands 'discourse' as 'the social activity of making meanings with language and other symbolic systems in a situation or setting'. Whenever we focus on the 'specifics of an event or occasion, we speak of the text' whereas when we look at 'patterns, commonalities and relationships that embrace different texts and occasions, we can speak of a discourse' (Lemke, 1995: 7).

A change in discourse transforms not only the meaning of the object; it renders it into a different object altogether. Language does more than designating things, it enables 'the transformation of verbally articulated knowledge into material objects'. Knowledge about 'statistics, materials, tools, routines and the like that enters every kind of physical work is rarely verbalized, or even cannot be verbalized (tacit knowledge)' (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 43). Stephen Ball captures this idea through his distinction between policies as texts and policies as discourses. As texts, policies are the product of multiple authors that attempt to control the range of meanings attached to them but never succeed completely in doing so. In themselves, texts are already the product of compromises at various stages and entail some degree of blurred meanings.

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[13] Governmentality refers to the ways in which rules are rationalized and rendered effective (Bacchi, 2012).

Also, texts enter the social sphere full of symbolic contents instead of doing so by entering a vacuum. In comparison, if policies are seen as discourses, what matters is how certain ensembles of policies exercise power through a production of truth and knowledge; that is, how they produce objects and subjectivities. The success of policies as control devices is the contingent result of the joint deployment of discursive regimes that are powerful enough to enable certain material dispositions or ways of being the subject of policy (Ball, 1993).

Discourses produce texts, that is, unique realizations of a discourse or various discourses. All the sources of information of my thesis – primary, secondary and interview materials – exist within the limits of the discourses that shape the domain of education policies and the historical narratives that can be produced at a particular point in time. For the purposes of this research, I consider as a text every type of communicative utterance that relates to the most abstract notion of discourse. Some of the key concepts from Discourse Analysis that I incorporate to my analysis are:[14]

- Intertextuality: texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and the present, because they refer to the same topic, actor or event.
- Recontextualization: there is transference of the main arguments from one text to other texts.
- Interdiscursivity: Every discursive strand has a diachronic and synchronic dimension.
- Discourse planes and sectors: education, the media, everyday life, the economy, state administration, etc. are all planes that are made of various sectors. TV, newspapers and radio are sectors of the media.
- Discourse positions and situationality: are the settings and situations from where actors speak and evaluate

There is, finally, the notion of context that operates at four levels:

- *Internal*, as the immediate grammar that conforms the text as a unit

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[14] The following is based on Wodak (2008: p.7) and Jäger and Maier (2009: 47).

- *Intertextual*, as the interdiscursive connection between utterances, texts, discourses and genres.
- *Extralinguistic*, as the social and institutional variables of a specific context.
- *Sociopolitical* as the wider intellectual and historical context that are relevant for the text.

Between Chapter 3 and Chapter 6, I emphasize the extra-linguistic and sociopolitical contexts of education policies between 1964 and 1973. These chapters are constructed by putting together key secondary sources with my own analysis of primary data gathered through interviews with 'policy experts'. The inclusion of these interviews with key actors – who, in most cases, played a double role as policy makers and academics in the field of education - is not meant to reinforce or to mirror those accounts offered in the secondary literature. Instead, the idea was to signpost the various recontextualizations of historical meaning that have been produced over time and the main elements of their strong sense of historical awareness as it came across in the interviews. More concretely, Chapter 3 looks at the historical background of educational policies in Chile up until the middle of the 20th century, Chapter 4 reconsiders the period 1958-1970, Chapter 5 discusses the first eighteen months of Allende's government, and Chapter 6 looks at the second half of its mandate.

Chapter 7 is an exercise of a different kind all together. It dissects a series of meetings and conversations that were recorded more than 40 years ago and proposes an original way of reading these as a discursive struggle. I focus on the topics, arguments and procedures of an advisory council which discussed a major policy report that became known as National Unified School. My data consists of the participants' contributions to these meetings as they were transcribed in 1973 from audio-recordings. I explore the regime of truth that regulated those interactions as well as the subsequent struggles within it in order to form an idea of the material conditions and subjective dispositions that were involved in that policy-making process. While doing this, I always kept in mind the sociopolitical, the extralinguistic and, fundamentally, the intertextual

level as it was informed by other historical documents that were produced around the same period.

Chapters 8 and 9 bring yet another shift to my reconstruction of the 1964-1973 decade. Here, the question of memory and identity come to the center of attention as both chapters deal with data gathered through interviews with retired school-teachers. Chapter 8 identifies patterns across individual accounts and, in the process, focuses not on their singularities but on shared discourses over education policy struggles. However, this raises the problem of identity and its relationship with the notion of discourse. In that sense, Chapter 9 underlines the particularities of three biographical pieces. This allows me to highlight how individual experiences of struggles over education policies are intertwined with discourses of identity that, in the end, are the footprints of the social formation of subjectivities. Here, the toolbox of Discourse Analysis plays its part alongside a narrative analysis that draws upon the notion of historical and generational memory, which takes us to one aspect of my conceptual framework that has not been discussed yet: the idea of narratives.

Just as the experiencing subject of phenomenology differs from Foucault's discursive subject, the concept of narrative has different emphases in different epistemological perspectives. The increasing interest of different disciplines in the role of narratives for the last 30 years has been called *narrative turn*.[15] This is not a homogeneous movement with a shared cannon of concepts. Gerome Brunner and Paul Ricoeur are two of the best-known figures in the theorization of narratives (Mitchell, 1981). Despite their criticisms of positivism, both authors also distance themselves from the poststructuralist disregard for the independent reality of the text. Brunner and Ricoeur believe not only in a reality beyond discourse but also in the centrality of studying the interaction between the two realms (Enriquez, 2011). As Brunner (1991: 5) summarizes it: '[t]he central concern is not how narrative as a text is constructed, but rather how it operates as an instrument of the mind in the construction of reality'.

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[15] Examples of this trend are *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* (2005) and *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative* (2007).

Biographical data gathered through interviews that elicit memories about past events have a narrative dimension that is inherent (Portelli, 2003). Rather than a positivist criterion of fallibility, the phenomenological approach that underpins narrative analysis asserts the *distinctiveness* of a particular narrative. A phenomenon cannot be reduced to a narrative but is an instance of it, one that may be of significance depending on its multiple connections (Davis, 2007). A narrative account is what articulates the constitution, interrelation and continuity of the main characters of a story (Giesen and Junge, 2003). If narrative analysis fits well into the phenomenological tradition', this is because it offers 'a continuous process of interpretation of ones' own personal history' (Levering, 2007: 24). Any process of interpretation presupposes the existence of an intersubjective realm that creates and shares the meanings and practices of a culture (Plummer, 1991; Levering, 2007). As Charles Taylor observes,

> While we are living beings quite independently of our-self-understanding or our interpretation of things, we are only selves insofar as we move in a certain space of questions, implying that all forms of identity are imaginative fabrications of the private and public, personal and political, individual and historical (Taylor, 1990, in Elliot, 2014: 11)

Individual and collective identities can only be communicated within the frame of a narrative, and what is known as historical memory only exist in a collective mode. Collective memories require external material carriages such as oral language or printed texts. These social carriers of memories are often selfappointed groups or social positions that 'store, imagine and reproduce history in the name of their respective community' (Giesen and Junge, 2003: 327). Generational memory is a representation of the experiences of the members of a generation that, unlike collective memory, is regarded as inaccessible to those who were born later (Mannheim, 1952). However, regardless of the scope of these shared memories, what is general to any imagination of the past is that it reflects the present culture of the community instead of directly relating to experience. Whilst historical memory conveys a sense of common past within a community, 'the particular representation of

that identity is subject to contest' in the present (Giesen and Junge, 2003: 365).

To that extent, oral history has gained increased acceptance since the second part of the 20th century. It enables historians to document the specific practices within a group or period as well as the subjective resonance of events. In turn, this has revitalized the debate about the status of memory in the reconstruction of the past (Perks and Thompson, 2003). To be clear, oral histories do not necessarily fulfill a 'political' mission, that is concerning themselves with the emancipation of the marginalized. In fact, they feature in a number of more traditional works of history that, for instance, resort to oral testimonies in their quest for factual evidence (triangulation); they also appear in research that expressly vindicates the interview as an opportunity to give voice to the oppressed, and they figure equally in a myriad of other perspectives that are in between (Portelli, 2003). The following statement represents well my position regarding the nature of the data that we can obtain through oral histories:

> We should not ignore that the raw material of oral history consists not just in factual statements, but is preeminently an expression and representation of culture, and therefore includes not only literal narrations but also the dimension of memory, ideology and subconscious desires (Passerini, 2003: 54)

At the same time, memory is not a collection of inert artifacts but the active process of creation of meaning (Portelli, 2003). I interviewed retired teachers because their voices about the period between 1964 and 1973 have been mostly neglected and this is a major loss for our understanding of the discursive effects of education policies (Goodson, 1997). Each one of the respondents offers a situated story of education policies that is still ingrained in their present identity and results from the intersubjective creation of meaning about the teaching profession, education policies and broader events of that decade (Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop, 2004; Olsen, 2008).

With different degrees of self-awareness, subsequent changes in people's lives are likely to mediate or refract their version of the past, either by modifying their memories about facts or their evaluation of events; therefore, 'oral sources might compensate chronological distance with a much closer personal involvement' (Portelli, 2003: 69). If we accept that oral history is an effort to make sense of the past and set our own narrative in a historical context, much of what has been said so far applies equally to the experts' voices that I interviewed and whose account offer a complement to the secondary literature. This reinforces the point about subjectivity being the real object to study in any oral history – instead of being a 'defect' to be corrected (Passerini, 2003).

Researching into school policies, says Dale (1994), is to craft a genealogy of the micro-stories of the social creations that became materialized in an institutional field of governance (Dale, 1994). Narratives and policies alike are texts subject to interpretation in the sense that they are instances of a historical network of discursive and non-discursive practices that are important to be accounted for. A historical narrative is a discrete collection of discursive practices whose analysis may be conducive to alternative narratives and ways of doing history (Gardner, 2010). Drawing on this, I thought it worth exploring and indeed questioning the effects of these struggles for the constitution of historically relevant identities: while some of these identities have been neglected or omitted, others may well lead to alternative ways of understanding ourselves. With this approach in mind, I argue that narrative analysis does not contravene a Foucauldian perspective of history as long as the researcher is willing to interpret the narrative outside the limits of a pre-existing grand narrative

Leaving aside the question of the ontological status of agency in Foucault's work, what matters in my view are the *methodological consequences of considering actors as producers of meaning and not only as products of discursive practices*. At an epistemological level, I follow the view that the logic of justification behind a research inquiry 'does not dictate what specific data collection and data analytical methods researchers must use' (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 15). Rather the opposite, there should not be an *a priori*

deterrent to offer a creative ensemble of theoretical constructs that originated in different epistemological strands unless there are openly detrimental consequences for the integrity of research practice (Plummer, 1991; Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

As said, the empirical chapters of this research analyze texts of two kinds; a series of interviews that I undertook between 2011 and 2013 and transcripts of meetings that took place in 1973 (see Chapter 1 and the next section of this chapter for further details). It is again important to underline that I am not attempting here an exercise of data triangulation in the sense of deploying contrasting or confirmatory evidence in order to arrive at a single, coherent or consensual narration. Rather, the variety of sources and perspectives that I include in my enquiry are the vehicles for the articulation of different experiences of policies. They may be complementary but do not come together in a final synthesis. I do not aim for a single narrative history as I acknowledge the incommensurability that separates them, to the point that, in some instances, they may even be contradictory.

Having established that my toolbox borrows from various traditions – poststructuralism, historical sociology, symbolic interactionism and phenomenology – the next section introduces my research design, including the nature of the sources and the analytical strategy I followed.

2.4. Methods: Sources, data gathering and analytical strategies

Overall, my research proceeded according to an abductive strategy, which means that a very broad research question guided the exploration of the sources of data, after which the findings of that initial exercise provided clues as to how to proceed with the interpretative phase of the research. This process involves the examination of the gathered empirical data, the researcher's reflexive notes and the literature, which can be a combination of explicitly academic texts as well as other material that may support advancing an understanding of the issues at hand (Cousin, 2014). For the purposes of clarity, I find it helpful to separate the use of bibliographic resources from the

use of documents as topics of investigation themselves. Bibliographic sources 'are approved in terms of their value in constructing valid descriptive statements about the things to which they refer. The researcher is interested in what it denotes about the world' (Scott, 1990: 36). In the case of the document as topic, the researcher tries to 'to explain the nature of the documents themselves, they are regarded as social products and are treated as objects of sociological analysis. The aim is to elucidate the social process through which they were produced to explain their form and content and, perhaps, something about their authors and the circumstances in which they were living' (Scott, 1990: 37).

Given the nonlinear nature of the research activity, the consultation of literature is not always or necessarily a fixed first stage that is then followed by the empirical stages. The literature can be approached differently after gathering data, thus suggesting new interpretative emphases to continue with the analysis (Cousin, 2014). For example, in light of the education policies from the 1980s onwards, I was interested in the phenomena of privatization. I adopted 'private school provision' as a sensitizing concept. By doing this, I acknowledged that the private/public divide was an early clue as to where/how to begin to look at education policy. In time, a second reading of the literature after the empirical stage, led me to rethink this specific angle of my analysis and concentrate on the struggles over education policy.[16]

Review of Secondary Sources of Information (Chapters 3 to 6)

Secondary sources of information such as the specialized literature provide systematic accounts of the period between 1964 and 1973 and constitute the core of Chapters 3 to 6. I have drawn upon them to put together a historical background of the education policies in those years and in order to offer enough referential (factual) information to the reader. Used to orient the design of the research, this secondary literature comprises more than pure referential

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[16] Herbert Blumer (1956) coined the notion of 'sensitizing concept'. While a *definite* concept refers to what is common to a class of objects, the *sensitizing* concept does not engulf a clearcut set of attributes. Sensitizing concepts are thus part of the background that informs research but are not themselves hypotheses.

or factual elements; it is also a product of specific conditions. In other words, these documents ought to be appraised according to their face-value information *and* their meaning. Scott (1990: 38) says,

> it is not possible to assess the quality of documents as resources without paying attention to the social conditions under which they were produced (…) also it is not possible to explain documents as the outcome of a system of social production without some consideration of how they relate to the events they ostensibly describe

The secondary literature that is used in Chapters 3 to 6 is of course a bibliographic source but it has also been contextualized in terms of the time when it was produced. Furthermore, each of these chapters put the sources at the service of the structure and themes that I considered relevant. In the conclusion of the thesis, I draw attention to some of the topics commonly present in the secondary literature about the UP and outline their possible impact on the portrayal of the period now. Acquiring a sense of those 'differing versions' was key to make sense of the mediations that constitute school policy as an object of problematizations over the time.

There are several books that are especially important to convey the contrasting interpretations of the governments of Eduardo Frei (1964-1970) and Salvador Allende (1970-1973). These secondary sources share a key feature. Despite addressing school policies from different disciplines, they do not reduce the focus to domains that are too specific to allow 'dialogue' throughout the chapters (e. g. didactics, funding or law). On the contrary, each author delivers her/his own comprehensive analysis of school policies and situates it within a complex social and historical context. Six books contributed crucially to the depiction of what happened and what was at stake in Chile's educational policies at the time. In chronological order of publication, these are:

- *Educación Privada en Chile* by Luis Brahm, Patricio Cariola and Juan J. Silva (eds), 1971. Below I cite eight different essays included in this collection.

- *La Educación en Chile de Frei a Pinochet* by Pedro Castro, 1977.
- *Continuity, Conflict and Change in State Education in Chile* by Cristián Cox, 1984.
- *The National Unified School in Allende's Chile* by Joseph Farrel, 1986.
- *Political Ideology and Educational Reform in Chile, 1964-1976* by Kathleen Fisher, 1979.
- *Educación y Sociedad, Chile 1964-1984*, Guillermo Labarca, 1985.
- *La ENU entre dos Siglos: Ensayo histórico sobre la Escuela Nacional Unificada* by Iván Núñez, 2003.[17]

Except for the first of these references, all these books were published within the space of 12 years, right in the middle of the Pinochet dictatorship. They are representative of a cluster of literature that compares, *retrospectively*, the actions of the last democratic governments before the army's takeover. Three of the authors (Cox, Fisher and Farrel) manifest sympathy for the reforms that were undertaken by the administration of the Christian Democrat party between 1964 and 1970. Moreover, they have a negative evaluation of the left-wing ideas that were prevalent at the time and, with different emphases, are critical of education policies of the Allende government. The other three authors differ greatly from each other in their views of education policies under Allende, although they all sympathized with the social ideals that the *Popular Unit* tried to embody – indeed, Iván Núñez was the Superintendent of Education in 1973.

As for *Educación Privada en Chile* (Brahm, Cariola and Siva 1971), this book is the most complete compilation up until the 1970s of both private provider's policy perspectives and quantitative data on private schooling. It addresses the subject of private education precisely at the beginning of Allende's government as it was published on behalf of a group that was actively involved in the shaping of the 1965 education reform that was implemented by the previous CD government. The particularity of this group is that it voiced a conjunction of two sensibilities that somehow overlapped when it came to their stances on private education; namely those of the Catholic Church and the Christian

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[17] This 2003 version is mostly a re-edition of its first publication in 1989.

Democrats that were inspired by the social doctrine promoted by the Latin-American Episcopal Conference (See Chapter 4). In sum, *Educación Privada en Chile* contributes with referential information as well as being informative about the arguments that were held by a relevant interest group.

During the process of research, I also acquired copies of an array of education policy documents and public addresses from the political authorities and other actors at that time. I put together a database with copies of relevant newspaper columns and editorials, as well as pieces of legislation that were issued between 1964 and 1973. While I did not engage in a systematic analysis of these sources in their own right, I had them available for consultation.[18] Skimming through the policy documents and press notes from the period helped me to contextualize some of the references to specific events that are contained in the secondary literature, the interviews I carried out and the transcripts of the NCE sessions. When these sources are quoted directly, it is for the sake of illustrating something that was previously referred in the literature or by one of my interviewees.

Thematic analysis of exploratory interviews with education policy makers (Chapters 3 to 6)

I conducted 9 interviews between 2010 and 2011. In the first stage of my research, the interviews were tools to explore the field. In fact, the information provided by interviewees served to identify relevant policy actors and to further narrow the secondary sources of information. I did not dive into a thorough analysis of the historical narratives of policy experts, but the material gave me a sense of the different lenses and postures available. As Ball (1994b: 117) explains:

> There is a difference between data as *evidence* and data as *background*. Background as general commentary upon policy making provides insight into the discourses and constraints which informed and affected policy

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[18] I scanned the press notes and kept them in a CD. I did the same with public addresses and statements in the period under study.

makers. Evidence, as a more specific description, gives indication of when, where and who of policy formation

In this thesis, I considered the accounts of 9 participants. All of them had direct participation in the implementation of or debate on education policies for an extended period. They are:

a. *Interviewee 1* is a former senior policy maker who was appointed to a high post during Allende's government (1970-1973). She also worked in the Ministry of Education after 1990 and is a prolific academic.

b. Interviewee *2* is a former civil servant who worked as part of the legal advisory department of the Education Ministry and the Superintendence since she was a young professional in the 1960s. Later, she collaborated with the team that formulated the Organic Constitutional Law of Education that was promulgated the day before the end of the dictatorship.

c. *Interviewee 3* is the former head of one of the most important departments within the Ministry of Education between 1990 and 2000. A sociologist and academic, he has published widely on educational assessment and also on the educational reforms that have been undertaken by various Chilean governments.

d. *Interviewee 4* is a former head of the Center for Teachers' Inset Training during the government of Frei-Montalva (1964-1970) and Salvador Allende (1970-1973). He has kept publishing about education policies since.

e. *Interviewee 5* is a senior civil servant who worked at the center mentioned above since its foundation and until 1985. For a while, she oversaw the department that designed in-set training courses.

f. *Interviewee 6* is a former academic and vice-chancellor of a state university outside Santiago between (1967-1973). He was also a member in the first

two governments after the return to democracy (1990-2000), where he occupied various other senior posts in the field of education.

Three additional interviewees did not eventually feature in the thesis but contributed to the initial parts of the research design. These are:

g. Interviewee 7 is a former president of the National Association of Private Schools that groups most religious, for-profit and voluntary institutions. He is Commercial Engineer by training and manages his/her own group of schools in Santiago and Concepción.

h. Interviewee 8 is a member of parliament who represents one of the most populated constituencies in Santiago since 1996. He is a member of one of the political parties of the coalition that governed Chile between 1990 and 2010 and was member of the Education Committee within the Lower Camera (1994-2000 and 2006-2010).

i. Interviewee 9 is one of the leaders of the assembly of secondary school students that organized demonstrations in the streets and schools of major Chilean cities in 2006. She is currently affiliated to a political party and follows a vocational program of studies.

I asked the interviewees to give me at least one hour for the semi-structured interviews that took place either at their workplace or in their homes (on average interviews lasted 2 hours). In advance of the interviews, I prepared a list of relevant themes, among which the divide between private/public in education played a central role. Each interview presented the opportunity to address specific subjects depending on who was the respondent. There was however a general list of themes that I proposed in order to prompt our conversation. These included:

• The historical relationship between private education and education as provided by the state.

- The nature and focus of the education reforms undertaken by Presidents Eduardo Frei (1964-1970) and Salvador Allende (1970-1973).

- The actors and institutions that played an active role in the creation and discussion of policies during that decade.

- The issues that generated more conflicts (or absence of them).

- The legal and administrative requirements to implement education policies.

- Continuities and discontinuities between de education policies between 1964 and 1973.

- The main changes of Pinochet's government in the education system.

- The policies and issues that remain central to education debates in the present.

At a later stage, I analyzed thematically these interviews and included six of them in Chapters 3 to 6. The historical background they offer complements the accounts of the secondary literature but not as mere illustrations that reinforce the latter's point of view. In fact, the voices of these policy experts added a perspective that is in no way 'innocent' or 'disinterested' regarding the discursive formation of education struggles in Chile. First, because they are still influential in the field, and second, because they show special care and sophistication in articulating their stories with the benefit of having experienced often in very direct ways the education policies of the past 50 years. This element of historical awareness in the present (2011 and afterwards) distinguishes their accounts from those of the secondary literature that, during the 1980s, did not have the benefit of hindsight we now possess. These different temporalities and relationships to the present, rather than some possible concurrencies between recent interviews and past texts, is what features centrally in my thesis.

In terms of the analysis of the interviews, I began by coding two transcriptions in detail. Once I identified some basic themes, I took notes of the other interviews while listening to the sound recordings, in the way that Welford suggests (Welford, 2001: 92-97, cited in Cousin 2014). The audio connected me with dimensions of the interviewees' accounts that a transcript could not provide such as the musicality of utterances, hesitations, stresses in some

ideas or words, etc., all of which could be of significance (Portelli, 2003). After further categorization of the materials, the emerging themes were the basis on which I organized the literature review that constitutes chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6. Therefore the sections that form these chapters resulted from a broad thematic analysis that sought to identify patterns across the materials. Generic as they are, these categories signal some of the main points of focus to which the sources draw attention in their accounts of education policies before September 1973. To that extent, the presentation of these chapters as my 'literature review' in this thesis is organized according to the issues that were raised by the policy experts in my interviews – rather than the other way round.

Documentary Analysis of one policy development in Chapter 7: The ENU through the looking glass of the sessions of the NCE.

As explained above, I studied the transcripts of the sessions of the National Council of Education that acted as an advisory board for the Allende government in relation to education policies. As I focused my analysis on a limited number of meetings, my aim was to explore some of the practices of education policy making in 1973, taking as an example how the NCE discussed a policy report called National Unified School report – the 'ENU report'. The materials analysed in Chapter 7 are part of the folder *Actas Escuela Nacional Unificada*, which is held in Chile's National Library in Santiago. The folder contains the transcripts and minutes of the 27 sessions of NCE up until 5th September 1973 – less than a week before Pinochet's coup. As I understand it, a 'transcript' is the written text of a whole session that was tape-recorded, whereas a "minute" is a piece that summarizes what was said during a given meeting and, sometimes, reproduces a selection of quotes as a way of illustration.

The credibility of the transcripts as the truthful reproduction of what was said in each session requires further reflection. To the best of my knowledge, and based on interviews with policy makers and the historian who helped me get access to the material, the folder survived the irruption of military personnel into the premises of the Ministry of Education in 1973. However, there is no

clear evidence about the date on which the audios were transcribed or whether their full contents received the approval of some or all members of NCE. Beyond this, a debate about how 'faithful' this reproduction is would be impossible to settle, given the unavoidable distortions involved in the transformation of speech into a written text (Portelli, 2003)

Actas Escuela Nacional Unificada has about 800 folios, divided in 2 volumes of equal size, each with its own table of contents. Attached to the respective transcripts and minutes, the folder also has a series of other written materials that were presented for the consideration of the NCE, plus other documents mentioned by the authorities over the course of their discussions. The first volume includes the complete transcripts of five sessions between the 30th January and 27th March 1973, plus annexes; the second, the records of their 22 sessions until 5th of September 1973. NCE met at least once a week, either at the superintendence or at the Ministry of Education itself, and it was customary that the Superintendent of Education would chair sessions whenever the Minister was absent. All sessions were subject to formal minutes, so there are transcripts that record the number of the session, the date, attendants, the subjects being addressed by the council, as well as the opening and closing time of the session.

I have analyzed in depth the records between the 30th January and 17th April 1973 because this was the period when the ENU report was the central subject of discussion at NCE. However, the more I analyzed these ten meetings, the more I realized that all substantive issues were encapsulated in the sessions in which the participants dealt with the ENU document in direct response to a requirement from the PU government. This matters because this discussion took place before ENU became visible politically and as an object of political controversy in the media. That is the reason why the first two sessions that were held in January and February 1973 are the core of my systematic presentation of empirical findings in Chapter 7.

After skimming through all the transcripts that make up over 800 pages, I traced the themes and procedures that emerged from the first session. As I

scrutinized the materials, I paid special attention to those utterances that departed from the preliminary categorization, especially if they suggested the reorganization of the discussion over the ENU. While I do not engage in a linguistic dissection, certain elements of discourse analysis were useful to interpret the transcripts given the exhaustive examination of the meanings and contexts of interactions that these techniques deploy (Cousin, 2014: 45). Thus, the line of enquiry that focuses on the procedural dimensions of the sessions directed my attention to such aspects as turn-taking (who speaks and when), the orientation of the exchanges and the sequences of actions. Likewise, the lexical choices and the discrepancies about the subjects to be discussed were part of an enquiry to establish what were the relevant education policy themes.

Since the records were produced in the present, that is, *as events were unfolding*, they are not the kind of ex-post problematizations that characterize oral accounts about the past that can have the benefit (and the limitations) of hindsight in relation to the events they address and what happened next (for example, Pinochet's coup and the interruption of democracy). Another difference is that the retrospective accounts of the teachers and experts I interviewed flow in a narrative mode most of the time and part of my work was to interpret the discursive production of each participant. In the case of Chapter 7, however, I do not concentrate on the narratives deployed by individuals but on the issues and conduct involved in the problematization of ENU within a particular micro space of interaction. I argue that these transcripts illuminate dimensions of the struggle over education at the time in ways that neither the secondary literature nor the interviews are able to do.

Note that there is a long list of policy documents, press notes and public statements that are mentioned in the transcripts. Every time I refer or insert an extract of those documents issued at the time, I add the corresponding reference.

<u>Primary data from interviews with retired teachers: analytic and narrative approach</u>

The last two chapters of my thesis are based on primary data from individual in-depth interviews that I conducted in 2012 and 2013 with 9 retired teachers who rehearsed for me their professional trajectories throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Unlike the recontextualization that was offered by policy makers in earlier chapters, these retired teachers have not enacted their version of history publicly in their capacity as experts nor were they asked to offer an account of the whole decade. Of course, their portrayal of events may have been influenced by written texts of all kinds – academic, political, the media. 'Memory aids' could perfectly well come from how others recall as well as more formal narratives in books such as the ones I consider in the secondary literature review (Portelli, 2003: 69). That is especially obvious in the case of one respondent (see interview to Genaro in Chapter 9).

I approached my interviewees via contacts with friends and former colleagues, who suggested to me potential participants. I called them personally to ask for an interview and explain the purpose of it. I also asked retired teachers whether they knew of anyone else that would fit my requirements and may like to be interviewed. In some cases, this led to more interviews. I ended up contacting 10 of the 14 people I could have interviewed, as I set a maximum of individuals and wanted to have a balanced composition in terms of gender, type of institution where they worked and the school level in which they taught. I interviewed 10 teachers but due to a speech impediment in one case I was eventually left with 9 interviews available for analysis.

My opening line was always an invitation for them to tell me about their professional trajectory between 1964 and 1973 – including how they perceived and felt in the context of policy reforms. This was intended to elicit a relatively spontaneous narrative and let them know that what mattered was their own experience of events (Passerini, 2003). All of them engaged easily for half an hour or so, but whenever they digressed for too long I reoriented the conversation with an 'ok, and what happened next'. Alternatively, I formulated

a specific question about something they mentioned by interjecting 'Could you tell me more about…..'. Interviews lasted 3 hours on average and two participants even called the day after to add information that had 'escaped their memory' initially.

I interpret how they configure the struggles over education policies at the time based on a thematic analysis of the common topics on which they focus mostly (Chapter 8). Then, Chapter 9 focuses in greater detail on the individual narratives that three of them produce. Below, there is a brief description of each of their profiles:

a. *Elvira* attended the state polytechnic school of a nearby town after completing primary school. Although her aspiration was studying law, university education was absent from the horizon of possibilities that her technical education provided. However, a special program offered by the State Technical University gave students from polytechnic secondary schools the possibility of following a four-year program to become teachers. Elvira acquired the qualification as Spanish teacher. Until her retirement, she worked all her career in the polytechnic of a little town out of Santiago.

b. *Genaro* graduated from the Catholic University of Valparaiso (CUV) as a teacher in History and Geography. By 1964 he had been working for a while in a Catholic *liceo* that received state support. During this time, he became closer to the more communitarian and progressive currents of thought within the Chilean Catholic Church. Throughout his career, he held different posts in various schools, including the role of headmaster in one private Catholic school (fee paid), also in Valparaiso. He also played a visible role in representing the private schools' federation FIDE.

c. *Celia* is a primary school teacher who attended an *escuela mormal* in the south of Chile. She taught in a rural school in the 1960s before she moved to the nearby city, where she worked in a bigger institution that included secondary school level. Celia and her husband were active members of the

Socialist Party. She went into exile after September 1973 and came back to Chile in the 1980s.

d. *Heriberto* attended an *escuela normal*, worked as a primary teacher and followed the courses to become a Spanish language teacher at the Catholic University of Valparaiso. After the interruption of democracy in 1973, he continued studying and worked for the Education Authority of Valparaiso. He is not a member of any political party but had a brief participation in the Christian Democrat Party during his university years.

e. *Ciro* is a University of Chile graduate (Pedagogy in History and Geography) whose professional trajectory includes a private religious school, a state school (*Liceo* 77) and the oldest state grammar school in the country that is exclusively for boys. He identifies politically with the Christian Democrats and during his life has also worked for the public body that administrates the national tests to apply for university places.

f. *Elena* graduated from pedagogy in Spanish Language at the University of Chile and taught primary and secondary school students at an *escuela consolidada* that is situated in a poor area in the outskirts of Santiago. She supported and still supports right-wing political parties. Before and after the military coup, Elene divided her time between her job at the school and her job at the department that organizes the national evaluation tests of school attainment.

g. *Ana Luisa* is a secondary school teacher of biology who graduated from the Catholic University of Santiago. She worked more than 30 years at the *Liceo* 66 (girls only). For a short time in the 1970s, she was the deputy director of the school. She does not identify with any political party but had sympathy for the Christian Democrats. Above all, she was against Pinochet reforms.

h. *Ariadna* graduated from the University of Chile as a Physics teacher. Her first job was at *Escuela Consolidada Pastene* in Santiago. For a brief period

of time, she moved to another city in the south of the country where she thought in a secondary school for girls.

i. *Raquel* worked practically her whole professional life at the *Liceo* 66 as a teacher of History. She retired in the mid-1980s.

For the analysis of transcripts, I adopted a strategy broadly based on grounded theory. After reading the interviews, I coded in detail three of the transcripts and analyzed each of them independently so that the coding produced different sets categories for each interview. Then, I listened to the other interviews while reading the corresponding transcripts and refined my categories. Finally, I completed the coding using NVivo. As a result, the core and sub-categories were arrived at in a systematic way. Core categories signaled critical key experiences and explanations, while sub-categories signaled properties of the core categories (Cousin, 2014).

Chapter 8 focuses on the patterns that emerged after comparing and contrasting the two sets of categories. As I identified common themes and topics that seem especially significant for the respondents, I also looked at their broad discursive strategies. In the process of listening to the recordings and reading the transcriptions, I initially grouped and codified the materials according to a variety of and sometimes overlapping criteria – for example: actors, scenarios, roles, spheres of action, basic linguistic figures, etc. Thus, a crosscheck of the categories pointed to other possible criteria, and so on. This iteration proved necessary to progressively make sense of individual narratives in Chapter 9.

I noticed that the stances and experiences that have a positive connotation account for most of the patterns across interviews, except for a couple of commonalities that point in the opposite direction. I found that some of discourse analysis' devices contributed to separate what was common ground among respondents from what was not. Somehow, this finding reminded me of the beginning of Anna Karenina: 'All happy families are alike, each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way' (Tolstoy, 2016: 3) This metaphor also

connects with the research that draws attention to the idealization *of the past* that apply to one's own group of references or even generation (Mannheim, 1952). This exercise of categorizing the transcripts across the interviews also shed light onto some aspects of the data for which the concept of 'collective memory' proved to be especially illuminating (See above, Giesen and Junge, 2003; Gardner, 2010).

It emerged, however, that accounting for common patterns was insufficient to capture the differences in teachers' discourses as compared, for example, with the themes and topics on which the literature and experts focus. Besides, it hid from view the richness of the materials by emphasizing the shared and mostly positive experiences. Unlike Chapter 8, which explores positive evaluations in teachers' recollections of their work at the time, Chapter 9 looks into the sense of loss and struggle that their accounts convey. A careful exploration of this range of emotions, views and judgments is a necessary step to complement the preliminary conclusions of the previous chapter. It is worth remembering that, although the aim of my thesis is to examine the period from the perspective of education policy struggles, I have avoided taking for granted the notion of 'struggle' as if this was a given for the respondents.

With the purpose of bringing up the uniqueness, nuances and contradictions that make up for the complexities of their experiences, I selected three of the richest individual accounts in terms of the detail of the descriptions and the weight of their evaluative statements. Chapter 9 then examines these interviews by deploying a narrative analysis that arrives to three distinctive and individual accounts of the struggle over school policies; each one of them becomes intertwined with its own discursive identity (Giesen and Junge, 2003; Gardner, 2010).

Chapter 3. Five Strands of Education Developments in Chile up to the 1960s

Before exploring the continuities and ruptures in education policies that have taken place since the 1960s, this chapter sketches the actors, institutions and processes with which the literature on education policies in Chile depicts the late 19th and early part of the 20th centuries. My aim in this chapter is to introduce what I consider are the five strands that, according to my interpretation of specialists' accounts, must be borne in mind as the background for the period I study. These five strands are: (1) the compromises between the Catholic Church and the state; (2) the ideal of an industrial ethos for the nation; (3) the expansion of school provision between 1920 and 1960, (4) discussion over pedagogy and,
(5) the relations between unions and political parties.

As said, these strands emerge from the secondary literature that I introduced in section 2.4 above. But the analysis offered in this chapter includes also primary data that was gathered through interviews with key informants whose insights provided useful points of reference for organizing my historical outline of education policies in Chile. By inserting some quotations from my interviewees, I have tried to produce a dialogue that recontextualizes some of the comments by the secondary literature. The resonance of policy makers with present concerns is framed as a retrospective historical awareness that comes from more than 40 years of distance from the events described. This contrasts with a body of literature that was produced much earlier and well before the return to democracy in Chile in 1990.

3.1. The difficult compromise between the Catholic Church and the state

One of the first aspects to consider when giving an account of Chilean education (or, indeed, of any other Latin-American country) is the role of the Catholic Church as an education provider and as a counterpart to the state in the struggles around school policies. While it is true that Governments of the young republic gradually increased financial support for the creation of state

schools throughout the 19th century, the Catholic Church continued the educational endeavors it had started in colonial times. An expression of the continuing expansion of confessional providers in education is the fact that, together with new primary and secondary schools that were set by different religious orders, the *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* was formally established in 1888. Since then, this institution has accrued significant influence at all levels of social policies and played a key role in the formation of the national elite (Correa, 2005).

Legislation issued after formal independence in 1818 also reflects the evolving relationship between the state and the Catholic Church. Take for instance the case of the decree of 1832 that established the obligation for all convents to run a school free of fees. Far from an unwelcomed imposition on the convents, the government at the time wanted to stimulate the presence of the church in schooling, for it was convinced that neither the municipalities nor the central state could possibly afford the maintenance of schools (Martínez and Silva, 1971). However, a year later, the Constitutional text of 1833 declared education provision as an area that must receive a 'preferential attention' from the government and did not acknowledge explicitly the presence of Catholic schools. This has been known since as 'teaching state' (Austin, 2003). From 1860 the state had the duty of providing schooling throughout the country in proportion to the population of each town (Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo, 2012). The context here is that 19th century laws form the background of later tensions between the principles of 'freedom of teaching' and 'teaching state' (See section 3.3 and Chapter 5).

Still, the coexistence of state and religious education in Chile has historically been one of elusive boundaries, where similar questions keep eliciting conceptual and practical debates: What is a national school system? What is the meaning of autonomous private schools? What is exactly the scope of state action in relation to the ownership and regulation of education? One of my interviewees, who had first-hand experience of the civil service in the area of education throughout the governments of Frei, Allende and Pinochet (19641990), identified the lack of clarity in the boundaries between state and

church as key to situating the contemporary debate about the public/private divide in education:

> *In Hispanic Chile there was already, as you know, education provided predominantly by the church. But as the church was united to the state, it was not possible to say that it was strictly private, it could be said that it was public, you see, because the state and the Church were one thing. When the period of the Enlightenment came and all that, things started to disjoin, secular schools began to emerge, foreign inspirations and that was going on for a long time (…) so what happened was a slow separation between the state and the church (…) then a conflict started growing because there were two powers so that in education began to grow (…) then all that generated a private school and ehhh, a public, I mean, state schools* (Interview 2)

By noting that the state and the church were conflated in relation to early education provision in Chile, this former civil servant – who supported Pinochet's military regime – conceives the hardening of the distinction between 'private/state' schools as resulting from the 'foreign-inspired' secularization of national institutions. The self-correction of terms that we notice at the end of the quotation is one indication of how, throughout the interview, she seeks to maintain a separation between 'state' and 'public' when it comes to education provision in Chile; that is, private providers like the Church also have an educational mission that she regards as public. But the element that strongly reveals the Catholic Church as a key actor of policy struggles is found in her idea that the process of *separating and creating two different domains* – the secular and the religious – is the one that triggered the potential for conflict at the beginning of the republic.

A profusion of legislative activity on education did not equal a dynamic or well-ordered school system. There were 78 catholic schools in 1842. In comparison, estimations are that in the mid nineteenth century the state supported less than 60 'poorly endowed' institutions in the whole country and that 1% of the population attended primary schools, with only a fifth of those

going into secondary schools (Austin, 2003: 4). Between 1851 and 1860 though, the state accelerated the construction of primary and secondary schools throughout the country (Austin, 2003). The last decades of the 19th century 'witnessed surprising public agitation around education that materialized in a violent controversy about the role of the state and the privates', due to the prerogatives of the state to oversee and conduct final examinations for students from elite private secondary schools (Martínez y Silva, 1971: 23). In 1872 and 1893 there were two unsuccessful attempts to end 'the monopoly of state secondary school in terms of examination' (ibid: 25).

By 1900 a third of the entire provision of education was private and the state lacked the resources to establish and control schools in a systemic fashion. This increased the tensions with the Catholic Church instead of reducing them (Fisher, 1979). The conflict around secularization was pervasive, even when finally the proportion of schools managed by the Catholic Church was smaller in comparison to the size of the state school system (see next section). A policymaker who identified himself with the first democratic governments after the end of the dictatorship in 1990 comments on the roots of the disputes over school provision throughout the 20th century:

> *I mean, it was already a century old (…) it is in Gonzalo Vial, you can look for the episodes when they fought throwing stones to each other at the beginning of the 20th century (…) it evolved, it got civilized but in terms of power, it never changed. In actual fact, [schooling] was mostly public, as it had been throughout the 20th century; I mean that 8% private elite schools of the Church plus a number of poor schools maintained by the Church, owned by the Church and receiving public funding (Interview 3)*

The argument here is that the arrangements regulating the coexistence of private and state schools have a long and contentious history in Chile regardless of the variety and intensity of specific clashes. He recalls his personal experience of the strong controls exerted over catholic schools until 1968, suggesting a certain sense of unfairness,

I studied in the San Pancracio (…) *the education of the elite not only had a centralized curriculum but also its examinations (vocal emphasis) were taken by state teachers, a functionary directly appointed by the Ministry of Education, administrated, paid and evaluated as a human resource in the way of a Napoleonic public bureaucracy (…) to that extent, right, exams, I mean, they put the marks…and it was like that in all my* humanidades[19] *(…) to commission teachers from* liceos fiscales [secondary state schools]*…it was a very solemn thing, tense, they had complete authority, complete, the control, it was a relation, I am seeing it (Interview 3)*

According to Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo (2012) for some of the conservatives and the Catholics the problem was not the right to education but the faculties of the state to intervene or rule the sphere of private affairs. The key point for this section is that we must place the role of the Catholic Church into context when studying the mobilization of individuals and groups over school policies. The relevance of the Catholic Church for the characterization of recent history lies not only in its ownership of educational institutions but in *its active and long-standing participation in the struggles that my research attempts to address.*

3.2. The ideal of an industrial ethos for the nation

Another way to approach Chilean education is to focus on the political ideas that were intended to provide a rationale for education policies. The initial European models that justified the creation of schools and universities under universalistic principles of inclusion and positivist ideas of progress gradually receded in favour of a form of *educational nationalism* (Ruiz, 2010). Members of the elite identified with this nationalistic drive and organized *congresos* or *asambleas* where they discussed and eventually subscribed to a *manifesto* on the purposes and main features of a future education system to be devoted to

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[19] *Humanidades* was the denomination of the 6 years of secondary school. This was later replaced by 4 years of *Enseñanza Media,* as compulsory primary school extended from 6 to 8 years.

the nation's wellbeing (Reyes, 2005). That is the case of the *Asamblea de visitadores de las escuelas* in 1912, (Assembly of Schools Visitors), whose conclusions read as follows: 'Civic and patriotic instruction is a direct and necessary consequence of the democratic institutions that rule over us. The love to the nation is the fundamental ground for teaching on civic matters and that teaching is to have a national scope' (*Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, cited in Ruiz, 2010: 64).

Additional instances, such as the two *National Congresses of Secondary Schooling* in 1912 and 1913, called for a curriculum that emphasized the need for economic leadership (in the case of national elites), while at the same time it sought to provide practical knowledge for the masses (Reyes, 2005). Starting from the assumption that the ethnic and cultural conditions in Chile were *a disadvantage to be overcome*, intellectuals gathered in these and other encounters dismissed the cultivation of the humanities and sciences *per se*, whilst advocating instead for a school experience that was oriented towards economic progress. The 'economic education' of the popular classes was to help remedying the country's handicaps and push towards a manufacturing and trading economy (Ruiz, 2010). There were different emphases within broadly similar nationalist positions: from a plain defense of autocratic and stratified forms of instruction to a more democratically inspired version of national education in tune with John Dewey's ideas of active learning. The following quotations about workers, and economic performance in Chile more generally, illustrate the position espoused by Francisco Encina, who sits at the autocratic end of the spectrum:

> Unfortunately, the stage of evolution of the Chilean worker does not allow, for now, the achievement of his potential (…) Aborigine's blood circulate abundantly trough the veins of our people, and although this blood is generous in virtues, it cannot compensate for the three centuries distance gap in relation to Europeans (Francisco A. Encina, Nuestra Inferioridad Económica, 1911 cited in Ruiz, 2010: 71)[20]

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[20] It is worthy of note that the title of Encina's work is *Our Economic Inferiority*.

Encina believed in the existence of a genetic and cultural heritage that, without explicit intervention, was dysfunctional to the demands of progress (even if initial conditions have the potential to be disciplined for the benefit of the nation). He was convinced that the disposition to war is present not only among aboriginal peoples but also among the Spanish elements who internalized the way of life of a belligerent context.[21] In Encina's thought, systematic education may turn the still primitive energies that are devoted to military affairs into industrial capabilities *as long as intellectualism was eradicated from schools* – especially from the secondary education forming the elites (Correa, 2005). He expressed it as follows in 1912:

> the vocation for economic activity should be stimulated through excursions to textile factories, trading companies and the best farms; brief biographies of the first entrepreneurs; dignifying manual labor; cultivating the social duty of 'carrying one's own weight' and presenting economic independence as an individual leverage (Francisco A. Encina 1912, La educación económica y el liceo, cited in Ruiz, 2010: 74)

Encina's proposals were already being criticized at the time as 'a relentless hosanna that lifts the business man above an incense cloud' (Molina, 1912, quoted in Ruiz, 2010: 75). If only partially, we can perceive here how this argument at the beginning of the 20th century resonates with contemporary disputes about education policy. In fact, many of the allusions to the interest of the nation and the racial characteristics of the population are also present in the responses of one of my interviewees. While reflecting on the drivers of education reforms in Chile, she comments:

> *Opposite to what most people say, I think education in Chile has always been good, I mean good in what sense: Chileans have (…) you see, the Chilean is more pragmatic, has a more practical intelligence, easily adaptable, moves swiftly and grasps things quickly…maybe that*

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[21] Larraín (2001) expands on the consequences of having forged a sense of national identity through notions of war since the onset of the Chilean Republic, as this adds to the forms of racism that are characteristic of the colonialist episteme.

intelligence is not so profound from a philosophical point of view but it shows an incredible ability to make quick decisions (…) So education has to be according to how people are; one doesn't get anywhere by trying to measure people against…I find there is an issue there, measuring with foreign instruments that have nothing to do with the Chilean idiosyncrasy (Interview 2)

First, this interviewee makes the statement that the context-sensitive nature of Chileans' capabilities needs to be taken into account when designing policies and devices to evaluate learning – as opposed to foreign instruments that have been designed for other realities. Tests such as PISA and TIMMS fall in this category. This subtle but negative reference to foreign influence also came up when the interviewee mentioned the influence of 'the Enlightenment' in the creation of education institutions that separated from the Catholic Church in Chile. Her political loyalties may or may not play a part in her stances here, although open admiration for Encina's ideas is a common occurrence among right-wing intellectuals. They found in the conservatism of Encina a nationalist narrative of society that served the interests of businesses in order to justify the economic transformations they embraced in the 1980s (Ruiz, 2010).

Darío Salas represents a different version of the nationalist concern over education. He agreed with Encina about the need to structure education around its social and economic functionality for the country. However, instead of the conservative emphasis on order and class subordination, Salas invoked democratic principles when analyzing the situation of Chilean schooling and proposing a course of action. Inspired as he was by John Dewey, he translated some ideas of the American philosopher into the concept of 'social efficiency' as the purpose of education understood as a collective endeavor (Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo, 2012). Society spends resources and energy in the formation of individuals because doing this enhances the common good.
Underlying Salas' nationalism is his affirmation of the two conditions to achieve 'social efficiency': *equal opportunities* and *preparation for democracy*. In his somber analysis of Chile, he contends,

We aim at democracy but the equality of educational opportunities that characterizes democracies does not exist or it only exists for a small proportion of people. Half of our population lacks an essential tool to participate of the civic sphere: the vote, and an ignorant democracy is, as Rowe says, a fake democracy (…) We aim at democracy, yet we allow that cultural inequality and class differences keep not a small part of our society as servants or pariahs (Salas, El Problema Nacional, 1917, cited in Ruiz, 2010: 78)

Salas also states that, in turn, these two conditions demand the institutionalization of a compulsory and universal popular education, funded by the state and with a common ground so it fosters citizenship. Furthermore, education should contribute to health improvement, 'our race's vigor', preparation for productive labor, development of social virtues, etc. In addition to this, a preference for vocational education is articulated as an essential part of the development of citizenship:

in this concept of citizenship, the primary element is labor: nobody can be a good citizen while not being useful at all, if not being efficient for the society in which he lives, if incapable of holding his own weight at least (Salas, El Problema Nacional, 1917, cited in Ruiz, 2010: 79)

Whatever the internal distinctions among the nationalists, what all these quotes reflect is that, ultimately, there was a clear push for a school that could prepare individuals to contribute to the collective good, pre-eminently through the productiveness of their labor. This assumption, combined with the advocacy for democracy, rendered Salas' views very influential in the debates about the necessity of a legislation on compulsory school (Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara, 2006; Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo, 2012). The next section centers on the years following the passing of that act by drawing attention to the consequent expansion of school provision in its the relation to class differentiation.

3.3. Expansion of school provision. 1920-1960

The Compulsory Primary Education Act, sanctioned in 1920, applied to all children under the age of 15. Despite, or possibly because of the contentious issues at stake, the act constitutes a landmark in the relationship between confessional and secularized elites (Egaña, Núñez y Salinas, 2003). When the center-left Radical Party advanced the first proposals for compulsory education at the time, it emphasized the role of the state schools and the benefits of schooling to the economy, political stability and social order (Cancino and Cancino, 2015). The response of the Catholic Church was to voice its doubts and concerns about the possibility of extending the scope of public schooling (Austin, 2003). This was also the position of the Conservative Party, which sought to downplay the idea of a system that was going to be mostly controlled and provided by the state (Castro, 1977; Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo, 2012).

Certainly, the legislative space was an arena of policy struggle between the interest groups represented by the Catholic Church and the state, a dynamic that is anchored in the very origin of Latin-American republics. Following Reyes (2005), authorities found in the Compulsory Primary Education Act a means to arrive to an inter-elite consensus amid a wave of criticisms of the elitist, segregationist and centralized model that defined public schools. It is from this viewpoint that the author interprets the 1912 and 1913 Conferences as instances that were actually defending the *status quo*. Inspired by the principles of South-American libertarians[22] and *Escuela Nueva*[23], groups of teachers were gradually assembling pedagogic doctrines that were against authoritarianism in schools and pursued the participation of teachers and communities in the definition of education horizons (Reyes, 2005).

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[22] For instance, Jose Carlos Mariategui, and José Vasconcellos (Reyes, 2005).

[23] *Escuela Nueva* was a trend in Europe and the US that promoted a pedagogy that was centered in the particular characteristics of the student (emotional, intellectual and practical). John Dewey and Maria Montessori have been associated with this tradition (Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo, 2012).

After years of delay, the definite text of the 1920 act only became applicable in 1929; mostly due to the various modifications that were introduced to the document (Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo, 2102). Significantly, the approved version of the law explicitly established and recognized the existence of private schools with and without funding from the state (Cruz, 1971). This confirms that, while it is true that the allocation of public resources to private education entities was not regulated by a specific act at this stage, the subsidies for private schools were there already – and long before the creation of such regulations in the 1950s (Ruiz Tagle, 2010). It is likely that this situation came to be part of the negotiations behind the drafting of the Constitution of the Republic in 1925, which guaranteed access to compulsory education while endorsing the principle of 'freedom of teaching' (Frontaura, 1971; Ruiz Tagle, 2010).[24] This ruled out any implication that the state could monopolize school provision (Fisher, 1979).

Stressing the class factor, Castro (1977) draws attention to other developments following the approval of the 1920 Act. He argues that the middle classes in Latin America slowly began to resent the contradictions that the crisis of capitalism made visible in various countries, which encompassed, in practice, the exclusion of most of the population from secondary schooling. These would have been the conditions that led the middle-classes to a formulation of the problem of education as part of the struggle to control the state apparatus and get more job opportunities. In contrast, the position of the working classes was more ambiguous. Despite opposition to the exclusiveness of secondary and higher education, there was no direct push for an alternative conception of schooling. Austin (2003) does find significant experiences of 'workers schools', which were mostly run by the Masonic Lodge but agrees on the atomization and discontinuity in the case of adult education. This resulted in the working classes' abandonment of their own projects of 'popular education' in favor of the terms in which the middle class articulated the demand for more access (Castro, 1977).

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[24] *Liceos experimentales* were established in 1929.

According to Rama, what ensued was the creation of an alliance between the middle and the working classes. This allowed Chile to follow a track towards a 'universalist' model of education not only in terms of access (i.e. wider enrollment) but also in terms of national integration (i.e. common curriculum and administration); this was seen, moreover, as a way to compensate for the lack of economic resources in the country. Every time the middle classes sensed that they were being left out of economic progress they pushed together with the working classes for solutions that implied the enhancement of education opportunities. Once attained, this compromise had the effect of inhibiting further social mobilization of the working classes. As a sort of trade off, governments offered intergenerational progress via schooling in exchange for social order (Rama, 1985). Actually, this trend towards the institutionalization of schooling in Latin America had detractors among some intellectuals. The philosopher and catholic priest Ivan Illich, for example, deemed 'schools' as settings that, in the long run, disempowered workers in their struggle against capitalism if only because 'most people, in any corner of the world, learn most of what they know and do outside the school' (Illich, 1970: 133).

Perceptions of educational opportunities in the context of social classes also come to mind in understanding the trajectory of the teaching profession in Chile. Since the beginning of the 20th century, school teachers were asked to identify those students who they considered could be channeled into a teaching route. As soon as those students finished primary education, they carried on their schooling as interns funded by scholarships in institutions that prepared them for undertaking instructional responsibilities. These institutions were known as *escuelas normales*. The completion of the first four years was equivalent to a secondary school license and the cycle of two further years qualified them for working as primary school teachers (Austin, 2003; Egaña, Núñez y Salinas, 2003; Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo, 2012).[25]

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[25] *Escuelas normales* adopted the French model of *école normales.* In Chile, they started in 1842 and were progressively dismantled after 1973.

Above all, school teaching was a means for social mobility for those who had recently acquired access to secondary education. In other words, teachers were somehow the embodiment of the nascent middle class in Chile and Latin America more broadly (Núñez, 1980, 1986). In his historical chronicle of the teaching profession in Chile, Luis E. Rojas (1997) stresses that these *normalistas* were highly reputed wherever they worked, not least because they embodied the idea of meritocracy in a social context of acute inequalities. This view resonates with the impressions gathered from policy makers. Interpreted as face value, the next comment gives some clues on the symbolic aspects that were attached to the history of *escuelas normales*:

> *There was something special about that system* (...) *primary school teachers spotted the future* normalistas *and those youngsters became teachers at 17 or 18 years of age! And then that person could opt, through further training to teach at secondary schools* (…) *Therefore, the state encouraged, promoted people* (…) *that is how Gabriela Mistral thrived! There was definitely something there* (Interview 6)

Here it is worth noting that Chilean participation rates in primary school had risen from 46% in 1920 to 61% in 1952 (Hamuy, cited in Farrell, 1986). By 1960, the National Census reported that enrolment in primary schools had increased to 73.9%, whereas secondary enrolment was in 20.7% and students of tertiary education were 3.6% for polytechnics and 1.8% for universities. (National Census, cited in Labarca, 1985). Already in 1927 there was a classification of secondary schools that included specializations in trading, industry, agriculture, among others; a policy that was in line with the productive ethos that seemed to prevail in the previous decade (Serrano, Ponce de León y Rengifo, 2012). In 1938, under a government led by a president from the Radical Party and whose leitmotif was '*Governing is educating*' vocational education received much greater attention (Núñez, 1980). Around a third of secondary school pupils attended vocational tracks in 1940 (Fisher, 1979). Again, regarding the adults, the few experiences of popular education could not counterbalance the monopoly of the state and the assimilation of *adult*

education to the formalized *training* schemes set to enhance workers' economic productivity (Austin, 2003).

Among other initiatives, the political administration between 1942 and 1946 implemented the *Plan San Carlos*, which consisted in a variety of educational institutions that were to serve the rural area of San Carlos, nearby the city of Chillan. The educational provision included an institution preparing teachers, a rural elementary school, a school for health-instruction and a school that taught vocational and academic subjects to all secondary students, without dividing paths (Núñez, 1980, see next section). Unmistakably, political authorities were not losing sight that the goal was to awake the interest of students towards professions or occupations out of the traditional paths, in consonance with the advocates of industrialization. Interestingly, a second Radical government, led by Juan Antonio Ríos, continued this route but now under the slogan *Governing is producing* to the dismay of progressive educators (Rojas, 1997).

Based on the idea that *the features of the education system are effects of multiple instances of negotiation and struggles*, I would like to propose a summary of the processes that this historical background has identified up to this point. Those are:

(1) the *consolidation* of and guarantees for private education (fundamentally Catholic);
(2) the *visions* of public schooling that is able to respond to the ideal of an industrious nation, and;
(3) the *expectations* of getting social mobility rewards thorough schooling.

3.4. The ever so small reign of the pedagogy

If we now turn our attention to the pedagogical field, Núñez (1980) constructs a chronology of the attempts at general educational reforms. The first, advocated by the teacher's associations, occurred in 1927 with the creation of the Ministry

of Public Education and the Superintendence.[26] A second reform in 1928 was the result of contingent political alliances that, among other consequences, resulted in the government appointing many of the teachers who had advocated for radical changes to key positions within the education system administration. The initiative operated through the issuing of Decrees instead of emerging from the slower legislative process of parliament (Reyes, 2005). One of the aims of the 1928 reform (decree N°. 7,500) was to reproduce some of the innovative pedagogical practices that were undertaken by private schools within state ones. Examples of these practices are the organization of school communities including teachers, students and parents; the introduction of vocational options to the curriculum of scientific-humanist secondary schools (*liceos*); and the transformation of the university from a space to educate professionals into a center for research and creativity. Among other innovations, the reform promoted group learning, instances of individual study, outdoor activities, flexible time-tables and eradicated final exams (Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo, 2012).

All these new practices came to an abrupt end once the government decided to reverse its policies less than a year after launching the reform; this was mostly in response to the reconfiguration of political alliances (Núñez, 1980; Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara, 2006).[27] Although the practical reach was limited, the initiatives imprinted the principles of the new pedagogy within the doctrine of state education by increasing the promotion of in-service teacher training, for instance. Above and beyond, it put on the map the possibility of experimental teaching practices in the classroom and new ways of organizing school life that teaching institutions could consider (Núñez, 1980). Bureaucratic and traditionalist opposition coming from the administration agencies and from within schools permitted neither subsequent proposals to introduce flexibility to the curriculum of secondary education nor more active and participatory teaching/learning methods (Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara, 2006).

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[26] The Superintendence did not begin functioning until 1953 because these proposals were not fully implemented.

[27] This was the first Government of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (1927-1931). Nonetheless, the government issued a special decree that allowed some of these secondary schools to continue.

Nevertheless, the few *liceos* that were involved in the pilot of the policy did gain high prestige at national level and were later recognized as special (Farrel, 1986).

As mentioned, the *Plan San Carlos* (1945) launched during the second consecutive government of the Radical Party as an attempt to develop a local educational system that integrated all levels of schooling under a single administration; it promoted a close link between schools and communities that 'in essence, used the school as the center for community mobilization' (Farrell 1986. p33). At the time, *Plan San Carlos* had behind it the expertise and financial support of the US government, even though the plan had been initiated by leftwing educators. However, the support of teacher unions and even the approval of the Catholic Church did not prevent the sudden termination of the experiment in 1948 – that is, well before its implementation scaled up to include all secondary schools in the country (Núñez, 1980). Again, this *volte-face* was due to the political shift to the right of the president in office, Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, who in 1948 started a persecution against the left-wing elements who had supported his coming into power (Correa, 2005; Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara, 2006).

The years of Gonzalez-Videla (1946-1952) are particularly relevant for the legislation concerning subsidies for private schools. According to a law of 1951, the subsidy per student was set at 50% of the cost of a student of average attendance in the state system. In order to qualify for the subsidy, the requirements that schools had to meet were: not charging fees (except the same enrolment fee as applied in state schools); the payment of at least the minimum wage, payment of legal contributions to pensions to all members of staff, plus an extra salary annually. Teachers from private schools had also to show their adequate preparation for the job and, in the case of secondary level, to adopt the curricular programs that were used by state schools. In 1952, a further law established a subsidy for fee-paying private schools that equivalent to 25% of the average cost of a state's school student. Authorities justified the measure under the argument that state should assist with the

additional resources that schools had to allocate to comply with the laws that bettered the economic conditions of teachers (Cruz, 1971).

In 1953 the Superintendence of Education finally began its functions after years of delay. This public agency was autonomous from the Ministry of Education and its mission was precisely to oversee the education system beyond the traditional categories of primary, secondary and higher education. The Superintendence was allowed to conduct research and design strategies to overcome centralization and had an advisory council, the National Council of Education (NCE), that was composed of representatives of different groups linked to the education system: teachers' unions, entrepreneurs, parents' associations, state and private universities, state industrial corporations, state and private schools (Núñez, 1980; Rojas, 1997). As part of the Superintendence, there was also a unit called the Technical Office for Education Research that provided information and empirical evidence whenever the NCE decided to turn to their expertise.

Although in a strict sense the NCE did not have the legal prerogative to decide on matters of education policy, each project of reform that was considered to have long-term impact on the system had to be presented for discussion by the Council before it was approved. This consultation process was compulsory but the government could very well disagree with the NCE and go on with a decree regardless (Núñez, 2003). In the words of an interviewee with a relevant role in one those councils, those instances were highly beneficial:

> *In truth, someone could say that it was only blah, blah (…) but it was an important blah, blah and the council worked as a space for debate, deliberation to reach agreements. Despite the majority of the government in the councils, the executive was interested in the discussion. Generally, the council would approve the initiatives adding some suggestions, the eventual modifications were subject to negotiation…at least it made the government to think twice before going ahead against the judgment of the*

> *council* (…) *it was the equivalent to the* democracia de los acuerdos (…)
> *it was a very respected and legitimized instance* (Interview 1)[28]

Here the respondent stresses that the bureaucratic structures did consider mechanisms to deliberate education policies. For him, that space was positively valued and influential. As a whole, the education system combined administrative structures that were highly stratified with elements that pushed towards its democratization and closer integration. The later tendency triumphed in the NCE to the point that the Superintendence proposed a comprehensive reform in 1956. The idea was to unify the school system and its administration, to set up a planning process for the development of education and to incorporate new purposes of education inspired by a 'scientific' pedagogy. In the end, the enactment of the reform was a site of conflict and the implementation of the policy was blocked by groups within the education bureaucracy, as well as by conservative sectors within the teaching profession (Núñez, 1980).[29]

Between 1952 and 1958, the government sanctioned a new labor statute for teachers and established a small number of the so-called *escuelas consolidadas*. These schools were located in rural areas and in the periphery of Santiago. They usually provided primary and secondary education in the same building and their curriculum integrated vocational and academic contents. Their system of administration was designed to be participative and capable to promote education solutions to the specific needs of local communities.[30] Other initiatives, such as the *Plan Arica* (1961-1971), were built on the contributions from the few existent *liceos experimentales*[31] and *escuelas consolidadas* (the reciprocation of services between the community and schools, for example). Most of these schools had been established in the north of the county and would suffer the same marginalization by the educational

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[28] *Democracia de los acuerdos* refers to an implicit pact of political compromise to avoid situations of open conflict after the return of democracy in 1990.

[29] The education system in the UK went through similar struggles in the 1940s and 1950s. See Ball (2012).

[30] This was the second time that Carlos Ibáñez was president (1952-1958). In his first period, as we just mentioned, he approved and then discarded the reforms of 1928 and 1929.

[31] *Liceos experimentales* were established in 1929.

establishment of Santiago – even after demonstrating their success in reducing dropout figures (Farrell, 1986). In fact, by 1962 there were only 13 *escuelas consolidadas* in the whole country.

On a more positive note, Núñez (1980) believes that all these experiences somehow helped to increase the awareness about the need to unify the educational system, decentralize administration and promote the adaptation of schools to the local environment. Altogether, initiatives such as *Plan* San Carlos and *Plan Arica* are relevant to understanding the ideal of a school rooted in the community. Núñez (1980) concludes that education reforms in Chile have been mostly defined by the 'dialectic' between three models:

- *traditional*: that is, an idea of schooling that is associated with authoritarian and conservative values and practices;
- *modernizing* that is, an idea of schools that focuses on technical and vocational skills and sensibilities, and;
- *alternative* schools that promote experimental approaches to teaching and allow for more learning autonomy.

The initiatives under the latter model were never brought together as a set of clear proposals and had little access to or impact on the spheres of administration and the funding of educational research (Cox,1984). Presumably, the existence of a well-established Herbertian [32] tradition in pedagogy, plus the good school-participation rates that Chile exhibited in comparison to other Latin American countries (with the exceptions of Argentina and Uruguay), conspired against more progressive policies. In other words, spending time and resources on changing the pedagogic practices was not seen as necessary since other pedagogic discourses were already in place and school enrolment was growing at a decent rate.[33]

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[32] The Herbatian tradition is based on Johann Herbart's ideas about pedagogy as a domain ruled by the teacher, who systematically instructs on the contents of a subject knowledge by imposing discipline.

[33] By 1960, the participation of 12 year-old children in schools was 78.2% (Labarca, 1985).

In Núñez's view, authoritarianism, religious indoctrination and nationalism were strong enough not only to survive the end of the colonial times but also to remain prominent throughout the history of Chilean education: they remain clearly in evidence in the reform of 1965. The limited impact of 'alternative' pedagogic models and the distrust of educational experimentation are significant because they touch upon the concrete ways in which education struggles were going to resurface in the period between 1964 and 1973.

3.5. Unions and political parties. Together but not mixed up?

By the 1930s, state employees approached 50,000 (Humud-Tleel, 1969). This number continued to grow and only between 1940 and 1946 the state recruited 16,520 new staff (García-Covarrubias, 1990: 120-121). More than half of the GDP went to pay for the salaries of state employees at the beginning of the 1950s (Fazio, 2004). As the expansion of the school system grew slowly but steadily between 1920 and 1960, the number of teachers increased too. As in most countries, teachers became significant in relation to policy in both quantitative and qualitative terms. In the first three decades of the 20th century, teachers were becoming more visible in the public scene as they advanced education proposals. Besides, teachers exerted an important cultural influence within the areas where they served (Reyes, 2005; Serrano, Ponce de León and Rengifo, 2012).

By the 1940s, teachers had formed various organizations that grouped them according to the different school modalities in which they worked: primary, secondary, vocational secondary (with all its subdivisions), adult education, headmasters' associations, etc. None of them had the legal status of a trade union because unionism was not permitted within the civil service. They were private associations and were recognized as such by the Ministry of Justice for the purpose of legally protecting the capital assets they owned (Núñez, 1986 and 1989). During that period, the leaders of teachers' associations usually aligned themselves with the policies of government, in good part because they were either militants or sympathizers of the political party in office. Therefore, governments tended to regard these organized groups as *their* social base;

most notably, this was the case with the Radical Party between 1938 and 1948. In return, the organizations received in practice the same treatment that was given to formal trade unions: recognition of their representativeness and opportunities to address the government to discuss issues of concern. Thus, governments dealt with their demands on behalf of teachers and tried to stay on good terms with all organizations (Farrel, 1986).

During the mid-1940s, perennial inflation became acute to the point that governments were under increased pressures from the unions (Correa, 2005). An agreement about a rise in a percentage of the teachers' salary, for instance, was inconsequential due to the depreciation of the national currency within the same when the rise had to materialize. After this experience, fragmented associations concluded that joining forces could be a good strategy and this was arguably the main reason behind the creation of the Chilean Teachers' Federation (FEDECH) in 1944. As an umbrella body, FEDECH did not inhibit the autonomy of the individual organizations composing it to negotiate its specific demands with political authorities (Núñez, 1986, 1989). But the shift from an implicit alliance with the government to an active mobilization regarding labor conditions became apparent on the occasion of the teachers' strike that took place still before the end of that decade, in 1949, under the presidency of Gabriel Gonzalez Videla. The strike was led by teachers who belonged to the Radical Party and against a government led by the same party. Although they began as localized, short and uneventful, strikes later became bigger, longer and more frequent actions of protest against subsequent governments (Farrel, 1986).

An analogous situation affected other sectors of the economy whose workers were also mobilized, just as the poorest inhabitants of the cities occupied empty terrains and peasants began to assert rights over agricultural lands (Correa, 2005). Right into 1950s, the Chilean government paid for the service of an expert group from the US to advice on the control of inflation. Known as Klein-Sacks commission, the consultants worked from 1955 to 1957 and succeeded in reducing inflationary figures. However, their monetarist measures dramatically worsened employment conditions within certain

industrial sectors. In the end, political opposition blocked further implementation of the recommended reforms (Correa, 1985). Overall, the interplay between unions and political parties was the source of an array of different practices. From complex yet normalized forms of *clientism* to exceptional negotiations in the middle of national strikes, those practices were put into action more often than not by unions or students with different degrees of commitment to any particular political group (Correa, 2005).

The main political parties representing a substantial part of Chilean labor force in the late 1950s were the Radical Party, Communist Party, Socialist party and Christian Democracy (Landsberger and McDaniel, 1976). A comment by a former PU authority sheds some light on how the relationship between political activism and the teaching profession will figure in the next two decades of education policies:

> *As a whole, the teacher's force was a significant political actor, also as individual militants within their political parties, because each teacher was a cultural authority in the territories where she/he worked. Therefore, political parties listened to them a lot, especially the left-wing parties, the right-wing sector did not need that social base* (Interview 1)

This statement applies especially to rural areas, where teachers were also the face of the state. Beyond the quantitative importance of teachers as voters and the constituencies they could mobilize for political purposes, this general sense of legitimacy is a recurrent topic in part of the secondary literature (Rojas, 1997; Egaña, Núñez y Salinas, 2003; Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara, 2006).[34]

3.6. Closing remarks

My discussion has lain down some dimensions of Chilean education policy that are useful as a historical background for later policy developments. In so doing, this Chapter underlines the role of relevant agents such as the Catholic Church, the state, and teachers' unions in the evolving processes of

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[34] See also Chapters 8 and 9.

secularization and expansion of schooling. Indeed, primary and secondary sources referred to here focus on different issues: the compromise between Catholic Church and the state (section 1), the idea of an industrial ethos (section 2), the expansion of school provision (section 3), pedagogical trends (section 4), and the politics of policy-making (section 5). The 'episodes of education reform' up to 1960s imbricated pedagogic paradigms, social projects and political will in distinctive ways (Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara, 2006).

Interestingly, most of the authors that contribute to the discussion integrate both pedagogic and workers struggles in their analysis of the first half of the 20th century; they portray this period as a buoyant time for emancipatory ideals and experimentation. For example, Cox notes that the 1928 pedagogic movement was mostly promoted by members of the Socialist and Radical Parties and that the same group of militant teachers was later behind the instauration of *escuelas consolidadas* (Cox, 1984). It is striking, however, that at some point in the 1950s we witness a significant *dislocation* between these two areas of policy debate.

By quoting interviews with policy makers together with and alongside secondary references, I have chosen to highlight how some of the topics in the literature find a place in the problematizations of different experts in the present. First, there is a conservative perspective that vindicates Catholic education as fundamental to the formation and development of the nation and distrusts foreign influence on the curriculum because of its exaggerated intellectual emphasis. A second sensibility also identifies with the values of Catholic education and expresses a resentment of the attempts of the state to control or oversee it. A third, more progressive perspective acknowledges the problems of identity that have been generated by the modernization of teacher education and the loss of those institutions (*escuelas normales*) that embodied social mobility for teachers. Finally, there is a more trade-unionist voice that underlines the importance of advisory councils where private and state education converge. At the same time, this explains the relationship between workers' movements and left-wing political parties.

Chapter 4. The Pursuit of Modernization and Social Justice: 1958-1970

Chapter 4 looks into the political projects, actors and devices at work in the education policies that were carried out between 1958 and 1970. As Chapter 3, this draws mainly upon historical accounts concerning education policies in Chile plus my own interviews with experts and policy-makers. Typically, these accounts exhibit specialized knowledge on pedagogy, economy, law, history, sociology and political science, and they are intertwined with insights drawn from personal experiences of the events as either participants, academics or both. In that sense, authors and interviewees alike fit a profile of 'expert witnesses of the period'. While most of the chapter focuses on the presidential period of Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970), the task would be incomplete without the context of the previous administration of Jorge Alessandri (1958-1964). The literature and the policy makers I interviewed consistently underscore the view that modernization agendas were shared by both administrations.

Developmental theories were the most influential approach for policy devices in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay during this decade; not least because they articulated what was regarded as an alternative to the Cuban Revolution in the context of the Cold War. A salient aspect of this influence was the array of social aid programs that were promoted by the US and other international agencies (Tozer, 1993). Meanwhile, the triumph of Fidel Castro became an issue for the Catholic Church in Latin America more generally. It was not only the possibility that the course of events in poor countries could trigger similar uprisings with an anticlerical edge; there were also currents of thought that claimed common grounds between Christianity and revolutionary ideas. Unsurprisingly, education policies were a compound of contested philosophies, theories, strategies and practices and these are the ones that this chapter seeks to outline. H.M. Phillips's UNESCO handbook draws upon education priorities at the time:

Education has been considered above all as preparation for life instead of a formation to make a life. There has been an interest on the educational needs of children in terms of personality development, their future as citizens, but without taking notice of the future contribution to the social and economic development in a broad sense. This cannot possibly work for slow economies whose future depends on their capacity to break free from the vicious circle of poverty and a social system that is an obstacle to development. The relative importance of professional (vocational) and civic education varies according to the level of development demonstrated (Phillips, 1965: 22, cited in Ruiz, 2010: 86)

The quotation above indicates that underdeveloped countries faced distinctive challenges to reformulate education priorities. This chapter shows that questions about education posed a challenge to all agents that sought social or political change, as they needed to offer a credible agenda of social justice.

4.1. Early modernization trends in education policies

The development project was built on the idea that the achievement of economic progress should be the main goal for Latin American nations (see chapter 2). It was also built upon a methodological confidence in the rational planning of economic and social life for the purposes of attaining development (Rama, 1985). There are two major implications of this planning element for the public policies in Chile during the 1960s. Firstly, the mandate of a systematic planning process assigned the state a key role that it could not relinquish. This was something that market coordination was to achieve. Secondly, the practices of planning would increasingly involve the use of economic research to foresee possible scenarios in all the policy fields that were perceived as relevant for economic development. On the whole, it can be argued that this 'planning phase' was a feature of all the political administrations from Alessandri in the mid-1950s to the Pinochet regime in the early 1980s (Góngora, 1981).

The right-wing government that was in office between 1958 and 1964 accepted at least some of the development orientations that were promoted by international agencies and explicitly engaged in the delineation of a ten-year economic plan. The policies that were sketched by president Jorge Alessandri, as much as the reforms that were carried out later by President Eduardo Frei, were attempts to hold on to the hope for industrialization. A healthy industrial profile required the growth of internal markets, the modernization of productive apparatuses, agrarian reform, the partial nationalization of natural resources and, indeed, a renewed education system (Núñez, 1980; Correa, 2005). One of the high-profile policy makers interviewed shares this interpretation on why Alessandri initiated some reforms in spite of having some reluctance towards certain changes:

> *In many areas, Alessandri paved the way but did not execute them* (…) *as in the case of the agrarian reform under the influence of the* Alianza para el Progreso*; Alessandri was not interested in implementing an agrarian reform but it was the only way to access the funding provided by the Alianza* (Interview 6)

Alianza para el Progreso is the name of the developmental agenda promoted by the US during the presidency of J. F. Kennedy in relation to Latin America. Here, the interviewee brings up the international resources that were made available for those states committing to reforming policies in some key areas. In his view, Alessandri and the wider sector he represented would not have introduced changes to the ownership of land had they found another way of acquiring some of the economic resources they needed to sustain a political administration that was already under pressure. The continuous rotation of ministers of education – four in a presidential period of six years – can be seen as an indicator of that constant pressure. Independently of how fair or unfair this is as a depiction of the president's intentions, the interviewee's insight touches upon a central element of policy making during the period covered by this chapter (1958-1970). The developmental route to modernization meant, in most cases, signing up for an alliance with the US, which in turn could lead to

access to credits and other technological and human resources that were necessary for the success of the proposed reforms.

The alliance between the US government and various governments in Latin America was launched in 1961. Once Lyndon Johnson took office, he renewed the terms of this collaboration as an open strategy to curb the influence of the Cuban Revolution (Tozer, 1993; Ruiz, 2010). Since developmental theories considered education provision as a key investment in the human capital that was required to meet the inherent challenges of progress, the shape and performance of the education system was at the center of its concerns. This approach was validated by international agencies whose recommendations were subscribed to by state bureaucracies. Arguably, this implied a loss of influence for national intellectuals and educators, who had been the most respected voices for new education trends in the first half of the 20th century (Góngora, 1981).

In March 1962, the Conference on Education, Social and Economic Development in Latin America published the documents that translated the contents of the *Alianza para el Progreso* into education reforms that were coherent with the goal of economic progress (Ruiz 2010). There, the representatives of the agencies organizing the event - UNESCO, OIT, OEA, FAO and CEPAL – affirmed the centrality of planning and the importance of placing education among the top investments in Latin America. They also outlined the sort of instruction and curriculum that should be given priority in response to the challenges ahead. Raúl Prebish, the chairperson of the conference, stated as follows those prescriptions in his opening address to the conference:

> In the education field, clear orientations and goals are necessary. There are forms of education – the ones of vocational training - that are going to contribute directly to the growth of production, and there are others that can only be dealt with at large once the growth of the per capita income makes resources available for that matter (Prebish, 1962, cited in Ruiz, 2010: 86)

This quotation calls for a direct relation of education to the mandates of economic productivity. Even more, they offer a critique of education systems that do not fit the supposed needs of countries that are still at an early stage of development. Hence, the stress on civic values, character building, and the like should be better postponed until the basics of economic productivity are well attained. To be sure, Chile had not reached the benchmark set by these international agencies and so the advice underscored adherence to these guidelines.

Economic experts and education stakeholders did not necessarily meet in the same spaces. Still at work, institutions such as the National Council of Education attempted to bring together individuals representing different sectors of society whose input was needed in order to consider the benefits or disadvantages of any particular reform (Núñez, 1980). Among its members, it was possible to identify both conservative and pro-reform positions; however, the need to include grassroots militants created its own problems for the materialization of change: consultation to each interested group inevitably slowed down decision-making. In occasions, due to protracted dissemination and deliberation, a given policy would be implemented months behind schedule (Farrel, 1986).

From the late 1950s, governments promoted a rational process of planning whose main goal was to respond to the need to 'catch up' with the more developed economies. In line with that aspiration, in 1961 the government chose to rely on a consultation device whose logic was not democratic representation but technical expertise. The executive did not stop the deliberative mechanisms within the NCE but bypassed it by setting up a different, official, committee to analyze the educational provision with the purpose of making it compatible with the development of the economic sphere (Fisher, 1979; Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara, 2006).

Following the recommendations of this committee, Alessandri's administration created in 1962 a second advisory board that became known the Commission

for Integral Education Planning of Chilean Education. The president charged it with two tasks: first, putting together all significant information about the school system that had been dispersed or overlooked until then and, (2) the elaboration of a plan of reform based on these findings (Ministerio de Educación, 1964). The results never materialized but were published three years after the commission ceased work. One of its key paragraphs reads,

> For us, the democratization of secondary education is a heartfelt aspiration. We must generate equal educational opportunities (…) This equality of opportunity must take place in two forms: quantitatively, that is, by giving access to the system to the biggest possible number of teenagers, and, qualitatively, that is, by providing the same level of studies to everyone who attends secondary education. Equality in the qualitative level is a factor that facilitates and promotes social integration and mobility within the system (Revista de Educación N° 3, 1967: 3-6, cited in Ruiz, 2010: 93-94).

As it becomes clear in later sections, the quotation above carries a message that is very much in tune with the texts of the reform undertaken by the Frei administration. The references to democratization and equal opportunities mirrored the ambitions that the Christian Democrats declared in respect to education. It is reasonable to say that the conclusions at which the expert commissions arrived during the first half of the 1960s were early enunciations of the guiding principles set by the Frei government. Moreover, the proposal that was presented in 1964 was, in essence, very similar to the proposal delineated by the Frei government, only that the timing of the initiative overlapped with presidential campaigns, thus conspiring against its dissemination (Núñez, 1980; Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara, 2006).[35]

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[35] Among the reformulations that never materialized, there was a new administrative structure to ensure coordination and decentralization. The model distinguished instances for consultation (e.g. National and Regional Councils of Education), for technical or normative functions (e.g. Technical Offices) and also for implementation (the Superintendence and Unified Chief) (Rojas, 1997).

This experts' work allowed the Christian Democracy to rapidly formulate policies to address the issues that had been captured in this updated picture of the school system. After all, many Christian Democrats were members of this commission while it was active between 1962 and 1964, not least its president Oscar Vera (Livacic, 1971; Castro, 1977). Alessandri's and Frei's administrations subscribed to the project of modernization envisaged by the international consensus about the challenges for the Latin American region, so the work of Chilean policy makers throughout the 1960s followed the strategic prescriptions of the development agenda (Angell, 1993; Correa, 2005). Furthermore, they not only shared their rhetoric over educational priorities but converged also in relation to what was the legitimate knowledge that should be used to undertake education reforms. The reliance on the gathering of quantitative data and the operation of expert commissions to appraise that information are examples of newly legitimized devices that were in place to generate information on, and a consensus about, education (Fisher, 1979).

4.2. The troubled trajectory of the Catholic Church

Early in the 1960s, the leading journal of the Catholic Church in Chile, *Revista Mensaje,* disseminated articles on and summaries of John XXIII's *Mater et Magistra*. The encyclical document deplores the concentration of capital and privileges and explained the rise of revolutionary movements as a result of social injustices. Furthermore, it accepted that in many cases people who receive a salary have also the right to benefit from the business' success. He even recommended the participation of employees in the ownership of those businesses they brought to success with their work (Bigo, 1962). Consistent with this doctrinal shift, Chilean Bishops announced in 1961 that 13,200 acres of land belonging to the Catholic Church would be divided and sold to families. But Chilean Bishops went even further by pushing for nationwide reforms to tackle poor housing, unemployment, low wages, and illiteracy among others; they labeled those poor conditions an anti-Christian state of affairs. In 1962, Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez and twenty archbishops issued *A Pastoral Letter on Social Problems*, which contained strong exhortations for Catholic action against the abuses of liberal capitalism (Conferencia Episcopal, 1962).

Gradually after the Vatican had started showing signs of a certain *Aggiornamento,* a social progressive message gained a greater place in the agenda of the Catholic Church around the world. These principles influenced Catholic laicism and members of the clergy all around Latin America. In 1967, the General Conference of Latin American Bishops Council met in Medellin to progress matters further. It released a document whose most relevant enunciations are (CELAM, 1968).

1. The oppression that is exerted by certain groups may give the impression of maintaining order and peace but, in reality, it is the continuous cause of rebellions and wars.

2. Those who have wealth should not take advantage of the pacific stances of the Church as a means to oppose, passively or actively, the deep transformations that are needed.

3. The curricular content of education is usually too abstract and formalist. Didactic methods are more concerned with knowledge transmission than with the creation of knowledge through a critical spirit. From a social point of view, education systems are oriented to reproduce current social and economic structures rather than to their transformation. As an alternative, the Church should promote a 'liberating education'.

4. It is a proven fact that the excessive idealism of young people exposes them to a diversity of groups with extreme views. This leads them to dismiss undeniable facts and adopt a radical oppositional attitude.

5. It recommended the creation of movements for young people to prepare them as leaders; to enhance the participation of parents in the school community and the active involvement of schools with local communities.

6. Confessional schools should collaborate with the non-confessional ones.

7. To move towards an effective democratization of Catholic schools whose aim is to provide access for all social sectors without discrimination.

8. The conference supports the right of parents and students to choose schools within the interest of common good.

9. The collection of school fees is being seen with increasing distrust. In turn, this leads to exaggerated estimations about the amount of money that Catholic schools have.

10. The secretive way in which economic resources circulate between schools and parishes feeds into inaccurate perceptions and fantasies about economic matters within the Church.

11. The Church must collaborate with the political formation of the elites through its movements and educational institutions.

12. In attention to methodological considerations, the following categories of subjects are identified in relation to their vision of social change: traditionalists or conservatives, developmentalists, and revolutionaries (who may or may not be Marxists).

These twelve points provide clues to understanding how the Social Doctrine in Latin America reshuffled the relationships between the Catholic Church and other political groups. The document deplores the fact that Latin American countries were trapped between Marxism and capitalism, and suggests that both systems erode the dignity of human beings. It rejects the tendency of schools to favor the transmission of abstract knowledge, the neglect of emotional needs and critical thinking, and the functionality of schooling in the reproduction of social inequalities and a money-oriented culture (Ossa, 1969; Cariola and Cabello, 1971).

Until the 1960s, the conservative party had represented the interest of the Catholic Church in Chile. An important manifestation of the downhill trajectory

of the Conservative government was the weakening of this alliance with the Catholic Church. Six years in government between 1958 and 1964 left the rightwing parties in a difficult position after the failure of the economic policies that were pursued by Alessandri (Correa, 2005). The duty of pursuing social justice and the effective promotion of credible alternatives to Marxist ideas became increasingly incompatible with the old unwritten pact between the Catholic Church and the Conservative parties that had until then represented oligarchic values. In their place, Christian Democrats (CD) filled the void by making their own the Church's indignation about poverty. This hit home with most of supporters who subscribed to Catholicism (Cariola, 1968; Correa, 2005).

Something to keep in mind is that, in Chile, the CD originates from a group known as *The Falange*, a movement whose militants had deserted the Conservative Party and joined the International CD in in 1938 (Góngora, 1981). Despite some differences in the sociocultural backgrounds of their militants, right-wing parties and Christian Democracy converged in many aspects, starting with their complex relationship with the Catholic Church and national elites (Correa, 2005). An analysis of the election results of 1964 indicates that the majority of the nascent middle class supported the Christian Democrats and that most of those who had once supported the right-wing Conservative and Liberal parties now voted for the CDs (Farrel, 1986). This resulted in the victory of Eduardo Frei Montalva over the left-wing coalition.

From now on, this chapter describes policy processes and events between 1964 and 1970. Retrospectively, authors are agreed that the education reforms before the Christian Democrat Government (1964-1970) were partial, temporary, or circumscribed within a particular area. On the contrary, *Frei's administration was the first to undertake a major national program of transformations* (Núñez, 1980; Farrel, 1986). However, the conditions of possibility for that reform were unfolding in a timeframe and space that exceed a single presidential period and involved agents outside of the dominion of local and national politics.

4.3. The reforming drive of the Christian Democrats

This section focuses on the doctrines and rhetoric tools that the CD put forward during their time in office. Discrepancy between slogans and practice apart, political platforms may help us understand what groups would like to believe, or would like the public to believe (Fisher, 1979). Under the slogan '*everything must change*' (*todo tiene que cambiar*), the campaign platform of the CD candidate for the presidential election of 1964 promised reforms at practically all levels: social, cultural, political and economic. In the first place, the self-defined 'party of the center' claimed to be against the political practices of the traditional elite who had exerted control over the vote of peasants and had implemented a perverse logic to govern. In contrast, the CD campaign caught the attention of a growing urban middle class plus some of organized peasants by defining public policies as coherent products of an integral modernization program (Góngora, 1981; Rojas, 1997; Correa, 2005).

Possibly, the rhetorical device that best represented the project of the Chilean CD was the promise of a *Revolution in Liberty* (*Revolución en Libertad*). This motto successfully condensed an idea of social justice compatible with the respect for an individual's pursuit of prosperity within a community. The reference to revolution satisfied the anti-elitist and egalitarian sensitivities of the supporters of radical changes, whereas 'in liberty' conveyed the horizon of capitalist modernization, which attracted voters who were not so keen on radical redistribution (Fisher, 1979; Correa, 2005). Together with modernizing ambitions and egalitarian connotations, the CD's political discourses retained a degree of connection to the traditional cannon of the Catholic Church, although by the middle of the 1960s that attachment to tradition had varied among militants depending on their interpretation of the new Vatican Social Doctrine (see previous section).

Something needs to be said here about the ideas that CD put forward and the kind of political values they claimed to embody, all of which may well be part of the notion of ideology, to use a term that the literature reiterates constantly. In general terms, the CD party defended the values of what was then called a

Christian-Humanism whilst it applied a neoclassical approach to planning and growth. By the former Fisher (1979: 41) means an ideology of participation and self-liberation of all citizens in a communitarian society'; CDs believed that 'the road to power is participation'. In terms of education, the CDs' declaration of principles promoted a society that integrated all individuals into mainstream social, economic and political life. According to Fisher's understanding, for the CD:

> Without education, the individual capacity for participation is seriously limited; from a humanistic perspective, every individual has the right to self-liberation which occurs through spiritual or mental as well as material or physical development. Modern socioeconomic mobilization or developments require a technically trained and diversified labor force (Fisher, 1979: 31)

She continues her argument drawing upon the idea that 'there are two important premises underlining education reform: the nature of the man in society and those that define the nature and origins of knowledge' (Holmes and Lawreys 1957, cited in Fisher 1979: 31). Frei's reform built on the trust in scientific knowledge and integral planning of policies in order to align the functioning of the education system with the challenges of economic development. At the beginning of his mandate, Frei articulated four principles that oriented the reform efforts of his government and incorporated these principles into his First Address to the Nation (Frei,1964):

- *Educational Guarantees*. To make effective equal opportunities to access, retention and progress within the educational stages, so that the system can truly express its democratic features, with no limit but an individual's capacities.

- *Sociocultural responsibility*. Alongside the contribution to the integral formation of the individual personality, education should be valued as an instance of integration into the community and a key factor for social change. Education was meant to prepare for an open society.

- *Preparation for an active life*. Education is essential for the country to have sustained progress. This implies a closer relationship between education and different practices in the labor market and the need to prepare different levels of human resources in an adequate quantity and quality.

- *Education as a process for life*. The preparation to participate in the community and the world of labor must be understood as life-long processes. The individual must be able to assimilate new contents and experiences according to the progression of knowledge. In addition to the renewal of qualifications for the productive sphere, this implies important modifications to the concepts that shape teaching practices.

When analyzing these statements, it is necessary to keep in mind the amalgam of social theories and doctrines that influence the 1965 educational reform. In the words of Cox (1984), for instance, principle 1 was equivalent to saying that the policies will aim at the redistribution of cultural capital among younger generations. The second, sociocultural responsibility, component, echoes the Christian Humanist aspiration to form individuals who cultivate their spiritual selves and relate to a pluralistic society by getting involved in the wellbeing of their own communities (Fisher, 1979). Principles 3 and 4 bring to mind the ideas that were advanced by developmental theories and the recommendations that emanated from international agencies. The reform was framed to some extent at least within developmental theories that rendered education into a function of economic growth and downplay other components of educational theory such as citizenship or the access to non-instrumental knowledge (Ruiz, 2010).

Indeed, a statement from Frei's Minister of Education, Juan Gómez-Millas reinforces this impression when he asserts that education has been considered for a long time as a luxury, a privilege or a consumption good:

> today we see it as a valuable consumption-investment. It is an investment with the highest economic benefit and its effective administration is

decisive for all aspects of national development (Juan Gómez-Millas, 1965: 24)

Arguably, the doctrinarian elements that authors perceive in these CD principles resonate with the dominant tradition endorsed by Chilean intellectuals from the beginning of the 20th century, including its internal variations in terms of secular or religious versions. Chapter 3 explained how, around the 1910s, many local thinkers became convinced of a causal link between schooling, the betterment of the workforce and economic prosperity. However, the emphasis on the economic value of education that was embedded in the 1965 education reform did not find legitimacy within that intellectual tradition. Rather, it has a more direct reference point in the studies that were undertaken by T. Schultz and G. Becker from the University of Chicago, and especially in the conferences and documents that were issued by UNESCO and the European Economic Community in the years following the Cuban Revolution (Ruiz, 2010). All these instances favored the prescriptions of a development framework that needed urgent materialization in Latin American nations.

To reinforce the importance of this issue in later sections of the thesis, I would like to share a comment from one of my interviewees. This respondent, who held a post of high responsibility during the Popular Unity government, adopts a modernization rationale when judging other attempts of reform that also incorporated an element of integral planning:

> In Plan San Carlos, Plan Arica, etc., all those initiatives (…) the idea that state education should be developed through careful planning, that idea had been around for a long time. But there were no attempts of planning the education apparatus as a whole. Even having the perspective of lifelong learning already in mind, there was no strong association between the planning of education and the planning of the economy. That appears only in the 1960s, especially during the government of Frei, that was their novelty as it were (Interview 1)

The fragment below captures well how the ideal of a coordinated planning of education and the economy is ubiquitous in reference to past and present. It also suggests a sense continuity of the basic premises installed by the modernizing projects from the 1960s onwards.

4.4. The reform of 1965. Policy transformations at full speed

This section offers a summary of Frei's education reforms that also intends to draw attention to particular hallmarks that will then be picked up in Chapters 8 and 9 devoted to the narratives of school teachers about the struggles over education polices at the time.

The national scale of the transformations that the 1965 reform aimed to achieve covered multiple areas: the administration of the system, the infrastructure, the curriculum, the formation of teachers, and the social support for students. The authors mentioned up to this point in the thesis do not necessarily have a shared view on what was the contribution of this reform to social change. But they do see the group of policies undertaken by the Christian Democrats as the first proper reorganization of school provision at a national level. In time, the government gained recognition of success across different political sectors for expanding school enrolment and for steadily spending larger fractions of the domestic product in education: 2.7% in 1965, 3.5% in 1967 and 4.9% in 1968 (UNESCO, 1971: 516, cited in Fisher 1979: 54). This diagram summarizes the areas of school reforms between 1964 and 1970:

1964

Formulation of Principles

Decree 27.952 formilizes the reform

General Census to s targets of enrolment 1965

1965

Curriculum Commission

Preparation of new Teachers in "expres programmes

National Guidance Service

Relunched School Social Assitance Service

2 more years of compulsory primry school.

1966

Guidelines for: Evaluation of Learni Participative Plannir in schools and "learning by doing".

Re structuration of Curriculum and scho hours primary schoo

National School Supervision System

1967

New Sylabus includ LO and contents

New sistem of assesment and promotion to next school year

Trial of this changes a few schools

In-site trainning Cent

1968-69

Escuelas Normales can only have applicants with secondary school licence.

New structure and curriculum for secondary schools

JUNJI

One of the reasons why achievements regarding school access were widely acknowledged by all political sectors relates to the relatively low levels of progression and retention in Chilean education prior to 1964. Before the reform, only 32% of those who entered primary school completed the six compulsory years of instruction. In spite of the law of compulsory primary education, the adult population spent on average only 4.2 years in school and this came down to 2.4 years in rural areas. Even worse, almost half of the dropout took place during the first two years. Additionally, there were 30% of students who, having completed primary education, were excluded from the secondary school level. Of the 70% who did continue, more than two thirds dropped out due to the strict divide between academic and vocational paths, and the rigid requirements for promotion to the next level. Finally, within the small proportion of individuals reaching university, there was also a 40% dropout (Livacic, 1971; Shiefelbein and Farrel, 1982).

The expansion of education enrolment took place in concomitance with other modifications to the structure of schooling. The 1965 reform reduced the years of secondary school from six to four and added two compulsory years to primary education, from six to eight. Looking at retention rates by social stratum, it is clear that the percentage of completion did not fall as a result of the extension of primary level schooling, as it could have been expected. Opposite to this, in 1970, the proportion of the population that completed the 8th grade had risen dramatically among the urban poor and white-collar

stratum. While all groups benefited from the reform, the children of agricultural laborers benefited the least in relative terms, even despite the fact that peasantry as an occupational group was rapidly diminishing in size (Labarca, 1985).

Group	1943-1953		1970
	% surviving to grade 6	% surviving to grade 7	% surviving to grade 8
Rural poor	15.3	5.6	18
Urban poor	27.8	13.9	48
Middle class (white collar)	48.4	32.1	71
High class (professionals and managers)	79.8	73.3	100

(Source: Schiefelbein and Farrel, 1982: 65)

Between 1965 and 1970, Chile achieved almost universal participation at primary school for the 7 to 14 years old. Almost 70% of 5 to 19 years old population was enrolled in formal education. The country increased retention and enrolment rates at all levels although tertiary education started from a very low base-line. This outcome also included the strengthening of adult education and literacy:

	1960	1970
Primary	73.9% (6 years)	84.6% (8 years)
Secondary	20.7%	24.1%
Technical	3.6 %	5.1%
University	1.8%	3.0%

(Source: National Census, cited in Labarca,1985: 26)

Of all of these accomplishments, expansion of enrolment surely left the most indelible mark. But while it is undeniable that the CD government succeeded quantitatively, the fact that almost all children under 18 years of age finished

six or eight years of schooling inevitably devaluated the basic school license. This had a negative impact on the poor urban individuals, for whom having acquired a primary school license no longer made a difference in terms of social mobility. This was going to have repercussions of all sorts for the next administration, including the teaching profession itself (Schiefelbein and Livacic, 1968; Labarca, 1985; Rojas, 1997).

Besides the mid- and long-term consequences of the accelerated expansion of students in the 1960s, the implementation of the CD education reforms brought immediate challenges to teaching, starting with the teaching qualifications. Governments increasingly promoted university qualifications in pedagogy persuaded by the notion that higher education institutions were the best spaces to truly instill scientific rigor in the practices of school teachers throughout the country (Cox, 1984; Allard, 2002). Frei reformed the *escuelas normales* so that they could offer a qualification after three years, only that now they could only accept applicants who had completed secondary school. Immediately, more universities opened pedagogy degrees, which impacted on the class composition and culture of the teaching force (Núñez, 1980; Rojas, 1997). Two comments from different sources seem to ratify the impact of this development. The first one comes from a policy-maker who witnessed and agreed with the progressive extinction of *escuelas normales*

> *it must have been hard…but I think it was the right thing to do, teachers gained professional status (…) However, I have witnessed a tremendous nostalgia for the escuelas normales, it was almost a religious thing. I remember being in Copiapó [small city in northern Chile] the same day of the anniversary of the foundation of the escuela normal of that town, which had stopped functioning more than 30 years ago. Still, every year, all the shops close, people paraded in the streets. Therefore, one sees something deep and meaningful* (Interview 6)

For the respondent, the legacy of *normalistas* is not to be found only in individual biographies but is embedded in the culture of those towns that took pride from having their own *escuela normal* and presumably still felt its loss.

According to one chronic of the teachers and the teaching profession in Chile up to the 1980s, with the end of the *escuelas normales*, the state discarded the 'laboratory that forged the most talented among young people' (Rojas, 1997: 178). Rojas concludes that the policy change had negative repercussions. Chilean schools benefited from young *normalistas* who were full of passion and commitment. Students with that profile (from rural areas or small towns) were left with very limited career options after the reform because access to university was beyond their possibilities. The problem is, says the author, that because teachers have never been well paid, the applicants to pedagogy degrees are usually the ones with the lowest scores in national tests with no real drive for teaching (Rojas, 1997).

Modernization of state bureaucracy was needed because it suffered from both functional fragmentation and territorial centralism. That meant that the Ministry of Education was divided by educational levels and modalities under its responsibility (e.g. primary, secondary, vocational, etc.) and each of those administrative units handled the entire territory through its offices in Santiago. Hence, the chances of undertaking coordinated planning and management of processes across the country were low. Frei began the installation of regional offices that could replicate ministerial jurisdictions in order to achieve a more effective and decentralized administration (Fisher, 1979; Farrel,1986; Núñez, 2003). As a parallel effort, the government created new public agencies in charge of designing, performing and enhancing specific policy areas.[36]

These agencies had an annual budget and depended administratively on the Ministry of Education, but each one of them was conducted by a board that set institutional priorities and a general strategy. There are critical appraisals of these policies: the difficulties in administering new large entities and overlapping functions of the new agencies (Castro, 1977 and Núñez, 2003). Yet sixty years later, JUNJI, JUNAEB and CONICYT are still serving more or less the same purposes for which they were created in the mid-1960s.

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[36] For instance, the creation of CEPIP, JUNJI, JUNAEB and CONICYT.

Interviewee 5 assigned key importance to the still running CPEIP. According to the Ministry of Education, in 1970 there were 50,000 teachers who had attended in-service training, which was 70% of the total workforce (Ministry of Education, 1970 cited in Fisher 1979: 47-48). Under the guidelines of its respective board, the director of CEPIP appointed a staff of professionals who designed and conducted the Center's activities. Because the 1965 reform initiated the restructuring of all school levels, the encouragement of new instructional practices and the makeover of the curriculum, the CEPIP needed to tap into all those challenges. One of its major assignments was the organization of workshops for teachers in Santiago and other cities with the purpose of explaining the reforms and updating pedagogic knowledge. International collaboration, especially with the US, enhanced the reputation of the Center by allowing the specialization of its staff abroad, supporting research and promoting its profile in the rest of Latin America (Cox, 1984; Farrel, 1986).

Eduardo Frei's government received direct assistance for the implementation of its education policies by international agencies. The literature on the period registers this collaboration as a very visible feature of the 1965 education reform (Angell, 1993; Fisher, 1979; Farrel, 1986). Furthermore, this is consistent with the account given by former education authorities in the period from 1965 to 1973.

> *There were [also] resources of smaller amounts but very important to consider putting the reform in operation. Then is when international resources became relevant because those are easier to administrate than the ordinary funds coming from the annual state budget subject to the discussion of parliament (…) their allocation was more discretional from the point of view of internal accounts, although they were accountable to the donors* (Interview 4)

> *I was lucky because I got a certification from the University of California*

> (…) *we all came back to Chile with the commitment to work for the Center* [CPIPE] *after a qualification exam* (…) *When the Center was in its first stages we had consultants from the US* (Interview 5)

These respondents give indication of the sort of resources that came from abroad and show how different actors used foreign aid. The first policy-maker I quoted above considers that the aid from the US and other international agencies was important because of the flexibility to allocate funding. More than the amount of the monetary contribution, he highlights that the CD administration was relatively free from the restrictions of bureaucratic accountability. The second quote comes from a middle-range civil servant and is indicative of the wide spectrum of ways in which the influence of the US was experienced: either under the form of expert consultancy or through the imprint of research traditions. Another former senior authority explains the impact of the Education School of Chicago on the priorities set by the reform, from the review of textbooks to the curricular aspects themselves:

> *The state established the model and the publishers followed the guidance in their textbooks* (…) *nobody in Chile had heard of the study of curriculum, I studied it in Chicago. We decided to change this compartmentalized vision of the curriculum for a more systemic vision of the learning process. That required to prepare teachers in planning scientific-based lessons, update their methodologies and the contents of the syllabus* (…) *but we always involved the participation of teachers in the workshops, that is why old teachers still remember the reform* (Interview 4)

Together with the new vision of teaching that the government promoted, the respondent is careful to mention participation as another trademark of the 1965 reform; one that teachers appreciated and will remember. Apart from all the participative instances, there was also a structure of control and support of teachers. The government complemented inset training with the action of a new System of School Supervision to ensure that teachers understood and applied the new regulations and pedagogic guidelines (Fisher, 1979).

Another new structure was the National Service of Orientation that aimed to assist students to define the educational path that better suited them. Concomitantly, a team of experts created an exam at the end of primary school to direct students to Academic or Vocational lines. Its application lacked political support because of the high costs of vocational education, the refusal of private providers to endorse the policy and that most school teachers perceived the vocational route as inferior (Labarca, 1985). CDs did not lose faith on technical education and channeled its efforts through programs outside schools. Frei implemented massive training for productive activities through the small cooperatives of peasants and created another Institute of Training to cover urban areas. This was a middle ground solution that calmed down the fears of a massive vocational schooling. Paradoxically, it had the additional effect of solving with public funding a problem private industries had not assumed; that is, responsibility towards their workers' training (Labarca, 1985).

New technological devices started to operate and were presented as an obvious step towards a stage of modernization that everyone ought to reach. While the idea of a general exam at the end of primary school did not prosper, a new standardized instrument to assess school attainment nationally, SIMCE, was deployed (*Ministerio de Educación Pública*, 1968). A former senior policy maker expresses his satisfaction with the outcome of the experience back then but is appalled by its present state:

> *We made the SIMCE tests based on the idea that the education had to be a scientific endeavor. It had a formative purpose, not classificatory as it is nowadays. I never imagined something like that was going to happen* (Interview 4)

After 1964, students from vocational education were allowed to sit exams for university entrance, the *Bachillerato*.[37] The same respondent says that a few years later, the CD government decided to replace the old essay system by a

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[37] *Bachillerato* was the exam through which university places were allocated at the end of 12 years of compulsory education.

standardized device that measured general aptitudes rather than proficiency in aspects and contents that only students from a handful of schools had access to. Standardized tests were appealing for other reasons too. In the words of another policy maker,

> *The PAA was modernity itself* (…) *instead of writing essays now you mark cards that then are read by IBM computers* (…) *who was going to question that?* (...) *Frei's government finished and a revolution started* (Interview 3)

This expert categorically asserts that the news coming from that sector was 'good news', meaning that the 1965 reform was the beacon of modernization (e.g. the use of computers) or at least it went in the right direction (e.g. the implementation of the new curriculum). He also suggests that maybe the lack of controversy in the ongoing 'conversation about education' made the 1965 reform a non-issue when compared to other themes. If the belligerence around policies is an indicator of how much is at stake for political projects, then it can be said 'that education during the first years of the CD period was an arena of consensus; it was far less problematic than the distribution of land'. More critically, other author observes that the economic model between 1960 and 1970 rested upon class exclusions and an incapacity to create jobs even when modernizing schemes pursued a coordination of the spheres of schooling, tertiary education and demand of employment. Ultimately, the remaining divide between vocational and academic routes only deepened the marginalization of poor people in rural *and* urban areas (Labarca, 1985).

4.5. The mobilization of students and teachers in 1968

Among the tensions that did grow in the field of education, there were some social movements that troubled the government in the last years of the Frei administration. Half way into the CD presidential period, the apparent climate of consensus around education policies was unsettled by two social movements. One belonged to the sphere of higher education and questioned the very idea of the university. The so-called *Reforma Universitaria* pursued an

enhanced participation of students and academics in the government of universities and the definition of its priorities. It was endorsed by people from a wide spectrum of political and religious tendencies, but had different emphases in each of the eight universities that existed at the time (Allard, 2002). In the end, the CD government bent to the demands of participation across universities, but only after continuing strikes and demonstrations that, in 1967 and 1968, forced the hand of the CD Minister of Education and diverted attention from the implementation of the 1965 school reform (Gómez-Millas, 1967; Castro, 1977).

A former leader of the reform at the Catholic University of Valparaiso says that politicians could not control the direction of the reform because internal alliances between departments and academics had a different rationale; for instance, personal affinity or a common vision about curricular modifications. He elaborates as follows: 'Let's say that 200 or 300 members of staff got together to advocate for whatever (…) or that the students of early years pedagogy allied with their friends from engineer to elect a senator who represented their interest (…) political parties had a hard time, were off site' (Interview 6). In his view, Catholics who embraced the Social Doctrine were eager to participate and, in some cases, lead the process of reform along with their peers from secular left-wing parties.

However, the wave of enthusiasm to reflect and act on the Social Doctrine was not shared by everyone (Muñoz, 1973). Some groups opposed this renewal by either ignoring it or creating new interpretations that reinforced traditional values. A small group of young militants of the Conservative Party, from the Pontifical Catholic University of Santiago, put together a movement called *Gremial*. The crisis of liberal institutionalism inspired this group to validate a Catholic Corporativism that was deeply suspicious of political parties and advocated for the independence of students from their influence. This group was especially critical of the University Reform and the active participation of the Catholic Universities in such a movement (Correa, 2005). The leader of the *gremialistas* was a law student called Jaime Guzmán, who years later became

one the leading intellectuals behind the writing of the 1980 Constitution that was imposed by the dictatorship.

Back to the arena of school policies, in 1968 Frei's government was still trying to implement its reforms. It concentrated on the challenges posed by massive enrolment, the need to tackle dropouts, the transformation of didactics and the design of a new curriculum. Despite the resistance from certain civil servants and from teachers who were reluctant to abandon old practices, Fisher (1979) observes that the majority of school teachers accepted the CD reform. The expansion of schooling involved the preparation of 3,000 new teachers, many of whom were trained through 'express programs' of two or three semesters. The teaching body had now more power to demand salary improvements and the betterment of work conditions (Fisher, 1979).

Chapter 3 introduced the trajectory of teacher's union movements up to the 1960s to highlight a more general dimension; namely, how organized groups were actively shaping education policies. Events of 1968 demand a reminder of the fragmented state of teacher unionism through multiple associations that, to a great extent, mirrored the departmentalization of the Ministry of Education. Each association represented teachers according to the modality and level in which they taught or even the type of institution in which they studied to become teachers. The following three groups were the most important ones:

- *National Society of Teachers* was the biggest union and represented scientific-humanist secondary school teachers. It was led by communists and socialists.
- The *Chilean Union of Teachers*, which mostly grouped primary teachers and was led by the Radical Party.
- The *Association of Technical and Commercial Schools*, which represented teachers of the vocational path.

As said, none of these organizations were legalized as unions even if they worked as such in practice. Strictly speaking, they were associations or trusts that could own a patrimony and work for the benefit of their membership. Of

course, teachers were a great proportion of the total of employees working for the state. Regardless of how low teachers' salaries were in comparison to other civil servants, it was still true that the Chilean state had to allocate a major proportion of its resources to pay teachers' salaries (Shiefelbein, 1971; Núñez, 1989). Teachers had also had a recent experience of a long strike during Alessandri's government that ended up with little salary improvements and a high degree of disappointment (Rojas, 1997). However, in 1967, the organizations representing teachers reached an agreement with the government to raise salaries and allow planning hours in the workloads of senior teachers. A former policy maker who was not a member of the CD party thinks that this was a much more successful negotiation than those teachers had accomplished in the previous two decades:

> *it met the demands formulated by teachers, not in an optimal way but in many aspects, not all of what they wanted but it was substantial. The government was aware that it needed teachers' collaboration to introduce the qualitative changes to school education, which was the most complex part of the education reform* (Interview 1)

The so-called *Magisterial Agreement* established gradual salary increases from 1968. In the meantime, the economic conditions of the country changed and the government decided to implement the rise according to an interpretation that did not convinced the Federation of teachers' organizations, who claimed that the government had broken its promise.[38] The authorities replied that economic hardships were real so there was simply no more money. In 1968, along with other political and social organizations, teachers actively demanded better salaries and labor conditions with a 58 days teachers' strike. The decision to strike mobilized a high number of people, who interrupted everyday school routines and occupied public spaces. The state produced a series of responses in order to normalize the functioning of the education system in the middle of its major reform:

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[38] In 1944, these three groups created an umbrella organization, FEDECH, that brought unions together without individual movements losing autonomy in terms of identity, resources or administration. See Chapter 3.

There was a display of physical force, as it were, it was a movement with legitimacy and support from the bases. As well as the massive rallies, the response was hard from the side of the police. In those days they already had a Guanaco *and tier-gas.*[39] *A wave of school occupations began, also in the* escuelas normales*. Whenever the strike was debilitated, the students took the initiative and closed the school to prevent a normalization of activities* (Interview 1)

In the view of Farrel (1986) and a couple of the policy makers I interviewed, the actions taken by teachers were a direct result of the agendas of the political parties who controlled the unions. These left-wing parties used the mobilizations to stop the application of some of the policies that were part of the 1965 reform, 'their motivations did not have the best interests of teaching profession at heart', let alone the education system as a whole (Interviewee 4). Fisher (1979) adds that teachers had already achieved salary increments between 23 and 57% in the period 1967-1969, 70% more than the minimum wage in 1970. Of course, there are different opinions about the legitimacy of the strike, one of them contending that teachers felt deeply about the demands voiced by the unions, regardless of their political affiliation (Núñez, 1986, 1989). To be sure, this discussion touches upon the bigger question of how the education reform that the CD government put forward reframed the work of school teachers on an everyday basis. Even more importantly perhaps, it touches on how these mobilizations combined with the movement for university reform and the protests by peasants and other workers (Cox, 1984).

Overall, the 1965 reform was successful in terms of enrolment and completion rate. While valued, this achievement was also criticized by the Left because it was strongly influenced by the US and because it was implemented in a topdown fashion. Castro (1977) also criticized the creation of new services due to the duplicity of functions that ensued from the introduction of more bureaucracy into the system. Additionally, these criticisms pointed to the lack of statements about the philosophical foundation and goals of a set of policies

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[39] *Guanaco* is a colloquial term to refer to the police's water-cannon vehicle.

that, according to the critics, did not challenge the structures that produced inequalities (Núñez, 2003). All in all, Farrel concludes that, seeing the enormity of the effort, it was predictable that some proposals were never to be fully implemented; even more, 'many of the consequences, positive or negative, have never been adequately identified' (Farrel, 1986: 36). One policy maker identified with the CD makes the following observation to situate the struggles over education policies by the end of the 1960s:

What follows from this is that education goes out of the picture, right? It had not been in the picture, or it was to some extent in Frei's government, to Frei it was important, not the most important [vocal emphasis]*, I mean, the agrarian reform is 10 times more important politically speaking than what happens in education which is an arena of agreement* [vocal emphasis] (Interview 3)

This respondent draws a contrast between the CD government and what is going to happen with the left-wing PU government. While Frei was able to reach consensus, and modernize the school system using policy instruments and devices that trigged relatively little questioning, Allende generated a sense of revolution that, in the end, did not produce any concrete change. Towards the second half of his presidential term, Frei's plans could not cope with the increasing demands for social justice that his modernization strategy was unable to fulfil. Acts of protests multiplied and sympathizers of a more revolutionary route grew in numbers. In turn, right-wing supporters decreased significantly (Correa, 2005).

4.6. Closing remarks

This Chapter has shown the trajectory education reforms over the 12 years of Alessandri's (1958-1964) and Frei's (1964-1970) governments. Both administrations were close to and received help from international agencies in the hope that they would put in place modernization projects in all areas of society. Education reform played a major role during these years and I have tried to trace back the interaction of various elements that range from the

influence of Episcopal guidelines, international organizations, teacher associations and teachers' unions and the state bureaucracy itself.

As the country grew increasingly politicized, social and economic unrest took place while education changes advanced a rapid pace – most notably, increase of school enrolment. Therefore, it is possible to suggest a certain continuity with some of the factors that were introduced in Chapter 3; for instance, the influence of the Catholic Church and the active role of teachers themselves. Arguably, thinking in the longer term, the 1965 education reform, inspired as it was by a modernizing project, was another version of ideas about the role of schools in society as envisaged by Encina and Salas at the beginning of the 20th century (Chapter 3). Beyond this, there is an additional dynamic in the growing participation of the state in the education field. On the one hand, there was the consolidation of administrative and bureaucratic procedures that were highly regulated; on the other, major policy decisions were made by autonomous collective bodies that included civil servants, experts and interest groups.

As in the conclusion to the previous Chapter, we can identify here a number of ideological standpoints that run throughout the interviews. A first accepts the benefits of modernization processes whilst acknowledging the weakened sense of identity in those areas that no longer had their own *escuela normal*. They resent to this day the negative impact on social mobility represented by the move of teacher education into universities. A second view, of a more left-wing sensibility, highlights the importance of president Frei's planning of a comprehensive education reform in the context of a modernizing economy.
President Allende sought to build on those reforms although he had neither international resources nor internal parliamentary support to do this. This perspective values the protests and demonstrations of teacher unions as anchored in legitimate demands, not as a product of partisan manipulation. The CD knew that their reform could not work without the support of teachers.

The final perspective, of a more conservative nature, understands demonstrations as political partisanship and criticizes the lack of appreciation

of positive changes. It also highlights the significance of having education experts that were trained abroad and the consultancy work of international advisors. It rejects that this expert knowledge was incompatible with teacher participation although its very concept of participation mostly includes teachers being allowed to give their views during workshops. This is, in fact, consistent with how post 1990 administrations have sought to undertake education reform, except that this perspective remains critical of the present use of those standardized tests that were created during the CD reform.

Most of the policy makers interviewed and the secondary sources reviewed underscore the consensus around the goals, the institutional order and the technologies of the reform. They also refer to teacher's and student's strikes. In contrast, they have little to say about pedagogic movements or trends. Perhaps these did not really exist; perhaps, they were too marginal: either way, they are absent from the picture. A mention should go to the seminal work of Paulo Freire in the rural areas of Chile and its impact in the design of policies to target illiteracy among adults. [40] Pedagogic issues at school level will however soon emerge; crucially, through a detailed enumeration of curriculum changes and the new modalities of teacher training. Let us now see what are the continuities and discontinuities that school policy developments exhibit through the eventful 1,000 days of Salvador Allende's government.

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[40] According to Ivan Illich (1970), it soon became clear that Freire's work had such a revolutionary potential that no Latin-American government 'dared' implementing Freire's pedagogy at large, as they feared that the people would realize the social injustices that were affecting them.

Chapter 5. A troubled start. The rise of Popular Unity 1970-1971

It is worth noting that while Chapter 3 offered an overview of education policies in the late 19th and early part of the 20th centuries, Chapter 4 covers a much shorter length of time, the twelve years before Allende's election in 1970. Chapters 5 and 6 now zoom in on the 1,000 days of the Popular Unit (PU) government. I justify this decision based on the density of events that signal an open conflict between the government and other political actors regarding school policies. Although it is true that demonstrations and strikes were common occurrence during the governments of Alessandri and Frei, the literature unanimously describes mobilizations and public quarrels over politics and the economy as an increasing phenomenon towards the end of the 1960s.

The aim of this Chapter is to offer an analytic commentary on education policy struggles in Chile in the lead up to Allende's election as president and during the first half of his time in office. Like the two previous Chapters, it is also based on secondary accounts and interviews with key informants. Drawing upon the contents to which the literature and the interviews refer recurrently, Chapter 5 is divided into the following sections:

- The Programmatic Platform of Popular Unity (PU)
- The Negotiation of Constitutional Amendment
- The Settling in of Authorities and Announcement of priorities
- The Expansion of the School System

Each heading designates a particular education policy development. These are empirical instances situated in time and space, featuring certain actors and for which there are various attesting records or even key written products that embody the policy itself. Other than that, these policy instances are different from each other in many ways. Some are all-encompassing processes that took place over a relatively long time: for instance, the expansion of the school system, took place over the three years of the government and was a highly complex undertaking that allow for the increase in student enrolment, teacher

training, social aid, etc. Unlike this, the programmatic platform in education that is the focus of the first section below was a set of statements prepared before the elections; little more than a by-product of the campaign.

The grid below is a representation of the key information that the reader will find in Chapter 5. To avoid confusion when referring to authorities, institutions or documents, the table schematizes the information for a reader who is not familiarized with the specifics of the story. The first column, which labels the policy instances that each section then expands on, reflects the structure of the chapter. The second column offers an approximate timeframe for each instance (they should not, however, be taken as a *strict* chronology). Next, the third column pins down the corresponding physical or institutional setting where the action unfolds. The fourth column establishes the key written products that document the policy instance and the fifth column identifies the most prominent actors involved. It worth mentioning that questions of media coverage are prevalent in the literature and interviewees alike, so it features to some extent at least in all sections of this Chapter. Around 80% of the production of national and local newspapers was controlled by three groups that opposed Allende – *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera*, *La Razón*. Left-wing parties owned *El Siglo* and *Última Hora*. The CD created the newspaper *La Prensa* in 1971 (Rojo-De la Rosa, 1976).

Summary of the referential information in Chapter 5

Policy development	Timeframe	Setting/Space	Documents	Actors	
Programmatic Platform of Popular Unity (PU)	Jan 1970-Spt. 1970	Presidential Election Campaign	Electoral Program	Allende and the left-wing coalition	The media
Negotiation of Constitutional Amendment	Spt. 1970 - Oct. 1970	Parliament	Democratic Statute of Constitutional	Negotiators from CD and PU	

			Guaranties	
Settling in of Authorities and Announcement of priorities	Oct.1970-May 1971	Ministry of Education and Superintendence	Official Announcements and Presidential discourses	New authorities, Teachers' union
Expansion of the School system	Dec. 1970- Sept. 1973	Schools, In-set training workshops, other public bodies	Reports and statistical information	Education authorities, civil servants and school staff

5.1. The programmatic platform of Popular Unity

The left-wing coalition known as Popular Unity consisted of a number of political groups with diverse roots, ambitions, size and internal organizations. A good place to start is the Chilean Communist Party (CCP), which is the denomination that the *Partido Obrero Socialista* (1912) adopted after the grouping joined the Communist International in 1922 (Cancino and Cancino, 2015). In 1936, the CCP came together with other political forces in the Popular Front and backed Pedro Aguirre Cerda as the presidential candidate for the Radical Party. Despite their name, we have seen that Radicals had in fact quite a moderate agenda of transformations. But this did not undermine their electoral pact with the communists to the point that three successive Radicals attained the presidency through a similar formula (Pedro Aguirre Cerda in 1938, Juan Antonio Ríos in 1942 and Gabriel González Videla in 1946). Only by 1946 the CCP was officially incorporated in to the government of Gonzalez Videla. Shortly after his election, though, he turned against his allies, proscribed the CCP and ordered the criminal prosecution of its militants in 1948 (Correa, 2005).[41]

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[41] The proscription of the Communist Party lasted until 1958.

The other main political group that participated in the Popular Front, and later also of the Popular Unity, was the Chilean Socialist Party (CSP). The CSP was founded in 1933 to unify various atomized movements that identified with socialist ideas. Ironically, the call for unification was not enough to prevent the CSP from its own tendency towards fragmentation that emerged every time there were internal disagreements about the policies advanced by political allies.

The party's participation in ministries was vacillating and intermittent amid factions of militants deserting the party to found autonomous organizations that also claimed the label *Socialist Party* for themselves. In the middle of this state of affairs, the remaining leaders of the original CSP decided to have their own presidential candidate in 1946 and some of them even celebrated the proscription of the Communist Party in 1948.

A new alliance of the left-wing parties materialized with the occasion of the 1952 presidential election; it included both the CSP and the CCP. Their joint candidate was the socialist Salvador Allende. By 1969, a renewed Radical Party and other groups also signed up for Allende's third attempt to win the presidency of Chile. In the meantime, former militants of the CD who were disappointed with the slow speed of social changes, founded their own political movements that sought common grounds with the Left even if they did not endorse Marxism. This was the beginning of the Popular Unity.

The state of the economy was a priority in the electoral platforms of all candidates at the beginning of the 1970 presidential campaign. Leaders of the left-wing parties made it clear that, if their coalition was to succeed in the elections, they were going to pursue economic reforms that would target the private ownership of the means of production and the central planning of that production. Radicals, Communists and Socialists, along with other smaller movements, all emphasized the distinction of three areas of the economy according to the criterion of property; that is, a private area, a social area (owned by state), and a mixed area that combined private and public control

(Oppenheim, 1989). A fundamental commitment that was advanced in the campaign was to expand dramatically the area of social property via expropriations, whilst always protecting the interests of smaller shareholders (Castro, 1977; Núñez, 2003).[42]

In contrast, education had considerably less programmatic weight and elaboration in electoral programs. PU had not developed a distinctive educational approach to challenge mainstream pedagogic practices. Apart from the idea that the state had to ensure universal access to education, no concerns were raised about the internal nature of the school provision (Cox 1984). Truth be told, education policies in the PU manifesto were embedded in the area of 'popular culture', which comprised also the values, artistic expressions and general knowledge to be offered to the people. A national system was going to stimulate and create the conditions for the flourishing of that culture, proclaimed the Basic Program of the Government of Popular Unity (BPGPU).

> The social process that will start when the proletariat attains power will develop a new culture that highly respects manual labor and emphasizes the wish for independence (...) which will allow for a critical understanding of present-day reality (Unidad Popular, 1969: 27-8)

The Superintendent of Education between 1970 and 1973 considers that this document made explicit the broader horizon within which education policy was framed and the extent of the tasks ahead (Núñez, 2003). There, where Núñez sees awareness of the broader picture, others detect vagueness. The blurred contours of education policies revealed an excess of principles, in detriment of detailed action-plans, and also a deficiency in expertise for translating their intentions into institutional realities (Farrel, 1986). Another critic points out that, due to the different ideologies of transformation that competed within PU, this

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[42] In the view of Farrel (1986: 47), this platform was 'striking if we take into account that, even before the presidential election, the state played a greater role in the economy if compared to any other Latin American country, except Cuba. By the end of the 1960s, direct public investment represented over 50% of all the gross investment and the state controlled over 50% of the GDP'.

lack of precision was not restricted to educational policies: 'PU proposals always included as features ambivalences and internal contradictions' (Cox 1984: 290). For Landsberguer and McDaniel (1976), moreover, the lack of detailed definitions was down to the low expectations of Allende actually winning the election. In other words, PU leaders did not envisage that they would have to govern and were rather better prepared to remain in opposition.

According to Cox, internal divergences within PU on the agenda of transformation were related to the class composition and habitus within the alliance. Communists were closer to trade unions and most militants worked in the industrial sector; only a minority of them belonged to the civil service, or can be considered as intellectuals. For their part, members of the Radical Party came basically from the civil service and the teaching force (Cox, 1984). Both parties conceived change as a legal and institutional transition to socialism, which also explains why they saw the nationalization of industry and natural resources as their priority. Within that framework, education had to be transformed in terms of equal opportunities and the modernization of instruction (Cancino and Cancino, 2015). This made that, to some extent at least, their agenda was not altogether different from the plans of the previous CD government. The Socialist Party, by contrast, saw that the process of change rested more on an insurrectional than on an institutional path. It believed in a socialist order in education and the economy because they represented the 'open extremes of the intellectual middle classes and the most impoverished fractions of the popular class' (Cox, 1984: 362).

Authors generally agree that the PU program was committed to help those poorest segments of the population who had not accessed school and other education opportunities yet. Thus, its manifesto voiced the urgency of education reforms 'specially for the children of workers and peasants' (Unidad Popular, 1969: 29). Above all, the PU program sought to preserve and enhance the rights that workers had previously achieved, which demanded a maximum degree of access to the school system in the shortest time possible. In addition to this, another goal was the organization of the working class through their participation in the education reform, as exemplified in the

invitation to join key initiatives such as consultations about education matters and massive literacy campaigns (Unidad Popular, 1969: 28-30). At the level of general schooling, PU envisaged three key measures to be implemented *immediately* in case of being elected (Fischer, 1979):

- Free enrolment, free textbooks and free school supplies for all children in primary school.
- Free breakfasts in school for all primary children and free lunch for the children that needed them the most.
- The establishment of scholarships for all education levels based upon academic achievement and socio-economic needs. These were going to be extensive enough to guarantee universal access to the school system.

Overall, the program of PU defined its education project in terms of the three qualities of being a democratic, unified and planned system. Democratic included two dimensions that were embodied in measures to secure *provision* and *participation*. All the announcements above aimed to increase the education levels of the population, aiming towards universal enrolment, which in the specific case of schooling required tackling the lack of resources and the precarious social conditions that facilitated drop-outs (Castro, 1977; Núñez, 2003). To that extent, PU education policies offer a great deal of continuity with the 1965 reform. In the same vein of continuity with the aspirations of the precedent government, the commitment to increase participation also had an important place. PU promised (Unidad Popular, 1969: 30):

- The use of teaching methods that would enhance the active participation of students;
- The participation of organizations representing teachers, students, parents and workers in the transformation of the school system.
- The inclusion of those representatives in the executive direction of the education apparatus through local, provincial and national councils.

Participation, then, meant the involvement of all schools' actors (students, teachers, auxiliary staff, and parents) as well as of the outside community in

decisions that up until then were controlled exclusively by experts (Cox, 1984). The Jesuit Centre for Research and Development in Education advanced an idea of school community on a similar premise (Cariola and Garcia-Huidobro, 1970). It goes without saying that conceptions of participation remained open to disagreements across political forces and within the Catholic Church. Inevitably perhaps, this was always going to be a matter of conflict (Miranda, 1972; RuizTagle, 2010).

Many tensions within PU related to criticisms against the education policies that were undertaken by the previous government (Cox, 1984). The left pointed to the lack of explicit philosophical foundation and goals behind those policies; in particular, critics referred to its failure to challenge the structures that reproduced inequalities in educational performance (Farrel, 1986). Robert Austin's analysis of popular and adult education in Chile in the same period echoes some of these criticisms. Despite having Paulo Freire working in the country, the CD government did not make Freire's thought central to its education policies. The crucial aspect missing from the CD's pedagogic approach to adults is that education is a process whereby the learner enhances her/his awareness against the oppressive conditions under which he/she lives. While Freire's work was valued in rural areas, he was effectively alienated from decision-making at the ministerial level (Austin, 2003). Eventually, Paulo Freire left Chile in 1969 before the end of the CD term in office.

Additionally, while acknowledging the success of the 1965 reform in terms of enrolment and completion rates, PU parties criticized it for the use of means strongly influenced by the US and for being implemented in top-down and sectarian fashion (i.e. by privileging sympathizers of the CD). For his part, Cristian Cox contends that the criticisms of the CD reforms did not deal with what was called the 'technical' dimensions of the reform. Some PU militants dismissed these dimensions as mere 'idealism' and 'reformism'; that is, the naïve belief that the basic contradictions in society as a whole were going to be solved through educational change. Yet underneath their ideological basis for

opposing the CD project, PU offered no fully formed alternative on education (Cox, 1984).

The 'unified' aspect of the program also carried more than one meaning. 'Unified' meant, in the first place, an administrative adjustment: primary and secondary levels of instruction would now be delivered in the same school unit. The goal was to have at least one *unified school* in each poor rural or urban settlement, according to BPGPU. As part of the efforts towards expansion, the government had an ambitious plan to construct and transform buildings for the purpose of education that included expropriation of 'sumptuous buildings' (Popular Unity, 1969: 29). Equally, the new unified system saw the divide between academic and vocational curriculum as problematic. The program did not describe an explicit policy scheme to change this situation, but the principles and announcements conveyed a commitment to the termination of this divide (Cancino and Cancino, 2015). In fact, real disagreement around the implications of its 'unified' content centered on something even more contentious. That was the potential intervention of the state into the private education sector as a precondition for their larger program of reform. Both Fisher (1979) and Farrel (1986) bring attention to the following assertion from the Basic Program of the Popular Unity Government:

> In order to achieve effective educational planning and turn the idea of a unified national and democratic school system into a practical reality, the new government will take over responsibility for private education establishments, starting with those educational institutions which select their pupils according to social class, national origin or religious criteria. This will be done by integrating the staff and other resources of the private education sector into the state system (Popular Unity, 1969: 30)

This statement became an anathema from the onset of the presidential campaign and remained highly contentious throughout Allende's mandate. Having outlined its goals in very rough terms, the wording of the Basic Program left open to interpretation the political intentions behind its various statements. In that context, it is important to explore how the arena of law and

legislation set the terms of the debates that arose in the 36 months during which PU was in office. This is the focus of the next section.

5.2. Negotiation of the constitutional amendment

In the aftermath of the presidential and parliamentarian elections of the 4th September, 1970, and Salvador Allende achieved 36.4% of the national vote. In spite of gaining the highest number of preferences, the Political Constitution in Chile established that whenever the winner reached less than absolute majority, Congress had the prerogative to *confirm* the most voted candidate as the new President of the Republic. While lack of absolute majority in the past had not precluded a straightforward ratification of the winner of the election, for Allende to attain the presidency an intense negotiation was necessary between the PU coalition and the CD (Núñez, 2003). The CD's candidate, Radomiro Tomic, had come third in the electoral race, behind the conservative and former president, Jorge Alessandri.

A high proportion of CDs distrusted the intentions of PU regarding its commitments to liberal values, paramount among which was the so-called 'freedom of teaching'; a concept that, as we saw on Chapter 3, was already part of the Chilean Constitution of 1925. There was nothing particularly new here either. Already in 1949, there were warnings that an infringement of freedom of teaching 'would contradict the inherent right of the individual to seek or transmit knowledge', and in 1963, similarly, that there was an 'inherent right of parents to choose the type of education they want [for their children]' (Fisher, 1979: 35). However, in the new political climate the CD thought that those precedents were not reassuring enough. César Raul Fuentes, a deputy for the CDs, elaborated yet again on the implications of 'freedom of teaching' while taking part in a 1970 debate in the lower chamber of deputies. There, he defined it as

> the ability to run educational entities and academic freedom, which
> means being able to decide what is appropriate to teach, having also the
> right to choose the textbooks for that purpose. It encompasses the right

to award degrees (...) and finally, the freedom to choose the educational institution (Chilean Parliament, 4th of October 1970, Frontaura 1971: 40)

This quotation highlights the prerogative of any agent to run educational entities, define a formative mission, teaching approaches, decide on supporting materials, etc. This definition of 'freedom of teaching' substantiates the existence of private school providers by allowing persons and groups other than the state to create and organize schools under their own set of rules. Contractual conditions in the private sector were tied to general labor regulations, no further intervention from the Ministry of Education was necessary, so private schools were able to set their own procedures to appoint their staff and acquire supplies (Illanes, 1971). They were able to choose school texts, modalities of lessons, evaluation of progression, promotion requirements and so on. Crucially, when Frei's government eliminated the subjection of private school students to a board of state teachers in 1968, private schools gained complete control over their own annual tests (Cox, 1984). It was as if private schools felt encroached upon by the state right at a time when they had just won more autonomy than ever before. But because freedom of teaching did not necessarily involve inherent autonomy in relation to national curriculum, CDs justified their apprehensions on the grounds of what the government *might do* concerning education contents (Núñez, 2003).

In essence, the political opposition demanded a reassurance that the government would not attempt to take over private education or turn the national school curriculum into a tool for ideological indoctrination. Changes introduced by the Constitutional amendment aimed at the legal blocking of what the CD perceived as the unacceptable risk of partisan-ideological control of schooling (Fisher, 1979). An illustration of how the conservative media articulated those reservations is found in the editorial of the *El Diario Ilustrado*, 6th of October 1970,

Contemporary history demonstrates without any doubt that one of the fundamental concerns of communism, once it arrives in power, is to capture all the educational apparatus so that it may serve as a colonizing

and transforming element, in its desire to create a new man with communists roots and a communist mentality (cited in Farrel, 1986: 56)

From the point of view of the superintendent of education of PU, Ivan Núñez, the negotiation of a Constitutional amendment originated in unfounded fears. Inofficiously, CDs wanted to ensure that, for the first time in the 20th century, the government could not exert its executive prerogatives fully. Yet the amendment was redundant: firstly, because it set limitations to an exercise of power that was already included in the law. Potential quarrels about education policies could have been settled by invoking the institutions and regulations that were already existent. Secondly, the opposition to Allende justified the need for the amendment solely on the basis of prejudices that sought to undermine the credibility of the government from the very beginning of its mandate (Núñez, 2003).

Another critical implication of freedom of teaching is that parents are entitled to select the school of their preference for their children in accordance with their family values (Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara, 2006). During this negotiation, the CD wanted to consolidate a doctrine whereby the state not only accepts private education entities but, under certain circumstances, *also assists them economically* to the end of enabling freedom of teaching in practice (Ruiz, Tagle, 2010). In that context, freedom of teaching now involved *the right of private institutions to access public funding* (Barros, 1968; Frontaura, 1971)**.** Private schools, and indeed also private universities, could function without being controlled by the state and yet public funding for them had to be ensured partially or totally.

Negotiations in parliament culminated with the endorsement of the 'Democratic Statute of Constitutional Guaranties' (DSCG). This was a legal amendment conceived to restrict the scope of action of the PU government in certain fields of public policies. The document included clauses protecting the right of assembly, the inviolability of correspondence, freedom of employment, freedom of mobility and the press, in addition to other considerations that were related to the Armed Forces (Fisher, 1979). Revealingly, the constitutional

clauses that were altered or added in relation to the autonomy of universities and schools stand out in terms of their number and detail. In relation to schools, the amendment modified the original formulation *'la educación pública es una atención preferente del Estado'* by eliminating the word *pública.* One by one, the clauses on school education are:

- *'Education is a primordial function of the State, which is carried out through a national system formed by the official teaching institutions public and private teaching institutions duly recognized by official teaching institutions and plans and programs established by the educational authorities.'*

- *'The administrative organization and the designation of personnel in private establishments will be determined by the private organizations themselves, subject to legal norms'.*

- *'Only free private education, and not that which is profit-making, will receive economic contributions from the State guaranteeing its financing in accord with the norms established by law.'*

- *'The education provided through the national system will be democratic and pluralistic, with no official party orientation. It will also be modified only democratically, after free discussion by competent agencies, which represent all lines of thought.'*

- *'There will be a Superintendency of Public Education under the authority of the government, whose Council* (Consejo Nacional de Educación) *will be composed of representatives from all sectors linked with the national educational system. Representatives from these sectors will be democratically selected. The Superintendency will be responsible for inspection of national education.'*

(Law N° 17.398, 1970. Article 10, published in El Mercurio, 16th October, 1970, translated by Joseph Farrel, 1986: 57-8).

CD believed that the rewording of the constitutional clauses reinforced the idea that education is a duty for the Chilean state but that, at the same time, the state did not have a prevailing or unique entitlement to run teaching institutions. Juan Frontaura reasoned that this clarification made sure the intended scope of freedom of teaching by defining education as a 'fundamental right of the human person and not a right that emanates from the state' or a right of the state. Likewise, he concludes that 'other amendments that underlined the autonomy of private institutions sought to make more effective the existing individual and social guarantees' (Frontaura, 1971: 40-41). As seen, the DSCG also specified that only institutions that were free of payment could receive state funding.

As a general requirement across both private and public providers, the document prescribes that all school provision within the system must be democratic and pluralistic, with no room for 'official party orientation'. Decisively, the document states that the only way to modify school provision is democratically through a free discussion at the competent agencies that represent all lines of thought. The last paragraph explains that Superintendency is under government mandate and that its Council is composed by the democratically elected representatives of educational stakeholders. To the end of safeguarding the private education system, the amendment explicitly defines the principles of educational practice as democratic, pluralistic and non-partisan; the private sector becomes an integral and definitive component of the Chilean education system (Cox, 1984). In turn, this means that any attempt to eliminate private schools was unconstitutional; modifications of the education system could 'take place only by democratic means, following open discussion in legitimate entities of pluralistic composition'. The constitutional text did not however name these entities of pluralistic composition, and this was precisely one of the central controversies between the government and opposition throughout the first half of 1973 (Cox, 1984).

Salvador Allende was eventually inaugurated on 24th October 1970 and only after he signed the DSCG. His administration had to deal with economic

pressures from the US and a negative disposition from most of the media. Chapter 4 mentioned that at least a fraction of Catholics supported Allende – or at least they disapproved of those who were negatively predisposed against PU.

In its first editorial after Allende's inauguration, the Catholic *Revista Mensaje* criticized right-wing supporters for overreacting to the result of the presidential election:

> The undisputable triumph of Dr. Allende has been followed by unjustified alarm: fall of market shares, withdrawals of bank deposits (…) hundreds rushing to leave the country. We expected a more sensible and serene attitude from Chileans. It seems that a systematic and simplistic "campaign of terror" has produced a poisonous effect in some people (…it…) has inoculated mistrust and created a distorted image of what socialism means (Revista Mensaje, Editorial 1970: 454)

No majority in congress set a complicated scenario for ruling the country.[43] President Allende was allowed to veto legislative projects that went in the opposite direction to the PU program; however, government proposals were unlikely to get passed. If he chose to legislate through using executive decrees, then the independent institution of *Contraloría General de la República* was in the position to judge the constitutionality of the decree in question.[44] In case the decree was found unconstitutional, it had to return to the President, who had to decide whether to withdraw it or to modify it. Another factor that played its part in complicating things for the government was the sympathy for radical changes and revolutionary methods among some of its supporters (Landsberguer and McDaniel, 1976).

Experts draw on different rationales to tell the story of this episode. For instance, Núñez (2003) argues that tools such as veto and decrees had often

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[43] PU had 23 senators and the opposition 27. In the Chamber of Deputies, PU had 57 parliamentarians against 92 of the opposition (Angell, 1993).
[44] *Contraloría General de la República* is the public institution that examines the legality of the actions and legislative proposals of all state departments.

been used in the past by other presidents whose party or coalition controlled only the executive branch. Farrel points out that the functioning of legislative devices commonly depended on the mutual respect between negotiators who could deal with conflicting demands so long as the basic legitimacy of the system was not in question; a condition that in this case 'was denied by both the extreme left and the extreme right' (Farrel, 1986, p.53). Farrel admits that previous presidents had used veto and decrees under equivalent circumstances. However, instead of focusing on the legality of legislating through decrees – as Núñez does – he concludes that precedent practices were legitimate because of certain attitudinal dispositions among politicians; basically, the degree of trust and respect they had for each other.[45]

5.3. Appointing authorities, announcing priorities

As soon as Allende assumed the presidency, the PU coalition organized a system of quotas to distribute the directorships of public services among its militants. The system also established that for every head of unit appointed, the sub-director of that unit should be a militant from another political party of the coalition. Additionally, a 'coordinating committee' with representatives of *all* PU parties would work alongside the head of service. In theory, this was important to facilitate the coordination and participation of all the forces that represented Chilean workers in the exercise of government. A more critical examination of the practice shows that this arrangement set the bases for long quarrels between political groups to determine endless lists of appointments, even for lower-rank administrative posts. Individuals checked permanently on the actions of fellow colleagues who belonged to a different faction or party of PU as a means to keep control over policy-making (Farrel, 1986).

Allende intervened in the internal conflicts of PU by assigning an official with the responsibility of settling any disagreement related to appointments of civil servants in one week. During his three years in power, the president made use

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[45] Cox (1984) provides an interpretation that resembles closely that of Farrel's. He attributes the initial attitudes and practices of UP parties towards the legality of carrying out education reforms, among other things, to the social class and habitus of their supporters.

of different strategies to cool down internal disagreements and keep the coalition under control (Oppenheim, 1989). Years later, the recollection from a former a civil servant gives credence to this interpretation. In the quote below, interviewee 2 evokes the difficulties that one of the UP authorities endured at the workplace,

> *eehh (...) no, those are different issues but in reality* [a PU authority's name] *is an excellent person, a serious guy (vocal emphasis) but anyway, he had an awful time with* (...) *because people were not, not as you may think, he had people looking at him all the time, all the time* (Interview 2)

Apart from individual appointments, a number of commissions had already started work on specific policy areas. The group responsible for education policy had its headquarters at the central building of the primary teachers' union. Hugo Araya, the chairman of the commission and a militant of the Radical Party, was a powerful member of the union. For him, the mandate was to get things for their immediate implementation in the new school year that was to start in March 1971. In turn, longer-term policies would be defined after consultations with parents and teachers across the country (Farrel, 1986). The *conclusive* document of this education policy group, 'Educational Policy of the PU Government: Immediate Measures', appeared as early as *October 1970*. This text points out that education is part of the social transformations that the government sought to achieve but that it cannot solve all the contradictions of capitalism. It then stated that, as part of the transition to socialism, the general objectives of education policies should be (Fisher, 1979):

- Guaranteeing access to school for all children and for adults under the form of permanent education;
- Eradicating dropping-out of the system; achieving real participation of the people within a framework of national planning;
- Orienting education towards the interests of the working class, as opposed to the interests of bourgeoisie and imperialist powers;

- Redefining the role of teachers for the socioeconomic transformation underway
- Forming critical and creative graduates, who would then show solidarity with fellow citizens and have the disposition to contribute to the construction of socialism

This 29 page-long document set the objectives for the first year of the PU government. It emphasized the quantitative expansion of schooling and nurseries, administrative adjustments to ease school enrolment, teacher's working conditions, student's welfare and participation in literacy campaigns. There was also a clear attempt to dealt with private education

- To improve the control and supervision of existing private schools and to ensure the democratic participation of the school community in academic and administrative affairs;
- To eliminate state provision for fee-charging private schools and to ensure that all teachers working in the private system are licensed to teach in Chile;
- To ensure that foreign textbooks could be used in private schools only after being approved by the Ministry of education;
- To ensure that new private schools are established only with the approval of the Ministry of Education and that all institutions were registered with the Ministry, and
- To adopt several administrative and legal changes concerning better salaries and career stability for all teachers (Farrel, 1986: 61-62).

As noted earlier, the negotiation of the Democratic Statute of Constitutional Guarantees in the Congress had reduced the scope of action regarding private education. Yet the government did not show a submissive attitude, nor did it stop expressing opinions that might appear controversial. On occasion of the first anniversary of the PU in government, Allende declared both that his government was going to respect the right to private schooling *and* that the private sector was going to have to integrate into 'the national system of education'. The president considered that, in practice, this was already the

situation of those free private schools that were subsidized by the state. As for institutions that charged fees, Allende said:

> The PU government will guarantee compliance with the constitutional and legal norms but they [private schools] must join the National System of Education. We don't think that education as a business should be an acceptable notion; therefore, we will be alert to control the charges, as well as inhibiting that paid education implies cultural segregation for children (Allende 2015: 356. Address in Santiago, 4 November 1971)

While Allende reassured that PU was going to remain within constitutional boundaries, the president firmly rejected the notion that fee-paying schools should be treated as businesses. A national system was not only compatible with private provision but was also a means to 'maintain and perfect' the current set of rights for private education to function in good conditions of infrastructure, staff wellbeing and pedagogic resources. As part of the national system, those institutions would be subject to controls over their fees and the segregation effects over the school population. Speaking on behalf of the private schools, or at least a part of it, Cariola and Garcia-Huidobro (1970) concur with Allende in being weary of the dualism between 'freedom of teaching' and a 'teaching state'. Seeing both as contributing to a democratic education, he then admits that feepaying schools have become symbols of exclusion and underlines that private education is willing to modify its structures (Brahm, Cariola and Silva, 1971). Even more,

> This transformation must consist, above all, in the transference of power to the hands of the organized local community. It is this community that, according to the cultural project that it has defined for itself, will provide the educational service that is pertinent (...) Only in this way the notion of national system is admissible, for it will not be grounded in a uniformed, centralized and monolithic nature. Instead, the power of decision would have passed to concrete communities, without precluding the national or regional goals (Brahm, Cariola and Siva, 1971: 390).

In the end, the documents produced by PU in its first year in power can be summarized in three main ideas: (1) the *expansion* of opportunities in so far as access and retention in school. This includes also education opportunities for adults; (2) education policies must eventually create a *unified system* that responds to the requirements of a society in transition to socialism and (3) *participation* of teachers, students, parents so that the people are sovereign of their education experiences.

The reception of these announcements was mixed. Frei had already enlarged the bureaucratic apparatus in education and this group civil servants 'was not eager to face an upheaval that might threaten its professional security and wellbeing' (Fisher, 1979, p 83). Some experts clearly resented the dismissive attitude of the new authorities, who sought to downplay their contribution as a form of technocracy. In turn, the education teams of PU were criticized for their lack of knowledge about planning techniques, as well as for their refusal to engage with the planning practices laid down by their predecessors in the Ministry of Education, 'none of the new policy-makers had studied abroad and had no links with the previous planning establishment formed throughout the 1960s' (Cox, 1984: 276).

Regarding opposition to Allende, I have been citing extensively from the edited collection 'Private education in Chile' that was published in 1971 (Brahm, Cariola and Siva, 1971). Their goal in that publication was to highlight the contribution of this sector to the development of the nation. The publication praises highly the policy achievements of the previous CD administration; in particular, the deference it showed towards private providers. Four words convey much of the aspirations and the apprehensions supporters of private education: *respect* (of their autonomy), *recognition* (of their achievements), *participation* (in future decisions) and indeed the need for greater (economic) *support*. With PU in power, an increase of the support seemed out of reach; participation was complex and it was too early to assess it; recognition of the accomplishments of the last period was contentious; and respect for the autonomy of private education was based on the rather forced compromise that had been achieved through the DSCG (Fisher, 1979; Farrel, 1986). CD

militant Ernesto Livacic pointed out that, concerning PU's education plans, 'the protection of the process as it is' is something to be greeted (Livacic, 1971: 281).

The phrasing of these statements appears to balance hope and caution: hope for the prevalence of agreements and cautiousness about possible changes in the future. An illustration of this is how Livacic reacts to the press release of the teachers' union (SUTE), whose leaders actively supported the PU platform. He carefully cites those extracts that recognize the advances of the 1965 reform in order to claim that future modifications must carry on with 'an active and dynamic planning that addresses new problems and mobilizes the whole teaching force, parents/careers and the people'.[46] For Livacic, the term 'mobilize' implies the consultation of as many members of the community as possible, *including dissident voices*. This is at least what transpires from his comments on the union's declaration:

> The fact that no concrete measures are announced makes one trust that policy measures will emerge from the ample national will. Some sectors announce that they will propose a 'model of transition to socialism', others will surely have something different to say (Livacic, 1971: 281)

Private Education in Chile suggested that while further planning, evaluation and participation were desirable to perfect the education system, it was not acceptable to engage in radical transformations that disregarded traditional institutions. Their trust in the reasonable intentions of the PU coalition is, from the authors' point of view, an expression of good will in the absence of concrete policy measures against which to judge those intentions. Their overall message was to trust those voices inside government that recognized the legitimacy of the freedom of teaching (Cariola and Garcia-Huidobro, 1970). Chapter six describes in detail how these tensions reached a pick in the months before the *coup d'état* in September 1973.

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[46] 'El SUTE a los trabajadores de la educación y a la comunidad en general' was an insert that appeared in several national newspapers in March 1971.

5.4. The expansion of schooling: accomplishments and cracks

Education was not as important as the economy for the new government. But it did carry huge expectations of change, on the one hand, and it came to symbolize some general mistrust towards the government. It is worth highlighting that most of the proposals for change that we have discussed so far in this Chapter were not being implemented at all because PU was too busy securing the continuity of the policy programs that had been initiated by the CD government. A former authority of PU recalls the practical continuity of many policies, regardless of the political rhetoric that was deployed by all political sectors for the beginning of the school year in March 1971. Taking about the council of early years education, he says,

> *Frei created JUNJI towards the end of its period in office in 1970. Thus, it set up the institution formally and appointed a board led by a CD. Now, as the person in that post had to count with the trust of the new president, he did not last very long. It was Allende's government who put JUNJI at work.* […In relation to the curriculum…] *it would have been a crime to leave the last year of the secondary school hanging in terms of curricular definitions knowing that new syllabuses were in place for the younger cohorts. Therefore, PU that had a majority in the National Council of Education made sure to approve the new syllabus after introducing certain modifications* (Interview 1)

Throughout the interview, he stresses the sense of responsibility that the PU administration took over the continuity of key policies, attending to the negative impact that the opposite scenario might have had on students; it is this kind of pragmatic consideration that was behind the definitive green light PU gave to JUNJI. Less evidently, the extract also hints at the administrative aspects that were part in the implementation of what I call *education policies of continuity*. Both the expert perspective provided by the literature and my interviews with policy makers make it clear that the expansion of school access remained the most crucial of the objectives yet to be complete. However, it was problematic in terms of: (1) the difficulties that were imposed by administrative structures

and procedures; (2) the tensions around how to exert control over public services, and; (3) the relationship between education and economic development. Regarding the first two aspects, it is revealing that Interviewee 2, who remains a supporter of Pinochet's' education policies, justifies the *municipalization* of schools under the dictatorship on the grounds of the chaotic administration of the system that they inherited:

> *it was not possible to focus on education because the administration was appalling. Look, what happens is that you cannot fix things that you don't know at all* [vocal emphasis]. *When computers came to Chile, there was one and only one computer to pay the salaries, to do everything, so can you imagine, the long queue to look at things, everything was done manually: the ministry didn't know how many teachers it had, it didn't know how many books there were, nobody knew how much it was paid for basic services such as water or electricity* (Interview, 2)

The centralized state apparatus with its heavy bureaucracy, plus its intricate communication channels between Santiago and the rest of the country, conspired against efficient action. On top of this, it was hard for the state to handle the wide range of personnel issues that affected civil servants teaching across the country: leave of absence, reallocation, disciplinarian actions, etc. (Núñez, 2003). Once again, the comparison of Frei and Allende's governments does not offer conclusive results. For instance, Chapter 4 mentioned the creation of regional offices to coordinate education services within a certain territorial area – instead of having every single school isolated from each other and administratively tied only to Santiago. At least initially, however, this did not contemplate giving regional offices the necessary autonomy to manage their own budget (Núñez, 2003). A former education authority of PU recalls:

> *President (Frei) expected naively that a coordinator was going to embody the authority and the trust of the CD government to coordinate schools in a territory but without the executive attributions to decide appointments, or ask for staff transferences, etc. What was that person coordinating? It was like, 'we will see what to coordinate'. However, the creation of the*

post [in 1969] established a complete apparatus, an office, staff. One Regional Coordination [Bio-Bio] started functioning 1970 as means of trial. And there it was this gentleman, what he did or did not coordinate, I never knew. I don't know what happened. The plan of ten regional offices never came to reality. Frei was short of time (Interview 1)

Fighting against the rigid and sometimes convoluted administration of the system was an everyday task that, moreover, was entangled with the politics of the media. On the 10th March 1971, for example, *La Prensa* (a newspaper close to the CD) claimed that more than 200,000 students had been unable to enroll in primary schools just five days before the beginning of the academic year. The report included the account of a parent who asked for a place for her daughter in three different schools without success. Small mistakes accumulated to the point that, in the same month, the Minister of Education warned that some head teachers were not complying with government's directives to facilitate the allocation of students (Farrel, 1986).

Without a doubt, there were administrative problems relatives to the shortage of vacancies in some geographical areas. However, Farrel's view is that those situations were perceived as political failures due to high public expectations that went well beyond what was actually feasible to accomplish within few months. By promising to solve *definitely* a long existing deficiency, the PU government partly generated the conditions for the opposition to put the implementation of education policies as a failure right from the start. The author stressed that, after six months in office, the government had not built enough classrooms, was unable to assign teachers to all the available classrooms, and could not distribute the extra aid that had been promised to poorer students. Conservative newspaper *El Mercurio* sardonically remarked 'so much for the people's government', when it commented on the case of a school that received 50 pair of shoes for an intake of 5,000 students (Farrel, 1986). Notwithstanding the policy initiatives that Frei and Allende tried to put forward, neither succeeded in truly decentralizing the education system.

Although old and new civil servants within the Ministry of Education worked hard on the most pressing matters as they were defined by the UP, education was not alien to the appointment of government authorities according to party quotas. This administrative/political practice, which troubled the internal functioning of the Ministry and the Superintendence, applied also to the appointment of school head-teachers. A multi-party committee was in charge of nominating the individuals who may occupy the available posts of Head-teacher for around 1,800 primary schools across the country (Cox, 1984). However, for nine months its members could not agree on the fair share for each party, leaving many schools with interim heads, no head at all, or a head whose political affiliation triggered negative reactions in schools with a predominant middle class intake. Delayed appointments, in turn, had a negative impact on the enrolling process that the government was adamant to improve in order to expand schooling (Farrel,1986).

One of my interviewees with responsibilities during the PU period, the CD were extremely vigorous in denouncing the sectarian actions of PU, but were themselves guilty of *clientelism*. He refutes the idea that Frei's administration was not prone to the temptations of partisan politics:

> *The number of CD head masters went up also because the government created new schools…sometimes, head masters from other parties were replaced, there were school demonstrations in response (…) Years later a file was found. It proved that the CD, who had an aura of correctness, a clear doctrinarian line, intelligence and had the vote of the majority (…) operated through clienteles too (…) Well, they said that when PU arrived it took over everything. That is not a lie. Speaking as a former authority of PU, I can say that the coalition practiced clientelism* (Interview 1)

Being the only political party in the government between 1946 and 1970 spared the CD of the hassles of keeping internal equilibrium within a coalition. The respondent affirms that between during those there were protests in schools as a result of appointments that favored members or sympathizers of the CD. The interviewee admits that, as it had also happened before, there

was a wave of school occupations carried out by students and parents in certain middle class schools during the first term of 1971. Rightly or wrongly, PU authorities accused low rank civil servants of attempting sabotage in a declaration that *La Prensa* (close to the CD) and Clarín (pro-government) printed on 29 April 1971.

An official report published in June 1971 claimed that enrolment processes were being simplified and modernized with computing technology – especially for the access to the secondary schools (Suárez, 1971). PU authorities countered attacks from the press by claiming that there had been a manipulation of the facts and ill-intended rumors about the scale of the problems (Castro, 1979). Castro maintains that, although PU built on the massive expansion that was achieved during Frei's period, this should not eclipse their own efforts; for instance, increasing state expenditure in education from 11.1% in 1970 to 12.3% of GDP in 1972. The target was to have 100% of the children between 6 to 14 years old enrolled in school by 1976 (Castro, 1979). Leaving aside administrative intricacies and discontinuities of staff, it is undeniable that the PU government took up the challenge of expansion even when this was not one of their more fundamental aims. After three years, the quantitative results were remarkable: in 1970, 33.5% of eligible children were enrolled in secondary schools, whereas it was already 42.9% by 1973. In relation to higher education, access to university widened from 9% to 16.1% (Farrel, 1986: 66-67).

In relation to vocational alternatives, Ernesto Livacic celebrated that less than a 12% of applicants to universities came from vocational secondary schools in 1971. In his opinion, this reflected that most technical graduates opted for productive activities, which was a healthy sign for the prospects of the national economy (Livacic, 1971). In fact, the official report of 21st May 1971 highlighted growing enrolment in vocational secondary schools (Suarez, 1971). The active promotion of this modality contributed to an enrolment increment of more than 50% in agricultural and technical secondary schools if compared to the previous year (Labarca, 1985, Austin, 2003). Hope came under the form of polytechnic education, but I will come back to it in the next chapter.

5.5. Closing remarks

This chapter has looked at the installation of the Allende government and the first part of his period in office with a particular emphasis on its education policies. It reconstructed its key original proposals for education reform (section 1), the constitutional amendment that was necessary for Allende to be sworn in as president (section 2), the installation of new education authorities (section 3) and the increase in school enrolment (section 4).

A general view that emerges is that PU was relatively successful in giving continuity to CD policies. Not only for formal education – primary, secondary and higher – but also areas such as adult education continued its expansion under the same orientations that came from Frei's government (Labarca, 1985). More specifically, Allende had several flanks open at the same time. There were external pressures that came from defenders of so-called freedom of teaching, which came from opposition parties, a big part of the press and certain sectors of the educational establishment itself. There were also internal pressures that came from frictions within the PU coalition with regards to the general approach, policies, priorities and indeed decisions on political appointees. Finally, there were the challenges that came from the institutional structure: the handling of growing number of students meant huge logistical issues that would have been difficult to oversee even at the best of times.

We can reflect on the different emphases that policy makers give when they judge, from the present, Allendes' government. As in Chapters 3 and 4, I group them into three distinctive perspectives. They roughly coincide with the traditional categories of the political spectrum: Christian Democrats, left-wing and right wing.

Positions identified with the CD emphasize the irrelevance of the PU government in terms of the education policies actually implemented. There is an evident dismissal of the revolutionary language deployed in the PU declaration, the more so in light of the futility of its actions. At the same time,

this view downgrades the importance of *escuelas consolidadas* and the attempts to increase political awareness among teachers. This reinforces the current 'consensus' among experts in relation to the 'technical' orientation of education reforms, where there is no room for experiments or 'ideological' projects such as the ones that the PU intended.

The left-wing perspective is adamant in their defense of the good faith with which PU sought to continue Frei's education reform without reservations and even by perfecting it. With the same conviction, they adopt a defensive attitude in relation to accusations of sectarian behavior as an exclusive shortcoming of PU. They counter that CD had succumbed to 'clientelism' just as much. Besides, it is suggested CD equally encountered difficulties in implementing (or not) their own newly formalized procedures and with the administrative problems that arose from the extent of centralization. Even more, and somewhat paradoxically, CD attempts to tackle bureaucratic obstacles consisted in creating new ministerial posts that were charged with supervision duties, which of course only enlarged the state apparatus. This resonates with an ongoing discussion in Latin America and is especially relevant given the alliance between CDs and some of former PU political parties after the return to democracy in Chile.

The right-wing view that is represented here is particularly cautious in criticising the PU government or at least some of the individuals that participated in it. They accept that PU administrators had good intentions and were even good people. But they emphasize the permanent ideological vigilance with which political parties oversaw actions at the Ministry of Education. They focus on the administrative chaos that affected both the Frei and Allende's governments. In this narrative, this is contrasted with the main achievements under Pinochet, in providing order and structure to a system that still lacked even the minimum of information that was required to function properly. Again, the rationale for assessing PU policies resorts to the idea of a failed modernization before 1973 but a successful one after Pinochet's coup.

Chapter 6. The education project of Salvador Allende. 1971-1973

Chapter 5 sketched out the main issues pertaining to education policies up to the end of the first year of the Allende government, plus those policies that followed the paths that were traced by the 1965 reform. The previous chapter also showed how some authors pointed to the lack of detail and consistency in of the PU coalition's plans and the apprehensions that the electoral program produced in conservative circles. Before the summer recess came to an end in February 1971, education policies had already been the focus of major statements of intent, pronouncements of fear, pre-emptive interventions to reduce those fears, announcements of imminent action and conscientious analysis of what to expect from the new government. By combining an analysis of both primary and secondary sources, this chapter completes the historical background of my thesis, as I now outline the events mainly for the second part of his mandate until September of 1973.

As the title of this chapter suggests, I focus on the education policies that were regarded as the trademarks of the PU government and explain the situation of increasing social unrest within which it unfolded. I devote the first section of the chapter to the consultations and debates that were organized by the government in the last term of 1971. There, I elaborate further on the PU's strategy to fill in the blank spaces in the education agenda and, what is equally important, how the authorities sought to secure a broader base to support a school project that will bear the mark of the PU administration. In the second section, I dive into the eventful political scene that inaugurates the second year of PU in office. I then situate the school-policy documents that the government advanced in its third year, just before the fall of Allende in September 1973. These are the Democratization Decree (DD) and the National Unified School report (ENU report).

As I did in the previous Chapter, the table below illustrates the structure of my discussion. The titles of this chapter's sections appear in the first column of the

table. I then mention the time frame, settings, key documents and actors for both policy developments.

Summary of referential information in chapter 6.

Policy development	Timeframe	Setting/Space	Documents	Actors
1.Institutionalized deliberation	March 1971-Dec1971	Congresses of Education (local, provincial, national)	Ministerial guidelines. Conclusive document from National Congress of Education	Ministerial authorities, SUTE, private schools, the media
2. Attempts of school reform in context of acute mobilization	Augus7 1972-Sept 1973	School sites and streets. Ministry of Education, *Contraloría General de la República*.	Democratization Decree (DDS) National Unified School report (ENU) Public letters and declarations	School teachers. Students and Parents. Members of the National Council of Education (NCE), the media, Catholic Church

6.1. Fora of Institutionalized Deliberation

A converging affinity between the agendas of the Teachers' Unions and left-wing political forces was gradually crystallizing towards the end of the 1960s

(see Chapter 4). In order to mobilize their bases, teacher leaders put forward both a proposal for education reform called *The School for Development*, and a call for a nationwide discussion (a 'congress') to gain consensus about the specifics of the proposal. The deliberation that took the name of the *National Congress of Education* was initially postponed due to a teachers' strike in 1968 and, after that, it was postponed again because of the proximity of the presidential elections in 1970 (Farrel, 1986). Following the presidential inauguration of Allende, the leaders of the recently created SUTE – General Union of Education Workers – were appointed in key roles at the Ministry of Education. Once there, they openly advocated for the organization of several fora across the country to expand on the limited indications that the PU program offered on education policies (Fisher, 1979).

SUTE was also criticizing the CD for not allowing enough participation on policy making (Cox, 1984). In response, Ernesto Livacic, who was a member of the National Congress on behalf the Catholic University of Santiago, argued that the very existence of the council was proof of increasing participation over the past 20 years. This was a place where stakeholders were able to discuss education policies face to face with the authorities of the government. NCE encapsulated both the contribution of expert knowledge and the democratic representation of civil society: it was all put together under one institution. In the same breath, Livacic dismissed the criticisms to his party, the CD, concerning lack of participation, although he conceded that there was room for improvement. He spoke of the logical progression that went from consultations with qualified representatives to initiatives that pursued consultations with the wider community (Farrel, 1986).

The PU government wanted to mark a difference with what had taken place before. From their point of view, the task was to increase political consciousness which, as a consequence, was going to enhance participation in other spheres of society (above all, politics and the economy). This approach to political socialization presumed that each experience of participation created a form of transferable knowledge that could be applied in other spaces of collective decision-making. The National Congress of

Education was seen as an instantiation of this broad strategy (Fisher, 1977). During the first semester of 1971, PU commissioned local SUTE leaders to coordinate consultations across the country and gather their results so that, in turn, they could be forwarded upwards to districts and provincial instances for further discussion during the second half of 1971. The Congress, which had been originally devised in the previous decade by the teachers' unions, mutated into a device to involve teachers in the creation of government policies; teachers were no longer mobilizing against the elected authority (Farrel, 1986).

Yet, according to critics of PU, SUTE had neither the capacity nor the interest to implement further these debates. In the first place, not all of SUTE's leaders aligned themselves with the PU government; second, the majority of the teaching force was more concerned with their own conditions of employment than with the ideological definitions of political parties: 'the actual process of cultural reproduction was therefore a 'black box' which lay outside the concern of the organization.' (Cox, 1984: 283). For Castro, the problem was that PU was too eager to bank on the apparent appeal of its appeal to school workers. Education authorities encouraged the involvement of teachers in their expert capacity, which in turn reinforced the notion of education as a specialized field of action; an area where it was possible to overlook the class struggle within the teaching force (Castro, 1979).

President Allende opened the school year by inviting teachers to participate in the national consultation. He reminded the audience of his intervention in two policy developments in the past. The first related his actions in support of *Plan San Carlos* and *escuelas consolidadas* that were created in the mid-1950s (See chapter 3); the second was his backing of the three-month teacher's strike in 1968: the president belonged in a tradition of school reform and identified with the struggles of *teachers as workers*. Allende then uses a figure of speech whereby he assimilates society to a big school and contends that schooling must be ingrained within communities instead of being confined to the limits of a building:

To us, the whole society must be a school and individual schools must be part of that big school that society is. But not the traditional one, proud of a teaching that might be well delivered but that does not trespass the walls of the school building. For we believe in an open school, one that is integrated into the developments that preoccupy and matter to the community. Such is our pursuit and those community concerns will emerge from the democratic debate among teachers, parents and students, which in turn will render possible the education reform itself (Allende 2015: 350. Opening of School year discourse in 1971)

In principle, the idea that the schooling should not be isolated from the community was perfectly in harmony with the progressive trends in Catholicism and the notion of participation that was appealing to CDs (See Chapters 4 and 5). Still, the policy implications of this school model were going to be less agreeable when actual deliberations materialized. The National Congress of Education was jointly sponsored by the Minister of Education, SUTE, CUT, and NCE and some early consultations materialized already in March 1971 – that is, even before students started the new academic year (Fisher, 1979). Although most meetings went as planned, many teachers were not sure of its various stages and procedures and ministry officers were mostly unable to clarify those doubts. Farrel narrates the following personal experience in relation to this initial processing of enquiry:

During the March-April period I was asked on several occasions for ideas on how to 'systematize and objectify' the results in order to make them useful for the projected discussions at higher levels. After examining some of the reports and noting that they varied greatly both in terms of topics discussed, quality of discussion, and detail, I had to admit that I could think of no simple way to make the information useful for discussions beyond the level of the school from which it came. It appeared to be a classic case of collecting data before giving any careful thought to how it might be used and to what end (Farrel, 1986: 90)

Farrel concludes that, in all probability, none of the organizers of these huge consultations had sorted out a convincing method to ensure that the meetings at higher levels were enabled by previous participation: 'later deliberations were oriented by a series of documents produced by the ministry itself' (Farrel, 1986: 90). He also suggests that the opposite trend may have also been in play: the government issued a document that may have introduced biases in the deliberation right from the onset. More concretely, the Ministry of Education issued an agenda (*temario*) that contained a list of six themes for discussion in August 1971. Mario Astorga, the Minister of Education at the time, pointed out that the government only suggested certain guidelines for discussions but that teachers could adopt whatever scheme they decided to diagnose the educational reality of their local communities. The points being suggested for discussion were (Fisher, 1979):

- The Chilean educational reality within a capitalist society;
- Nature and ends of education during the stage of transition to socialism;
- Educational planning and a National Educational System;
- The democratization of education and related services;
- The ENU as a new educational policy;
- Proposals for a new law for the democratization of education.

People participating in the provincial consultations could choose to join in one of the thematic forums thus defined. In addition, the document presented possible objectives for provincial debates, the conclusions of which would be the main input for the Congress of Education that was to take place in October 1971.

The table below lists the aims for territorial unit:

	Provincial	National
Aim 1	To gather results of studies made at the local level and to organize these results into a representative body To submit conclusions to SUTE and Superintendence of Education as preparation for NCE	To raise consciousness about our educational reality as an expression of imperialistic and oligarchical domination
Aim 2	To integrate leaders of student, parent, teacher, and neighborhood organizations in provincial discussions	To propose a new concept of education that is consistent with the transition to socialism
Aim 3	To debate additional themes suggested of an orientation document that was prepared by the Ministry of Education	To involve the nation in resolving educational problems and to give democratic endorsement to new proposals

(Source: My elaboration based on Fisher, 1979)

In October 1971, the Federation of Secondary School Students (FESES) elected its leaders. All political groups involved in the elections accused others of malpractices such as leaving out schools that did not favor them, vandalism, excluding void and blank votes, etc. In the end, the CD opposition won 52% of the votes. Although the CD had systematically attacked the politicization of student organizations by PU, they immediately attached wider political significance to the results and sought to extrapolate them to the nation. Among left-wing parties, reactions to this defeat oscillated between those who disregarded the election and those who worried about the lack of grassroot support and internal divisions (Farrel, 1986).

The same month, the government issued another document in the form of a pamphlet.[47] This pamphlet proposed five themes for discussion that were very

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[47] The complete name of the document is: *Congreso nacional de educación. Segundo aporte del Ministerio de Educación a sus debates* (Ministerio de Educación, 1971).

similar to the original six – they only combined the first two themes into one. On the one hand, this new document offered a more thorough rationale to understand each of the dimensions that the government proposed for discussion. On the other hand, its language was more radicalized (Fisher, 1979). Either way, it met with strong opposition and political rivals systematically contended that organizing a national debate was nothing but a hypocritical attempt to win public support for PU (Núñez, 2003).

Private schools were calling for a parallel conference to the National Congress in order to secure the 'freedom of teaching' that was allegedly being threatened by PU. Not everybody in the private education sector shared this position and there were even organized groups such as Christians for Socialism who released statements in support of the PU agenda (Miranda, 1973). The CD also issued their own pamphlet in response to the one from the government and advanced an alternative agenda for the National Congress. Fisher draws attention to two statements of the CD's pamphlet. The first is the supposed exceptionality of Chile if compared to the rest of Latin America regarding its level of industrialization, social maturity and political sophistication. The other is that solutions to national problems ought to have roots in a national tradition and, as Chile's tradition is essentially humanistic, school must help individuals to set free from injustice rather than uniform their school experiences – a clear reference to the National Unified School (ENU) that PU was offering (Fisher, 1979).

Exact mentions of the concept of ENU can be traced back to the main conclusions of the Congress of Socialist Educators in 1971. Its main tenets are as follows:

- If education is to be truly democratic and participatory, workers must have control over economic production and exchange. Economic control is synonymous with educational control. At the same time, education, in its orientation, contributes to the economic and social transformation of the society.

- The 'new man' of a socialist society must be highly trained so that he is aware of and knowledgeable in the laws of nature and society. He is prepared not only for productive labor but for the planning of material production or social services. The role of education in the formation of this new man is to make him conscious of his essential features and capacity for changing his environment.

- Regarding the contents and methods of education, it is necessary to lay out the conditions for a true educational revolution whose pedagogical orientation will be oriented by Marxist socialism, a fusion of manual and intellectual labor, and of theory and practice. Education is also a technical scientific tool that enables men to develop the skills necessary to bring about social change. Activities that are only rhetorical, and do not have a scientific or technological base, must be reduced in the curriculum.

- Society is a school writ-large, a great pedagogical force. The community must participate in education and education must be a long-life activity. [48]

Right-wing media complained that nobody in government had explained what they meant by concepts like 'new man' and that there were discrepancies regarding the term 'socialism'.[49] Given that Chilean society had not yet decided whether to embrace socialism, there was no point in devising an education system that was built on it. In fact, representatives from the CD and private education walked off the Provincial Congress of Santiago. *El Mercurio* editorialized on the 29th of November 1971 that the PU's sectarian pressures were the only factor to blame for the breakdown of the Provincial Congress. The editorial claimed that, out of a total of 610 delegates, 265 were from SUTE and CUT, plus 60 from state organizations. In contrast, the quota for parents and guardians was only 26 representatives (Farrel, 1986).

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[48] See *Congreso de educadores y trabajadores de la educación socialistas* (Teachers of the Chilean Socialist Party, 1971: 60). See also Fisher (1979: 73-77).

[49] Philosophically, the humanistic overtones of the socialist message had a materialist base, meaning that human beings have the capacity to improve themselves through changes in their economic environment. This contrasts with the idealist inspiration of the Christian Democratic message (Fisher, 1979).

Denying these charges, PU responded in kind. One day before the inauguration of the National Congress, Communist newspaper *El Siglo* replied to *El Mercurio* by accusing it of seditious practices that distorted the character of the congress and caused alarm among parents by prophesying a totalitarian system of education (Farrel, 1986). *El Siglo* mocked these allegations and insisted it was a terror campaign that right-wing sectors were organizing in all policy areas in order to stop a program that had been voted by the people:

> [This] reveals the reactionary position of the bourgeoisie who appear to consider education as an essentially technical function, but really conceive of and defend it as a privilege reserved for the social sectors with the greatest incomes, which ensures their survival as a directive class (El Siglo, 12 December 1971, cited in Farrell 1986: 111-2)

Other authors regarded the high number of debates across the country as an accomplishment, even as a commendable effort giving the political polarization and the fact that the teachers and the community had not cemented a 'tradition of participation in decisions over education policies' (Miranda, 1973: 66). Fisher argues that it was understandable for PU sympathizers to have been overrepresented given that the organizations that promoted the congress leaned significantly towards the left. On the other hand, she blames PU representatives for their intransigent behavior to win debates and the rather extreme propositions that they finally sent forward to the Congress. She gives the example of the Provincial Congress in Santiago that proposed that: those who had 'excelled in the people's struggle' acquired the title of 'popular teachers'; control of all mass media should be relinquished to educators; all private education should be eliminated (Fisher, 1979: 94).

Meanwhile, teachers had elected the leaders of SUTE and of their own federations (mostly primary and secondary) at national and provincial level. As with the Secondary Students, there were several accusations of irregularities.[50]

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[50] The Radical Party received 36% of the votes, Christian Democrats 32.2%, Socialists 23.3%, Communists 11.5% and MAPU 1,1% (Farrel, 1986).

Pressures of all kind grew as the date of the Congress came closer and the tone of critics grew especially harsh after debates in big cities. After intense negotiations to secure the attendance of CDs, the government accepted the submission of minority position reports in the case of no consensus. The government also accepted to withdraw from the agenda the discussion of the law to democratize the structure of school boards. Eventually, the Congress functioned with 1054 participants divided into four groups (Miranda, 1973).

The first working group that studied the situation of Chilean Education ended its work with one majority document and another for the minority that insisted that Chile's humanistic tradition called for the respect individual liberties. The working second group analyzed the democratization of school structures and had two conclusive documents too, a majority one and then the minority one defending the autonomy of private schools to organize decision making processes to their own accord. The third group analyzed education in the transition to socialism reached some consensus after clarifying that the pursuit of a 'new man' was not in contradiction to pluralist education. The forth group agreed on a single document after discussing proposals for a National Unified School (Núñez, 1972). However, the associations of parents and careers inserted qualifying clauses regarding parents' prerogatives to define their children's education, the definition of what constitutes the school community and the promotion of free education that fosters a critical spirit. As Iván Núñez argued, the clash of government and opposition was then essentially about private education: the rest was secondary (Núñez, 2003).[51]

Unsurprisingly, portrayals of the process vary across sources. Cox (1984) states that local, provincial and national debates had dissimilar outcomes depending on the geographic area and the distribution of political forces within each instance. He believes that the devices for consultation that were implemented had a counterproductive effect in terms of reaching consensus. Policy-makers that were interviewed by Farrel in the 1980s also convey mixed memories. Some of them give the impression of disorganized and sectarian

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[51] See *Revista de Educación* Numbers 43 to 46, 1973. The next section in this Chapter explains what is the National Unified School, ENU.

events, whereas others recall productive exchanges that reached a high degree of consensus. Critics also referred to the absence of inputs from local debates (Farrel, 1986). The fact that the Congress failed to achieve democratic agreement had a negative impact in the degrees of trust among political actors. In particular, the policy document that emerged from the Congress threatened the interests of the private schools, who felt overwhelmed by state actions (Cox, 1984).[52]

From the perspective of the PU's superintendent of education, while there were organizational difficulties and some rather bitter quarrels, the great majority of debates had a high turnout, included a plurality of voices and allowed for a respectful confrontation of ideas that led, in the end, to finding some common ground (Nuñez, 2003). The fact that CDs voiced their disapproval of many of the proposals at the provincial meetings does appear to indicate that a range of political voices did participate. In consequence, he insists, complaints about vicious practices really emerged when the opposition could not win the debates and decided withdraw from the meetings (Núñez, 2003).

While the Communist party was not happy with the attitude of the opposition, some of its militants were equally unimpressed by the position of the Ministry of Education. They did not approve the government's strategy to address education issues and the core arguments it put forward during deliberations.

One of these criticisms was the absence of a pedagogic and teaching dimension. On the 27th of November, 1971 *El Siglo* included a column by Francisco Villa Lezana that posed the question of what should be the object of PU reflections regarding education policies. Before defining priorities, or the methods of decision making, the columnist rejected that education reform was being subjected to the 'socio-political' sphere. Since socialism was the goal, the question for educators should rather be what are the pedagogic practices that will bring socialism into life (Farrel, 1986: 110). This resonates with the view of one author, identified with the left, who says that the political differences that had been overlooked within the teaching force up to that point became salient in the context of the national debates (Castro, 1979). In fact,

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[52] The conclusions of the National Congress of Education appear in Núñez (1972).

Cox (1984) recognizes in the four areas of the Congress' debate the possibility of rescuing a certain pedagogic tradition that was being marginalized. But this does not fundamentally change the fact the PU overrated the importance of the sociopolitical factors to the detriment of the properly education dynamics.

A quest for a schooling model that will bear the trademarks of the PU government is the focus of the next section.

6.2. Attempting reforms amid polarization

Despite all its troubles – and against most predictions – Allende's first year in government was successful economically and politically. Furthermore, the success of the PU coalition in the local elections of March 1971 boosted the government's confidence. However, from the last months of 1971 onwards, its political parties showed signs of internal divisions amid rising tensions in relation to the economy. The CD opted for standing with the opposition and endured the loss of militants as a consequence. One group deserted in late 1971, the *Christian Left* (*Izquierda Cristiana*), and joined the PU coalition, in the same way that MAPU had done already in 1969. Things were not different inside the Radical Party, as they suffered the departure of a group that joined the opposition in 1972. The Socialist Party remained formally united but there were many factions that disagreed with each other on several key issues, whereas the Communist Party engaged in a bitter quarrel with the left-wing movements that were still outside parliamentary representation (Oppenheim, 1989).

Chapter 5 explained how Allende's presidential mandate had to deal with intense disputes about the three types of property conceived by the PU (social, mixed and private), and whether the state should proceed as an expropriator or/and buyer of private companies. As noted, this was also linked to strong controversies around the president's use of administrative decrees in order to bypass parliamentary discussions (Angell, 1993). Things escalated and led, ultimately, to a legislative stalemate. Inflation and lack of supplies worsened for reasons that are still an object of debate in Chile but ranged from US-led

boycotts to the government's own inefficiencies. Attempts at a political truce with the opposition regarding economic policies failed amid divergences within PU itself (Oppenheim, 1989).

Allende made cabinet changes, including the replacement of Mario Astorga in Education. His successor, Alejandro Ríos Valdivia, promised to eliminate party appointments as one of his new priorities (Farrel, 1986). Politicians from all sectors attributed the highest importance to the results of the mid-term election in March 1973; their reasoning was that its outcome would reflect the degree of support for the PU government. Those who distrusted or disagreed with PU anticipated that a defeat of the coalition was going to discourage the implementation of key measures, whereas the government yearned for the opposite scenario (Castro, 1977). Confrontation gained momentum and, in October 1972, private trucks objected the idea of creating a state transport company on the grounds of efficiency, as they did not accept the accusation of being inefficient or actively boycotting the government. The strike that followed included retail, professional associations and some cooperatives of peasant farmers. It almost paralyzed the entire country for more than two weeks (Landsberger and McDaniel, 1976).

Inflation picked at 323,2% between July 1972 and July 1973, by far the highest in Chilean history (Góngora, 1981; Fazio, 2004). In the meantime, some of the right-wing parties decided to target secondary and university students, women, and professional associations in an attempt to regain some of the social support they had lost in the previous years. Against its traditional tactics, they turned to more explicit forms of activism. Groups carried out a number of public mobilizations against PU that mirrored the strikes, demonstrations and occupations usually undertaken by unions and other left-wing organizations (Correa, 2005). A prominent leader of the university reform in Valparaiso remembers that in 1972,

> *Chile was polarized, the right-wing won the Students Union…some of them were Gremialistas, other were from the National party but also Patria y Libertad. That guy from Patria y Libertad, I had to pick him up*

from jail. He was detained for driving a car full of guns… that people were coordinated with the navy and the bus drivers that had the whole area paralyzed (Interview 6)[53]

Within this political turmoil, it seemed that PU had no intention of implementing the agreements of the National Congress by 1972 school policies had virtually disappeared from the media (Farrel, 1986). Furthemore, as I noted above, adherents of PU that were working in the state now co-existed with civil servants from previous political administrations. The paradigmatic case was CPEIP, the Center for In-service Pedagogic Training whose director, Mario Leyton, was confirmed in his post by Allende. When PU civil servants got involved in the running of the institution, they did not seem to alter its routines or goals; it was just business as usual'. A senior civil servant working at the CPEIP back then recalls with a degree of disdain,

All I can say is that Rodrigo Vera was the only one who implemented something different from what we were doing already. He implemented circles of study; professional improvement as a dialectical process of working with teachers, a process of self- and shared improvement, but a dialectical one, right [ironic]. Of course, this was within a context, make teacher aware that they are a tool for society's change…and not of course from the point of view from inside education (Interview 4)

Meanwhile, in the Ministry of Education, a group of international consultants from UNESCO was working with the government on a major administrative reform of the Ministry in the hope of empowering local ministerial offices. As part of the same reforming impulse, two teams were formed in May 1972: one was charged with the Decree of Democratization of Schools (DDS) and the other with The National Unified School (ENU). Castro portrays a process of policy planning that derives from a coherent rationale, where plans are systematically sharpened to fit a 'global strategy':

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[53] *Patria y Libertad* was a far-right movement inspired by fascist and extreme nationalist ideas.

shyly at the beginning, then in a clearer and ordered manner, preparatory studies and proposals were drawn (...) Naturally, this required the integration of the new education into the global strategy in due course, bearing also in mind the creation of conditions for the taking off towards socialism (Castro, 1977: 133-134).

For Castro, pedagogical discourses reflected, by implication, alternative projects of society and the position of actors in the social class struggle. To him, the developments up to 1973 demonstrated that education policies were not functional to the political project of the 'transition to socialism' and that the reaction of the opposition to any government initiative was expressing the deepening of class struggle. By following the lead of the 1965 reform, the PU government was stuck in the first stage of a structural change in schooling. A fully popular education presupposed the organization of the masses to create their own pedagogic and cultural parameters. Just as the organized workers were challenging the monopoly of the means of production, education should end the monopoly of the spheres of culture and pedagogy by the middle and ruling classes. As education experts and members of the middle class, teachers did not embrace the project of popular education, nor could the see beyond their own demands (Castro, 1977).

The DDS was meant to reproduce the representative logic of NCE, borrowing from its legitimacy as an advisory body (Núñez, 2003). In short, the idea was that every school would have:

• A council of school community whose members represented school workers, parents and careers, students and local community.
• A council of education workers conformed by all the workers of the school.
• A steering committee consisting of school authorities, plus the presidents of the student union, the association of parents and careers, and the school workers.

By June 1972, another change in the cabinet brought a much younger Minister of Education, Anibal Palma. He extended the time for the discussion of the

DDS draft and shared the document with the FESES. The NCE discussed the proposal after consultation with their grass-roots and approved it with observations from the members representing private schools (Núñez, 2003).[54] Later, a small group within the NCE wrote a document that reflected on the agreements and disagreements to the DDS draft. Three major changes were suggested: (1) more representation of private education in the provincial and regional councils; (2) a pilot implementation of the decree and the evaluation of the experience in parliament; (3) and that no more members were added to the NCE. The final version of DDS that was signed by Allende did not adopt the observations entirely, as the government was not obliged to accept all the suggestions coming out of the NCE (Fisher, 1979).

What really worried CDs and representatives of private schools was the balance of power within the councils given their experience with the Congress: PU could potentially control two thirds of most councils. In view of the CD, the attributions of those councils were a real threat to private education and freedom of teaching (Partido Democrata Cristiano, 1973: 110). Up until August 1972, Palma encountered few obstacles in his leadership of the Ministry. However, an occupation of a Girls Secondary School in Santiago (*Liceo* 13) triggered a major political quarrel with extensive media coverage that finished with a new ministerial resignation.[55] In October the president reshuffled his cabinet again and Jorge Tapia became the fourth Minister of Education of PU. His baptism of fire was to deal with the rejection of DDS by the *Contraloría*, which judged that the attributions of the councils were unconstitutional. In April of 1973, PU resubmitted the DDS, which was then passed. The decree never came into effect (Fisher, 1979).

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[54] A three-page document was issued by the Permanent Committee of Private Education.

[55] Events became rather comical. While a group of students occupying their school were demonstrating against the Minister of Education, another group of students supporting PU came at night and evicted them from the school premises. Conservative newspapers denounced that left-wing groups were viciously violent to the point of decapitating the dog of one of the girls who was protesting. Given the scandal, the Minister met both evicted and evictors in his office and tried to bring them together. As for the pet, the Minister invited the students that had looked after the little animal, which was then returned in perfect conditions to her rightful owner (Interview to Aníbal Palma, *La Segunda*, 1 June 2014).

Jorge Tapia had participated directly in the negotiation of the Constitutional Amendment that Allende had to sign in order to take office. As the new face of the Ministry of Education, he led the discussion of ENU, the other major policy that PU decided to put forward for consideration of NCE. It is worth remembering that ENU was one of the four themes that the National Congress had already addressed. In the account of the PU government, the ample participation in territorial debates throughout 1971 made for a proper bottom up consultation. The agreements that thus emerged conveyed a democratic consent towards the general idea of a unified school (Núñez, 1973). As for whether or not ENU was ingrained in the pedagogic struggles of the 20th century, Rojas (1997), Nuñez (2003) and Albornoz, Zemelman and Jara (2006) all trace the inspiration of ENU back to the reforms of 1928 and 1945 and the creation of *escuelas consolidadas.*[56] Cox thinks that such a tradition was always a rather marginal one; a pedagogic movement that was visible up to the 1930s but then disappeared from view. *Escuelas consolidadas* were the epitome of this marginal tradition because they varied from being simply an administrative form, to school settings in which the barriers between academic and vocational education had been weakened and where links with the community affected schools transmissions.

> Conversely, where the "consolidadas" worked according to their originators' ideas, the schools were the cultural centre of the community. Several key decision-makers of the period, both socialists and communists went to a "consolidada". This experience influenced in an important way their views on the schools of the transitions to socialism (Cox, 1984: 300)

ENU's hugely ambitious proposals aimed at redefining the relationships between education and productive work, between the school and the factory, and between educational institutions, unions and political parties. More than any other policy of PU, ENU embodied the specificity of the Chilean socialist project in education. In the view of those who sympathized with the idea behind it, the ENU was an attempt to free schools from the instrumentalism of

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[56] See Chapter 3

the capitalist economy (Labarca, 1985). An education reform had to balance the need for a necessary connection to production, on the one hand, and a strong pedagogic discourse to justify qualitative changes at the school level, on the other (Castro, 1977). In this case, the pedagogic principle was the integration of intellectual and manual learning. ENU was fundamentally a prospective pedagogic reform that was never appraised as such.

As a reform, however, ENU was doomed by structural contradictions that Allende could not change (Labarca, 1985). From an economic point of view, school expansion was as much an accomplishment as it was a burden. More schooling for more people meant a growing disjuncture between job expectations and future job vacancies. An increasing number of graduates at secondary and tertiary levels became workers who were looking for jobs that were relevant to their new qualifications. Under those circumstances, the PU government had to satisfy the demands of those who had benefited from new educational opportunities. To some extent, the education attainments of the Frei period had already strained an economy that was built over centuries on the bases of social exclusion – and even as governments were trying to address the social problems that were generated by the crisis of industrialization in the 1960s (Fazio, 2004).

The PU government had to work on several fronts at once: how to create jobs, how to increase specialization and how to attain both with no detriment to existing incomes. Unless something was done urgently to the curriculum and qualifications of students currently at secondary level, an unmanageable demand for higher education could lead to a state of economic and social instability. Possible routes to address this conundrum were to enhance the area of social property or forge an alliance with the private sector that was being reluctant to invest in technological modernization (Labarca, 1985). The education experts of PU thought that if vocational and academic elements were more closely integrated, then schools had better chances to provide the population with a complete range of skills that could be at the service of academic enhancement *and* productive work. Supposedly at least, this was going to reduce the undesired consequences of having to choose between two

tracks of education. Individuals could postpone the decision to apply for universities, or any other form of flexible lifelong education, because the expansion of the area of social property would allow for enough jobs and high quality training within the working place (Labarca, 1985).

PU experts strengthened their position by citing an international report that was commissioned by UNESCO in 1972. The report concluded that Latin-American countries may reform their education systems by, among other things, integrating manual and intellectual work into the schooling process (Faure et. al, 1973). PU education authorities argued that the ENU project had precisely in mind how to apply these recommendations. The ENU report was then officially presented for the consideration of the NCE on the 30th January, 1973. Since its release, it circulated in a 16-page pamphlet and in newspapers. Its introduction stated that the document was a preliminary base to motivate and orient public debate on the features and functions of ENU (Ministerio de Educación, 1973). The structure of the document is summarized in the following table:

Structure of the ENU report	
First Section	Chile is in a process of transition towards a socialist humanist society based on the evolution of the forces of production. This implies the abandonment of cultural and technological dependency and the establishment of new relationships with property and democratic institutions. The new education system will be radically different from previous reforms, above all in its commitment to life-long learning and an education 'of the masses and for the masses'.
	The education system will consist of two components: the area of regular education and area of outside school education Eventually, the two areas will be fully integrated, but the initial steps of ENU will apply to the school system only.
Second Section	It discusses the 'contradictions' of the present elitist and traditionalist school system.
Third Section	ENU will be institutionalized over a period of four years. The horizon of the reform is to embody a school system that is:

	National, Unified, Diversified, Democratic, Pluralistic, Productive, Scientific, Technological, Humanistic, Planned and Integrated to the community.
Fourth Section	It sets the objectives of ENU: a.　　To enhance the nation's scientific and technological capacities; b.　　To promote popular participation in the cultural life of the country; c.　　To integrate theory and practice, study and work; d.　　To improve the health of the population through education; e.　　To develop an appreciation for the value of collective work and democratic welfare, and; f.　　To transform a 'consumer mentality' by a spirit of human solidarity
Fifth Section	It describes structure of ENU. There will be four initial years of common and interdisciplinary curriculum. Fifth and sixth years will broaden the areas covered and be organized by subject disciplines. Seventh and eight years will become gradually oriented towards a future specialization. In the ninth year students rotate through various specialisms. The final three years will have a core curriculum with both electives and specializations. Students will refine certain technological skills according to their interests and aptitudes. They will then finish the twelfth year with the qualification of middle-level technician.
Sixth Section	It outlines the structural bases of the ENU. Every area was to have an administrative unit whose jurisdiction corresponds to those established by the DDS. The school curriculum should take advantage of the features and opportunities of the local community. If possible, the new system should be completely in place by 1976. Private education will retain its independence, although it will be required to conform to the curriculum and structure of ENU. The state will furnish privates with access to the resources and facilities that are enjoyed by state institutions.
Seventh Section	It describes the timeline to put the ENU into effect: starting in June 1973, it will be fully rolled over by the end of 1976.

(Source: My elaboration based on Fisher, 1979:110-114)

When, in 1971 and 1972, the government presented a report that offered ENU as a potential policy, the opposition immediately voiced its reservations. Already on the defensive over the DDS, the opposition became increasingly frustrated by the good results of PU in the mid-term congressional elections 4[th]March 1973 (Labarca, 1985; Núñez, 2003; Correa, 2005). This is a summary of the kind of objections that were raised against the ENU (Conferencia Episcopal, 1973; Partido Demócrata Cristiano; Enseñanza Particular, 1973; Universidad Catolica de Valparaiso, 1973; Cariola, 1973; FEUC, 1973).

- ENU did not have a popular mandate from the National Congress of Education
- The lack of opportunity of ENU given the major reforms that were already being carried out since the previous government.
- ENU fostered class hatred by focusing the curriculum on class struggles.
- ENU placed too strong an emphasis on manual labor.
- The incorporation of students into the labor force would be debilitating and disruptive to production.
- Physical injuries might result from student's inexperience in physically demanding jobs.
- The installation of a uniform mass education will result in the decline of educational quality.
- There was an attempt at totalitarian indoctrination behind the plan.

Incendiary headlines distorting the arguments of each side denote the kind of media coverage that the ENU attracted. Newspapers even took out ads to accommodate paid inserts for and against of ENU in March and April 1973 (Fisher, 1979). The Catholic Church and the CDs issued statements questioning the wisdom of the timetable while supporting some aspects of the proposal – particularly those that were related to technical training. Both actors were concerned with giving guarantees to private education providers and the promise of a fully participatory structure in the government of schools.[57] On

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[57] A complete analysis of the ENU by the synod appears in *Revista Mundo*, June 1973.

12th April 1973, the government announced, in a letter to Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez, its decision to postpone the implementation of the ENU. Retrospectively, the literature also takes position when explaining why the ENU failed to attract support (Castro, 1977; Fisher, 1979; Cox, 1984; Farrel, 1986; Labarca, 1985; Núñez, 2003):

- The inflammatory language of the report that made it look too radical.
- ENU could not solve the education crisis and was only going to replace one rigid bureaucratic structure with another.
- The costs and practical feasibility of implementing the ENU across the country.
- Its overly ambitious goals and the vagueness of its design.
- ENU was still based on traditional schooling and its usual teacher-pupil relationship, forms of evaluation, prescribed curricula, etc.
- The ENU report was difficult for popular understanding and too general to satisfy its critics.
- ENU failed to consider the fears of private schools and the Catholic Church.
- It obfuscated any possible similarities with previous reforms, therefore antagonizing rather than gaining allies among them.
- Teachers opposed ENU because they feared losing prestige.
- The area of social property was not in place and the middle classes feared downwards social mobility if secondary schools became polytechnics.

To be sure, the military overthrown of the PU government is the universal background of all these accounts. Farrel goes as far as to claim that the *language* in which ENU was framed set the conditions for Pinochet's *coup*, given that the project ultimately alienated even moderates (Farrel, 1986). My interviewee 4, himself an experienced policy maker close to the Christian Democrat, partly coincides with Farrel in saying that the ENU debate triggered a number of reactions in society that, ultimately, made impossible to negotiate a peaceful solution to the political crisis under Allende.

For their part, Oppenheim (1989) and Núñez (2003) consider this analysis overly harsh on the ENU, not least because it underestimates how important

other factors were in triggering the end of Allende's government. They point in particular to US intervention. instance. Finally, from a perspective that emphasizes economic factors, most analyses of the education policies under Allende seem to overlook the structural contradictions under which Chile's economy operated: weak internal markets, low technological innovation and dependence on natural resources (Ochoa, 1971; Labarca, 1985; Fazio, 2004).

6.3. Closing remarks

The goal of this chapter has been to reconstruct the main policy developments that the PU government put forward in the area of education. Arguably, PU's most successful education policy – the increase in public spending in education that allowed for greater student enrolment and better retention rates – is perhaps best understood as the intensification than a radical redefinition of those policies put forward by the previous administration. At the same time, it is clear that PU fully expected to leave its own mark in education policies. The most notable feature of their proposals must surely be the sheer ambition of their attempted reforms. The ENU report simply leaves no area of education untouched: primary, secondary and tertiary, formal and informal education, pre-school years and long-life learning, public and private providers, academic and vocational paths, the relationships between study and work, the tension between education for citizenship and for productivity, the democratization of schools, its links with local communities vis-a-vis its dependence on central bureaucratic structures.

This Chapter brings to a close my historical reconstruction of the decade 19641973. It is perhaps a good time to reflect, albeit briefly, on some of the commonalities to be found in the 7 secondary accounts that I have used most extensively: Brahm, Cariola and Silva, Castro, Cox, Farell, Fisher, Labarca, and Núñez. Despite their different political views, they share some conceptual tools around which their arguments are organized. Firstly, this literature exhibits a fascination with the ideology of social and political actors, who are alleged to rely heavily on theoretical and normative ideas to orient and their plans of action in the face of multiple challenges. Ideology was the touchstone

on which judge the seriousness of the projects advocated by left-wing political parties in the region (Farrel, 1982; Oppenheim, 1989; Barr-Melej, 2001).

This does not mean that they isolate ideology from other considerations, most notably the economy. But it shows that, in their narratives, ideology *is* the central object of analysis or even the drive behind education policies. In order to tell the story of the education policies under the PU, authors concur in their references to: ideology, political strategy and political strategies as ways of giving coherence to utterances and events that otherwise might appear contingent. The struggles in the sphere of law and bureaucratic are not causes but effects of ideological struggles. When they problematize the sphere of pedagogy, the also do it through the prism of the contrasting ideologies and interests of groups in society. Ultimately, the core practices of policy making are related to mandates, disagreements, incoherence or inflexibility in the political application of ideology.

For instance, Castro (1977) unfolds a neat narrative in which the means and the core aims of the PU project for society fitted coherently. Given that participation was central in defining the contents and structure of the new model of school, consultation took place at various levels: school, provincial and national, procuring the representation of all the actors within schools and the surrounding territory (Castro, 1977). In contrast, the literature that is critical of the PU tends to provide reasons that explain the distrust in PU and situates the promotion of fora with a vailed strategy to elude the institutionalized authority. Still from the realm of ideology, most of the literature points out that an explicit and consistent philosophy inspired Frei's program and to a large extent explains its many policy successes whilst, conversely, unrelenting ideological struggle was a constant of the PU period (Cox, 1984; Fisher, 1979; Núñez, 2003).

The next chapter explores the ENU in greater detail and from a different angle. It zooms in the policy ordeal that was the actual discussion of the ENU report by looking at the minutes of the NCE.

Chapter 7. The ENU through the looking glass of NCE sessions

The previous Chapter presented in broad outline the National Unified School (ENU) policy of the PU government. Here, I revisit the same topic while following a different path; namely, to historicise the controversy around ENU and the struggle that it embodied. My focus is on the discussions within the National Council of Education (NCE) over the policy document that spelt out the fundamentals of ENU throughout the first term of 1973. The document, and its ensuing discussion at CNE meetings, relate to the potential implementation of ENU. As I concentrate in the first two sessions, the main goal of this Chapter is to offer an original analysis of how education struggles took place in the formal deliberative setting that CNE constituted. Technical experts, government officials and stakeholders came together to discuss ENU at the sessions of NCE. In sum, this Chapter is an exercise of zooming in a micro-space in search for those practices – some of them rather mundane – that configured and may well still configure the discursive struggle over school policies in Chile.

The National Council of Education, NCE was created in 1927 but was not active until 1953, when it started operating as the advisory board on policy matters for the Superintendence of Education. Its members were of two kinds: those representing civil society organizations with a direct stake in education policies and a number of civil servants in charge of the main administrative units of the Ministry of Education. The first group included teachers unions, parents and careers associations, and education providers from state and private institutions; the second included authorities of primary, secondary and adult education. Although supporting officers from the Legal Department of the Ministry and, occasionally, from other administrative units, attended the sessions too, they did not hold formal membership of the advisory board. A constitutional amendment in 1970 confirmed the role of the NCE in policymaking. NCE was in the formal position to make observations regarding new education policies, which made them active in the process of consultation and validation of any reform to the system.

In theory, councilors should have read and appraised the report; they should also have gathered the views of the bases they represent in order to correct, improve and enable a swift implementation of policy changes.[58] However, by mid-April 1973, and due to intense political opposition, PU had already dropped any expectation of implementing even the first stages of their reform. Allende announced that none of the prospective changes were going to materialize until a consensus was achieved on the orientations, contents and means of ENU. In the meantime, NCE had started the design of a new consultation mechanism that was aimed to ensure wide support for a future school reform because the opposition did not recognize the debates that had been organized up to that point as representative or pluralist enough.[59]

7.1. Lines of enquiry

Before I introduce the results of my analysis, I would like to reflect on one document that illuminates the context of production of the folder *Actas Escuela Nacional Unificada*. The item translated below is the first of many letters, official reports and press notes contained in the same folder.[60] It is authored by the Executive Secretary of the Superintendence of Education and dated in January 1973. As requested by the NCE in a previous session, the Executive Secretary presents for consideration of councilors a minute that reviews alternative forms to produce a written record of each session of the National Council. Organized according to their increasing degree of detail, these were:

- A much-summarized version informing attendants, date, number of the session, issues to be discussed and, in the last term, the decisions adopted regarding each point. There is no account of the actual discussion, nor of individual positions. In case of this being accepted, full sessions will be transcribed later on and added to the archives of the Superintendence with

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[58] Councilors are those members of NCE who attended sessions in representation of stakeholders.

[59] I return to this later in the Chapter.

[60] This does not mean that it was produced before the rest of the documents in the folder.

the purpose of serving as future reference for either the Councilors or the public interested in the history of their discussions.

- A synthesis of the debate on each matter, pointing out the arguments at play and how councilors positioned themselves in relation to alternative resolutions. The definitive agreement will be transcribed at the end, indicating also whether this was unanimous or not.

- A synthesis of every single intervention about each point that was tabled, plus the phrasing of the definite agreement reached by the Council.

- The transcription of the complete session exactly as recorded. This would be specially recommended when the matters addressed are of particular relevance to the national education sphere.

At the end of the minute, the Secretary also points out the difficulties of implementing number 4, given the short time in between sessions. In principle, the lack of staff to undertake transcriptions, and the far from ideal quality of the sound recordings, made it unlikely to have a word-by-word reproduction of any session in time for the following meeting. The text continues by explaining that a more feasible format was to synthesize the ideas expressed by individual attendants in relation to each matter examined, that is, proposal 3. This would not preclude the eventual production of a complete written record if deemed relevant. It is not clear the date when each tape-recorded meeting was typed up. Given that many official documents were destroyed or got lost after the irruption of military personnel in the ministerial offices, I presume that the transcriptions I analyzed were archived before 11th September 1973.

The significance of this preliminary document lies in the fact that it makes visible the rationale and technique of record-keeping that will bear on my interpretations of the transcriptions and minutes. Notably, for example, the Secretary does commit to the production of full transcriptions only providing that more time is allowed to complete the task. As if bureaucratic regulations were not enough justification for the need of format of minutes, he explicitly

points out these transcripts will be added to the archives as future reference for either the Councilors *or the public interested in the accurate history of the matters addressed*' (folio 1, my italics). If nothing else, the minute of a meeting is supposed to be approved in following meetings, so that documents reflect with accuracy whatever the participants agreed to record. Potentially, this is functional to the progression of dialogue.

But this degree of attention goes beyond the formal duties of his role as Secretary of NCE, although it is perhaps not so surprising given that the Superintendent of Education was also a trained historian. To my mind, what is really striking about the statement is that it seems to forewarn us about the intricacies of interpreting documents that were conceived to serve future historical curiosity but that can never be a wholly reliable record of the conversations *as they actually happened*. In this sense, I would like to briefly acknowledge some methodological caveats when appraising archival evidence.

Some historians believe that a documentary artefact is always a by-product of human action that is not intended to serve any purpose outside the function defined by the activity that originated it (Scott, 1990). From this point of view, the folder I analyze is somewhat unusual. On the one hand, the transcriptions and minutes were to establish a common ground for communication between councilors. Behind the recording of each meeting, there is the attempt to render an instance of spoken interchange into a retrievable reference. Any agreement, discrepancy or question could be recognized by the councilors as part of an ongoing deliberation. On the other hand, by archiving the folder in a public library, someone was already foreseeing it as an artefact for enquiry in an unspecified future. From the perspective of a historical contextualization of ENU in its most conventional sense, the documents being discussed here provide a glimpse, for example, of those mundane administrative nuances that were involved in the functioning of NCE (and, in all likelihood, probably also in similar institutions at that time). One concrete expression of these is the shortage of resources to typewrite and make copies in times for the next meeting. While it might appear obvious, this contingent lack of printing,

mimeos or photocopy machines made apparent the prominence of written materials as the beacon of a modern state bureaucracy (Scott, 1990). The ubiquity of the written text in the operation of the modern state is central in my research.

There is, however, another feature of this preliminary document that captured my attention. Together with the minute that was elaborated to facilitate the conversation within NCE on how to produce records of subsequent sessions, this document offers a preview into the recursive character that my research seeks to uncover. John Scott (1990) distinguishes between the use of written materials as topics and as resources. The aim of analyzing a document as a topic is to propose an interpretation or derivation of meaning from the text, whereas the aim of looking at it as a resource is the instrumental contextualization of the main document. I treat the transcriptions of NCE sessions as the topic of analysis whereas the other documents, including the ENU report, are taken as references of contextual or illustrative value.

I found that there was a similar (though not identical) mechanism by which the members of the NCE alternated their use of documents throughout sessions. Sometimes, the physical artefact that is a document became itself a topic. In the summer of 1973 (January-February), for example, early drafts of the ENU report and other preliminary papers were leaked before final versions were presented for consideration before the NCE. The press came up with all sorts of speculations, criticisms, and it accused PU of lack of transparency about its genuine intentions. One councilor hinted that some parents became very anxious about the policies in preparation. In response, one of the education authorities deplored this distorted news and claimed that some people were trading on the documents as if they contained a secret plan, in circumstances that there was no such thing. In some way, the circulation of those unofficial sheets triggered effects that are not attributable, or not entirely so, to a critical view of the ENU as a potential school reform.

It was also the case that the interpretation of a document's content was rendered problematic as the weeks passed by. Transcripts show that some

sections of the ENU report were intensely (though not always exhaustively) scrutinized. Questions and comments about the exact meaning of a line or paragraph elicited lengthy clarifications that were then followed by disputes about its 'real' intentions. Besides, the background of NCE discussions rested upon an array of inscribed texts: the political constitution, legislative acts, circulars, administrative regulations, public declarations, press notes, publications issued by international agencies, and all sorts of reading materials were used to support any given interpretation of reading materials. Moreover, the readiness of complementary materials was a key concern for councilors who repeatedly requested additional documents containing more details of the policies being advanced by the government. Even though there were representatives who sometimes questioned the value of extra-documentary input, the authorities made a habit of promising the swift delivery of those items. These promises created new instances in which failures to deliver led to the consequent postponement of further dialogue until a copy of the document was made available.

The list of annexes attached to the folder is long and it would be pointless to enumerate them at this point. When councilors referred to external sources, these are treated as co-texts of the main text under scrutiny; that is, the set of transcriptions/minutes. Indeed, there are documents that are especially significant in light of their pervasive impact on setting the terms of the discussion about ENU and each of them will be cross-referenced in due course. Interestingly, just as the documents were being signified in multiple ways by the attendants, the interactions between councilors – as represented by the transcripts – were suggestive of a multiplicity of dimensions that my study could have potentially followed.

The discursive practices that I trace here are confined to the time/space coordinates of the ten NCE sessions that I analyzed. These ten meetings were incredibly rich and I found it almost impossible to present my analysis without exhausting the word limit of the thesis (and the patience of the examiners). That is the reason why I decided to structure my findings around the first session that is recorded in the folder. This first session is of relevance because

the oral presentation of the ENU report, and the ensuing conversations among the attendees, introduced the most substantial part of the themes and procedures that were of importance for the rest of the sessions. More concretely, I traced the themes and procedures that emerged from the first session throughout the rest of the transcriptions. As my analysis progressed, I paid attention to those utterances that either modify or depart from the preliminary categorization. Towards the end of this chapter, I schematize the findings from the first session.

7.2. The oral presentation of the ENU report to the NCE

The first ordinary session of 1973 was on the 30th January and started at 9:00 AM.[61] After the Superintendent welcomed the attendants, he introduced the topics on table for the morning and the council commenced its work. In the first place, members gave their approval to a long list of curricular specializations within Adult Education that were in their final stage of evaluation. Then, councilors went through the annual budget proposal that the Superintendence intended to submit to the General Budget authority. The Council accepted the proposal after a short discussion on the topic. Finally, the chair announced the submission for consideration of the NCE of a policy report on the school reform that Allende's government was designing. This is a summary of the Minister of Education's *oral presentation* of the ENU report in the same order in which they appear in folios 1 and 2 of the transcript:[62]

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[61] There were 15 attendees to the meeting. From the Ministry of Education: Jorge Tapia (Minister), Iván Núñez (Superintendent of Education), Waldo Suárez (Deputy Minister), Fresia Urrutia (Head of primary school education), Aída Mignone (Head of secondary school education), Julio Antúnez (Head of the Superintendence's research office), Lautaro Videla (former SUTE president, General Supervisor) and Hugo Araya (Executive Secretary of NCE). Three additional civil servants attended but not as members of the Council: a legal advisor, an officer from budget administration and someone else in charge of public relations. On behalf of the organizations with representation at the NCE, the following were present during the whole session: Sara Philipi (State funded private schools), Isabel Domínguez (Parents and careers of private education), Jorge Olivares (Parents and careers of state education), Bernardino Silva (Private school teachers), Sergio Astorga (Union of Primary Teachers, UPCH), Oscar Sarmiento (Teachers of Technical and Industrial Schools) and Juan Salinas (National Corporation for Industrial Development, CORFO).

[62] All direct quotations in this chapter come from here.

1. Technical committees have been developing the prospect of a National Unified School (ENU) and the design of a system of lifelong education that should guide the work, in several other fronts, of the Chilean education.

2. Working inside the Superintendence, these committees have lengthily and thoroughly discussed the technical formulation of what a national education policy should be.

3. 'This morning, the NCE is being handed the first and most important of the documents: The *Informe sobre la Escuela Nacional Unificada* (ENU report). This is the first and official submission of a series of reports and studies that have been prepared by the aforementioned committees, and they are at the final writing stage. Additional parts of this report will be delivered by the first days in March, only because of the compulsory (summer) holidays of February'.

4. The presentation of this report to NCE has a clear significance since, according to the Political Constitution, any reform to the education system must be approved by a competent institution of a pluralist composition. The government understands that NCE meets this criterion, given the plurality of actors that it represents.

5. By organizing a public debate about the ENU report, the government seeks to get broad acceptance from the 'education country', which includes teachers, students, parents and careers, as well as from the national community in general. The government does not believe in an imposed reform. The degree of consensus to render ENU into a coherent policy must be the fact that ENU has national roots that are 'objectively verified'.

6. This policy document was elaborated in accordance to the 'democratic tradition of the country'. Its ideas have already been discussed 'from the north to the south of the territory'; it was in fact the main topic under discussion at the National Congress of Education in 1971. [63] These

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[63] See Chapter 6.

circumstances configure not only a formal but also a 'moral mandate' to put into practice what virtually all sectors – *with no significant opposition* – saw as the only way to tackle the current education crisis. Building on these democratic foundations, the definitive realization of ENU will also be democratic. It should be widely known and debated, as the Chilean Nation experiences the reform as necessary and identifies with it.

7. Although this reform 'is the logical process to embark on for a government in which socialist ideas are prime', the 'curricular content, the course outlines are not the expression of an ideology. We do not think that schools should teach Marxism, democratic socialism or any particular form of producing social change'. The government has a legitimate expectation of transforming society but did not believe in 'cheap indoctrination in the classroom, as we do not believe that this is the purpose of the school system'.

8. Based on these considerations, the government is confident about the good reception of its document. Tonight, the Minister will broadcast a message to the country that will explain the fundamental lines of education policy for the rest of the presidential period, and specifically for the rest of 1973. The text of that discourse will be distributed to councilors once reproduced by mimeo.

9. The ENU report is surely very long. It is not reasonable to ask for detailed opinions until March, as there will be time in February to read the document and to form your own opinions, alongside those of your organizations.

10. The government understands that the document has the potential to be improved and is open to observations. Although the document has the support of the Minister, 'it does not constitute a policy decision' since that should only be made after consultations: 'I say this categorically so that it is clear that bringing the document to the NCE it is not a mere formalism'.

Immediately after the intervention from the Minister, the Superintendent complemented the presentation by emphasizing that (Folio 2):

- Civil servants from different units of the Ministry's technical groups continue working on a series of 'complementary documents' to the ENU report, of which a synthesis has been made in order 'to facilitate the discussion'. The document of the ENU report should be seen as supported by a range of other documents to be delivered in the near future, 'even though the substantial formulation of the issues over which we have to decide and have clarity are already here' (in the ENU report itself). The rest of complementary documents elaborate on specific dimensions that will be discussed in due course.

- The NCE, alongside all the organizations that it represents, has an intense 'period of study ahead'. The same applies to other stakeholders that may not be represented yet due to regulatory limitations (for instance, students). Nonetheless, they are still being consulted: 'we have an overwhelming task ahead', actors across the whole of society ought 'to mobilize vigorously in order to make real the goals of education reform'.

- 'We can say that, at the beginning of 1973, we are facing a true battle for education that we hope will count on the enthusiastic participation of the whole of the national community'. The NCE has a key role in gathering and centralizing the opinions and suggestions from the diversity of organizations that are being consulted.

Right from the opening of his presentation, Minister Tapia alludes to the 'technical' character of the groups that are designing education policies. This suggests the need to confirm how a scientific attitude or expertise among civil servants prevails over any other form of partisan commitment. By using the adjective technical to describe the people producing the documents, the authority reinforces, by extension, the nature of the ENU paper as a 'technical report'; that is, an outcome being born out of rigorous 'study'. The implicit accusation to which he is responding is in point seven, where the Minister

contends that, while the process of reform is consistent with socialist ideals, the policy document is not a collection of ideological statements that convey a veiled attempt to indoctrinate the youth through schooling. Throughout the first term of 1973, the government underscored that ENU was a timely response to the overwhelming demand for higher education and the impending 'crisis of the education system' that Chile and other countries were about to endure. As a means of evidence, authorities often cited international sources and specialized literature warning about the crisis of school systems worldwide (for example, UNESCO report, also known as Ford or as Faure, *et al.* 1973).

The minister's words bear a solemnity that is not easy to preserve in a translation, let alone in a summary of the text. Apart from this formal tone, so common in opening ceremonial speeches, Tapia performs more than a mere protocol. As chair, he has the prerogative to moderate the conversation and render an agreement into its definite formulation once participants have spoken.

It is apparent that Allende's Minister of Education not only speaks about the ENU report and shares it with the councilors. By pronouncing that 'this is the first and official submission of….', the government acts upon its interpretation of the constitutional amendment of 1970; this is, that the NCE fits with the constitutional profile of a competent and pluralist decision-making body. The minister is enacting the government's validation of NCE as such a board and, in accordance to this conviction, vows to make available all the information that councilors may require.

In addition to the formal endorsement of the NCE as a legitimate body, the government is seeking a wider consensus among the 'education country' and the national community in general. It is significant that Minister Tapia duly enumerates the *citizens*, as it were, of this nominal 'education country': teachers are its 'primary' constituency, followed by the, parents and careers. In a way, this implicit hierarchy is consistent with the political alliance being forged between PU and the teachers' unions.[64] Although PU 'does not believe

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[64] See Chapter 5.

in imposed reforms', its authority for reform, it is argued, rests its confidence on the 'verifiable' evidence of the ENU's roots in Chilean history. Based on that premise, the government is optimistic about reaching the degree of consensus that was needed for people to accept the reform and engage in its application. Furthermore, Tapia points to the 'moral mandate' that has emanated from previous instances of participation and which is in line with 'the democratic tradition of the country'.[65] He draws attention to the last stage of that process at the national level, where delegates concluded 'with no significant opposition', that the ENU was a pertinent strategy for Chile.

By stressing the foundation of ENU in a national tradition, the government is already responding to the unspoken accusation that it was trying to import a completely foreign school modality. From the authorities' perspective, ENU was broadly anchored in the national pedagogic movements that had pushed for the creation of alternative models of schooling in Chile thorough the 20th century, including the creation of *escuelas experimentales* and *escuelas consolidadas*, both of which were still functioning at the time.[66] The pledge to hold on to the local roots of ENU rests on the assumption that the 'education country recognizes these reforms as its own. It is in that sense that the government anticipates that a wide debate around the ENU report will draw upon an already existing identification with the key ideas of ENU. A sense of urgency to start the dissemination of ENU is apparent from the fact that Tapia is presenting an outline of the ENU via national broadcast that same night. What is surely being problematized here is the extent to which these actors will eventually recognize ENU as their own and whether they will perceive that the success of the reform will coincide with their own aspirations.

Minister Tapia then asks NCE members to read the ENU report in depth because it is 'a rich synthesis of pages and pages, some of which are also being summarized as we speak'. Interestingly, when the Superintendent takes his turn to speak, he deems it necessary to explain that the synthetic format of

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[65] These are the local and provincial Congresses of Education that were organized all over the country in 1971. See Chapter 6.

[66] See Chapter 3.

the ENU report aims to facilitate the discussion but that its assertions are supported by many elements that are addressed in 'complementary' materials that are still in preparation. His use of the term synthesis is twofold. Synthesis means here a thorough review of background information as well as the formulation of findings in summary way, but it is also a nod to a 'dialectical' strategy of thinking that follows the route of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The Superintendent says that the policy document is the outcome of a studious and reflective process that formulates a substantial and yet manageable policy document that is now to be debated. In my interpretation, he was already prescribing *how to use the ENU document as a self-contained tool to discuss the education reform*. Despite this emphasis, however, the councilors' insistence to see more 'complementary' documents before arriving at a decision ended up being a major procedural conundrum within the NCE.

The Minister then rules out discussing the substance of the report until March. In February, during the summer holidays, the councilors are supposed to inform and consult their bases 'so that they can define, in their personal capacity and as representatives, the opinions that they are bringing to the council'. A moment later, the Superintendent indicates that, for the sake of enhanced representativeness, the government aims to secure the input of organized actors who are not formally represented at the NCE such as students and workers. More concretely, this supposes an active effort to invite the leaders of these organizations to rehearse their views directly in council meetings and not only through the channels that may be available to any other group that will be discussing the ENU report in the next month. As it happened, the president of the Association of Private Education Students was present in at least two of the ten meetings covered by this thesis.

The preamble of the Minister finishes with a critical point that is very indicative of what is at stake for the government. Tapia assures NCE members that the formulation of ENU can be modified as a result of future debate within and outside the NCE. Hence, the 'study' of the ENU report is necessary not only as part of a democratic process but also because this exercise will inform those aspects that can perhaps be improved upon in its final formulation. By any

account, the sentence 'it has all my support but it does not constitute a policy decision' suggests that the Minister needs to persuade the NCE that *their* review of the ENU report will not be 'only a formality'. Moreover, the Superintendent charges NCE with the responsibility of 'centralizing' all the observations that will emerge during the public debate. Núñez appeals to the sense of duty of the attendants by inviting them to join the 'overwhelming task ahead' in order 'to make real the goals of the education reform'. For Núñez, the fundamental challenge is to mobilize a high number of people to appraise the ENU report enthusiastically, thoroughly and promptly as part of a 'battle' on behalf of education.

The oral presentation of ENU borrows from the broad notion of an existing consensus on the problems that an education reform ought to address. It even projects a sense of shared vision about what needs to be done. During the first half of 1973, these presuppositions were contested within and outside the NCE. The discussions of the NCE enacted a controversy that reflected the struggles over education policies at the time. The next section of this chapter shows the process from the moment of the first oral exchanges until the end of that first meeting.

7.3. Reactions to the oral presentation of the ENU report

My account of the interactions that follow is perhaps best seen as a story that unfolds around a table at which characters sit and talk. I am neither reproducing events as they actually happened nor accounting for an exact succession of utterances as they appeared on paper. Rather, I am creating temporal connections and relationships that are not inherent to the text but are the way in which I was able to render the text intelligible to the readers.

The use of the present tense to write about the NCE sessions is to make more accessible to readers the brief characterizations of context and participants as well as the summaries of different speeches. I use inverted commas to signal textual translations.

As soon as the authorities finish their opening remarks, a councilwoman representing vocational private schools asks:

Philippi: May I ask … one hears many things through the grapevine, when is this starting? Your invite us to disseminate this report among our bases so that people study it and we all can discuss it in March but, on the other hand, one hears this reform is going to start in March…

Tapia: And the report clarifies that too in the chronology that you will find in page number…

Philippi: Because there is so much worry, then what you are handing to us now…

Tapia: I want to tell you that there was a careful analysis of the possible dates to launch this ... In May we finish the review of the curriculum for the school year that will start with the reform in the second semester [i.e. end of July]. By then we will also finish the inset training of teachers and the discussions around the country and by the unions of workers, teachers and within this council, of course.

Philippi: I am thankful for your explanation because, you know, if someone is telling you that you can give an opinion but that the reform will kick on
March is like…

Tapia: No, no, you see, it is not in March, April or May, it's in June.

Philippi: Then this can be modified according to incoming observations…

Tapia: I have said it. We put great effort in doing this but we are not saying is perfect. To that extent, we want that this discussion enriches the reform.

Núñez: Other documents have been leaked, copied and circulated. Those were work in progress that always existed but are not…

Philippi: That was exactly my concern! When someone sees those of documents is natural to ask, well, what is all this about?

Without specifying much except her worry about the time and scope for changes to the current ENU report, Philippi points out that the people she represents are anxious about things they are hearing through the grapevine. In response, the authorities deny rumors regarding deadlines and criticize the circulation of unofficial versions of the ENU report; they thoroughly condemn the misuse of leaked documents. This sort of dialogue is very common throughout the sessions. Sometimes the person who raises a concern to the authority seems to seek a clarification, whereas in others the question carries a degree of anxiety towards the reform. Both are present here: how close are those unofficial documents to the actual report? Are there real chances of modifying the ENU as a policy? As the session continues, the councilman who represents the teachers' union proposes:

Astorga: …we could have an extra session in February to resolve doubts so that we can bring clearer information to our bases.

Núñez: In that case, it would be merely informative…

Astorga: yes.

Núñez: it will have 'no compulsory attendance because there will be members of the council who have arranged going on summer vacation…but ok, it will have an informative character'.

Tapia: 'I agree. You should also know that we intend to print the ENU report as a booklet and enclose it to newspapers of national circulation …We want to ensure wide access to the document'.

As the council member proposes an extra meeting during February, the Superintendent establishes that such meeting ought to be only informative and, therefore, not compulsory (because of the summer recess). He takes the opportunity to inform that the ENU report will be printed and circulated via national newspapers. Here, the authority confirms that he is reticent to debate the ENU before the councilors have read the report and started the process of consultation. From the government's part, the message is that, by publishing the ENU report, they do want to facilitate an informed debate among the bases.

A moment later, a different representative of the private education inquiries about the progress of other reform plans that were the authorities had promised to share with the NCE some time ago. The Minister then explains that a group of experts from UNESCO (CHI29) is working with the government on a general reform to the administrative apparatus of education and that such process is taking time. Straight after, a counselor representing private teachers calls all attendants to have a constructive attitude during discussion:

> **Salinas**: I personally want to appeal to NCE members so that they could make a positive contribution and not have a negative disposition towards the documents – as sometimes happens. That we not only formulate inquisitive comments but that, in case of seeing voids or mistakes, we could come up with our own proposals or interpretations, so that the Council is not an obstacle for policy changes as it has happened in the past. Hopefully, our participation will really enhance the ENU report.

> **Tapia**: Thank you very much for your intervention, I am confident on the technical solidity of this document and of the others that will complement it. The report is not going to be news or a surprise for anyone who is seriously involved in education… We all know the Ford Commission paper[67]. Although the paper is neutral in appearance, it goes further than

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[67] The Ford Commission paper is another way of calling the report commissioned by UNESCO to a group of education experts to identify and analyse education challenges around the world. Edgar Faure was the chair of the group, so the report is also known as the Faure Report.

the ENU report in many aspects. Those who know the Blue Book of the Peruvian Education Reform[68] would have to admit that they have been bolder than us…

It is not clear whether there was something in the tone of other members representing private schools that triggered such a call for a positive attitude. Nobody denies or confirms the impact of previous distrust, but the allusion could be indicative of an undercurrent tension. Note, though, that the minister repeats his confidence in the technical solidity of the ENU report and goes on citing two international sources to highlight the moderate character of the ENU in comparison to other plans and proposals. For instance, unlike the Peruvian reform, in the case of ENU no student will be forced to stay in a vocational track beyond secondary school. Chilean students can all apply to university, which seems to be one of the unspoken sources of anxiety among some sectors. He also tries to persuade his audience that the international experts recognize the magnitude of the impending crisis and that a policy response cannot wait. Rhetorically, he underscores that anyone who is up-to-date on education trends will surely welcome a plan such as the ENU.

Yet this reference to international experts triggers a second intervention from the same person who had initiated the conversation a moment ago:

Philippi: Speaking of the Ford-UNESCO report, we had access to an excerpt that the Superintendent sent us. Has the translation come up yet? I understand that it was under preparation in Spain.

Tapia: There are complete editions for the use of universities, I guess.

Philippi: Exactly. Then maybe you could officially request the document to UNESCO. It is of great interest to us because I only know of versions in English and French.

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[68] The Peruvian Education Reform from 1972 is attached to the folio *Actas Escuela Nacional Unificada*. The mimeo reproduces the Decree 19,326 that was published by *Diario El Comercio,* in Lima, on 25 March 1972.

Tapia: If they do not have it, we will translate it internally for restricted circulation.

Philippi: That would be wonderful. When I asked UNESCO in November they told me that the translation will take time and maybe even longer to be available here.

In response to these requirements, the minister hurries to offer explanations and promises access to a translation of the document requested, even assuming the responsibility of making one if necessary. Another attendant from the private sector intervenes (the Association of Parents) and begins by pointing out that her mandate is to represent the voice of her bases instead of her own opinion. In this sense, she is concerned about the short time that is to be allowed to organize the debate and the difficulties to make copies of the relevant documentation. The superintendent reminds her that organizations will not have to multi-copy the report because the government will publish it, but she insists on the numerous operational aspects that must be sorted out. She asks for the texts of the message to be broadcast that night, to which the minister replies that council members will have a copy the next day, and that the complete transcript of the next session, which has just set been for February, will be available in March for those who are not be able to attend.

The request for documents is a recurrent topic and we have seen that the Minister promises wide circulation through newspapers with national circulation. It transpires from other transcripts that, either under the form of suggestions or by means of inquisitive observations about an undelivered item, some members constantly demanded compliance with this sort of request as a condition for the advancement of the discussions. Even as the government adds items to the list of documents to deliver, the operational dimensions of the debate within and outside the NCE have not been exhausted from the point of view of the councilor who represents the parents and careers of students in private schools.

Dominguez's rhetoric in response to a previous comment is noteworthy. She endorses the plea of her colleague Salinas about keeping a constructive spirit but, at the same time, rejects the premise about prevailing negative attitudes:

> **Domínguez**: I second what councilman Salinas just pointed out. Now, about the debate, if we do not have feedback from the different institutions in time… I think we should request that the organizations hand a written document with their observations to the ENU report; otherwise, everything will take too long. The Executive Secretary is already overwhelmed with work as they type our sessions and other stuff. Last year (1972), there was too much to do for the Executive Secretary during those periods when we had sessions twice a week. The transcripts of one session were not available for the following one and we ended up with a 'kaleidoscope' of documents and no time to read them properly. This occurred with the discussion about the DDS when, at the last minute, councilman Videla explained verbally what was the posture of the last general assembly of SUTE. We did not know whether we should discuss that verbal report or the printed document provided by the SUTE in advance. We all should assume responsibility and I would like to request to institutions that any observation or remark comes in writing.

> **Tapia**: I think that in the first session of March the Council itself must establish a deadline for the reception of documents. The debate cannot be organized otherwise. Once we have all the feedback we will be in a position to agree on a 'final decision'. Please, take into account that, we are making an effort. It is possible to have the transcript of the next session of 29th February in 24 or 48 hours. By March, you will have received most of the complementary documents that address the aspects of the ENU that may not be clear at this point

The request of written and prompt feedback from the bases is not only meant to facilitate the work of NCE, it also seems to be a criterion of admissibility. Dominguez is critical of the constrained time conditions under which NCE has worked before. If the information is not available in advance to the session, the

material becomes 'a kaleidoscope of documents' that council members cannot possible read and analyze carefully enough. Instead of making vague references to 'last year', she exemplifies her point with reference to the study of the DDS.[69] She recalls how NCE did not know whether to consider the *document* sent by the SUTE or the *words* of the councilmen who, at the last minute, voiced the observations that had emerged in the last assembly of SUTE. She proposes that, for an observation to be considered by NCE, this must come in writing. This is her way to reconfigure negative experiences in the past from a problem of distrust into a problem of procedural validity. The Minister backs her proposal by stating that, in March, the Council will establish a deadline for the reception of written observations. Once again, he pledges that transcripts and most of the other requested documents will be available by then.

As different sources show, education authorities forecasted an imminent crisis that was going to impact on the equilibrium between education and employment opportunities.[70] In the first session, except from passing mentions to the Peruvian Education Reform and a report by the Ford Commission and UNESCO, the Minister and the Superintendent speak as if all attendees were aware of what the imminent crisis is. NCE members seem to accept this diagnosis, tacitly at least. These pressing circumstances make it necessary, according to the government, to limit the time frame for debate. There should be time to adjust the policy, promulgate the official decree *and* initiate the implementation of a school reform at national level during the second part of 1973. Right from the first session the Minister sought to placate those councilors who felt apprehensive about this time frame. The ENU report was somehow accountable to certain publications and there were occasions when councilors called on the inconsistencies between the ENU and the validated reference. Yet authorities were constantly offering reassurances that there was still time for debate and that, once the ENU was put into practice, there would also be room for re-evaluation – even for a complete redesign of the reform – if 'experience' so recommended it.

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[69] See Chapter 6.
[70] See Chapters 5 and 6.

Precisely in relation to 'experience', this and other terms semantically related to it became an illustrative node of struggle. To begin with, the concept of 'experimental' was key to the government's claim that the ENU was an innovative and flexible strategy in response to complex challenges for which no country had readymade solutions. In the same line, experimental resonated also with both the theoretical and practical validation that the ENU found in the experimental pedagogy and schools. As it turned out, however, a number of NCE members openly rejected ENU by precisely accusing PU of 'making an experiment' with all Chilean students. They raised questions such as: Where are the trials that validate ENU? Which are the mechanisms to introduce changes once the reform is at work? The bottom line was that, formally, the legal framework within which debates took place did not establish a formal obligation to address NCE observations in the final text of the reform.

Almost at the end of the session, the representative of private vocational schools with state funding raises a question that is apparently unrelated to the study of the ENU but whose implications will prove hugely problematic in future discussions. Just when the minister asks if there is 'anything else' that needs discussion, this councilwoman notes that she has not been invited to any meeting to discuss new regulations that will require private schools to teach French in year eight. Two heads of the ministerial departments with some responsibility over the curricular area explain that the change is pending because many curricular definitions depend on what happens with ENU. They also need an accurate idea of how many teachers will be required. In any case, they commit to prepare a minute to be discussed with the representatives of the private sector. The councilwoman denounces a situation of 'discrimination; because state schools will not have to do the same:

> **Philippi**: ...I get what you are saying but my point stands; there is a problem with the discriminatory treatment of private education. I need the Department of School Curriculum to explain this as soon as possible. Probably, the ENU will modify all this by establishing the same regulation for everyone, as it is logical, but the ENU starts in June. In the meantime,

the issue is that private schools are still facing a legal problem in the first semester. At least the Superintendent could instruct the Legal Department that it explains where do private schools stand in all of this. It will be a step.

Mignone: To be honest, we didn't have time. We have talked to other departments, we have not forgotten about it. We will do our best to make progress in February.

Philippi: Ok, I hope that…

Mignone: No, we are not taking a decision in February.

Philippi: I am sorry to have raised the question but you see it is important

Domínguez: State schools accuse private education of not being democratic because of the elitism of certain institutions. Well, I believe that the government is being inconsistent in demanding that it is only private schools that teach an 'elite language' whereas state schools do not teach that to their students. The problem here is the discrimination against privates, Lautaro, you were there in that first meeting. It was clear: everybody has French in year eight or no one does. This is the situation that needs to be rectified, although it is also important taking into consideration the interests of qualified French teachers that suddenly may see diminished their job opportunities

Núñez: We agree. (Close of the session, 11:20 AM)

The representative of parents and careers from private schools adds that the regulation of second-language provision is likely to accentuate the perception of elitism. In her opinion, there is an enormous incongruence: 'either everybody has French in year eight or no one has'. Beyond this comment, there is one detail that at face value may seem inconsequential but that in the light of the other transcripts is revealing of the issues troubling private education at the

time. The representative of private schools assumes that the ENU will be applied in June and that, 'as it is logical', a National Unified School will be incompatible with discriminatory practices such as the intended regulation on French. She does not connote this pro negatively; her protest, instead, has to do with the fact that in March, when the ENU is not yet in practice, private education will still have to deal with the effects of an ill-conceived policy. In the view of privates, the government is just not considering the financial, legal and administrative framework within which private providers function. A brief analysis of the second session (20th February, 1973) should help to further understand of how private schools figured in NCE in 1973.

7.4. The second session. 20th February 1973

Ten members attended the second session of NCE: six representative of the government, three of private education and one from parents of state school pupils. Soon after the session started, the Minister and Superintendent explained the delay in the delivery of the documents that were promised back in January. They make a vow to have these and the transcript of the first session ready as soon as possible.

After this apology, they inform NCE about the most important dates in the school calendar and also introduce the time schedule for the implementation of ENU, which includes both administrative changes and in-set workshops in each school. Schools will learn about this schedule through a communication to be sent at the beginning of March (i.e. immediately after the summer recess). One of the councilor double-checks whether this information is official and can be disclosed to the private schools she represents. As in the first session, this is a sensitive point. Anticipating possible objections, the Minister justifies this time schedule by saying that the alteration of school routines is an unavoidable effect of implementing the reform. Then another councilor, who represents teachers in private schools, asks

> **Silva**: Is the attendance to these activities in schools mandatory for all teachers?

Tapia: Indeed, the academic year starts in…

Silva: I would like to ask for a special permission then. I need to visit various schools while they carry out those workshops and discussions.

Tapia: Special permission? What do you mean?

Silva: I mean, I cannot be at my school from 8AM to 2PM given my role in the Association [of Teachers from private education].

Tapia: Of course, naturally, this does not apply to whoever holds a representation role that requires his presence in more than one place. For example, the leaders of SUTE cannot be in their respective schools because they need to analyze the documents as a union. They are excused from…

Silva: I do not have that exemption. For all I know, I don't exist because I represent teachers from private schools. In dialectical terms, "I am not a being".

Tapia: In that case then, your absence won't be noted in the school.

Silva: Except for the attendance register, that is.

Tapia: Well, I am afraid that doesn't concern the NCE

Silva: But here I see persons who have the authority to authorize that mobility.

Núñez: The Head of Secondary Education is not here.

Tapia: OK, if that is the problem, I have not objections to grant you that permission. It is crucial that you should have that flexibility. I will sort it.

This excerpt illustrates the extent to which the Minister and the Superintendent have a 'blind spot' in relation to private education; the regulations, procedures and rules that apply to these schools are not immediately visible for them. At first, Tapia cannot make sense of the request from Silva and struggles to acknowledge its implications. Silva is pointing out that state schools and, by the same token, the organizations that represent teachers from the state sector, have privileges that the organizations from the private sector do not possess. In light of similar dialogues later on, this one leaves a sense of subtle mockery of the Marxist jargon from the part of councilor Silva when he alludes to 'dialectical terms'. The same could be said of the comeback of the Minister: 'then, your absence won't be noticed'. Almost immediately after this exchange, another question is formulated by the councilor that represents parents and carers of state schools.

> **Olivares**: A significant part of ENU is linked to the DDS, I would have loved to hear from the decree we discussed last year. What happened? We understand that *Contraloría* rejected it, we haven't got any official information on the subject yet.

> **Tapia**: Another version of the decree will be sent to *Contraloría*. It is practically the same as the original, only that it includes changes to those aspects that were rejected the first time. The school council of education workers replaces the old council of teachers in each school, without diminishing the legal authority of the Head Teacher.

> **Olivares**: Are we going to see the new decree in advance?

> **Tapia**: No, we deem that the modifications are juridical and technical, not politically substantial. I have no problem in giving each of you a copy of the text but we will not deliberate about its content. It is urgent to start its implementation as soon as possible.

Philippi: …Minister, in relation to that, the decree you sent to *Contraloría* was not the text approved by the NCE...

Tapia: It was approved by the Minister

Philippi: Yes, that's the reason why the councillor is asking you. He is right to inquire whether you said that the decree has the approval of NCE because in that case...

Tapia: It was approved by NCE

Philippi: Only a part of it…

Tapia: I understand that what NCE agrees is a recommendation to the Minister.

Philippi: Yes, and he has the faculty to act on it or not, that's perfectly legal. Still, it is disconcerting that it is not at all the text that we discussed.

Tapia: To be honest, the only change that is relevant in comparison to the text you saw has to do with the representation of the person or institution that is legally responsible for the school. My predecessor decided not to follow the suggestion of NCE on that matter and I have respected his judgment.

Apart from the disagreements about timing, scale of application and modifiability of ENU, discussions came to a stalemate whenever different notions of 'participation', 'representativeness' and 'legal attributions' clashed. This is what the dialogue above shows: even if NCE made suggestions, the government was at liberty not to consider them. In the logic of authorities, wider participation of stakeholders was a condition to achieve maximum support in the eventual implementation of the reform. Nonetheless, the analysis of subsequent sessions suggests that the definition of who was part of the 'educational country', and in which capacity they belonged to it, was very

much a contested terrain. After all, the very instances of participation invoked by the PU government to legitimize ENU had already been criticized by the opposition for not being representative enough.[71] In fact, the members of NCE held the representation of their bases' interests in virtue of different mechanisms of designation. Though apparently trivial, this grey area in the legitimization of representation contributed to the stagnation of the discussion about the faculties of NCE to approve an education reform.

This second session is the first and practically the only one in which the conversation really delves into the visions of the curriculum and life-long learning within the ENU report. Yet the questions from the councilors and the answers they got from ENU supporters also go beyond the curricular domain. For instance, a councilor who represents private schools comments on what some of his colleagues consider as the 'monolithic' make-up of ENU. In particular, the debate addressed the divide between *intra* and *extra* education schemes for those students who stayed or left school at any time. Various members of NCE, supporters and not supporters of PU alike, also saw this as a distinction that should be overcome. Two of them argued that the education tracks outlined in ENU deepened that dichotomy between *intra* and *extra* schooling, even if this occurred against the government's best intentions.

> **Philippi**: Then, what will happen to a child in Year 8 who, after abandoning school, can only join the extra-school system? This is not conceived in ENU as part of the regular system in the short-term. For the illiterate or the youngster that drops-out it is not possible to go back to school to fulfill his aspirations.

> **Tapia**: In so far as the report states that people can access university by coming from either of the two tracks, it is implicitly accepting the possibility of … [interruption]

> **Philippi**: That is what you and I understand

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[71] See Chapter 6.

Tapia: Ahhh, are you drawing attention to the wording?

Philippi: the grassroots won't understand this (…) Once the two areas, intra and extra schooling merge, there will be no problem as you mentioned before. But during this transition, I would not recommend denying school to those who have dropped out. Psychologically speaking, you are labeling that person as a school leaver. By saying this I am not attacking ENU at all.

Tapia: I see your point

Philippi: ENU will be perceived as a classist school

While the government states that education must progressively advance to a less rigid divide between education processes inside and outside schools, ENU implicitly conveys a regular and uninterrupted trajectory that goes from early years to the end of secondary level. The second, extra-school, track is not described at length. It is merely announced in terms of a formative program that was to be flexible enough to reach out to individuals who had abandoned schooling in order to give them the chance of eventually completing their education trajectory. The response below from superintendent Núñez captures two elements of ENU that are commonly highlighted by its supporters: its *gradualism* and its *attention to existent conditions*.

we start from the current conditions, that is, we do not start from our ideals or our final goals (…) the simple fact is that we envisage a track that addresses the needs of school leavers; this is already a step forward in comparison to their current situation. Would this be a second-class service? Despite how rudimentary this may seem, that is surely not our intention (Núñez, session 2)

Looking at length to transcribed sessions, the phrase 'we start from current reality' acquires a richer meaning. The Superintendent alludes to the feasibility of change given the starting material conditions. But 'reality' here is also more

comprehensive: it additionally entails those long-established expectations about what is acceptable from an education reform. The ENU report has framed the proposed policies in such a way that people should not think of the reform as satisfying abstract notions that are foreign to their own understandings of what the reform must achieve. Doing this may come at the cost of conceptual contradictions. But as long as the changes actually improve the education opportunities of those who need it the most, the reform remains significant. Proponents of ENU sought to elicit a receptive attitude from NCE members in spite of being aware of the inconsistencies between their own declaration of principles and the shortcomings of the policy document.

On the one hand, PU sympathizers needed to persuade councilors of the importance of implementing ENU straight away. On the other hand, they tried to convince the rest of NCE of how unrealistic it was to expect that the majority of drop-outs were to come back to school in the short term – hence the need to offer them an alternative to regular schooling. Something similar happened in the third session when Lautaro Videla – a former leader of SUTE now charged with supervision responsibilities within the Ministry of Education – asserted that 'University for All' is neither an attainable demand nor a desirable development. Transcripts do suggest that other councilors accepted the problems that were to be associated to a large number of students applying to university.

During the first five sessions of the year 1973 [72] , the accusation of indoctrination had no resonance among councilors, or at least nobody raised it as an explicit concern. However, there were early warnings about the phrasing of the report as the document conflated the spirit of the education reform with the drive for political changes in all areas. Even then, the questioning of 'ideological' wording did not necessarily suggest fear of indoctrination; it rather expressed doubts about the consensus that ENU was going to attract given that its introduction had not engaged with a wider audience. Take, for example, the following quotation from the ENU report: 'The education system will be erected upon the experiences and responses of the Chilean people, in the

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[72] 30th January, 20th February, 6th March, 13th March and 20th March.

context of a democratic and socialist project of national development' (ENU Report, 1.8). In representation of the association of teachers from private schools, Bernardino Silva comments:

> Now, a national education system must respond to a national project that brings all Chileans together, this is genuine democratization (…) conditioning its realization [to socialism] entails the danger of damaging the whole process of education reform (…) I do not intend to hurt anyone's feelings by saying that this is a serious problem (Bernardino Silva, Session 2)

Doubts emerge again about the rationale behind the structure and phrasing of the ENU report; there were also issues of trust in the government and the constant requirement for further documents. From the third session onwards, the threat of school indoctrination came to the spotlight whenever members commented on editorials or public statements from political actors opposing PU – something that happened virtually every day. In those situations, the government repeatedly had to respond by making clear that 'ENU is not…'. As weeks went by, PU supporters encouraged an official statement from NCE that clarified that there was no indoctrination attempt behind ENU. The negotiation on whether and how to challenge these accusations on behalf of NCE constantly strained its agenda.

7.5. Closing remarks

ENU is primarily the subject of situated conversations occurring in the setting of the NCE meetings. As such, it is not a fixed content deduced from a stand-alone policy text, the ENU report, or indeed the Minister's spoken preamble. Valuable as these are, especially to map themes and processes, it is worth unpacking some of the underlying tensions that are laid out in the first two sessions.

Transcripts are of course a source of data that is mediated by interpretation and I should like to offer the following dimensions as an analytical summary of

the main arguments of this chapter. The first line of enquiry I call 'Education at Stake' (EaS) and the second 'How to Proceed' (HtP). EaS refers to the collection of themes, arguments, descriptive statements and normative assumptions about the education system and what is the role of the different actors in shaping education policies. For its part, HtP concerns the functioning of NCE as a group and its preparations for the debate about ENU at the national level. There was a wide range of procedural hindrances that are intertwined with the themes comprised by EaS. It is these two lines that allow for the *re-reading of the struggles over education policies* that my thesis seeks to explore. The two domains are mutually interconnected and certainly overlap at certain points. They point, however, in directions that are clearly distinct.

If we start with Education at Stake, the following issues referring to the strictly educational component of ENU appear in the sessions:

1. Technical v ideological character of ENU report
2. Threat to private education
3. Curricular and pedagogic aspects in the ENU
4. Identification of ENU with its national educational traditions
5. Need for the education country to support ENU
6. Moral mandate to implement ENU
7 ENU: Experimental v Experiment
8.   Synthetic character of ENU report
9.   Modifiability of ENU after debate
10. Deadlines for debate and implementation of ENU
11. Constitutional Amendment of 1970 in relation to freedom of education

National unified school seemed an acceptable denomination for those representing private schools. Some of them even advance their own views on a 'truly National Unified School' and hurry to point out that they are 'not against ENU' whenever they voice their worries. Overall, up to session three, attendants do not object ENU but rather warn about the contextual factors that induce to confusion and distrust in the government's policy. The main questions here seem to be what is part of ENU and what is not, and who is

able to credit ENU with legitimacy. ENU unfolded as an all-encompassing vision of pretty much everything that is any way related to education. The government's insistence in the solidity of their proposals ended in the ultimately impossible requirement of having to have every single dimension covered. This, in addition to remaining open to genuine consultations, improvements by councilors *and* being ready to start functioning within 6 months. It seems fair to say that ENU was to a large extent overdetermined by its ambition and the huge number of radically different challenges that it was expected to meet. For its part, issues of a more procedural nature in the functioning of NCE are best captured through the dimension How to Proceed (HtP). The main areas here are:

1. Definition of the topic or task at hand
2. Methods to organize discussion and make decisions
3. Availability of transcripts in time for next round of discussion
4. Availability of supporting documentation
5. Time-schedule for contributions
6. Criteria of admissibility of contributions (oral v written)
7. Representativeness of attendees
8. Channels to input on the discussion

Here, the main issues at stake are the micromanagement of administrating NCE and the challenges of linking external events to NCE debates and discussions. I have mentioned the difficulties associated with the typing, multi-copying and distribution of documents but there are others too. For example, the existence of devices for the dissemination of the ENU report and the production of the adequate conditions for the interchange of ideas. There were channels, physical spaces, logistic arrangements and technical instruments to validate the representativeness of the views gathered at NCE as well as outside its meetings. More importantly, the organizational challenges that dominated NCE sessions tended to mirror disagreements at the national scale. One way of making sense of these dimensions is to look at them as if the subject of education reform could have been replaced by another subject:

discussions revolve around the operation of the collective authority; that is, *procedural issues* constantly occupied the councilors' attention.

Chapter 8. Teachers' identities in the context of education reforms

In the last two Chapters of my thesis I am interested in exploring teachers' memories as an expression of historicity and as actors of struggles over school policies. Chapters 8 and 9 are built on primary data from nine individual interviews with retired teachers who spoke about their professional trajectories throughout the 1960s and 1970s. It should not be necessary to justify the relevance of listening to teachers' voices for the study of school policies. Then and now, their experiences offer another instantiation of discursive struggles I am interesting in understanding. Chapter 8 is based on a thematic analysis of the topics on which all interviews focus, while Chapter 9 concentrates on the individual narratives of three of them.

In the process of listening the records and reading the transcriptions, I initially grouped and codified the materials according to a variety and sometimes overlapping criteria – for example: actors, scenarios, roles, spheres of action, basic linguistic figures in use, etc. Thus, a crosscheck of the categories pointed to other possible criteria, and so on. This iteration proved necessary to progressively make sense of individual's narratives. Indeed, it became a productive path to assemble part of my findings; namely, the emotional dimension at play across all my data. In its current form, this Chapter builds on a compilation of those utterances that suggested *positive emotions* and *positive evaluations* in the teachers' accounts; that is, what are the things that participants *appreciated*, who they *admired*, what constituted a *good* concept of the self and what are, retrospectively, their most *rewarding* experiences as education professionals. Here, it is perhaps relevant that most interviewees generalize their insights as if common to other colleagues; that is, as if they were speaking on behalf of a group that shared some significant circumstances as a generation.[73]

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[73] See Chapter 2.

The main reason to focus this chapter on these positive comments is that these utterances usually give a sense of what *was relevant to address from the point of view of the respondents themselves*. I found this to be *a fundamental finding in how they construed their experience of the period 1964-1973*. Even some comments may appear unrelated to specific events of education reform, they provide a critical compass with which to interpret the standpoint from which respondents identify, organize and judge key events during that time. For example, memories that elicit positive emotions go beyond the working environment and, in most cases, can be traced back to their school or university days. As they tell the stories of those early days, participants are already building a notion of *what it means to provide a good education* and how their own *historical circumstances as education professionals measure against that notion*. In fact, while focusing on positive excerpts may hardly seem informative of how interviewees configure the *struggles* over education, the idealized nature of these comments also hint at what they saw as problematic and, because of that, as questions constitutive of struggle. Morever, Chapter 9 will focus explicitly on those more problematic experiences in the case of three of my interviewees.

The first section looks directly at how my respondents construe as the vocation of a teacher. The second section then reconstructs how they see students and schools as a workplace, and the third section looks at their assessment of the 1965 reform. The first two sections offer accounts that are more personal and do not connect directly to the structural transformations and collectives struggles that my thesis identifies. This changes in the last section, when the wider sociohistorical context does become more evident.

8.1. The vocation of a teacher

Across most interviews, respondents consistently cherish the quality of the teaching training they received. They generalize that view to other colleagues from the same generation; that is, individuals who were in their twenties by the time of the 1965 education reform. Different emphases concerning this topic are revealing of the type of training each of them acquired. Secondary-school

teachers with a university degree of pedagogy in a specific subject (math, biology, chemistry, etc.) recall the intelligence of their classmates and the excellence of their university tutors. These remarks underline the selective entry to pedagogy programs at the time, alongside the enriched intellectual environment they experienced as students. The comments about the academics they were students of describe them as the most salient scholarly figures in the country in their respective disciplines. In their accounts, this has a twofold function: on the one hand, it reinforced their own good self-image; on the other, it creates a contrast between the 'golden period' they lived as students and the 'decaying situation' of the pedagogy degrees in the decades that followed. The quotations below illustrate this point:

The pedagogic Institute was something else (…) *we had high quality professors* (…) *we studied with the Gods* (…) *they had published a number of books, all that changed* (Ciro)

It was marvelous being there with professors as highly reputed as (…) *we received a formation of excellence and, on top of that, free of fees. I could not have studied had university been paid, therefore, I had good marks, I made the effort* (Elena)

Interestingly, another interviewee considers that graduates like her actually shared the expectation that, after graduation, newly qualified teachers would work in the state sector. After all, she says, 'we were educated for that, we were awarded with the title of 'State Teachers'[74]. In this type of account, the satisfaction of having been a good school student who was then offered opportunities for further education adds to that sense of reciprocating educational opportunities: I studied for free *ergo* I ought to be a good student and work later on in the public sector. In a similar way to university graduates, the two *normalistas* I interviewed also stressed the selective process that applicants had to go through to get a place at the *normales.* They also stress the value of having received a good teaching training without having to pay for

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[74] This is the official qualification that teachers obtained when graduating from universities.

it.[75] Beyond the influence of their *alma matter*, most respondents cherish the notion of a genuine *vocation* for teaching. The *normalistas* are adamant about the vocation that those institutions inculcated through a curriculum that put children's wellbeing at its center.[76] Attending an *escuela normal* led them to internalize a positive disposition to the job. In the words of a *normalista*:

> it was because they had ideals, because the normales *formed teachers very well. The* normales *strongly emphasized that* normalistas *ought to work with children and that they should devote themselves entirely to those children* (Celia)

Interviewees recall admiration towards their head teachers. They are seen as mentors because they encouraged or at least motivated the emergence of that fundamental driving force that is a teacher's vocation. School directors who get praised are admired for a variety of reasons: founding the school, keeping a good interpersonal climate, supporting staff – in particular those members with less professional experience. These comments suggest that the respondents find merit in the leadership skills that the headmasters demonstrated at organizing the staff and managing difficult situations. As it happened, leadership skills were a crucial asset in times of intense political debate and/or scarcity of material resources. The head master functioned as a role model of the kind of commitment that was necessary to carry out one's teaching job well. The excerpts below exemplify these positive evaluations:

> He was very democratic. You know, that there was a time when he told me I am going to ask for a voting process to decide whether we join the strike, I have to ask because not everyone thinks the same (…) In those times that must have been terrible because he was not supposed to (…) He was an authority, a political leader actually. Whatever he would have said (to join or not the strike), teachers were going to follow; it was like an order for them (Heriberto)

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[75] See Chapter 4.

[76] The expression that was mostly used by my teachers was *entrega*, which literally translates as 'to give ourselves to others'.

We had a great headmistress (…) I don't know how, but that lady was able to get everything she wanted – always. There were also loads of activities to raise funds (Ariadna)

The reader will remember that *escuelas consolidadas* were established in the 1950s as a result of a pedagogic movement that pushed for systemic changes to schooling. Being a *consolidada* meant that there was no clear-cut curriculum divide between primary and secondary schooling, or between vocational and academic paths. Similarly, these schools had flexibility to try new programs, pedagogic strategies and administrative procedures. Initially, approval was only for the opening of a handful of such schools as the model was going to be trailed. By 1964, however, there were 13 and they all answered to the Ministry of Education through a special unit that was dedicated to experimental education. Since they were envisaged as schools for the community, almost all students came from the areas next to the school premises. Perhaps because the *escuelas consolidadas* challenged mainstream schooling in those days, the accounts I have from one single school, the *Consolidada Pastene*, are consistent in pointing out the imprint that the school left in their future professional trajectories. An enthusiastic comment made by the other teacher from *Consolidada Pastene* conveys how far the school went in providing a high degree of emotional gratification and self-esteem. These were associated to the idea of being part of a very special project indeed:

Good lord, she was such a capable woman to conduct this, to make us feel joy even though we finished exhausted, to make us feel happy to be there, contributing (Elena)

Interviewees who worked at the *Consolidada Pastene* remember themselves as part of a comprehensive socialization process where the school was the driving force behind the creation of new rules, new forms of interaction within the school community, and new learning possibilities. Students were meant to enjoy the experiences that only school could provide them given the limited resources in their families of origin who came from the shantytowns that

surrounded the school. Teachers' narratives situate their practices in relation to students from disadvantaged backgrounds that found in the school a place to expand their horizons.

While the heads of schools may or may not always be the object of positive evaluations, the representation of *normalistas* does seem to concentrate many of the important virtues to be found in a teacher. This is not completely unexpected given that all the respondents had finished their qualifications only recently – that is, in the period between 1956 and 1962 when teaching was still associated with the ethos that was built around e*scuelas normales*. Accounts generally referred to or implied the particular commitment of *normalistas* to their pupils' education in a wide, all-encompassing sense. However, a careful analysis of the transcripts shows that the meaning of that commitment for the interviewees is *already a compound of multiple dimensions* – one that of course requires further unpacking. The quotations below are a useful starting point to illustrate what was special about *normalistas*:

> *When they started giving lessons there was only a warehouse (…) those were people that impressed me the most because I was very young. I was amazed by those ladies talking so passionately, with so much conviction (…) the old women leading these meetings were* normalistas*, those* normalistas *who were full of ideals (…) it was very educative* (Ariadna)

> *I think it has happened to many of us that (…) as I got older, I began to understand what is a primary teacher who was formed at a* normal*. I seriously bow to those people, they were extraordinarily good* […but…] I*n those times, I felt that teaching to a year 7 of primary school was like being downgraded. People would see it that way because I was a secondary school teacher* (Elvira)

In the first comment, a university graduate recalls how much she admired the *normalistas* she met in her youth. Her words underline the personal involvement of that older generation of teachers in setting the foundations of

education projects. Those individuals were able to mobilize people and resources in times of scarcity, when the state had not yet built a universal school system. The expression 'full of ideals' works here as both an explanation of what drove those persons and a compliment on how they performed their role as teachers. From the perspective of those who had just began their careers, especially in *escuelas consolidadas* 'witnessing how such 'old teachers' handled themselves during an assembly was educational, inspiring' (Adriana).

In contrast, in the second passage above the teacher acquired a more positive view of *normalistas* as she became more experienced. Indeed, she makes it clear that, back then, she thought of *normalistas* as having a less prestigious qualification as compared to a university degree such as her own. Moreover, she did not want to be mistakenly identified as a primary teacher because of the lower social status that came with it. To fully appreciate the richness of this assertion, it is necessary to bear in mind that this interviewee comes from a rural background. Her account is full of references to social origins and hierarchies, which is an indicator of the hopes of social mobility that the teaching profession comprised in those days.[77]

At any rate, this comment of *normalistas* taps into some of the education policies that Chapters 3 and 4 introduced, such as the progressive displacement of *escuelas normales* in favor of pedagogy degrees conferred exclusively by universities. On the one hand, social hierarchies placed primary-school teachers as the best among their group of origin – generally rural or urban poor – given that the *escuelas normales* selected very carefully among those applicants. They accepted only the very best students from the primary schools in their catchment area. On the other hand, they were still in a lower status as compared to university graduates. While obtaining the qualification from a *normal* activated clear mechanisms of upward social mobility, there was

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[77] The third section of this chapter situates this issue in the context of Chile, but it is important to acknowledge a body of research the UK that reports similar findings regarding teachers' identities (Woods and Jeffrey, 2002; Hartley, and Whitehead, 2006; Troman, 2007).

also a constant sense of vulnerability to social judgment once the proliferation of university degrees took off.

Arguably, embedded in the admiration towards the *normalista* ethos there is also a retrospective need to demonstrate commitment towards children and education as a social duty. The idea is that several generations of talented students from the countryside had the opportunity to climb the social ladder through a teaching career and that, whatever they acquired during this formative process, they would gladly put back at the service of their students – no matter the hardships involved. It could be said that, beyond the particularities of each account, this ethos is the mirror to which these teachers look at themselves. Even if they did not attend an *escuela normal* and did not have to work in a context of poverty, the outlook of an *escuela normal* was their goal.

In three cases (Ariadna, Celia and Elena), the respondents expressed a great deal of emotion about the contribution they thought they were doing for the accomplishment of a collective 'dream'. In comparison, other narratives downplay this reference to a collective project – either political or pedagogic – even if they still mention unselfishness as a major feature of those with a genuine *vocation* for teaching. Overall, most utterances build upon a notion of the perennial essence of teaching that gave a purpose to their professional trajectory, irrespective of the reframing of the teaching as a result of changing education policies and contingent politics. In addition, various references to the respondents' own teaching training and to what they admire in fellow colleagues suggest a range of ways to acknowledge merit, responsibility and positive influence over pupils. Students and schools are therefore the subject of the next section.

8.2. Students and the school ethos: pride and sensitivity

At first glance, interviewees represent the key features of students as mostly independent of their general reflections on schools. Yet in both cases they add to the description of the baseline conditions upon which education policies

operated between 1964 and 1973. Typical across interviews are comments pertaining structural poverty, rural or urban. One interviewee, for example, remembers her students as being *isolated* and *affectionate*, two adjectives that also allude to the difficulties associated to the geographical location of the school and the general ethos of rural schools more broadly:

> *The children walked kilometers and kilometers, they were used to it in those days* (…) *They even had different skills and one learnt from them because they knew things that children from the city didn't know and vice versa. Well, I don't know, now with all the modernity maybe it the same everywhere. But back then, they were totally different* (Celia)

Here, rural students are being defined in contrast to urban ones. Because the former lived in geographically isolated areas, they would have developed abilities, knowledge and life-styles that differed greatly from those of students living in the city. Nonetheless, another of her comments unveils a key aspect of her understanding of rural schooling because it situates it in the context of acute poverty in the 1960's: 'the kids went happy to school because they did not starve there at least'. With a slightly different emphasis, another respondent also accounts for the welcoming attitude from school staff and students. More than the happy concurrence of warm people being together in the same space, this teacher stresses the activities that teachers organized in order to offer an enjoyable time at school:

> *they were warm children and the teachers too, I mean, the kids felt welcomed* (…) *therefore, they didn't mind if they didn't learn, actually, they went to school because they liked it there* (…) *we took them out to special trips so that they could see other places. We took them to the museum and it was almost an adventure to go to the city center of Santiago because many hadn't been there before* (…) *It was entertaining, imagine that children practically lived in the school. Activities were organized to keep them out of truancy, you see* (Ariadna)

Surely, this teacher does not present her experience as part of a particular policy but as a feature of the *Consolidada Pastene*, where students and teachers interacted in an environment that was modelled according to the ethos of progressive pedagogy. In any case, the fragment 'they didn't care if they did not learn; actually, they went to school because they like it there' suggests that this teacher did not expect students to appreciate formal schooling for the sake of it. Similarly, her colleague speaking of rural contexts, Celia, implies that, unless the school was able to meet children's unsatisfied needs – either nutritional or emotional – attendance was not guaranteed. In the narrative about the *Consolidada Pastene*, though, this awareness about the precarious conditions of the intake is framed as a challenge that the school embraced through curricular activities that enriched the cultural experiences of children. Another teacher from that same school declares herself proud of having worked in such an impoverished district:

> *My placement was in the same school where I studied but I did not like it. There was nothing (…) the girls there were gentle and quiet, the teachers looked at them and the girls hurried to answer the question (…) I was not getting inspiration, I wanted to be where things were tough* (Elena)

The respondent informs that she opted out of her first job (*Liceo* 33) because she perceived that the conformist attitude of the students was not challenging professionally. Her colleague from *Consolidada Pastene* makes an analogous description of her short experience in a boarding secondary school in 1973, only that she also alludes to the rampant classism of the school culture. This identification of schools with a particular socioeconomic profile, something that appears in most interviews, is an indicator of pervasive social divides on the grounds of social class, gender, dependency of school (private/state), among others. Such order of things is visible in the comment below. There, a teacher from *Liceo 66*, whose intake was in all probability very similar to the *Liceo 33*, adamantly clarifies the social origin of her students (all of whom were girls). She says:

students lived in the school neighborhood, they came from nearby areas but they weren't pobladoras[78]*, they were middle class. There were daughters of policemen and armed forces (…) there were girls quite affluent who came to the* liceo *because they came from non-religious families and private schools were religious. There were daughters of tramdrivers[79] and workers from the textile industry* (Ana Luisa)

Here, the teacher does not want to give the 'wrong impression' about her students by informing that they lived close to *Liceo* 66 – that is, they were not from nearby shantytowns. On the contrary, the majority of the intake was from a middle-class background plus some upper-class girls from non-religious families, she explains. Concurrently, the second interviewee who worked at *Liceo 66* depicted students in a similar fashion and also by stressing the virtues of its intake. In fact, the district in which *Liceo 66* was located was still considered the outskirts of the capital in the the 1950s. Over the years, the borough developed middle-class neighborhoods that were under the same council that administrated other areas with acute clusters of poverty (Municipalidad de Macul, 2016). In spite of not dealing with an intake from marginalized areas, the same teacher informs me that she was aware of the socioeconomic difficulties that affected groups of students whose parents faced periods of unemployment. Furthermore, this respondent recalls that school staff came up with their own initiatives to help girls going through financial hardship. A similar kind of commitment is found in a former rural teacher, who comments that:

One did everything with lots of love, either because of political militancy, or because, being a teacher, one felt that it was one's duty that children weren't left out of school (…) it was vocation from the teacher's part (Celia)

This respondent emphasizes that educators shared the government's concerns about enrolment; therefore, they supported those initiatives tackling both the

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[78] *Pobladoras* are people who live in a shantytown.
[79] All public transport drivers were considered public servants at the time.

number of children at school and the number of years they remained within the education system. Situating her account in a context of material deprivation, a rural *normalista* argues that the aim of widening participation was a collective endeavor that was carried out in spite of geographical, cultural and economic obstacles. With or without a political drive, this teacher reasons that 'one' (she and other teachers) got involved in those policy initiatives that sought the wellbeing of the kids and embraced them as their own duty. A teacher from *Consolidada Pastene* recalls this concern for the wellbeing of students as something embedded in their formal and collective way of pedagogic planning,

> *There were regular meetings to analyze each student. Then, the primaryschool teacher who knew the student from year one narrated the individual story of said student and his/her progress throughout primary education. I got to meet those students in the last two years of secondary education. To be honest, in those days I found the meetings really boring, I thought they were a waste of time, although now I think it was useful to be able to track students' trajectories, their family background, everything* (Ariadna)

Regardless of the actual socioeconomic context of each school, whenever the interviewees touch upon poverty and socioeconomic crises affecting the students, all respondents take the opportunity to emphasize how much they looked after their pupils. Interviewees tend to portray themselves as having a disposition to 'welcome' and 'protect' students; to take responsibility by sacrificing their own free time if and when required; and to provide guidance and support in matters that went beyond their teaching role. In general, participants remember having an attitude of general *attentiveness to the emotional and material needs of their students.* Again, when combining the meritocratic element that they attach to their own trajectory with the sensitivity to social needs and a strong will to defy contextual difficulties, the result is an ubiquitous idea of what teaching should be in general.

I have noted that all the accounts elaborate, at some point, on the socioeconomic origin of the students. Complementing this, certain

characterizations of the school intake offer additional angles to explore the complexities of the hierarchies in operation. Some interviewees express pride in the fact that their school attracted students from outside its immediate geographic area. They take this as an indication of institutional prestige. For example, one interviewee brings up the good name of his school by highlighting the proportion of students who were coming from afar. The following excerpt revolves around the diversity of class composition and the prestige that was associated to a lax catchment area. His school, he says,

> *enrolled people from different social groups, it was built at the top of a hill but it had such a good name that students came from distant places, even from the flats (…) I think the people suggesting to establish schools' catchment areas didn't understand a thing* (Heriberto)

The respondent unreservedly criticizes the policy initiatives that sought to delimitate catchment areas. Up until then, school enrolment remained flexible in this regard and it was still a common practice for the oldest and/or more selective secondary schools to recruit students from almost every corner of a given city. The underlying logic was that students and their families came with the disposition to stretch themselves; this pushed teaching standards up because pupils were themselves academically demanding. In turn, this was related to the satisfaction of working at a prestigious institution, which was usually synonymous to the school being a selective one. A comment below illustrates how the positive depiction of the intake, in terms of its selectiveness, is used by a teacher to evaluate the success of the school and, ultimately, of his own teaching performance:

> *People who don't like it, say 'but it's selective!' True, but only at the first year. Other factors are tradition, supportive families and student's disposition to study (…) Careers know that, if they support them, boys are going to finish well prepared. And they are not kids from wealthy families, those were the exception (…) Teachers are aware that hard work is mandatory, one cannot relax. The only thing students won't forgive you is*

> *that you are a bad teacher. They go to the school authorities to complain* (Ciro)

The recognition of previous academic merit of students then reinforces the reputation of the school. As expected, then, whenever interviewees affirm the teaching efficacy of the school, they supplement the statement with certain *indicators of students' results*. One of these indicators was the score students achieved in national tests. In that case, 'it did well' is not a general observation about going through schooling and reaching adulthood; rather, it explicitly signals that various students passed admission tests that granted them accesses to university studies. A teacher who worked in a private school that was subsidized by the state underlines the effectiveness of the experimental pedagogic that they were implementing. He elaborates on this point by saying:

> *It meant that academic results of the school were significantly positive; first, there were the results from the* Bachillerato *and, afterwards, the scores at the PAA. I remember three students who got a maximum score at the Spanish language test, for example. That on its own was extraordinary for a private school receiving state funding and that served socioeconomically deprived sectors* (Genaro)

Having good students in both attainment and behavior is linked to positive assessments of the school in a number of dimensions. For some of the respondents, this emphasized the economic hazards of the period; for instance, the students' socioeconomic vulnerability or the school's struggles to get funding. For its part, the reference to academic excellence resonates as way of making their achievements even more remarkable. Alternatively, respondents who worked in schools that were conceived to serve the community immediately surrounding the school, and that were generally located in the periphery of a big city, gave other reasons and indicators to validate the importance of the education they helped to provide. Surely, exam results do not disappear completely from their responses, but they are not as preeminent as getting low dropout rates or the number of students who

successfully completed a qualification. This is what a teacher says about students at *Consolidada Pastene*:

> *Many professionals finished school there because the* consolidada *had workshops of textile-design, tailoring, headdresses, children's fashion, cardboard production, etc. There were lots of qualifications that allowed people learning to work on something and have a job after finishing school. At one point, the school had 6,000 students* (Ariadna)

It is worth underscoring how the interviewees' representation of students is partly modelled on the respondents' self-understanding of the teaching profession – again, in ways that other bodies of research around the world has also made apparent (Husu, 2005; Cobb-Roberts, Dorn and Shircliffe, 2006; Meng, 2014). In line with these studies, all the teachers I interviewed declared that being the object of recognition by students, parents and authorities was important, gratifying and reinforcing. The following comment comes from a secondary-school teacher who worked in one of the oldest selective secondary state schools for boys in Chile:

> *There, at the Institute, we have 40 or 45 students per class, so close contact is difficult. But former students see me in the street and they greet me…They show their appreciation, there were many factors that made my work there enjoyable* (Ciro)

For this respondent, encounters with former students trigger positive emotions. Even if he may not always remember their names, the fact that the student recognizes *him* renders vivid the memory of having taken an active part in many students' trajectories. In fact, other interviewees go a bit further in the idea that witnessing students while they were growing up was intrinsically gratifying and made being a teacher 'worthwhile' in both the short and the long-term. Closely connected to this, obviously, is the finding that most respondents valued being acknowledged as agents of positive socialization; specially, if that meant increased authority to keep discipline within the classroom. Take the

example of a secondary teacher who compares students before and after the 1980s:

Can you imagine that with the last class I had in 1983 I could never have a meeting with their carers? The problem was already at home, the girls did as they pleased, they made a mess (…) *but, before, classes were ideal* (Raquel)

A sense of loss usually emerges while comparing the students that respondents used to teach early on in their careers and the groups they taught during the last years of professional life. The bottom line is that in those early days there were better conditions for teaching than in the 1980s, when the decay of parental support for discipline deteriorated the quality of the classroom experience. Clearly, nostalgia is an emotion that all the respondents conveyed. In one way or another, nostalgia is central to their relationship with students but also when they evoke the pleasant atmosphere among colleagues and even friendship among members of staff. Most accounts underline *collaboration* as a prime attitude among members of staff. Such an environment was as much a cause as it was an effect of their collective trust in *teachers' own commitment to the job*. For instance, the same teacher who comments on her students above has fond memories of her colleagues, especially the good interpersonal climate in her school. This sort of nostalgia might be confounded with references to the divisions and distrust amid the growing political turmoil of the 1970s. She recalls:

There was an excellent atmosphere among the teachers, the leadership team and colleagues in general. We often met outside the liceo. *We had political differences, but I can't recall any problems* (… by 1973…) *there were supporters and opponents but no one dared to speak her mind in a conversation, except within one's group, for fear of confrontation* (Raquel)

Another teacher from the same school recalls that the polarization of students started during Frei's government. This put school staff under pressure:

I see this girl standing on the roof with a flag, I think she was a left-wing supporter, maybe not. My God, I feared she was going to fall so I kept shouting 'please, come down' (…) It was all very stressful. There were times when the girls stood in opposite corners of the playground to sing for or against Allende. Sometimes we had to separate them and almost begged them to go back to their classrooms in peace (Ana Luisa)

The underlying concern in all the cases is in the sphere of social interactions, how the interpersonal climate transformed and the nostalgia of the relationship with authorities, colleagues and students in the past. When respondents situate that experience between 1964 and 1973, they tap into the greater prevalence of politics that surrounded school life from the 1960s onwards.[80] In other words, narratives are construed as if *once upon a time* there was a state of affairs that allowed for productive discussions, reaching consensus and understanding disagreements - in particular those of a political nature.

Up to this point, some of the recurrent findings across the interviews have been presented as if they were autonomous from a direct experience of policy developments. In other words, I have sought to account for teachers' ideals and their views of school life without explicitly taking the wider socio-political context into account. Yet, a considerable part of what teachers said was indeed anchored in the major structural transformations that took place between 1964 and 1973. Given their significance for the general analysis of my thesis, my interpretation of the materials so far in this chapter includes four ideas to be kept in mind. They are:

- Teaching was a gratifying but arduous job in a context of economic hardship.
- Teachers appreciated professional leadership, academic excellence, collegiality and commitment to the job.

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[80] Raquel and Ana Luisa worked at the same secondary school. Incidentally, this school was the scenario of some of the most polemical occupations while Aníbal Palma was the Minister of Education. See Chapter 6.

- Social hierarchies that operated within the teaching profession affected the teachers' sense of status and purpose.
- Always in the background, politics was a powerful drive to collective action but it was also a potential threat to the ideal ethos of being a school teacher (i.e. professionalism and good interpersonal relationships).

It is the purpose of the next section to show how the interviewees situate their accounts as specifically immersed in the policy developments that ensued from the 1965 education reform. There, teachers will speak about a range of policies such as social aid, the modification of schooling structure, working conditions for teachers and in-set training workshops.

8.3. Situating the school experience: Ups and downs of the 1965 reform

Unlike the recognition from parents and students, positive memories of experiences with education authorities are *definitely* more situated within a wider social, economic and political context. Accounts of the relationship between teachers as an interest group and the institutions that governed the education system convey information and evaluations of that wider background. For instance, there were contractual regimes that modified working conditions depending on whether the employer was the state or a private entity.[81] In the case of state secondary schools, just to take one case, accounts mentioned the fact that belonging to the state was a reassuring aspect of the job. The excerpt that better articulate this narrative comes from a secondary-school teacher who worked at one of the *liceos* that was inaugurated in the mid-1950s. This interviewee remembers that the Ministry of Education 'had their backs; that is, it offered pedagogic advice to those who asked for it. This, of course, in addition to making available material resources:

> *The Ministry of Education was important* (…) *it had all the units to support teachers. Regarding any part of the curriculum, any process, the pedagogic department was there. Teachers turned to that department in*

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[81] Later in this chapter, I outline how different are the perceptions of teachers who worked in private schools.

> *case of doubts or difficulties in any subject* (…)*You had to ask for an*
> *appointment, one felt supported* (Ana Luisa)

Stability and support were central to a satisfying experience at work because it made teachers undertake their duties more serenely. That is also shown, for instance, in that, over the years, organized teachers from the public sector had managed to gain certain guarantees in terms of healthcare and salaries.[82] Eduardo Frei's government partially responded to those demands by increasing teaching salaries at the beginning of his presidential period and by establishing what was known as *horas de cátedra* (i.e. paid time to prepare lessons). The same teacher who commented above, remembers celebrating this as an accomplishment of the teachers' organizations. They obtained in real improvements to her everyday work; 'teachers did make the most out of that time'. [83] Her point is that school staff appreciated these favorable conditions but also took advantage of them to do a better job; for example, by making extensive use of the materials acquired thanks to the 'Kennedy Aid' from the US.[84]

Also in the sphere of the teaching profession, the CD government designed a scheme of in-set training that received a good evaluation by most of my interviewees the respondents.[85] They emphasize two aspects of the scheme that were particularly gratifying: recognition and the interaction with colleagues. They appreciated the opportunities that the courses gave them to participate in spaces and activities that had been out of reach for them until then. The workshops of the CPEIP in Santiago, or in other locations throughout the country, gathered teachers from all state schools within a certain area. These instances allowed teachers to meet new people with whom they were able to

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[82] The *Hospital del Profesor* was one of those initiatives that originated in the unions. All unionized teachers had to pay a monthly fee to build a hospital that the government would then finance. The hospital did not open until 1988.

[83] The implementation of some of these benefits was uneven, as certain policies benefited state school educators with more hours but not necessarily younger teachers or private-subsidized schools. See next Chapter.

[84] See Chapter 4.

[85] See Chapter 4. The exception here are the three teachers who worked in experimental schools

share knowledge and materials; they could also get an update on the contents or progress of the 1965 reform.

For three of the interviewees, the rural *normalistas* and the secondary technical schoolteacher, the access to these courses was a novelty with a great impact for various reasons; the most salient being a renewed sense of inclusion. Traces of the same narrative appear among those teachers who were chosen for further specialization in their subjects or started training to become supervisors of the ministry. Nonetheless, satisfaction had above all to do with the selection process and how that was interpreted as recognition of merits and having the right motivation to further embrace innovation. A teacher from polytechnic *San Arturo* recalls:

> *We gathered at the girls'* liceo *in* San Bernardo *once a week. We all interchanged ideas, shared and tried new materials* (…) *we were all the same* (Elvira)

The quotation above is part of an account that emphasizes the idea that education policies treated all teachers as 'equals' at various points in the interview. For her, the policy had been remarkable in avoiding any distinction between professionals teaching Spanish at secondary level: the university of origin or the kind of secondary school where they taught was no longer a matter of distinction. From a comparable angle, the teacher quoted below rates the course that she attended as 'extremely helpful'. Most importantly, her account acknowledges the active effort to ensure the attendance of rural *normalistas* like her because, in comparison to colleagues from the city, they had had no access to those instances before. The quotation conveys the satisfaction of being taken into account, a feeling of inclusion and recognition:

> *Many things in the course were ideal [as opposed to just feasible under the real conditions]. I really don't remember very well about that but it was a very helpful course. I find that, ultimately, there was an active effort to gather all teachers; it was not hard to get there from where we lived. Teachers from* Talca *had already gone through other courses at the*

university or had more time but we arrived there as the little rural teachers (…) The courses were a novelty for us, it was special (Celia)

As part of the 1965 plans to advance education infrastructure, staff also engaged in projects to improve the premises of existing schools. If teachers' comments about the conditions of the school buildings in which they worked are something to go by, the importance attached to infrastructure cannot be underestimated. Such utterances are linked to the sense of identity that institutional buildings provided to students and staff. [86] Although this infrastructure may have had its origins in the 1950s, accounts about the period between 1964 and 1973 refer to a number of upgrades taking place. The construction of new facilities, or the repairing of the original premises, elicits some of the fondest memories of school life at the time:

I think that, from the girls' perspective, the castle was fabulous because they made out all kinds of stories (…) that there were wandering spirits (laughs). It was also part of the curriculum because students had to write tales about it. It was part of the identity of the school. Any institutional card or poster had the castle logo (Ana Luisa)

According to a number of interviewees, by far the most important of Frei's achievements was the expansion of enrolment. Despite the criticisms to the execution of some policies that we reviewed in Chapters 4 and 5, most interviewees think that the long-term outcomes of the education reform proved the worth of that policy drive. In the end, teachers point out that education received more attention and public funding than ever before. Take as an example the conclusions drawn by one interviewee who had some reservations about various policy schemes implemented to expand enrolment. In the first comment, a teacher reflects on the fast-track training programs to integrate new teachers into the system. Provided that the candidate had

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[86] This element acquires more relevance when interpreted against the strong negative emotions expressed at the memory of their deterioration or loss after the interruption of democracy in 1973.

finished secondary school, the state was now able to award teaching qualifications in only two semesters. She says:

We criticized them at the time, saying that the government produced Marmicoc *teachers* [87] *(laughs) because there were brief courses to prepare primary school teachers so that the reform could implement a high number of schools, little schools built everywhere. I remember having travelled to the south and see all those little houses. Then he [Frei] was harshly criticized for that, because the schools were barley small rural houses. However, I think he was very successful because he reduced illiteracy a lot, and that was what interested him the most* (Ana Luisa)

This respondent is taking about one of the most voiced criticisms to the 1965 reform at the time, one that expressed deep distrust in the abbreviated preparation of new primary school teachers, who could end as *normalistas* after approximately three months. The second criticism is also mentioned; namely, the quality of the premises for newly created schools in the countryside, which were built or transformed under very tight deadlines and budgets (Núñez, 2003). Chapter 4 mentioned that the 1965 reform also increased the minimum of school years required to complete primary school from 6 to 8 years. To teach in years 7 and 8, however, it was necessary to be a qualified secondary teacher. As the numbers of pedagogy graduates was insufficient, the government offered courses to those *normalistas* that wanted to teach in these new two additional years of extended primary schooling. People objecting the schemes complained about the sectarian practices to select those who were able to access those courses. The next comment comes from a *normalista* who attended one of these courses that was taught at the Catholic University. He highlights the importance of school expansion and reflects on the political intervention in the distribution of training opportunities:

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[87] *Marmicoc* was a brand of casseroles that promised faster cooking of food. Teachers prepared in less than six months to face the demands of the reform received this rather derogatory name.

The main aspect of Frei's reform was the increment of school access and nobody had objections against it (…) There were training courses at all universities to prepare teachers for years 7 and 8 of primary education. At the beginning there was favoritism towards Christian Democrats, but after a while necessity rendered access to training more open; I didn't see much of a bias (Heriberto)

In his view, sectarian practices to favor CD teachers were hardly the norm once the scheme consolidated – although not all accounts agree on this, as will be discussed in the next Chapter. Beyond politics, there were also tensions regarding differences in status within the teaching profession. These differences were connected to the huge increments in school enrolment. According to a teacher who was working at the polytechnic *Liceo San Arturo*, it was 'hard' to teach the new low-attainment students that started the newly created years 7 and 8 of primary school. She was used to a different type of intake:

We went down a level because we had to go to years 7 and 8 with students who were not the best of the primary schools in San Bernardo*, unlike those who arrived at the polytechnic* (Elvira)

In addition to new changing hierarchies within the teaching staff, the reform that created years 7 and 8 also reduced the possibility of self-selection among the intake. Thereafter, polytechnics started receiving a kind of students that, before the reform, typically refrained from enrolling in secondary education. The comment above draws upon a negative emotion anchored in elements of her social background. In the first section of the chapter, Virginia had expressed her admiration for *normalistas* whilst at the same time admitting that she did not want to be mistakenly labelled as one of them. Her candid account of her own struggle with the less prestigious position that she had to occupy for a while, is coherent with her appreciation for in-set training schemes that did not make distinctions between teachers working at polytechnics (vocational route) and *liceos* (academic route).

It has been said that the schemes of social assistance were a central part of the 1965 reform. As expected, if commitment to the teaching job manifests itself mainly through a concern for the students' wellbeing as we have seen in the previous sections of this chapter, it is only logical that the respondents were appreciative of public policies that sought to address pupils' needs in health, nutrition and clothing. In some accounts, the main contribution of the 1965 reform was its focus on the overall welfare of the most deprived students. For example, one of the *normalistas* interviewed recalls that teachers in the countryside saw substantive improvement in the availability of resources for both students and their families as a result of new aid programs.[88] She adds, however, this boost in aid did not take away responsibility from teachers, because the government continued to assign them an active role in coordinating the implementation of this assistance. Note how the following comment compares the routines before and after the creation of the National Board for Aid and Support, JUNAEB, which was to provide free-school meals:

> *There was one location in town where food was distributed and the school's headmaster came to get a bag of beans, milk, etc. (…) At the beginning, [students] were given a glass of milk for breakfast and for lunch they were given a dish of beans that was cooked by older students plus one teacher on duty (…) With Frei, however, they hired dinner-ladies; these ladies were trained, and there were full meals and a well-cooked dish, with desert, salad, everything (…) We had to supervise that the dinner-lady on duty prepared the lunch well, that it was clean, that the children washed their hands before lunch (Celia)*

Therefore, while it is true that new institutions and policy initiatives reduced the burdens of directly having to execute the delivery of support, the operation of those services fundamentally relied on the participation of teachers as key mediators of the new procedures. Comments like the one above exemplifies the impact that welfare policies had on schools; especially for those who had to look after students living in poverty. However, not everyone saw the standardization of meals and procedures as a dramatic change for the better.

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[88] See Chapter 4.

As the next quotation exemplifies, some accounts describe the situation previous to 1965 positively. In a rather cheerful way, one teacher evokes that the school grew its own vegetables and that meals were prepared within the school premises. She also recalls,

We organized school-fairs, afternoon teas, movies for the children, you name it […the headmaster…] collected money to have food for the children. Afterwards, with JUNAEB, children did not like the canned food that started arriving (laughs). For quite a while, we had both. But with time there was only JUNAEB (Ariadna)

Throughout her account, this teacher asserts that staff at the *Consolidada Pastene* was resourceful enough to cope creatively with difficulties; even if state funding was insufficient. Typically, these sorts of comments come from former teachers from the *Consislidada Pastene*, a school that had developed a sustainable autonomy in various areas – even if it was ascribed to the state system and depended on public resources. Furthermore, self-sustainability was in a way part of the school ethos, so the professionalization of school meals was not necessarily seen as important or a necessary improvement. At the same time, this teacher notes that much of the decay of the *escuelas consolidadas* overlapped in time with the education reforms from 1965 onwards. Its decay this respondent associates it with the school starting to lose what made it special.

Overall, it is apparent that, except for the accounts produced by teachers from experimental schools, most interviews offer positive evaluations of the education policies that were introduced by the 1965 reform and which we have that continued between 1970 and 1973. Interestingly, these accounts do not touch at all upon the implications of governmental measures in areas other than expanding school access, social assistance, school infrastructure and training opportunities. Both the instructional domain in a narrow sense, and classroom practices in a broader one, are virtually absent from the accounts of most teachers. The narratives of the education reforms during Frei and Allende highlight how the state supplied didactic material, food and training to an extent

that had never been seen before in Chile. Again, exceptions are interviewees from experimental schools. One of the teachers from *Consolidada Pastene* recalls some of the aspects that differentiated her school from the mainstream:

The small number of students per classroom, boys and girls mixed, of course. No uniforms, no inspectors, only self-discipline outside the classroom (…) You also fulfilled your workload having meetings with your colleagues, for example, to plan who was going to teach grammar, who was going to do Hispano-American Literature, etc. And we accommodated the timetable (…) If someone did not reached the goals to the degree they were expected – because we were very clear about goals – we had time anyway, we were not stressed by the deadlines of other schools (Elena)

Significantly, for this respondent ENU comes to mind as a virtuous pedagogic project. Elena considers herself a fearless opponent to Allende's government, but she still contends that the ENU schooling model 'was exactly what was needed, what we were doing.' However, 'they [PU officers] didn't listen when we told them to leave politics aside, hence ENU failed'. As it is shown in other comments too, politics played a negative role in the advancement of education policies: *politics ruined ENU*. She reflects thus on the damage that politics inflicted on collegiality and professionalism within *Consolidada Pastene,*

The idea that teachers could vote for the colleagues they wanted in the main posts of responsibility was fully implemented under Allende. Before this, the head teacher proposed a list of names and the rest would agree most of the times. Voting accentuated the divide between supporters and non-supporters of Allende (Elena)

In other words, what used to work as an agreement among colleagues became a formalized process of election; it rendered crucial what used to be anecdotical. Now the alliances with other colleagues were along the lines of political affiliation instead of what was best for the school, laments Elena. Beyond ENU and Allende, there are other divergent voices regarding a range

of topics; in particular those coming from the three teachers who participated in alternative pedagogic projects (Ariadna, Elena and Genaro). The next chapter examines this claim in greater depth through the narrative of Genaro in a private experimental school.

8.4. Closing remarks

This chapter has sought to give an account of the views of a small group of teachers' and their work, student and school life and wider institutional practices before and during the 1965 education reform. Above, I have already pointed out four main themes that come out of the discussion in the first two parts of this Chapter (sections 8.1 and 8.2). First, the perception of teaching as a gratifying but arduous job in a context of economic hardship. Second, the appreciation of professional leadership, academic excellence, collegiality and commitment to the job as the ideal attributes of teachers. Third, the operation of social hierarchies – mostly class – in the formation of subjectivities within the teaching profession by way of affecting teachers' sense of status and purpose. Fourth, the omnipresence of politics during their professional trajectories. Politics was a powerful drive to collective action but it was also a potential threat to the ideal and ethos of being a schoolteacher (i.e. professionalism and good interpersonal relationships).

In addition to these points, the last section of the Chapter identified another cluster of themes. These are elements that refer exclusively to the decade under study. They articulate discourses of and about education policies and the wider national context in which these took place. There are seven aspects I would like to highlight in my analysis of these interviews:

- The long-lasting legacy of the 1965 reforms in terms of increased enrolment and better school infrastructure.
- The positive evaluation of the 1965 reform in terms of teachers' working conditions.
- Teachers meritocratic aspirations being fulfilled through policies of professional development.

- The lack of reflection on the specific pedagogic practices that were prevalent at the time.
- The general climate of political polarization that permeated schools.
- The uniqueness of experimental schools within the wider school system.

A point of consensus is that the main outcome of the 1965 reform was an increased enrolment and the extension of compulsory primary education for two additional years. Teachers perceive this as positive in the long run, regardless of the criticisms that were voiced at the time. Most respondents valued the reform (and the continuity of it under Allende) because it offered them greater support as workers, more material resources, and better training opportunities. Yet they do not reflect in depth on the kind of pedagogic practices that were prevalent at the time, in some cases, due to memory loss, and in others, because they ignore the questions about the topic, that is, not problematizing it. Regarding the policy schemes specifically deployed to address professional training and development, the teachers see them as reinforcing their own egalitarian and meritocratic ideals, as long as the training opportunities were fairly allocated and of good quality. To be sure, this was not always the case due to the interference of political parties. In general, there is a perception that the climate of political polarization gradually encroached upon the sphere of interpersonal relations and had a negative impact in most schools. Nevertheless, teachers from experimental schools, both state and private, have views that diverge from the rest of the interviewees. Their discourses in this respect incorporate more references to a wider range of pedagogic practices and show a critical perspective on the impact of state intervention from 1965 onwards.

Chapter 9. Narrating teachers' struggles. Three accounts

In contrast to Chapter 8, the analytical perspective in this chapter abandons the description of recurrent contents across the interviews and examines, individually, the narratives of three respondents. The rationale for this decision derives from the initial reading and coding of the materials, whereby it became clear that the commonalities across the data had basically to do with the topics addressed in the previous chapter. However, when reporting disappointment, fear, ambivalence, nostalgia, criticism or frustration, accounts tended to offer *a more singular way of making sense of events*. While the interpretation of these negative experiences does takes into consideration a more edifying portrayal of teaching and school ethos, my focus now is on the tensions regarding their own work, other people and the institutions during their professional trajectories between 1964 and 1973.

I asked my interviewees to tell me their personal stories as teachers and as I pointed out that my special interest was in education policies before September 1973: I did not label any event as an instance of struggle or conflict in advance. But as I finished the interviews, I was left under the impression that the historical struggle that I could configure from the review of the secondary literature, or from the experts' testimonies, *diverged in key aspects from the narratives that teachers construed*. Before the exposition of individual cases, let me briefly remind you of three respondents that I look at this chapter. They are:

1. Elvira. After completing primary school, Elvira attended the state polytechnic school of a nearby town. Although her aspiration was studying law, university education was absent from the horizon of possibilities that her technical education provided. However, a special program dictated by the State Technical University offered students from polytechnic secondary schools the possibility of following a four years' program to become teachers. Elvira acquired the qualification as Spanish teacher. She worked until retirement in the polytechnic of a little town out of Santiago.

2. Genaro. He graduated from the Catholic University of Valparaiso as a teacher in History and geography. By 1964 he had been working for a while in a catholic *liceo* that received state support. During this time, he became closer to the more communitarian and progressive currents of thought within the Catholic Church. He held different posts in various schools throughout his career, including the role of head master in a private catholic school (fee-paying) in Valparaiso. He has also played a visible role in the representation of private schools' federation.

3. Celia. This primary school teacher attended an *escuela normal* in the south of Chile and taught in a rural school in the 1960s before she moved to a nearby city, where she worked at a bigger school. Celia was a member of the Socialist Party and after the military coup she went into exile in 1973. She came back to Chile in 1989 and has since then been retired from teaching.

9.1. Elvira. The struggle for recognition beyond class and politics

Elvira grew up in a rural area in the south of Chile. Not being wealthy or having land of his own, Elvira's father carried out administrative activities that gave his family better socioeconomic conditions than what peasants had in the early 1950s. Towards the end of her secondary school years in the local polytechnic, she learnt of a new pedagogy degree. This was offered by the State Technical University of Santiago and focused specially on students who had graduated from polytechnic schools. The applicants had to sit exams on the subject they intended to study and, having decided that she wanted to become a Spanish teacher, Elvira prepared the *Bachillerato*. As soon as she acquired an accountancy qualification that she took 'out of respect for my father's sacrifices', she sat the exams at university and passed them: 'I struggled with grammar, my school did not teach that, but I excelled in literature and writing/speaking', she remembers.

She notes that, while studying for her degree, she taught at a state funded private school. She underlines that she did this 'out necessity only, I worked in

one of those dodgy schools of the kind that existed then and now, owned by the same sort of people who are still handling schools these days'. Elvira connotes negatively the business-like approach of those schools that 'could never be any good because they received people who were really poor, from families who lacked education'. In her opinion, given the socioeconomic origin of students, those schools offered unattainable promises in exchange for state subvention. 'They deceived', she says, because they knew they could not deliver on the promises that they were making. Also, she points out that people 'should know that those schools paid low salaries and late, apart from the "*compadrazgo*"'. By *compadrazgo* she means the restricted network of relationships that mediated the access to teaching posts, some of which were strongly forged around party politics. This is one of the main concerns she expresses throughout the interview.

Once she obtained her pedagogy degree, she started looking for a job. During that time, she recalls, 'I had a friend who had been appointed as the head teacher of a school and I went to ask for teaching hours. He replied: 'there is no chance, there are so many people'. Then I realized that everything was about politics'. Eventually, she found a job at polytechnic *San Arturo*. Elvira made range of acquaintances and teachers with different political views throughout her life. Her memories of her colleagues at *San Arturo* are positive on the grounds of the 'wide perspective' that they gave to students about society, 'even though they were all either closer to left political parties or to the Christian Democracy; there were only a couple [of teachers who supported] right-wing parties'. In any case, she underlines that 'I have always been very straight, devoted to teaching, nobody could get me into any dubious business'. In the middle of this reflection, she deems it necessary to bring up the hard repression that came with the *coup d'état* and the loss of working rights. This figures significantly throughout her narrative as a form of attenuation of her negative statements about politics before September 1973.

When prompted back to the topic of her trajectory in the 1960s, and in particular regarding the 1965 education reform, she makes reference to in-set training workshops, where 'we were all equals, no matter in what sort of school

we taught'[89]. Another element she remembers of the reform is that they received new materials to implement curricular changes. About that area of reform, Elvira was satisfied with the new emphasis in literature. For her it is important to clarify that, in those instances, she never felt that her pedagogic knowledge was worse than that of teachers who did not attended a polytechnic school before university. Neither did she see her students at the polytechnic as having a lower esteem: 'the technical *liceo* was very small but, in those days, it received students with the best scores from the primary schools in the city. It was a time when students showed respect and studied (…) there are people who did really well within that generation'. All this was about to change, she warns.

While talking about the colleagues that worked in private school that she met inset training sessions, she comments that the two excellent Catholic schools in San Arturo reduced their places dramatically because wealthier people emigrated to other areas after Pinochet's housing policies: 'He [Pinochet] brought people from shanti-towns and San Arturo decayed because those people did not have a job, people here did not have servants to employ! However, I also had excellent students who came from the shanty towns'. By this, she means that these lower middle classes could not afford domestic help to offer jobs to those newly arrived, which then originated problems of unemployment and truancy. For Elvira, the element of class composition in a school, or its geographic catchment area, are issues that affected the quality of life in the city, and the quality of school provision in particular. But if the presence of people from poor backgrounds definitely offered a difficult prospect, there was always room for the flourishing of meritocracy. Regarding the school in which she worked, those challenges became apparent as part of the 1965 reform.

In Chapter 8, I quoted Elvira in reference to the creation of years 7 and 8 of primary school. Apart from her struggle to cope with having to teach at primary level to students with more learning difficulties or with lower cultural capital, she noticed that 'not all teachers were good professionals'. She draws a

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[89] See Chapter 8.

distinction between those deficient teachers and the group of fellow colleagues who had been working together in the polytechnic since they were young. She praises the latter on the grounds that, above all, they all shared an enthusiastic attitude towards teaching. This fostered a sense of identity that served as a benchmark to judge those teachers who did not fulfil that profile: those were teachers 'who were not as committed as the others: they may have been red, black or blue but all loved the school. We loved the school since its origins, when it was new and we worked with great ardor'. This is a recurrent topic in her narrative. Elvira enumerates colors to characterize the political diversity of a group that hold positive dispositions towards teaching and against those who did not. Political diversity was not an obstacle for committed work. If she had not felt the full weight of politics in her everyday work until then, that started changing with the arrival of new staff.

Elvira expresses aversion towards the activism conducted by political parties and rejects the interference of politics in education. At the same time, she accepts that 'there will always be politics in education, nobody does things only for love of the job'. This statement has embedded a contradictory clause in relation to those committed teachers she did respect even if they endorsed a political group. Nonetheless, the statement is definitely in tune with her portrayal of the conditions under which authorities appointed staff: 'the CDs were terrible because they brought many people who were very poor teachers. I think they were closer to the CD or maybe they pretended to be in order to get (teaching) hours'. On the whole, however, her evaluation of the CD administration is not negative: 'with Frei we were fine, the Ministry of Education was in control'. In other words, the state administration provided enough certainties in comparison to the situation of schools post 1973.[90]

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[90] In any case, here she considers that the Chilean Trade Association, which has controlled the school since Pinochet's government 'was a good employee, they were right-wing but fair, they met their obligations with teachers (paying on time, for example)'. Pinochet delegated to private associations the administration of a few of schools that offered vocational training. They represent less than 2% of the school system (Cox, 2005).

Back to the period under analysis, Elvira characterizes the general state of affairs with the sentence that 'everything was politics'. Her reminiscence of the period goes on with the 'terrible' school occupations by students. She reflects: 'It was to express their discontent; those were groups real fighters. Back then, students wrote things on the wall, you see, maybe broke something, but they did not vandalize the school, when they gave back the school it was all clean, not like now'. Interestingly, here the connotation of real fighters is more positive than negative given the comparison between students' behavior then and in the present.[91] Nevertheless, Elvira's weariness towards politics in education is pervasive in her account: 'we teachers waited outside the school, teachers did not intervene other than those members of staff who officiated as advisors for the student council. I never had that responsibility because I did not have a political profile. Politics is to obtain things, not to improve education, that doesn't happen'.

Overall, her personal struggle consisted in keeping a 'centrist; position amid a highly politicized context. Such centrism is less a political identification with the political parties of the center and more a stance of neutrality or refusal to engage in the debate 'because I was not interested in getting into any quarrel'. Yet she was not free of it. Elvira claims that 'although I voted for Frei and all, it turned out that one colleague accused me of being an enthusiast of the teachers' strike [of 1968]'. She remembers having backed the strike: 'of course I backed it, probably because of the low salaries and working conditions, but saying that I was an "enthusiast" (…) this woman went to the Ministry to accuse me!' The respondent wants to separate her vote in the election from her practices as a member of the Teacher's Union. She considered a betrayal being singled out as a promoter of political activism for merely joining a strike; especially given her distance from everyday politics.

From a more pragmatic point of view, for Elvira the strike was a legitimate tool to improve working conditions. Although in her opinion the mobilization did not

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[91] As I mentioned in the previous Chapter, this comment mirrors the position of most teachers who did not teach at experimental schools, except for one case that will be analysed later in this chapter.

achieve a great deal, she also thinks that it was more successful than the strike during Alessandri's government in 1962.[92] All in all, she benefited from the strike, which, again, put her in a spot of criticism. She complains: 'some people resented the benefits and the access to specialization courses that some of us obtained after the negotiation. Anyhow, I always met the requirements so I did not let those comments bother me'. It is interesting that, after this reference, Elvira transits to Allende's period by mentioning that the housing estates where she still lives were built by Frei, although in the end its inhabitants were mostly PU supporters. The relationship with her neighbors at times conflates with her memories of events at the polytechnic or her references to education policies.

When asked about her professional experiences of the Allende government in particular, she reports a great deal of continuity with Frei – for better and worse. For example, the in-set training instances were still satisfactory, whereas politization, strikes and clientelism continued to escalate. As the new socialist government took office 'a real hatred emerged between the CD and Radicals to the point that when one of my friends – who belonged to the Radical Party – became the head teacher he told me "now all the CD have to leave the school". What a tasteless joke! But it did not affect me because I had nothing to do with politics'. To reinforce her despise for politics, she points out:

I do not vote according to a preference for a political party. You know, during Allende's time everybody thought of themselves as supermen and the worse is that some of the teachers who arrived at the school were absolutely useless, they didn't have a clue. Someone who belonged to that group called something like 'Friends of the President' became an inspector, a total incompetent[93]

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[92] The respondents who worked on state schools at the time describe the dynamics of the 1968 teachers' strike in similar terms and consider it among the many mobilizations about salaries. The exception is Celia, the *normalista* who worked in a rural area and whose narrative I discuss in the last section of this Chapter.

[93] 'Inspector' is a post within schools that is in charge of order and discipline.

Asked about ENU, Elvira admits that her only clear memory of it is circumscribed to the private school to which she sent her children: 'It was terrible, everybody in the school was against it. When information about ENU came into my hands I was not afraid of the project itself, I was afraid of people's attitudes'. Elvira did not support Allende's policies but insists that she was not worried about the incorporation of work-training into every school as announced in the ENU report. However, she then goes on with her account by recalling something more specific about carers in her children's school. Alongside the presence of some professionals, there were 'also people really ignorant and loud that came from the countryside but had money. I had first-hand knowledge of that sort of people because I grew up surrounded by them. They were the loudest against ENU'. She immediately detaches herself from the sort of opposition voiced by this group: 'fortunately, I had left that world behind, I had read other things, about Russia, about Cuba'.

She is adamant that the climate of polarization had to do with the idea of the socialist project. And so did her own fears: 'No, I was not afraid of the training in factories, I am not that narrow-minded, I knew that environment (…) poor/humble people who kept struggling to make their children better, to be someone. I have been committed to that all my life (…) What I feared was a civil war!'. This is possibly the comment that synthesizes best Elvira's narrative because it neatly articulates her worries to be perceived as classist or politically biased. As usual in her account, she conveys the idea of meritocracy to eliminate any possible doubt about her commitment to her students. In doing so, Elvira recalls the story of a colleague who, because she came from a female polytechnic, had a lower social status than most staff in the school. Elvira says: '[s]he was very intelligent, a left-winger who suffered a lot after the 11 September. But I think education is to give opportunities, as it happened to her who now has a son who is a lawyer'. Above any other consideration, Elvira is stating here that what matters is the individual merit to take advantage of educational opportunities.

In sum, Elvira insists in underlying how upset she was with the highly politicized climate in which education policies operated in Chile in the early

1970s. That factor came on the way of her professional fulfillment, although she adds 'to get over all that sorrow was teaching, teaching, teaching. I talked to them [students] about everything. I think technical school students have to acquire a general culture, regardless of which government is in charge or their education policies'. With this comment she holds on to the intrinsic value of teaching as her way to mitigate the distress that was generated by a tense political divide; thus preserving what she perceived was the core of her professional responsibilities. By 'talking to them about everything' – no matter which school pathway students followed or the government in office – she continued to keep a degree of ownership over her own work even as other aspects grew uncertain. Teaching was an activity that counterbalanced other negative feelings such as fear of losing the job or discomfort regarding her colleagues and politics.

Towards the end of the interview, Elvira talks about her neighbors, some of whom were good friends before 1973 but did not live up to the friendship afterwards. She laments: 'as left-wingers, they would not share groceries with us. Would you believe that some of them became pro-Pinochet later? No, I was always of the same line'. With Pinochet's coup the divide and sense of social estrangement worsened: 'some people did not speak to us because they believed we were Pinochet supporters'. It is interesting that her concluding statement refers to the personal sphere of friendship and how that dimension of her life also became affected by the same polarization she despised – much more so after the army took over. The dictatorship is never far in her accounts, either in her recollections of the political repression under the military government or in reference to the loss of the guarantees that teachers had conquered in the past. *Recollections over education policies between 1964 and 1973 offered an indirect reflection on the essential struggle that teachers like her went through to assert their identity beyond class and politics.*

9.2. Genaro. The struggle for pedagogic autonomy

When Genaro started working at the secondary school *Camilo Santos*, in 1955, he was in his third year of university. The school had been created in 1953 by

the Jesuits – who also administrated the Catholic University of Valparaiso (CUV) where he studied – with three aims. First, they sought 'to offer opportunities of good quality private education to 'vulnerable' sections of the population. In the second place, the founder and head teacher were determined to and succeeded in positioning *Camilo Santos* as a teaching training center available to the CUV pedagogy degrees. And the third one, at least in the mind of the founder, was that the school was a center for pedagogic experimentation'. In 1959, the head teacher announced his initiative regarding pedagogic experimentation and asked the staff to formulate a complete plan and syllabus to transform Camilo Santos into the first private institution holding the title of 'experimental school'.[94]

After meeting the requirements that were established by the Superintendence of Education, the state officially conferred this status to the Catholic *liceo*, but Genaro laments that this 'is not a very well-known fact'. With this last comment the respondent taps into a sense of the lack of recognition of private education in Chile. The respondent believes that the history of education in Chile has overlooked the pedagogic innovations of private schools. This is partly down to the indifference of the Chilean state, but it is also to do with negligence on the part of agents that were supposed to support pedagogic advances within the private sector (Catholic universities, for example). Back to the history of *Liceo Camilo Santos*, Genaro remembers that the staff had to put their minds into the construction of their own school programs for each subject. Genaro and the head teacher redesigned the curriculum for history, for example.

About the plan as a whole, he comments that 'the philosophy behind it was that…the head teacher insisted on that we ought to reduce contents and emphasize skills instead. Notably, he was anticipating an educational perspective that became mainstream years later'. In 1960, the newly designed curriculum was put into practice and applied to their secondary education

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[94] Until then, the only experimental school officially named as such was The *Liceo Experimental Manuel de Salas* in Santiago, which was administrated by the University of Chile.

intake. Operational difficulties arose, however, because staff had to accomplish two different tasks, that is,

> *creating and administrating the curriculum are two very different things. Nobody had prepared us for the former; therefore, I would say that my criticism to the experience is, fundamentally, that not enough care was put on the preparation of teachers to develop curriculum, it was simply established that we had to do it. We had to improvise and, in that sense, undoubtedly many mistakes were made in the configuration of the syllabuses*

This is not a recent conclusion that he has taken retrospectively, says Genaro. He participated in the evaluation of the experience at the end of the fourth year of running it.

Pitfalls aside, in Genaro's view the innovation was interesting in various aspects. An important one being the role assigned to the teacher in charge of each class. The so-called *Profesor Jefe* had responsibility for the first hour of every school day in front of the students (in addition to the subject on which he or she taught). During that time, the students had to investigate around a topic that was relevant across the school curriculum, 'in other words, the teacher led an activity that naturally comprised all school subjects'. Genaro thinks that such a relationship allowed for 'an empowered teacher who became a leader and that leadership was exerted over the students and their carers, as the teacher made them part of the learning process'. As proof of the efficacy of this practice, Genaro refers to the good scores obtained by their students in national tests to access university. For him, as we saw in the previous Chapter, that was an outstanding achievement taking into account the social origin of the students: 'I participated in the creation, application and development of the pedagogic project all along, even of its evaluation in 1965 and later, when the plan ended'.

Genaro pauses and I ask him about the general context of education reforms and why the experimental plan ended. He explains that, during the second half

of the 1960s, there were two developments that had a harmful effect on the pedagogic scheme that the *Liceo Camilo Santos* was implementing. These were the university reform movement and the 1965 school reform.[95] On the one hand, the school 'depended on the CUV'. The state provided an amount of money that 'was not even enough to pay for the salaries – the subsidy per student was a quarter of the cost of a student in a state school – so CUV had to complement the funding'. Genaro recalls that the triumph of the movement pro-reform at the CUV triggered a series of dramatic changes that affected the relationship between the university and the school in terms of economic support. In turn, this affected all dimensions of the school's life.

The way in which Genaro orders the events suggest that he sees *Camilo Santos* as one of the collateral casualties of the shifting visions of what constituted a school, a university, or even a society at that time. For a start, 'the Jesuits left and the new authorities of CUV perceived the school as an alien object that distracted monetary resources as well as academic ones. In the mind-set of the leaders of the reform movement, *Camilo Santos* was no longer part of the university preoccupations'. He adds that, as a consequence, 'the administration of the school was somehow paralyzed, many teachers left and the new authorities dictated the end of the experimental plan because it was too expensive. We had to join in the 1965 reform'. Actually, CUV proposed to separate itself from the school 'but we, the older teachers, fought against that idea' Eventually, *Liceo Camilo Santos* retained some affiliation to CUV so that the latter was still legally responsible for it, although the university stopped allocating it resources. From then on, the school had to survive only with state subvention. Nor did CUV continued sending students to do teaching placements: 'there was this notion that students had to go to and see poorest schools. They might have been right but…'.

Genaro offers a personal account about the origins of his school's struggle. But in the process of telling this story, he also expresses his professional frustrations with the experience. Rather than emphasizing its emotional dimensions, he attempts a systematic chronicle of a particular institutional

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[95] See Chapter 4.

ordeal within its sociopolitical context. In Genaro's story, developments that belonged to the sphere of university reform at the national level had a detrimental impact in the advancement of an alternative pedagogy within the school in which he worked. Precarious funding was the factor that pushed the *liceo* to adopt the curriculum designed by the CD government, in spite of the staff's commitment to their own curricular model. Contrary to the sense of modernization that the curricular reform at national level sought to convey, for this teacher policy developments were nothing to look forward to; quite the opposite, it was the mark of a defeat.

Genaro goes on with his account of how the *liceo* transited from experimentalism to standard schooling. He remembers that it was not easy because 'the reform of Frei was a mess; our plan of studies was completely different from the reform (…) there were less subjects and it had a core of Spanish language and Math, but it was flexible otherwise'. Eventually, this acute shift in pedagogic approach resulted 'in an almost 100% of staff turnover. Excellent teachers left to go to teach at universities and stayed there'. Above all, the sense of loss has to do with the waste of 'all the experience that was gained in the process of shaping our own project'. Beyond the walls of *Liceo Camilo Santos*, Genaro adds that a concomitant factor that contributed to the uneasiness of staff with the new circumstances was the entry of newly trained teachers who had gone through the abbreviated schemes that were set up as part of the 1965 education reform.[96] He returns to this point after talking about the attitudes of the teaching force at national level.

Genaro strongly criticizes the attitudes of the teaching force at the time and includes himself within that collective: 'there was no such thing as a teaching consciousness about the pedagogic impact of the 1965 reform. Everybody was immersed in their own business, not looking outside'. Just as in other interviews, Genaro also says that teachers agreed with the good intentions behind the extension of compulsory primary school from 6 to 8 years, and also with the expansion of enrolment but 'that was all'. Retrospectively, he observes that 'in theory, that education reform was supposed to have an impact on the

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[96] See Chapter 8.

economy, it was clearly inspired by the *Alianza para el Progresso*'.[97] Not for the last time in the interview, Genaro refers to a problem of reflexivity within the teaching profession that prevented teachers from becoming more aware of their own practices in the context of wider education policies and broader political alignments.

Genaro also offers an insight into the intellectual inspiration of the 1965 reform through the following sarcastic remark: '[t]he American theories of curriculum that the government legitimized and used were everywhere. Bloom was an object of worship at the in-set training organized by the CPEIP. And the *liceo* had to work according to that line'. While most respondents highlight the wide access to workshops, the high quality standards of foreign experts and the satisfying interactions with other colleagues, this interviewee has a critical view of the in-set training sessions that the 1965 reform put together. Adopting the perspective of someone who had embarked into a non-traditional school project, the policy schemes designed to update the pedagogic approaches in use were not particularly innovative or challenging: 'they provided schemes of application, and one thing is to have ownership of the didactic scheme, a different thing is knowing how to administrate it within a figured format without a deep understanding of its meaning. If someone asks me; I would say that there was a huge fault in that'. In other words, for Genaro in-set training sessions did not clarify the rationale underpinning the goals and contents of the reform. Without this, teachers could not make it their own and go beyond the reproduction of a set of activities within the classroom. As intermediate summary, the interviewee gives a more general conclusion about the mistakes of the 1965 reform:

> *First, it was not foreseen that the number of teachers was insufficient. Second, teachers already at work did not necessarily have the preparation to face the reform. Third, the reform operated through tight directives. Memos arrived, instructions and orders in written form of what the head teachers had to do. And the head teachers conformed*

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[97] See Chapters 3 and 4.

It is important to note that Genaro did not support Allende or his education policies, so his alignment with the criticisms uttered by the left at that time regarding the vertical approach of the 1965 came from practice itself: 'it is not a criticism from a Marxist posture, it was true'. This confluence aside, he complains about something of a more structural nature. The trouble with the core of the reform design was that there was no room for school autonomy.

The top-down features of the policies collided with the ethos of the pedagogic model that Genaro, among others, were still defending for *Liceo Camilo Santos*. In contrast with the rationale of the 1965 reform, the respondent claims that Camilo Santos remained having its 'collegial awareness (…) teachers were still handling their jobs in full'. Except for the original mandate of achieving the 'experimental' status, he comments that there were many examples of a more horizontal form of authority that survived in the school. One of them was the role of the 'council of teachers. It had autonomy of decisions and the Head Teacher encouraged that'. There were also 'departments per subject, which also had power. That culture should be present in any reform', he insists. Based on his experience working at a state school for adults where teaching commenced after 6 PM, Genaro draws a comparison with the state education that was organized with the Ministry at the top and provincial director who ruled over the school directors: 'In turn, the head teacher gave instructions of how things ought to be, so staff meetings were entirely devoted to reading memos about what to do. Pedagogic discussion? Almost zero, that is my memory of the period'.

When I asked him to elaborate on teachers' organizations, the emphasis of the conversation shifts further away from the experience of *Liceo Camilo Santos* and incorporates a reflection on how private education, as a political agent, played its part in education policy developments at national level. In relation to the 1968 teachers' strike, he considers that the movement 'was the first strike of significance but it was focused on working conditions. Participants fundamentally came from the state sector; bear in mind that 75% of the students attended state schools. A few private schools joined but with no real gravitation'.

In Genaro's reasoning, a relevant deterrent to join the strike was that teachers in private schools did not have the same guarantees as their colleagues working in state schools: 'in private schools, teachers were subject to a contract that could end at any minute, their salaries were lower, they lived under precarious conditions of employment unless, like us, you had 70% support as we had before CUV stopped funding us'. The respondent stresses his first-hand experience of that precariousness which was a common feature of the last year of Frei and Allende's 3 years in office.

As part of his interpretation of how private education situated itself in the context of industrial action and negotiations with the state, Genaro talks about events that occurred between 1970 and 1973. He reports that he was teaching in a fee paying school as well as in *Liceo Camilo Santos* by the time Allende came to power – indeed, he did this throughout the PU's term. Drawing from those experiences, he asserts that private schools continued estranged from the education debate after the 1970's election. When I asked him for any memories of the forums that the government promoted in preparation for a detailed school policy plan, he simply replied: 'I do not remember a single instance of discussion or consultation around education policies'. As far as he recalls, it was not obligatory to participate and the private sector simply did not take part in the local congresses of 1971. He believes that, overall, the acute worries about Allende's announcements in education 'were more common among the owners of schools than among the staff'; and it was the former who had a say on whether a school got involved in government's projects.

As for confessional schools, he does remember different actions of thought. In support of his analysis, Genaro advised me to read the periodical publication of FIDE, since 'they recorded the events and official positions of private education at the time. On the one hand, there was *Padre Cariola* with its idea of an educational community. On the other hand, most schools resisted that idea'. Patricio Cariola championed greater participation of stakeholders in the government of schools, including the input of students. Since 1967, this vision 'was promoted in the congresses of private education but its reception varied,

as many perceived it as a socialist logic in action'.[98] As it turned out, 'these were isolated cases. In 1970, the same year that Allende won, Patricio Cariola lost the FIDE election. Padre Cuevas, a right-wing priest who rejected to the notion of educational community became the leader and that was that'. While Genaro sustains that the resistance to participation was majoritarian within Catholic schools, he endorsed the minority position defended by *padre* Cariola.

Following this train of thought, Genaro parallels the resistance to the concept of educational community to the resistance of private education to the National Congress of Education in 1971. The reservations were voiced 'always from the outside, by not taking part in the congresses', he says. The strong influence of the most conservative positions within private education exacerbated in the course of the last year of the PU government and the opposition to ENU was central to this. For an important part of the private school's sector 'ENU meant state control, and that obviously activated resistance'. Criticisms from schools' owners trickled down to staff despite the fact that only 'a small proportion of teachers actually read ENU documents. They were fixed on the statist threat'. This reaction to ENU, in the context of scarce pedagogic consciousness, was for him the rule. And yet his next statement attenuates the judgment he has just passed. He justifies teachers' behavior on the basis of the conditions they faced: 'excessive workload, too many teaching hours, and low salaries – especially in private education'. To make things worse, getting a post in a state school usually 'required a part-political liaison'. Adding all these factors together, Genaro formulates his cause-effect theory of the negative reception of the ENU among some teachers:

> *The reason why the slogan found resonance within the teacher's force, why the slogans against ENU were decodified simply as the state overtaking education, is that teachers in private schools feared not being able to access the public sector once the private schools disappeared, as the political parties were the gatekeepers*

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[98] See Chapter 6. A number of schools engaged in reforms that reflected the intention of greater participation in the ruling of schools (Brahm, 1971). Even more, a handful of Catholic orders were willing to relinquish the control of elite private schools to the state. The Holly Cross was the most famous of these (Castro, 1977).

In fact, anti-ENU messages for parents were built upon an equivalent reasoning: 'the state was going to choose what was going to be the occupation of their children. Parents feared that they will lose influence over their children'. He declares not knowing what was the opinion of the bases in state schools, but is sure that their leaders supported ENU. It is clear for him that 'teachers did not reject ENU to the same extent as parents did within schools'. Consulted about the position of the students in that context, he replied that, at *Liceo Camilo Santos* at least, their demonstrations drew attention to political themes that were relevant nationwide: 'the student's union was left-wing and its preoccupations revolved around macro topics, not education policies'. His perception about other students' mobilizations is similar: 'to be honest, ENU was not an issue within school communities in general, it was controversial among school owners and parents'.

After two hours, Genaro has to end the interview. He has spoken throughout from a position that swings between expertise and personal testimony. This also bears a duality between a dispassionate analysis of past events and a heartfelt appeal for the recognition of what he and his colleagues achieved when they had conditions to create (and as opposed to abandonment or over-prescriptive regimes that discourage *pedagogic awareness*). The 1968 strike, or the polemics surrounding the ENU report in 1973 are, in his narrative, of a marginal importance because those apparent struggles never touched upon what was really missing from the education policy; that is, *the genuine pursuit of and trust in autonomous school communities that are able to flourish if they get adequate support*. If that is the case, it matters far less whether that 'owner' is the state or a private provider.

9.3. Celia. The struggle for social change in rural areas

Celia is one of my two interviewees who acknowledges her affiliation to a leftwing political party in the 1960s and 1970s. Both she and her husband belonged to the CSP, but she considers her husband as the one with active participation in the party events and the teacher's union. This is how she

explains her lack of recollections of events such as the *ollas commues* during the strike of 1968 or the assemblies before the National Congress of Education in 1971 'I was probably at home with the children; my husband attended to those meetings'.

Despite her identification with the left, Celia speaks highly of the importance of social assistance during the Frei government. I used her comments in the previous Chapter to illustrate teacher involvement in all school activities. Among the activities that she talks about, there is the time when 'the Ministry of Education gave to teachers what my colleague called "bed linen"; these were large spreadsheets in which to write down data about the house, adults and children'. This was census of sorts in which visits to families aimed to convince them about the benefits of schooling while facilitating their access to social welfare. Celia considers that all achievements in those areas were possible because of the collaboration of teachers with the 1965 reform; indeed, they were due to their commitment towards their students' wellbeing. To her, that positive attitude was down to their education as *normalistas,* 'the true teachers'.[99]

She recalls hearing about the difficulties that urban schools faced to accommodate the new years 7 and 8 intakes, the criticisms we have rehearsed already about fast-tracking teachers, and also the criticism of the top-down model in in-set training sessions. However, as a rural teacher, and also later as an urban one, she did not believe that those situations were a problem once the system created the necessary capacities for infrastructure and training. Concerning policies of social assistance, school buildings, and in-set training, she perceives the administrations of both Frei and Allende as part of the same process, a continuity that she also conveys when speaking about the role played by teachers in the implementation of education policies after 1970. For example, she recalls how, during Allende's government 'I volunteered to bring their milk allowance to all the children's houses during school holidays. I did the same to distribute the shoes provided by Allende to 90% of the students'.

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[99] See Chapters 3 and 4.

At this point, Celia introduces a comparison between the 'social and political commitments of people, their dream of changing things' and the situation she found when she came back from exile in the towards the end of the 1980s: 'the country was not the same, now it all depends on how much you get paid'. Her sense of loss is related to the negative aspects in people's attitudes towards education and social affairs more generally. The way she makes sense of the changes to the teaching profession is illustrative of how she establishes causes and effects of this new scenario. In her view, there was a direct link between the social commitment that teachers showed and the wrong assumptions that led to the end of *escuelas normales* under Pinochet. The dictator 'closed down *escuelas normales* because he was convinced that they were a nest of communists, but it was not like that at all (she laughs). Not all were communists, they had ideals because *escuelas normales* emphasized devotion to children', she insists. In other words, the mistaken assumptions of the government deprived the profession of the ethical foundations that underpinned its prestige; the more so as, nowadays, school teaching is 'a second-class occupation'. In order to make her point, she adopts the position of an imaginary student who has just graduated from secondary school: 'I did not get into the program I wanted because of my low score in the [national] test. Well, the score is still good enough to study pedagogy'.

Straight after this comment, I suggested that we focus again on the historical period between 1965 and 1973 and ask her about the mobilizations that were organized by the teacher's unions. Celia recalls the 1968 strike 'that lasted for two months or so. It was terrible because they [the government] stopped paying our salaries (…) well, in the villages, parents started complaining [laughs] and I find that they have the right to do so because it is their kids who miss schooldays'. It is worth noting that the respondent speaks in the present tense, as this gives her narrative a double quality: it is a specific description of the past, on the one hand, and a general statement about teacher's strike more generally, on the other. She insists on this while explaining why the situation was very tense: '[w]hen things are prolonged for too long everybody gets upset. On the one side, teachers feel that no matter how long they strike,

the government does not give up. On the other side, parents run out of patience'.

Now using the past tense, Celia provides a depiction of the dynamics of the 1968 strike that is full of references to meetings, visits from union leaders, and a vague notion of the economic demands at stake: 'I do not remember very well but it was about salaries (…) Teachers must have got something out of it [the strike], I guess. Afterwards, we had to make up for the days we were on strike and worked until January, didn't we?'. From Celia's point of view, the motivation to strike was obviously a demand that related to the contractual regime under which teachers worked. Her answers are in line with all respondents in this regard. However, her memories of the outcome of the strike are more like an assumption about what ought to have happened; this is, that it should have represented some sort of improvement. Even if she cannot recall specific information or convey certainty about the result, her comments denote a certain trust in the power of mobilizations. This attitude is consistent with her active political life at the time.

At no point does she deny that there were conflicting stances among teachers: '[w]e attended assemblies and when we were informed that there was no agreement, that "the strike goes on"; well, then some teachers had second thoughts but (…) going back empty-handed felt like accepting defeat, so held on to the strike we did'. According to her account, only a minority refused to paralyze at all despite the fact that others had stopped working. She recalls a teacher who deplored strikes, 'she repeated that "I work because it is my duty"'. Celia identifies this teacher with a right-wing political position. Yet she does not adopt a judgmental tone towards her:

> *I found that she was a very strong character. Her students had to attend school and she completed her statutory hours, including breaks and all. We saw her every time we went to that school to have strike-related meeting. She thought that all of this was a waste of time, that teachers were complaining about nothing. I have no idea what the opinion of her colleagues was*

If anything, Celia's comments convey a degree of admiration for standing up against the decision of her co-workers; she concedes that 'the strike was tough for everyone'.

Celia engages in a more detailed depiction of the process of mobilization, including the organization of '*ollas comunes'* to feed teachers and their families due to their lack of income. She admits that, while some teachers took their children to the *olla común,* 'I did not participate; my husband did, because I stayed at home with my young kids'.[100] Not completely sure of this assertion, she suggests that 1968 was the first time that teachers resorted to this sort of practice, which 'originated in the long strikes that were undertaken by the miners, I suppose (…) it was an inheritance from other struggles in the past, I don't know'. Speaking of the organizations of teachers, she mentions the multiplicity of unions to which teachers might be a part of depending on 'the branch of education you belonged to'.[101]

Celia reports that throughout the strike there were assemblies in the biggest school of the geographical area. These had the purpose 'to inform and discuss latest developments. Attendance to these was huge because everybody was interested in knowing what was going on'. She recalls heated discussions that were always led by the leaders of the unions, who in turn represented different political parties. In Celia's mind, this did not preclude that the teachers had a real conviction about the need for a strike; regardless of the perennial presence of political parties. The naturalization of political parties' role under circumstances of mobilization is a feature of this account. She portrays political parties at the time as the forces that channeled peoples' concerns and not as alien actors who distorted social demands or manipulated teachers to accomplish hidden goals. On this, she offers the opposite narrative to Elvira's.

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[100] *Olla Común* is a gathering where attendants share a meal prepared that is prepared in a public place.
[101] See Chapters 5 and 6.

Disillusionment is a key component of how she makes sense, from the present, of the interplay between politics, the cultural ethos of teachers and the education policies by the end of the 1960s'. Unlike other respondents, she is the only interviewee linking explicitly the 1968 demonstrations to the new array of responsibilities that teachers assumed after the 1965 reform. Retrospectively, for example, she acknowledges that teachers had always had low salaries but

> *we probably thought 'it is all right, there is money to build classrooms, to feed kids, to implement this (…) but we are the actors who make all this possible and nobody has taken our salaries into account'. You know, it was our extra-hours, our long journeys to reach isolated families. We felt left behind even though we had complied with all the things that the government had asked us to do. We were committed, but: 'What about us?'*

Celia reasons that, as much as vocation was the true drive among teachers, they expected that their contractual conditions would be a part of the structural makeover that the reform was producing in so many dimensions. The government was fundamentally relying on teachers' collaboration.

After a silence, I take the opportunity to move forward by asking Celia about the electoral campaign in 1970 and what she remembers about education proposals. Straight away, she replies that 'Allende was elected because he proposed to take things further in education and also the agrarian reform, I guess. I felt attracted to that idea of going beyond what Frei had achieved, there were more things to do'. This response is in line with the paragraphs above. Allende had to complete the path initiated by Frei, since CD reforms fell short of expectations, 'there were still things to do'. Rather than a complete break of political logic, Celia is talking here about an incremental notion of progressive social policies. This is the continuity she perceives in relation to education policies after 1970: 'it was not about criticizing Frei, for me it was about giving another step'; for example, by expanding access to higher education. In Chapter 8, I quoted Celia referring in positive terms to various of

Frei's education policies. But for her to explain why she voted Allende she still posed the question of the persistent inequalities and class divides that characterized education in the geographical area where she lived. Celia was very active politically, and so were most of her co-workers:

> *my husband was a regional secretary for the Socialist Party, I could not stay away [from politics]. In the school where I worked [after she moved to a bigger town], there were CDs, socialists, communists but there were only a few right-wingers. Or maybe they hid it, right-wing people never spoke, they just didn't; they knew they were a minority (laughs), they were good people. The school was not a place for politics, we respected each other*

Celia is wary of political activism within the school as a matter of principle and she underlines that other members of staff did not cross that line either. Outside school she openly participated in fundraising campaigns in support of PU. She has fond memories of president Allende announcing, as he had promised, that every child would be entitled to a liter of milk per day: 'from that moment I knew it was not only words, this was real. But then came the ENU…'.

Without any prompt from my part, Celia redirects her account to address the problems that followed from the dissemination of the ENU report. Her narrative continues:

> …But then came the ENU and the right-wing organized itself to the point that, at least in my town, students occupied schools to avoid the implementation of ENU. People from the opposition said things like 'children will have to take lessons in the industries'. Well, there were no industries in the town of *Corcovado*

I ask her whether she could elaborate a bit more about the ENU project and why people objected to it. Celia replies: 'look, people over there were so aspirational "how could it be that my child goes to an industry!", they moaned.

It was terrible when they occupied the school. I realized something big was coming because there was too much aggression, too much polarization'. By 'something big was coming' she is alluding to Pinochet's *coup*, even if she could not point to the exact nature of that impending doom. Although I enquired again about the ENU project itself, Celia does not offer an insight about the content of the project; instead, she expands on the deep class divide and the prominence of Christian Democrats: 'there was hostility towards Allende in my town'.

Interestingly, before ending the interview she offers an anecdote that is very telling of her retrospective view of PU struggles to promote an education that was functional to the realities of the countryside. Celia brings up an experience of a friend of hers, a student of pedagogy in Santiago, who was doing her professional placement in one of the Education Centers of the Agrarian Reform that existed in the rural areas that were subject to the process of land redistribution. Celia recounts:

> these teachers came up with a thorough plan to teach about the state of land ownership in Latin America. It sounded as a stimulating subject as their students were part of the staff working directly with peasants to implement the Agrarian Reform. Do you know what the attendants asked for? 'Please do not teach us that, could you teach us instead the four basic math operations?'. They had to reformulate everything!

To Celia, the ENU was an instance that channeled the conflicts of social class that were at the center of the education debate; including discussions over school policies. However, the specificities of policy controversies are not available for retrieving in her narrative. Neither does she recall the National Congress of Education. At the heart of her story, there is a particular configuration of a small town in the south of Chile and the rural areas surrounding it. By asking Celia to situate her trajectory, she incorporates her own self into the picture, defining her vocation in terms of the ethical drive and emotional strength that was needed to face precariousness. This is the challenge that mattered to her, and the historical period between 1964 and

1973 renders her account into a story of political struggle to change basic deprivations through schooling. *Absent of her self-understanding as a professional teacher is a more detailed representation of pedagogic knowledge or policy controversies. The most pressing issues remained the mundane challenges of everyday life and everyday schooling in a setting that was marked by the social hierarchies and the inequalities.*

9.4. Closing remarks

This chapter has concentrated on three teachers' narratives that speak to us about the struggles that they faced in the period covered by my thesis. Class positions and the nefarious side of party politics is central to Elvira's account, the struggle for pedagogic and teachers' autonomy is the focus on Genaro's narrative, while the specificities of rural schools in a context of centralized reforms marks the center of Celia's memories. Their differences in backgrounds, trajectories and experiences during this decade do not cohere on a single narrative and yet they touch on several common themes that we have encountered before: the social status and self-identity of teachers, the autonomy of schools vis-à-vis centralized programs of reform, the school as a sacrosanct space where politics should only be allowed under the most careful circumstances – if at all.

The goal of this Chapter – the more when read together with the findings of the previous one – is to come good on my promise of offering a historical reading that makes the most of lay actors' narratives as a complement to the analyses that are produced by policy makers and researchers. These teachers' narratives not only look back to past events with an eye on current concerns but they also capture those micro dynamics that make up for what is otherwise described as major structural transformations. Teachers' voices have been neglected and even self-neglected, which has had consequences in terms of their own sense of importance as education policy actors. As it happens, interviewees were shy to make strong statements about education policies in an historical context, and that might be another instantiation of their professional marginalization.

Aside from the attention to agency, each narrative deploys an identity discourse that is intertwined with the struggles over education policies in a way that differs from expert's accounts. I interpret this as an operation of memory that illuminates a historical understanding of struggles over education as *biographical* struggles. Here, the reconstruction of the individual experience of education policies cannot be disentangled from collective, professional, generational and political identities. Neither can these be estranged from the emotions and affections that seem to take over in their biographical account: fear, frustration and disappointment are constants in these narratives.

Conclusions

This thesis aimed to further our historical understanding of education policies in Chile by exploring the period from 1964 to 1973. In doing so, it combined accounts of different kinds, based on a diversity of sources and contexts of production. It also draws upon different theoretical and methodological devices and tactics in the understanding and analysis of these materials. The Foucauldian sensibilities that inform my sense of what history consists of lead me to eschew an attempt to offer a definitive account of the period that is the focus of my study. Rather throughout I seek to retain a sense of discontinuity and of contestation. In doing this I have attempted to open up some different ways of thinking about the period 1964 to 1973, the Frei and Allende governments, and the ENU, that are no a direct alternative to established versions but at least call those versions into question and offer new possibilities for analysis.

I open my concluding remarks by drawing attention to the different data sets and how they point to the different spheres of activities, experiences and problems that constituted the struggles over education policy in this period. In order to remind ourselves of the nuances of using oral sources and transcripts of sessions in my thesis, I think it pertinent to quote Alessandro Portelli's remark on the relationship between formalized texts and orality (2003: 69):

> Orality and written sources have not existed separately: if many written sources are based on orality, modern orality itself is saturated with writing.

In the case of the review of secondary sources, which together with my interviews with experts constitutes the core of Chapters 3 to 6, a first dimension that emerges is how external political dynamics shaped the national education policies of the 1960s and 1970s in Chile. In the context of the Cold War, the prospects of a 'Chilean transition to Socialism' became a symbolic battlefield where every local actor had something at stake; it was impossible to isolate national political struggles from wider ideological conflicts. In the end,

the journey of PU's education policies is another instantiation of how turbulent national politics had become. Another aspect that is emphasized is the significance of institutional and legislative settings. Here, it becomes clear that the sphere of law does not stand in isolation from, and is in fact intertwined with, references to ideology, political strategies and the willingness to compromise under difficult circumstances. Policy makers' accounts focus on issues that range from a politician's personal style and the prevailing culture within a political party to economic constraints and national contingencies. The need to give full weight to phenomena and trends that are ultimately unpredictable is especially clear among the policy-makers that I interviewed. As expected, devices drawn from the social sciences – concepts, theories, methods, statistics – are the basic structure of these problematizations (Wodak, 2008).

The documentary analysis I carried out in Chapter 7 explored in detail the micropolitics of one representative space, the National Council of Education, where education policies were being discussed with a view to their rapid implementation at the national level. Although I could have tried to interpret the interventions of each actor participating in the debate in order to highlight his or her specific motivations, agenda and strategic goals (Alexander, 2007), my purpose in the Chapter was to analyze the sessions as a whole and give a sense of how they unfolded. In those cases where no general narrative became apparent, I created such an account in terms of the topics, arguments and dynamics that dominated the interchanges among councilors. Therefore, I immersed myself in the transcripts with an archeological intent (Dean 1994; Bridges 2007; Bacchi, 2012). The outcome of this analytical exercise is linked to the categories that are highlighted in the literature insofar as it shows, at a micro level, two interrelated kinds of tacit knowledge (see Dale, 1994; Jager and Maier, 2009): those concerned with the sphere of the education as a specialized field (what in the conclusion to Chapter 7 I called EaS – 'Education at Stake') and those concerned with procedural aspects that transcend education and constitute a key part of the more general discursive context (HtP – 'How to Proceed').

The third set of data comprises my interviews with retired teachers – they are the focus of Chapters 8 and 9. For teachers, the key issue is the series of struggles – biographical, pedagogic, political and interpersonal – that they had to face in order to fulfill what they construe as the core elements of 'being a teacher'. In other words, an identity discourse if we follow Taylor (1990); Davies (2007) and Levering (2007). More than in any other part of my thesis, their experiences are effected by the consequences of Pinochet's 1973 coup and how this transformed most aspects of their lives. The comparison between the two kinds of interviews that I did – with experts and with teachers – allowed me to explore their contrasts but also how their boundaries blur. On the one hand, it goes without saying that most experts had some first-hand experience of the challenging situations that are being described by teachers (e.g. working under difficult circumstances, politicization of the workplace, fear of arrest). Experts' stances and the biographical recollections of teachers are both *sediments of past discourses* and *recontextualizations that are connected to the present* (Passerini, 2003; Wodak, 2008; Gardner, 2010). On the other hand, arguably the most obvious difference between the two sets of interviews is that experts had clear views of the various subjects under discussion; they had all reflected on what happened and had expressed them in various ways before I conducted my research. That is also the reason why I analyzed the topics they raised in combination with the secondary literature – which is also a form of expert discourse. In contrast, I treated teachers' recollections as stories that cohere around an identity discourse; one that had not been necessarily articulated before or would have been articulated at all in this way without the explicit trigger of an academic interview (Portelli, 2003). Their interpretations add a perspective that is perhaps more holistic in terms of the areas of their lives that are covered. At the very least, their narratives are more candid in how they account for the influences of the present in the reconstructions of the past.

In what follows, I briefly highlight some of the key dimensions that emerge from the different parts of the thesis. I then finish with some reflections on the history of the present of Chilean education policies: why Pinochet is not enough to explain the trajectory of education in the past 50 years.

Continuities and discontinuities in the accounts of secondary literature and experts

Chapters 3 to 6 draw upon a cluster of academic works on the history of education policies in Chile that were written between 1977 and 1989. I enriched this review by combining these secondary sources with the results of my interviews with policy makers who had first-hand knowledge of the period immediately before 1973. This section looks at the continuities and discontinuities of topics and actors.

Let me begin with the relationships between the state and the Catholic Church. There, I suggested that the co-existence of state and confessional schools could be described as neither open antagonism nor unproblematic collaboration. Various religious orders took the initiative early on in the arena of education, in particular in areas where the state had not been able to take responsibility. Initial legislation on compulsory primary school sought to increase the availability of schooling by compelling local parishes to provide education rather than by taking schools away from them and passing these on to the state. Although tensions increased during the 20th century, the more so as state schools caught up in numbers with Catholic ones, the so-called conflict between 'freedom of teaching' (i.e. Catholic schools) and a 'teaching state' (i.e. state schools) was not related to the co-existence of both systems. It was rather about who was able to influence the national curriculum, who had access to public funding and what were the degrees of school autonomy among private providers that would allow them to develop a 'community of values'. A good example of the kind of negotiation that I am talking about comes from higher education: the 1954 law that regulated the public funding and autonomy to private universities. Since then, and including the current proposals being discussed in Parliament at the time of writing, the Chilean state directs part of its budget on Higher Education to private universities by using the same mechanisms that are used to fund state universities.

Nowadays, secular private schools outnumber Catholic ones. But if we look at private education as a whole we see a clear thread of continuity throughout this period: there is an overlap in the interests that were defended by the Catholic Church for most of the 20th century and those of secular private education in the present. The kernel of this policy is perhaps found when CD President Eduardo Frei lifted some of the state's controls over private schools without taking away state financial support. Freedom of teaching prevailed as parents delegated the education of their children to that private institution that best reflected their own values and practices – whether religious or not. Later on, opposition to Allende sought to establish by constitutional amendment this twofold principle that allows the organization of private schools according to doctrinaire views, on the one hand, while banning the state from having its own views as a form of 'indoctrination', on the other. According to the opposition against PU, both DDS (the Democratization Decree of Schools) and ENU dishonored the principle of freedom of teaching: they interfered with private school autonomy and ethos while they gave up on the neutrality of the state. Nowadays, it remains a contentious policy issue what sort of state intervention is acceptable in exchange for public funding.

The traditional divide between religious conservatives and secularized liberals during the 19th and 20th centuries looks less dramatic if we pay attention to the premises that they shared. They were agreed that schooling was crucial to consolidate a national identity and to advance the social and economic interests of the nation. They both accepted that the expansion of the education system was a consequence of the state's creation of specialized departments and procedures to administrate schools. This is the bureaucratic embodiment of the elite's common ground: the faith in education as one of the pillars of national prosperity finds continuity in the modernizing projects of both Frei and Allende. Discontinuities do appear here, however; for the CDs, school policies were scientific and technically driven, whereas PU argued that this version of public polices was oriented by a particular conception of capitalist development that was functional to the imperialist interests of the US instead of serving Chile's indigenous development. In that sense, while Allende's election campaign emphasized what made their version of modernity different from the

modernization policies of Frei, in practice he gave continuity to the education plans set in motion by the CD administration.

The teaching force also acquired greater political importance during the 20th century. Teachers became an increasingly relevant social actor and their unions were very active in negotiating better labor conditions for their members. Teachers' relationship with the state was mediated by party politics, as they became an important part of the constituencies for the Radical and Socialist parties. The long strike of 1968 seemed to exhaust teachers' power to advance more changes and improvements to their labor conditions. At the same time, a disjuncture grew between their 'pedagogic imagination' (pedagogic issues in their own right) and material causes such as salaries and general working conditions. Nonetheless, some teachers kept pushing for what they saw as an indigenous tradition of pedagogic thought that was engrained in the history of Chilean schooling; the so-called experimental schools. Allende's government tried to make the teachers' agenda its own by transferring executive powers to unions and by validating them not only as social actors but as education experts too. In contrast to the technocratic orientation of the CD government, PU's political alliance with teachers was meant to merge administrative expertise, democratic participation of workers and pedagogic imagination. In hindsight, there is a sense that this was indeed a highly ambitious goal.

The micro-processes of policy struggles

The analysis of transcripts of NCE sessions constitutes the core of Chapter 7. Its goal was to offer another perspective to my historical enquiry because these transcripts are not detached narratives that had been consciously produced to make sense of the past through the lenses of specialized knowledge. Instead, this Chapter zooms-in on a specific institution where the struggles over policies became visible in a particular setting of interaction. The narrative I constructed from this dataset has of course its own significance, but it also allows me to create a bridge with the background chapters. In fact, there are links between most of the topics and procedures that emerge from the

transcripts of sessions and the domains that are underscored by policy makers. Thus, for instance, the sessions devoted to ENU show *in action* the deployment of strategic references to international trends in order to either support or demonize proposals such as the UNESCO report on the impending crisis of employment. Something similar happens in the area of ideology, where everybody offers a negative view of the idea of school indoctrination. There were also disagreements about the legality of specific proposals, about curriculum design, and about the complexities of participation in decision-making. As summarized in the conclusion to Chapter 7, some of the most salient education topics that emerge from this analysis are: the technical v ideological character of the ENU report, the perceived threat to private education, the need for ENU to draw wider support from the 'education country', the experimental character of ENU, and its modifiability after debates.

However, the transcripts of sessions reveal more than just examples of the policies and spheres of actions that are also problematized elsewhere. They opened a window to observe procedural dimensions that are not directly linked to education. These are procedures that could have been found, indeed they are found, in all areas of state policy. Some of the most relevant findings in relation to this procedural dimension relate to the methods used to organize discussion within NCE, the availability of transcripts and supporting documentation, the criteria of admissibility of contributions and the representativeness of attendees.

This micro-politics is expressed in what I may call an 'economy of document production' that includes the typing, copying and distributing of documents. There even seems to be a certain 'fetishization' of the ENU report, as if everything was hanging on the tiniest detail of its wording. Moreover, the timing of this micro-politics was also crucial: weekly meetings of NCE clashed with members' discussions with their constituencies, they clashed with the legal validation of documents that took longer, they clashed with the compulsory break due to the summer holidays, and they even clashed with the timing of parliamentary elections in March 1973: all of these made the process of discussing ENU a very difficult one. Looking at these processes in retrospect,

the government just did not anticipate that timings and operational issues were going to be so crucial in the failure or success of getting their proposals approved. Instead, they kept going back to politics and ideology in order to explain delays and lack of progress. The same can be said with regards to the representatives of private education, who were equally in the dark about the operational dynamics of organs such as NCE: for them too, it became easier to go back to what was readily at hand – all difficulties had to do with differences in political ideology.

Finally, the transcripts also show how, in practice, NCE rejected the role the government formally gave to it. The original remit of NCE was to gather information from the 'education country' and help the government foster participation as part of the legitimization of its education reform. NCE was expected to gather contributions from various actors so that these views became a resource in the validation of government proposals. However, this government expectation was never met in full: for instance, NCE did not accept the order and structure of sessions as requested by Ministry for Education. Here we are not talking about an explicit rejection. Differences were always more subtle and hardly ever came to open disagreements. As we saw, irony and humor played an important role during sessions. It is worth remembering, moreover, that while the government emphasized urgency it also claimed that it remained open to suggestions. The government never abandoned their goal of rolling out ENU nationally within a very short period of time; and yet ENU remained open to further improvements whilst being rolled out. For NCE, however, all this was rather problematic: it was impossible to implement ENU urgently (i.e. less than one year), it was impossible to implement ENU nationally, and councilors did not believe that progressive changes were going to be made. ENU was seen as playing with the future of the children of the nation, where pupils were seen as subjects to various 'experiments'.

Identity and emotional struggles

Methodologically, my interviews with teachers offer a perspective that is different from those that become available in expert accounts and the

transcript of NCE sessions. This is most apparent in two senses: first, retired teachers are clearly speaking from the present and are therefore reconstructing past events in light of later ones; secondly, teachers begin and indeed organize their narratives around their own experiences rather than from what experts treat as the most significant factors according to well-established accounts of this period. Neither dimension is perhaps completely original, but they have not been the subject of systematic research for the decade 1964-1973.

Chapter 8 is organized around several tropes that are of significance in teachers' experiences: professional vocation, personal sacrifice, biographical trajectory and the importance of meritocracy. These are themes that we would perhaps expect to emerge when interviewing teachers. There is a clear sense of narrative in which teachers place themselves at the center and, because of this, their reconstructions of the past are crisscrossed by the emotional color of those experiences. When they speak about this time of their careers – most of them were young and thus at a relatively early stage of the professional trajectories – 1973 remains the turning point around which everything seems to hang. It is with reference to the 1973 coup that they elaborate on the sense of loss that came with the abrupt collapse of their world: a sense of material insecurity (jobs became precarious), of political insignificance (teachers were treated with disdain), and of interrupted interpersonal relations (friends became enemies). Fear also plays an important role in their reconstructions. This is not only to do with material and symbolic changes but with the brutal fact that people's lives were on the line. When they look back at this decade, moreover, they do not see pedagogy, education politics or teaching itself as central to social and political debates. Unlike expert discourses, for whom ENU remains a major element in the explanation of Pinochet's coup, they do not regard ENU as more important than any other factor that could also have been used to explain the failures of Allende's government. Indeed, references to specific events of national significance are often vague or unclear and do not figure centrally in their narratives.

Chapter 9 offers a different analytical track. Individual biographies are looked at in greater detail there and they highlight what is unique about specific trajectories. In other words, a particular identity emerges in the process of bringing together the different dimensions that appeared in the previous chapter. In the case of Elvira, meritocracy becomes the main focus of her teaching identity because meritocracy helps overcome the particularisms of class origins and political affiliation. When she looks at herself, the vision that emerges is that she became who she is because she worked hard and made the best of the opportunities that were available to her. Frei made those opportunities possible and Allende sought to continue them, but in both cases clientelism got in the way. The promotion of meritocracy – in relation to herself, her colleagues and her students – was her main value as a teacher. The second teacher, Genaro, offers a window into the uniqueness of experimental and private schools. What is central to him as a teacher is the fact that schools must be autonomous from outside interference and be allowed to create their own educational projects. He was always concerned with the restrictions that were placed upon pedagogic projects that departed from mainstream ideas and was apprehensive about private schools being left unprotected to be able to maintain their autonomy. He is critical of the deficiencies of Frei, Allende and the teachers' unions because of their lack of a genuine pedagogic imagination. Celia, the last teacher I introduce in Chapter 9, highlights the uniqueness of rural education and the challenges of being a teacher in that context. She does not want to transcend these in a meritocratic sense; instead, she vindicates the intrinsic value of being a teacher within this marginalized world, the intrinsic justice that is involved in giving rural areas a fair treatment. Her sense of loss after the coup does not have to do with party politics or a particular pedagogic vision. Rather, it focuses on the curtailment of her practical possibility of making a difference within conditions of systemic inequality.

Everyone speaks about the importance of having teachers on board for the success of any pedagogic project, let alone in the case of ambitious reforms such as those that were being attempted in Chile at the time. Yet teachers' voices as active agents are constantly overlooked in experts' accounts. Teachers know they have a fundamental role to play and they act accordingly.

When their voices are not taken into account, this is not merely the marginalization of a key actor – however important. Their exclusion expresses a certain understanding of the role of teaching itself as part of education. What is it that teachers actually do in the constitution of the discourses about what matters in education.

A history of the present. Explaining education struggles beyond Pinochet

The 1973 coup is a reference point for all my sources. For experts, for instance, the struggles in education policy before the coup have a certain continuity. After it, all that remains is what seems to be a technical dimension whilst politics changed completely. In the case of ENU, what appears to be its huge significance as a trigger for the coup is no more than a counterfactual reconstruction that only emerged because of the coup itself. This is reinforced by the views expressed by teachers, for whom ENU does not resonate biographically in as strong way as other significant events of the period (e.g. the 1968 teacher strike). Yet again, in their narratives ENU regains relevance because it took place immediately before the coup. This triggered a wide but rather unspecific set of emotions in them which, I as have mentioned, have to do with fear and their sense of loss.

Ultimately, what my materials seem to show is that Pinochet's coup is not the central factor that explains the future trajectory of educational struggles in Chile of the past 40 years. Rather, it looks as though that it is the 1964-1973 decade that crucially frames what has happened since. In order to substantiate this admittedly strong claim, let me conclude by highlighting the following five areas in which the terms of the current education discussion were framed before the coup.

1.   The rapid growth of enrolment started in the 1960s and, after the coup, has continued. In fact, Chile was one of the earliest countries in Latin America to reach full primary and secondary enrolment.

2.   The division between public and private education developed throughout the 19th century and its current shape is clearly a legacy of the middle of the 20th. All developments in this field after 1973 build on rather than change or dissolve the notion that private provision is inherent to Chile's education history. Funding for education remains contentious because there is no clear rationale as to why, or under which conditions, should private providers have access to state funds.

3.   It was Frei, and then Allende, who made the decisive steps to treat education as a social sphere that was subject to scientific knowledge and rational planning.
Once again, in this area Pinochet's policies built on a technocratic understanding of education that was already in place by the end of the 1960s.

4.   Within this technocratic approach to education, the participation of teachers under Frei was seen as one cog within a wider education machine that needed dramatic improvements. While Allende tried to change this and gave teachers a role as both political actors and educational experts in their own right, this approach did not ultimately work: this failure is not related to the coup. Beyond Pinochet, therefore, there has been a permanent difficulty in treating teachers as experts in their own field.

5.   Experimental education and pedagogic autonomy have always been seen with scepticism by governments and even teachers themselves. The narrative that highlights the neglect of experimental education, which eventually led to its termination, was already building up during Frei's time. The blame for this decline lies not solely with Pinochet.

Although this thesis does not address the phenomena directly, in one respect, it does illuminate the on-going and problematic relationship between state/public and private in the education sector, where tensions and ambiguities have been part of their co-existence. Private actors were members of CNE and had freedom and influence well before Pinochet's time. In the period leading up to the coup, private schooling became a salient feature of the

debate and this is a trend that has left a visible mark on the present struggles over education policies. Current discourses from the private sector configure the situation as one in which there is a continuing threat to the freedom of teaching from the state that is justified on and traced back to Allende's government. In a way, subsequent reforms crystalized rather than dissolved the rigid divide between private and state in the case of my interviewees' accounts. In a sense, although this divide is not itself the central focus of my thesis it does stand as the major point of continuity between the beginnings of education in Chile and its current state. Frei and Allende were in effect unable to interrupt the division. The current government is still struggling to unpick the entrenched neoliberal version of this divide embedded by Pinochet.

My re-reading of education struggles in Chile between 1964 and 1973 has sought to show that current discursive frameworks on education policies were established before the naturalization of the current neoliberal subjectivity.

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Appendix 1. Informed Consent Form

Institute of Education

University of London

Formulario de Consentimiento

Yo_____ he sido informado/a del compromiso que la investigadora Paula Mena ha tomado en orden a respetar las normas éticas establecidas por el British Educational Research Assiciation y el Institute of Education, University of London.

Entiendo la naturaleza de esta investigación y he sido informado/a respecto de mi derecho a no responder alguna pregunta o a concluir esta entrevista en cualquier momento. Entiendo también que, a menos que yo autorice lo contrario, mi nombre, institución y cualquier otra característica que me identifique será modificada a fin de asegurar anonimato si es que, en la eventual publicación de resultados, se refiriera o se citara parte de la conversación sostenida.

Autorizo a grabar y transcribir esta entrevista así como también a utilizar la información provista para los fines de esta investigación bajo las condiciones generales ya enunciadas.

Firma:

Fecha:

Datos de Contacto

Appendix 2. Example of Coding NVivo9. Interviewee 2 (Policy Maker)

Nodes Interviewee2	Sources	References
Atributos deseables o indeseables	1	18
Comparación LGE LOCE	1	8
Críticas LGE y SEP	1	3
Cultura antes y despues	1	17
Efectos positivos políticas Pinochet	1	13
Estado docente	1	2
Evaluación y contabilidad y standards	1	16
Explic dific y exitos implement de politicas Pinochet	1	9
Fundamentos LOCE	1	11
Iglesia	1	2
Lo público y lo privado	1	10
Naturaleza humana y de las cosas	1	28
Necesidad históricoadministrativ de artefactos de Pinochet	1	15
Periodo anterior a reformas Pinochet	1	8
Políticas descentralizadoras	1	4
Quiénes pensaron reformas Pinochet	1	9
Reformas Pinochet en otros ámbitos	1	9
Sentido propia Expertise	1	16

Apendix 3. Example of Coding NVivo 9. Interview 3 (Policy Maker): Node 'Explanations of change'

18 references coded [58.88% Coverage]

Reference 1 -

[¿Donde podría estar esa conexión?] conexiones no, no… hay conexión ah, porque, porque los actores de la concertación vivieron eso (con énfasis), fueron parte de esos partidos, una parte de ellos, la DC estaba en contra de la ENU (con énfasis), entonces, pero eso es otra historia, o sea, es preguntarse por la naturaleza de la alianza política concertación y la historia de donde existió contradicción y confrontación, toma 17 años para convertirse en una alianza; y como la DC pasa de estar marchando contra la unidad popular a ser parte de una alianza de centro izquierda que hace la transición ahh, pero tiene poco que ver con educación

Reference 2 -

o sea, actores que son responsables de ejecutar políticas, diseñar y ejecutar y evaluar políticas, a partir del 90, son respecto a una institucionalidad, una lógicas, unos sistemas simbólicos, currículum, unos *approaches* metodológicos, pedagogía etc., eeh, bueno, nada de eso tenía huellas, de los tres años de la UP,

Reference 3 -

y hay una historia en sí muy interesante de cómo la confusión inicial respecto a currículum y el regalo griego que fue la LOCE respecto a currículum… ahí Eduardo Castro fue un actor pero es un aside… eeh, yo tengo un paper sobre eso, si quieres enterarte de esa historia, esta tematizada *[¿Dónde la puedo encontrar en que revista?]* En la revista Profesorado de la Universidad de Granada, revista electrónica, buena… te puedo dar el título, no me acuerdo

ahora exactamente pero es, es el proceso político de la reforma curricular chilena de los 90, mirando proceso más que, más que sustancia.

Reference 4 -

Entonces, bueno pero el liderazgo en educación de los 90 está en estos dos personajes, ninguno de los dos maneja… Iván es asesor de los ministros, dirige una… y Castro estuvo en este proto equipo pero no dirigió la reforma curricular… y eso desde tu perspectiva, de la perspectiva de tu pregunta te está diciendo algo también, no, no hay continuidad [*ninguna*] no..

Reference 5 -

[*¿Y eso venía pasando y siguió ocurriendo durante el período miliar digamos?*] No, no, no eso lo hace el período militar *[¿los enclaustra?]* Los cierra, los persigue, echa a todos los que considera rojos, saca al pedagógico de la Chile, eeh, purgas totales, pone coroneles adentro, una cuestión con ojos de ahora de nuevo que ahora nadie podría creer y que nadie quiere acordarse tampoco, y que no está escrito en ninguna parte o muy poco, eeh, y que hace que las categorías que permanecen ¿cómo se forman los profesores? Que es por donde circula la, como… las categorías principales del conocimiento profesional que sostienen las interpretaciones de qué es lo que estás haciendo y por qué lo estás haciendo y…

Appendix 4. Example of nodes NVivo 9: Teachers

Nodes	Refs.
Emphasising problems, conflict, crisis	73
Criticisms to the downsides of school policies	24
Sense of loss	19
Reporting ambivalent feelings	18
Conflict among actors	16
Strong negative feelings	10
Unexpected	5
Referring significant people	69
Addressing pedagogy	66
Judging positively	65
Acknowledging merits	26
Rewarding events	20
Consensus, normality and sense of continuity	19
Reflecting on herself	64
Policy at work	64
Frei	64
Getting into politics at school	52
Establishing causes and effects	48
Training experiences	41
Describing trajectory	41
Allende	41

Relating to personal experience of policies	40
Situating political context	39
How things worked at school	38
Speaking as worker	38
Punctuating self-affirmation	36
Comparing or contrasting	33
Attenuating or using but	33
Bringing up the thinking of others	28
Pinochet	26
Revealing participatory processes	24
Remembering mobilizations	21
Touching upon collegiality	21
Linking past and present	19
General assertions based on experience	19
Establishing origins or turning points	15
Calling for reconciliation	14
Reporting a failure of memory	11
Exemplifying	11
Acknowledging uncertainties or ignorance	9
Redirecting conversation or anecdotal insertion	9

Appendix 5. Codification of interviews with teachers. Summary of most relevant categories

Subject	Sphere of action	Tools of argumentation and narrative construction	Emotional realm
Themselves Teachers in general Colleagues and head-teachers Students Government Political parties Parents Other	Activism and participation in unions Teaching and curriculum Professional training Application of public policy Working conditions Interpersonal at work Friendships and family-life Volunteering and free-time	Bringing up the thinking of others Contrasting rhetoric and comparisons Criticism Acknowledging merits Recalling rewarding experiences Recalling bitter experiences Cause and effect Attenuation and intensification	Sense of loss Pride, sense of achievement Fear and distress Gratitude Interpersonal conflict Commiseration and sympathy Resentment Ambivalence