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MONICA LEIGH MOHLER
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Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Rebecca Tarlau
Assistant Professor of Education and Labor and Employment Relations
Thesis Supervisor

Gretchen Casper
Associate Professor of Political Science and Asian Studies
Honors Adviser

* Electronic approvals are on file.

ABSTRACT

Education systems and policies vary greatly throughout Latin America. There is also great disparity between country's education systems and within each country's education system. There are a number of influences on these policies. This paper seeks to analyze how a country's regime type and market system impact the equality of its education system. I will do so by comparing the cases of Chile under Pinochet (1973-1990), Chile post-Pinochet (1991-present) and Cuba since the revolution of 1959. These cases present the outcomes of when an education system is influence by dictatorship, democracy, communism or neoliberalism. By comparing the actors, policies, and outcomes of each case I will show how regime type and market system impact the education system and its equality. I find that market-type has a greater impact on the education system than regime-type. Countries with higher-competition, and free markets will have a more unequal education system than those with command economies.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

“Everyone has the right to education” according to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. But how far does this defense of education as a human right go, and how profoundly does this impact the practical implementation of education systems and policies? Does having this right also mean receiving a quality education? Given inequality within and between education systems, what factors produce these disparities? Why do certain systems within countries promote equality over others? This study uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative data analysis in order to determine what factors are most responsible for educational inequality, specifically in Latin America. By studying what influences education systems and the results of policies, modifications and improvements can be made in order to improve educational equality.

Latin America has substantial variance in histories, development, government, and economies within countries of the region. For this reason, it presents interesting cases to study when looking at educational inequality and whether regime-type and market-type are substantial indicators of inequality. This is significant because there is debate over the best way to equalize schooling in different countries and which systems should and should not influence the education system. In my research I synthesize the literature on Latin America educational systems and equality in order to present the theories and hypotheses that I will then test and analyze.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Education is an important factor for a country's development and equality. In order to build a more equal nation, a country has to consider education policy as it is influential to how a system develops. Varying levels of equality within the education system lead to the stratification of populations within a country. Therefore, it is important to examine the equality of the education system itself when determining what policies to pursue. Education as a factor influencing development and GDP growth is highly studied, and there is growing literature on how inequality grows and shapes a state.

Inequality in Latin America

By studying what influences education systems, modifications and improvements can be made to policy in order to increase educational equality. Latin American education systems offer variance within a region that in many cases has a similar language and parallel experiences. Even despite similarities, there are a number of experiences shared within Latin American countries that do not necessarily lead to the adoption of similar policies.

Latin America is one of the most unequal regions in the world. Latin America consists of Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, French Guiana, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, Venezuela, Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Haiti. These twenty-four countries fall under categories of Central America, South America, and the Caribbean.

Of these twenty-four countries, only two are OECD countries (OECD, 2019). This means that only two are considered dedicated to democracy and a free-market economy based off the framework and values outlined by the OECD.. Other indicators of OECD countries are high-

income, high Human Development Index, and are oftentimes regarded as “developed” countries.

Hoffman and Centeno call Latin America the “lopsided continent” not only because of its physical shape, but also because of the unbalanced distribution of goods and services. Some shared characteristics within the region include gaps in women’s income and education and indigenous and racial disparity (Hoffman and Centeno, 2003).

One key attribute of Latin America’s intense inequality is how the distribution of wealth is the main source of poverty. In fact, changes to or fixing of this distribution would be more helpful to equality than economic growth. Economic growth alone has shown to not be a sufficient means to leaving chronic poverty (World Bank, 2016). This adds to the debate of how to combat poverty as well as increases the salience of inequality and its role in doing so.

According to Hoffman and Centeno, those at the top 5% of Latin America’s income measure receive twice the comparable share of similar OECD countries, while the bottom receives half of what they would in those same countries (Hoffman, 365). Juan Luis Lodoño studies Latin America, excluding the Caribbean. He states that 15 out of 17 countries have higher inequality than expected for their development (Lodoño, 1995). There is a stark contrast between the wealthy and the poor.

Latin America has a higher Gini coefficient by 4.1 points than countries with similar per capita income levels, and this unexpected high level of inequality is true of both individual countries and of the region as a whole (Lodoño, 1995). The Gini index is defined by the OECD a measure which looks at “the extent to which the distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution” (OECD, 2006, p 1). More specifically, the Gini index determines the level of inequality using the Lorenz curve and the maximum area under the curve of the

line. In a country that has absolutely no inequality, the Gini index would read zero. In a country with perfect inequality the index would be a 100 (OECD, 2006). The Gini coefficient defines relative well-being, though. A country can be extremely impoverished, but if everyone is at the same level of poverty, the Gini coefficient would still reflect this. Therefore, it does not measure absolute well-being.

This inequality can be attributed to a number of factors that characterize Latin American history such as colonialization and slavery. A major influence of inequality in Latin America is the issue of land concentration. Latin America has historically had one of the most unequal land distributions internationally. This means that the large land holders account for a majority of the lands in Latin America. For example, in 1992, the largest 7% of land holdings contained 77% of all the land. During settlement, land was not made available to all settlers but to the State or to the most powerful. As populations grew in the twentieth century, countries with unequal land distribution had lower reservation wages for unskilled laborers. In addition, this reduced the wages for unskilled worker in the cities as well. Nonetheless, rural-urban migration increased as the rural poor sought opportunity in the cities (Morley, 2001). Those that were poor faced an oligarchy of landowners and low wages whether in the country or in the city, and the inequality in Latin America grew.

Education and Inequality

The education literature argues that studying schooling is important to recognize how a nation develops and grows, though mainly economically. Education is a clear indicator of development and equality. It is important to have an equal distribution of education because it is a social good and, furthermore, will help to not stratify the market by equalizing opportunity (Lynch, 2001). Not only are there economic downfalls of education inequality, but also increased

education leads to greater development, for example, adopting preventative health care measures (Brown and Hunter, 2004).

The intertwining of economic growth and equality and educational opportunity is important to acknowledge. There is a reciprocal relationship between the two. As stated in Kathleen Lynch's work on education and inequality in Ireland, "Those who are unequal economically tend to have less access to the very means of bettering their situation: educational opportunity" (Lynch, 2001). She states that success in education is impossible without adequate financial resources and the distribution of education relies a lot on economic conditions. Policy that impacts education cannot ignore the actors of the State, schools, and advantaged households. The state's choice in funding must reflect the desire for equality, whether this means subsidies to lower income school districts or higher wages for teachers. Investing more in higher education, that disproportionately is available for the upper/middle class, rather than primary or secondary, reveals a bias towards the middle class over the working-class children. This is not the only factor. School administrators and governments also play a role in inequality by trying to enroll the most educationally attractive students based on class status. They do so by a number of mechanisms including, but not limited to, charging fees, costly uniforms, and "first come, first serve" principles (Lynch, 2001)

The policies mentioned above exclude disadvantaged populations who cannot pay or who are immigrants or other educational outsiders that may not even realize these are principles in place. Advantaged households will neutralize the equalization of education through private investments and exercising control over how the school operates (Lynch, 2001). These are economic factors that influence education policy that may, unintentionally, draw deep class lines and heighten inequality.

Lynch also mentions diversity as a factor of her research in Ireland. The lack of diversity and diversity in teaching stems from a lack of respect of diversity outside of the education sphere, in politics and society. This diversity is in abilities and disabilities, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. Her proposed solution is both practical and reflective; a change in policy and the schools changing how they educate their populations. Lynch argues that the democratization of education is a solution to the deeply-rooted injustices of inequality. This democratization would happen at the organizational level as well as the classroom level. Democratizing education would also lead to greater civic engagement (Lynch, 2001). This view is supported by Arnot and her analysis of gender and racial equality policies in schools. She emphasizes how these initiatives for equality are most oftentimes bottom-up strategies and promote change from within with the objective of egalitarian education (Arnot, 1991).

Education in Latin America

Lodoño (1996) argues that inadequate education is the single most important factor leading to inequality in Latin America. He says the current education is bureaucratic, inflexible, and exclusive and has led to the unsatisfactory manner in which the region has developed. Bonal analyzes current education policy in Latin American countries and its shortcomings. He uses qualitative analysis to examine policies, such as education targeting, and the relationship between these and poverty reduction. Throughout his analysis of the rates of education and policy strategies, he also examines the implications of poor education exacerbating inequality. He finds that the arrow points both ways in a majority of variables. Poverty impacts education in addition to education impacting poverty. He concludes through his research that poverty conditions are important indicators for education policy and whether it will be successful, recognizing that targeting strategies increase inequality (Bonal, 2007).

Giovanni Andrea Cornia studies how there has been a great expanse of education and a fall of inequality since the 2000s in Latin America. Despite this widespread expansion there has been unequal distribution of education, and this further impacts income inequality. He defines “educational inequality” as a series of shortcomings for opportunity and outcomes in education across populations. He analyzes gaps in school enrollment, wage skill differential and labor demand, public social expenditure, and school segregation. He uses the Socio-economic Database for Latin America And The Caribbean (SEDLAC) for consistent household surveys and the World Bank’s LAC poverty group (Cornia, 2004). This is extremely important data when it comes to measuring the inequality of education.

His study also notes the differences in measures of educational inequality. One option is to measure as a conditional inequality, or study the education gaps between rich and poor. The other is an unconditional inequality, which measures the gap between the most to least educated. The former looks more at the connection of income and education levels whereas the latter focuses on the disparity in specific education levels. This influences how education equality is measured because using an indicator of “years of education” may be neutral in increasing equality if all populations increase their years of education. To compare these, Cornia uses the quintile gap, the Gini coefficient, and an adjusted Gini coefficient for Uruguay (Cornia, 2004). Under these three measures he finds that education is negatively and significantly related to income inequality. His critique is that although countries with greater educational inequality have greater income inequality, this is a loose association.

On average, Latin Americans receive two years less schooling than those Asian countries (Londoño, 1996). When studying enrollment, Cornia finds that increasing enrollment has a relationship with less inequality in all aspects. In recent years there has been an increase in

enrollment at all levels; primary, secondary, and tertiary. Primary enrollment increasing is associated with reduced gaps in all cases, whereas secondary sees an increase in the gap for a select group of countries such as Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. A point of interest is the tertiary enrollment, though increasing, evidently lead to a rise in the gaps between income quintiles which indicates this increase happened mainly for the populations at the top. These net enrollment rates are taking from the share of individuals in a certain age group who attend the educational level corresponding to their age (Cornia, 2004). Those in Latin America attending universities is small and biased towards upper and middle class (Brown and Hunter, 2004).

Another important factor that is heavily focused on is that of government spending. Over the past two decades there has been an increase of public spending for governments in Latin America. The goal behind this increase is to foster equality and accessibility. A critique of public spending is it arguably is a measure of government effort towards equality, but alone does not lead to improvement. In addition to this, it does not account for private spending, which has become increasingly important in Latin American education spheres. It similarly does not account for the fact that most middle- and upper-class families go to public schools. One contributor to this is the highly neo-liberal policies that have permeated all sectors, political, economic, and educational, for some countries in Latin America. Another consideration is how and by what measures do these differing nations report their spending. Increase in spending on education can be sourced to changing demographics, policy, and economic growth (Cornia, 2004).

It is evident from the literature that Latin America is no exception when it comes to the intertwining of education, poverty, and inequality. Another significance is that of how different measures of education and equality, such as government spending, can project distinct outcomes

and reasoning. But Latin America has shown initiative to increasing the quality and equality of education by creating policies such as increased spending and enrollment rates. The research indicating that income is directly impacted by education supports the governing bodies of Latin America in policy making that would improve education quality, even if the goal is to match other countries in their status of development.

Political Systems and Education

Brown and Hunter's research is crucial in understanding the relationship between regime type and education. They examine the relationship between characteristics of political systems and educational outcomes. This is a combination of the economic and political factors. They study the relationship between democracy and education spending patterns in Latin America between 1980 and 1997 in order to assess the effects democracy has on the distribution of resources. A number of factors impact how governments spend money, including lobbying. Those in higher education, mainly the middle and upper class, are historically more organized and well-versed in politics in order to lobby more effectively; those who lobby for primary school being majority the parents of primary-school age students. Ultimately, Brown and Hunter look to answer to what extent do democratic institutions and regimes influence a country to put a larger share of education budgets towards primary schooling. The greater picture is to use this as an indicator of a greater commitment to overall education and its different levels (Brown and Hunter, 2004).

Brown and Hunter find that democracy matters for the internal distribution of education budget as well as the total education budget. The conclusion is a democratic regime will dedicate more resources towards education, in comparison to autocracies, such as to primary school, in

order to increase human development. This stems from free and fair elections, free press, and social pressure found in democratic governments. Their findings do not claim the effectiveness of these, mainly financial, resources in enhancing knowledge, skills, or most relevantly, equality; nor does not make claims concerning development (Brown and Hunter, 2004). This argument is important to the political factor of my independent variable of regime type because I use their logic concerning democracies and provision of public goods.

A discrepancy in research is found when looking at the work of Rory Truex. Acknowledging the logic behind public goods provision in democracies, Rory Truex uses a global sensitivity analysis to study the relationship between regime-type and the distribution of public goods. Democracies have a larger electorate and winning coalition, meaning they need more support from a greater number of constituents in order to win an election. It is common theory that naturally leads to the provision of more public goods in order to please the larger, significant, voting population. There is a lot of empirical data that supports this. As education falls under a public good, it is included in the benefits of a democracy in most literature. Truex challenges this assumption with his findings that there is no robust association that shows a democratic advantage in 11 out of 13 outcome measures. The two that do show advantage are water access and life expectancy. When it comes to education and health indicators, there is no evidence of a relationship of improved public goods provision and democracy, which is the opposite finding of Brown and Hunter. His findings do not show that authoritarian regimes are better at providing public goods, only that democracies do not show an advantage in a number of indicators such as education, death rate, and sanitation access. This difference challenges most literature as well as very established, respected theories (Truex, 2015). This paper will contribute

to this debate about the role of democracy in educational quality by comparing cases in order to provide further insight on regime-type's role in providing public goods like education.

Noting how political development and education are important towards one another is the focus of John Meyer and Richard Rubinson's research. They review other literature, such as Almond and Verba's "The Civic Culture" and Inkeles' "Participant Citizen in Six Developing Countries in order to study the reciprocal relationship between political development and education. Because political development and education are institutional properties, they use research on the institutional structure and data on individuals; though this is a problematic approach because of the different levels. A main focus for this study is the particular world system that is a condition for these factors to occur (Meyer and Rubinson, 1975).

They find three major themes through the literature. The first of these is that the condition of the world society is a driving force of the expansion of education and its use for political mobilization. Second, education has the ability to affect political life beyond the socialization of students and throughout society. Lastly, contemporary educational systems are political constructions. In the end they raise a number of questions concerning what kind of States will expand education or emphasize different kinds of education based off of similar level analysis (Meyer and Rubinson, 1975). I plan to expand on this research by studying the impacts of democracy versus autocracy in the expansion of education in regards to quality and equality.

Overall, the literature does not concede on whether the regime-type directly impacts the provision of public goods such as education. There are two opposing theories on whether the regime-type has any effect on education at all. The literature does conclude that governmental bodies will influence and shape the education system. The variance in findings could be

attributed to varying levels and methods of analysis. For this reason, I choose regime-type as a variable in my case study.

Conclusion

There is a number of studies done and research conducted on education and inequality. These outline the reasons why education is important to the overall theme of inequality. There are also studies on educational inequality and how that intensifies or decreases over time. Within this literature, the study of the education system and the factors that lead to inequality are oftentimes focused solely on economic influences. Those these are important; they do not give the full picture. Studying from the point of view of Latin America will allow me to analyze the unequal distribution of education across a region that is characterized by vast disparity, varying histories, distinct political and economic systems, but also numerous similarities. The literature clearly asserts that education and income are deeply related. In this way, the market-system will be influential to educational quality and equality. The literature also raises questions about regime-type and the impacts of the structure of government on education My study uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative data analysis in order to determine the impacts regime-type and market-type have on educational inequality, specifically in Latin America.

Chapter 3

Theory and Methodology

Education equality stems from the structure of the government and its hand in the educational system, as well as the market structure which influences economic equality and therefore impacts educational equality. The previous literature illustrates the mechanisms of my hypotheses. I begin analysis with the qualitative portion. My independent variable is government structure, or whether it is a democracy, autocracy, oligarchy, monarchy, or mixed. My dependent variable, which will be used throughout my research, is educational equality. This is often be measured by primary school attendance, secondary school attendance, international test scores, education funding as a percentage of GDP, percentage of government funding to education per pupil, the ratio of male to female in primary school, urban to rural school attendance ratio, public to private school ratio, and literacy rate of total population as well as for adults. The second portion of my qualitative analysis will be assessing Latin American countries with the independent variable of market structure, i.e. capitalist, socialist, communist. The dependent variable will remain as educational equality.

I will use 3 cases to develop my hypotheses further and demonstrate the specific relationship between the government, the market, and the education system. I will look at historical context, major actors, policies, and outcomes. Finally, I will compare the cases directly. Through this comparative case study, I analyze how the two independent variables interact and influence one another to then impact education equality. The following will outline the theories that lead to my hypotheses.

I hypothesize that democracies will have greater education equality. This is due to the fact that most literature, aside from the work of Truex (2015) supports the electorate theory, or the theory that democracies have a larger electorate and winning coalition and therefore will provide more and better public goods. Democracies also tend to spend more on public goods such as education. Furthermore, they have a higher audience cost than non-democracies, meaning in order to be reelected they must follow through on promises and please their constituents.

I also hypothesize that countries with higher competition economies that are will have greater educational inequality. This is because inequality of income is linked to inequality of education; therefore, in countries where the competition of the market influences competition in schools, the effects of inequality will be compounding on education. An interesting aspect of these factors is the undeniable relationship between democracies and capitalism. The freedom of market in a competition-based system aligns with the ideologies of capitalism. This is important to note because market-type and regime-type are my independent variables, and when it comes to the generalization of findings, the implications of mixing these systems may be difficult to implement due to contrasting ideologies.

Hypotheses

There are numerous pieces to the puzzle of education inequality. Though each link is significant, they must be strung together to build an accurate depiction of reality and the inextricable influence of each factor on one other.

Hypothesis 1: Latin American democracies will have greater educational equality in the primary level of schooling.

Hypothesis 2: Latin American countries that are highly capitalist, market-based economies will have greater education inequality in the primary level of schooling.

These theories individually are supported by literature and I further link them together with a final hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3: Latin American democratic countries with a command market-system will be the countries with the greatest equality in education.

It is the goal of my research that after examining each hypothesis, a conclusion will be reached surrounding the factors that influence educational equality in Latin America. This will illuminate why there is variation in the levels of quality and equality within education systems in Latin American countries. My specific research method is a comparative case study between Chile under the Dictatorship of Pinochet (1973-1990), Chile Post-Dictator (1991-present) and Cuba during both time frames. Chile after 1973 presents the case of a dictatorship regime with a free-market economy. Chile after 1990 is relevant because it is a return to democracy, but many policies continue and the neoliberal market system remains intact. Finally, Cuba is the case of a dictatorship and communism and a command economy. Within my cases I will outline the important historical context, relevant actors and education policies, and their outcomes. Each of these cases will provide insight to a greater understanding of market and regime influence on the equality of the education systems in Latin America. Below is a table illustrating the cases and the basis of their similarities and differences.

	Dictatorship	Democracy
Command Economy	Cuba (1959-present)	
Free Market	Chile under Pinochet (1973-1990)	Chile Post-Pinochet (1991-present)

Chapter 4

Chile Under Pinochet

Salvador Allende won the 1970 election with 36.2% of the vote. Without a majority, the constitution says that congress needs to elect a president. And then in 1970, Congress chose Allende to be president, one of the first democratically elected socialist president in the world. His platform was the road of socialism, this ideology that each nation has a path that can peacefully lead in the transition to socialism. He slowly began to implement social reforms in Chile through populist promises. He wanted to redistribute wealth in Chile and increase equality for all. He faced traction amongst his wealthy opponents-turned-colleagues. He worked against US imperialism by restoring relations with Cuba. He also worked to expropriate the US-owned copper mines, nationalize the private banks, and provide universal health care. But over time, there were many opposing forces that caused blockages to the peaceful road to socialism (Winn, 2005).

Economically he faced inflation, which was a long-term issue, and deficits. Allende also had to work with a shortage of consumer goods in Chile. Socially, instead of aligning and allying with the middle-class, he alienated by focusing efforts on the lower-class and ignoring their policy needs. He lost momentum and caused polarization in his leftist movement. He was also covertly opposed by the United States with credit blockades and constraints with the goal of overthrowing Allende. The Chamber of Deputies would eventually accuse Allende of violating the Constitution by utilizing his executive decrees to advance his plans. This accusation would result in the legitimization of the military coup three weeks later (Winn, 2005)

September 11, 1973, at seven in the morning, the Chilean army captured Valparaíso; all branches of the military were involved. The military took control of Chile; they bombed the capital building, La Moneda, and tried to force Allende to resign. Allende rejected but proceeded to give his farewell speech. Once Allende's presidency was terminated, the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet began. The Pinochet administration took control of the media, banned other political parties, and suspended the congress. He also banned political parties. There was a lot of violence during the dictatorship; death, torture, and disappearances. There were also extreme economic advances. Pinochet enforced intense neoliberal practices. Neoliberalism is a political-economic philosophy that is difficult to define. David Harvey, author of "A Brief History of Neoliberalism" defines the neoliberal theory as, "political and economic practices that propose that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade (Harvey, 2007; p 2). Most political scientists conceptualize it as the deregulation of the economy, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and the liberalization of state industry and trade. Another working definition is a form of governance that employs a self-regulating, free-market, values competition and self-interest, and has the goal of the most effective and efficient government (Ganti, 2014).

His administration, along with a team of economists known as the Chicago Boys, instituted massive economic changes that had ripple effects into most sectors of life. The name "Chicago Boys" comes from a group of US-trained, state-based economists who helped design and institutionalize the hyper-capitalist principles and technocratic prerogatives in public policymaking in Chile. They were either trained under Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger at the University of Chicago or at its affiliate, la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. By

privatizing they aimed to improve industrial efficiency (Pastrana, 2007). The liberalization of the market focused on the stabilization of currency, banned trade unions, and privatized many state-owned enterprises such as social security. There was great economic growth, but also abundant inequality (Winn, 2005).

Actors

The actors in Chile during the regime of Pinochet is the government, the market, and the United States. Because Chile was under a dictator, there was little participation from citizens in the decision making from 1973-1990. Government forces were not held accountable for the violations of human rights committed, such as jailing and murdering anyone in political opposition to the right-wing dictatorship. The market can also be considered an actor as it became the dominant force in a newly hyper-capitalist society. 45% of the country's public expenditures are estimated to have been distributed to the private sector which was then responsible for services (Stromquist and Sanyal, 2013).

This time of Chilean history is sometimes referred to as a capitalist revolution because it was a radical reconstruction of society, both political and social. Pinochet aimed at creating a country in which private spending, as opposed to government investment, will promote growth. The market in Chile became the primary institution by which society is organized and formed. The mechanisms to achieve this were a capitalist elite with power over state and civil society, and the individualization, privatization, and marketization of civil society (Stromquist and Sanyal, 2013). The market was a driving force behind educational reform and restructure.

The US is also a crucial actor in Chilean history, specifically surrounding the Pinochet Dictatorship. In the cold war era, the US supported propaganda in Chile against Allende and financed strikes against him; but they did not succeed. On Allende's election day, many updates

by the US ambassador, Edward Korry, revealed their sentiments. In one telegraph he said, "We have suffered a painful defeat". After Allende took power in Chile, the United States began a covert mission of destroying the socialist government. The main characters in this movement were President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Harry Kissinger. In addition, the CIA was also extremely involved (Kornbluh, 2007)

Despite the denial of participation in the *coup d'état* there is much evidence of the extensive relationship of the United States with Pinochet and September 11, 1973. After many investigations between the US, the conclusion is that the United States (Nixon, Kissinger, the CIA etc.) knew about the military coup, supported the overthrow, but did not help Pinochet on the day of 11 of September. It was an undercover support mission to end a socialist government because US leaders were afraid of the meaning of an "almost communist" government and the repercussions of a successful socialist government. Just a few days after the rise of Allende, a mission called "FUBELT" was born in a secret memo to remove the government that was not accepted by the United States. Nixon terminated foreign aid from the United States and blocked loans and credit to Chile. US officials also worked with the World Bank to disqualify Chile from loans. Without this help, government funds in Chile were paralyzed. The Nixon administration used its influence to isolate Chile in the sense of international politics and diplomacy. In recently declassified documents, there is evidence that the United States dispatched economic and military resources to the new regime at least nineteen days before the military coup (Kornbluh, 2007).

After the coup, the Nixon administration helped create a positive image of the junta around the world. He restarted support of finance and credit. One example is that the United States authorized \$24 million to buy food, like wheat, just three weeks after the coup d'etat. He

continued to support Pinochet despite the intelligence of atrocities and human rights violations in Chile committed by the government (Kornbluh, 2007). Some of these human rights violations include the death and disappearance of nearly 4,000 Chileans, A particularly famous murder is that of Victor Jara, a famous folk singer shot 44 times by military men who took him hostage. According to Chile's National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture, at least 28,000 Chileans were subjected to physical and mental torture. That is the greatest controversy with the intervention of the United States in Chile. Some argue that ultimately, the US lost in the long-term because although they defeated the socialist president Allende, they supported a brutal dictator that created instability and threats to national security (Quershi, 2008)

Despite US policies to remove help from a state that violates human rights, in the case of Chile, the United States fought for their relationship with Chile and, many times, ignored the updates that informed them about violence in the dictatorship. "In the United States, as you know, we are sympathetic with what you are trying to do here," Henry Kissinger said to Pinochet in 1976 (Kornbluh, 2007).

There was also an intense level of the economic intervention of the US in Chile. As mentioned, a group of influential economists known as the Chicago boys were integral in the development of the neoliberal system in Chile. There were both technical implications and sociological implications of the Chicago Boy's methods. This privatization also redistributed power among the social forces of Chile. Furthermore, it shifted the ideological foundations and the ways that identity is formed. (Pastrana, 2007). The United States had intense influence in Chile before and during the dictatorship in a way that, though in many forms indirectly, impacted Chilean education.

Education Policy

In 1980 the government passed two decrees that drastically changed the nature of Chilean education, collectively known as the LOCE, Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación. Decree 3,063 began the municipalization of K-12 schools, and Decree 3,476 created government subsidies to private and public schools for each student enrolled, creating a "voucher" system for schools level K-12 (Collins 1995). The municipalization of kindergarten, primary, and secondary schools was complete by 1986. And the national subsidies or voucher system established in Chile divided the Chilean system into basically three types of schools: municipal ("public"), "private subsidized", and "private paid" (Pastrana, 2007).

The new Chilean Constitution outlined the freedoms of education that came with neoliberalization. Neoliberalization, or creating a hyper-capitalist system, in Chile was privatization, liberalization, and stabilization of inflation, Constitution, Chapter III, Article 11: 'The freedom of teaching includes the right to open, organise and maintain educational institutions. This freedom has no other limitations than those imposed by morality, good practices, public order and national security' (Government of Chile, 1980). Furthermore, the military instituted voucher systems.

The proposal to use vouchers in education had first been introduced by US economist, Milton Friedman. Friedman first explains in his book, "Capitalism and Freedom" that creating a voucher system in which parents can exercise choice will generate competition and diversity. He takes that stance that how money is spent on education is rising too quickly and the return on do not warrant the cost. This stems from the imposing of a universal minimum schooling in a country and the need of families to afford these requirements. He argues that when there is a nationalization of education, the role of government is expanded, parents that send their children

to private schools are essentially paying for education twice, and rises in income only lead to a “circular flow of funds through the tax mechanism” (Friedman & Friedman, 1982; p 76).

Whereas subsidies would equalize the costs of having children and distribute family size better, and they would promote variety, flexibility, and development in schools.

When institutions are private or for-profit, they can decide what services they will provide, and parents can choose what services warrant their spending. These services can be improved facilities, teachers, or courses on special subjects like social dance. Therefore, parent preference ought to be taken into account when considering how schools operate. And this competition will generate improved teacher salaries based on market flows and competition (Friedman & Friedman, 1982)

Chilean families now had the “choice” to decide between private, private-subsidized, and public schools. The funding for these schools came from the per-student daily attendance rate. By basing the funding for each type of school in this manner, the schools were forced to compete for students. The funding for private-voucher schools started on the same level as those of public schools run by the municipality. Private schools were operated on the basis of feeds paid for by parents. The private-subsidized schools were financed by the subsidies provided by the state but were operated and owned by a private establishment (Pastrana, 2007). This very structure mirrors the competition infused in the market.

The public schools also were financed by the per-student subsidy and run by the municipality. While the private schools always existed, private-subsidized schools offered the option of having shared financing between the state and parents. The private schools, in comparison to public schools, charge fees that are on average five times greater than the per-student subsidy provided by the government (Lam, Mizala and Romaguera 2004).

The government used the PER, a standardized test, to evaluate the quality of schools in order that parents would be more informed when making the decision of where to send their child to school. Therefore, the PER functioned as a proponent of the market and a way to further increase competition. Parents were able to better exercise their freedom of choice of school and be fully informed to properly evaluate (Lam, Mizala and Romaguera, 2004). The Chilean Constitution adopted by Pinochet's administration states in Chapter III, Article 10: 'Parents have the preferred right to educate their children. Special protection of the exercise of this right is the responsibility of the State ... Parents have the right to choose their children's educational institution' (Government of Chile, 1980). Oftentimes these choices are biased towards families of higher socioeconomic status. Families in urban areas with a number of school choices are able to evaluate the quality of these schools and decide accordingly.

The theory of school choice creating higher quality education is reinforced by school competing for enrollment. There is also the school's choice of whether or not to enroll a student. This is because oftentimes the schools have fewer open seats in classrooms than students who desire to attend; though this is true of the private schools. On the other hand, the public schools accept students within the geographic area. In turn, private subsidized schools are many times built in areas where the education provided by the public school is perceived inadequate. Each of these freedoms come as a results of less government control (Carnoy, 2007). The results of this theory vary throughout history. Many argue that the true result is a façade of choice put in place by those affluent enough to decide what schools their children will attend, while the poor and disadvantage remain in this cycle because they cannot afford beyond the government subsidy and therefore lack any semblance of "choice".

Decentralization can be viewed as a positive aspect of improving quality of schools through competition, and also puts greater implication on families should a student fail. Having the option for schools means parents have a greater responsibility in “correctly” choosing the school for their child. When a student is failing, parents are addressed as having responsibility, not the education system (Carnoy, 2007). School choice is fundamentally a market-theory. Furthermore, decentralization in Chile mirror the principal-agent model in which an “agent” is hired to stand in for the principal actor. For the decentralization of education in Chile, the military model lead to administrative responsibilities being left to centrally controlled municipalities, but there was continued central oversight. Yes, central oversight was not abolished, but it was dramatically decreased. The government’s main role was to supervise implementation, but left significant space for autonomy. There was also limited fiscal autonomy (Kubal, 2006).

There were major cuts to education spending under the military regime. There was also intense disparity in spending by rich versus poor municipalities. This was evaluated through teacher salary as well as spending per student. In a survey conducted in Santiago in 1982, they found a wealthy municipality, Providencia, spent 1,657 pesos monthly per student. On the other hand, a poor municipality, Renca, spent 813 pesos monthly per student. Poor municipalities had little capacity for governance, and the school systems were directly impacted. Low salaries for teachers resulted in a shortage of instructors as well as a de-professionalization of being an education. For this reason, the profession of being a teacher was not regarded as highly in Chile (Kubal, 2006). The theory for teacher salaries and the system of government subsidies is teacher salaries would be less uniform and rigid, and more merit and competition-driven. By rewarding ability, better teachers would be attracted to the profession.

Friedman argues that teaching certificates and standard salary structures only work to attract mediocre educators (Friedman & Friedman, 1982). This school of thought is supported by the way the market functions, but the reality was teacher's salaries suffered. In 1981, they were transferred from public officials to municipal employees which affected their salaries and reduced their pensions. This is known as the "Deuda Histórica" or "Historical Debt". Over 13,000 educators were impacted by this injustice that continued beyond the transition to democracy. The professionalism of teachers was marred substantially during the dictatorship by loss of prestige, respect, importance, and payment (Memoria Docente, 2018). These aspects did not function within the market structure being enforced within the education system.

All acts of decentralization were steps towards privatization. The military also decentralized the university system, separating schools regionally and ending the financial support of the government to higher education. Chile was the first country in Latin America to charge tuition fees for public universities (OECD). Higher education was atomized similarly to the rest of the education system in Chile. Major universities were broken up and deregulated.

Outcomes

According to the OECD, the Chilean government under Pinochet did not provide schools with adequate funding, support for capacity-building, or mechanisms for accountability in their "Education in Chile" report. (OECD, 2007). The goal of decentralization and the privatization of state-owned enterprises was to reduce central funding and decrease state intervention. There was also the covert goal of minimizing the influence of the public sector unions while reducing social spending. The public spending of subsidies really only covered operating costs, and the municipal contributions were spent on covering the deficit left by the insufficient central

funding. Instead of boosting efficiency, the decentralization generated inefficiency from the continued central mandates. The failure of funding led to disparity in education spending based off of municipality capacity. Poor municipalities were simply unable to contribute equal resources as their wealthier counterparts. The government relied on a lack of transparency when it came to granting subsidies so they could concentrate spending in municipalities where the supporters for the military regime lived, ignoring their wealth (Kubal, 2006).

Parents lacked sufficient information to make the “choice” concerning schools, and students being denied entry by private subsidized schools ended up in the underfunded municipal schools. The notion of competition was uprooted by the reality that private schools focused on status and names, such as English names, and uniforms. The infiltration of the market into the education system allowed privately owned schools to make profit off of students. All types of schools had to maintain student enrollment through practices like grade inflation. The teachers were impacted as much as the students were. They worked double shifts without preparation. Without negotiations of a central system, union workers like teachers had to negotiate with hundred of municipalities (Kubal, 2006). In 1983 the Chilean government began testing of fourth and eighth grade students throughout Chile. The results of this testing have indicated the significant gaps between student performance in the three types of schools. Much of this variance is contributed to the quality and quantity of the resources of the community, material and otherwise. This is still applicable to variance today. Many researchers conclude that when students are concentrated by socioeconomic status there is more inequality in the distribution of resources and results. Test results reveal that the most significant differences are not between types of institutions, but between richer and poorer neighborhoods. What this means is the

quality of primary and secondary schools depends more on the resources of the community, material and otherwise, than whether or not the school itself is public or private (Pastrana, 2007). The education system was not only underperforming, but also one of the most unequal education systems in the world.

Chapter 5

Chile Post-Pinochet

In seeking to legitimize his regime, Pinochet held a referendum in which Chileans could vote for the continuation of his reign. This plebiscite gave Chileans the option to either vote “yes” or “no” to whether they wanted Pinochet to remain as president. After months of propaganda and campaigning, Chile voted to end the Pinochet dictatorship with a 53% majority voting “no” to Pinochet. This was the first time in contemporary world history that a dictator relinquished his power via a majority vote. Pinochet was removed from office, though he was sworn in as a “senator-for-life”, a legal proceeding outlined in his constitution. In March of 1990, Christian Democrat, Patricio Aylwin, took office. Christian Democrats were a center-left political party that supported the free market but sought reform. Some of these reforms were targets at helping those in poverty through higher social spending, but always keeping a similar market structure. Aylwin sought to hold the dictatorship accountable for violent actions and thus created the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. Nevertheless, the military still remained very powerful under Aylwin. This new democratic era stood on the foundation of huge economic success, intense inequality, and a Constitution written by the dictatorship (Graham, 1990).

Since 1990 there have been five presidents, including Aylwin, Eduardo Frei, Ricardo Lagos, Michelle Bachelet, and Sebastián Piñera. Chile has democratically elected varying leaders with starkly contrasting political views. A major example of this is Bachelet and Piñera. Bachelet was the first female president of Chile and she is a part of the center-left. Piñera is a conservative

with coalition support from the center-right. These two presidents have switched administrations every four years for the past 4 terms. Piñera is the current president.

Actors

The government has played extremely evident roles in education since the end of the dictatorship. Each president and administration has had varying approaches to addressing the needs of the education system and demands of the Chilean people. There were a number of reforms put in place during this time period. In the 1990s, President Aylwin created the program for the Improvement of Education in Poor Zones (P-900) and the Program to Improve Educational Quality and Equity (MECE). The MECE received major funding from the World Bank to be implemented. President Frei continued to dedicate resources to these programs to expand them as well as creating programs to improve teacher training and motivation (Kubal, 2006).

In 2008, the General Education Act (Ley General de Educación or LGE) replaced the 1990 Organic Constitutional Law on Education (Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza or LOCE). This was a major demand and pressure from outside movements. The Agency for Educational Quality, created in 2012, evaluates educational achievement and performance, ranks schools according to test results and other quality indicators, and oversees principals, owners and administrators (Duarte et al, 2013). As I explain later, the government's role during this time period was more often reacting to demands made by the Chilean people, though they are in charge of creating and implementing the policies that work to meet those needs and requests. The central government worked to increase autonomy to school administrators while remaining and main source of policy and decision making. The government works as a hierarchy of decision-

making, even if they decentralize and allow for greater autonomy to municipalities. Overall, the government is responsible for policies and major changes in the education sector, and has acted the main influence on educational structures.

Teachers have had an increasing role in Chile's education movement. The teacher's union in Chile is an important proponent for educational change in the post-dictator era. The teacher's union has bargained for increased funding to education as well as increased salary for teachers. Teachers often participate in protests and manifestations as well, but the teacher unions, when protesting for their demands such as better working conditions, are faced with negotiating with several entities due to the different bodies of local government versus central government. The colegio de profesores is an 80,000 member strong teachers union that has worked to establish job security, better pay, and improved professional development programs. Teachers in Chile are encouraged to assess their schools needs and create proposals to fixing them. They work and sometimes compete to design projects, such as innovative programs for math and art. Although the goal of this was to better the relationship of teachers with their work in the schools and community, there is little evidence to support that these relationships have changed at all. Nonetheless, teachers still are increasingly involved in school management (Kubal, 2006). Teachers have functioned as a major actor through collective action and harnessing their positions to exert influence.

Finally, students are one of the primary actors in Chile. Labeled the "fearless generation" because they were not touched personally by the terror of the dictatorship, students have mobilized to protest and become major catalysts to educational reforms. This generation shift led to a reactivation of mass mobilizations. The youth of Chile in the 2000's found a collective identity born by the ideas related to fearlessness, democracy, and freedom to be politically

active. These children born into democracy would become protagonists of major movements in Chile. Two significant protests in Chile that are often cited as being crucial to Chilean contemporary history, the 2006 Penguin Revolution and the 2011 student manifestation (Cummings, 2015).

The Penguin Revolution, aptly named for the school uniforms worn by high school students, took place between April and August 2006. The movement started long before this as high school students worked to fight against the neoliberalization of the education system. These manifestations were the largest movements since the dictatorship, with the marches of up to one million people and hundreds of school takeovers. Their message was equal education for all, and their demands were free bus fare, waiving the university admissions test fee, reform to the full school day policy, and revocation of the laws concerning the privatization of the education system. The Coordinating Assembly of High School Students (ACES) was a group of students that merged from various political youth organizations, and were the lead orchestrators of the Penguin Revolution (Chovanec and Benitez, 2008) .

Their discontent stemmed from the lack of progress from the government in addressing school demands, specifically disappointment in Michelle Bachelet's lack of follow-through of her campaign promises. This was especially heightened when Bachelet failed to acknowledge any educational reform in her presidential speech on May 21, 2006 after basically ignoring the student movement for weeks. Many Chileans viewed this as hypocritical to Bachelet's platform because the students received substantial public support, and they were able to organize their protests in response to this with significant outside support of citizens (gale). Not only were high school students participating, but so were those at universities, teachers and parents, and even eventually private school students. Important organizations involved included the teachers union

(Colegio de Profesores) and the Confederation of Chilean Students (Confederación Nacional de Estudiantes de Chile, CONFECH) As the movement grew, specifically after the massive May 30 manifestation of over one million participants, Bachelet addresses educational reform (Cummings, 2015).

She fired the head of Chile's riot police that had become violent against the peaceful protests, and she fired the Minister of Education, Martín Zilic. She tried to meet immediate demands two days later with her first public offer of creating an advisory council and unspecified alternations for the LOCE (Chovanec and Benitez, 2008). The students rejected this proposal. Bachelet still put together a "Presidential Advisory Council for the Quality of Education" compromised of 81 members with varying positions such as teacher, rector, parent, or student leader. In December of 2006, the council released a 252-page report with recommendations for educational reform (Cummings, 2015). Bachelet waived the entrance to college exam fees and increased the education budget.

Nevertheless, protests continued throughout the country and students faced school sanctions and prohibitions. Another resumption of demonstrations occurred in March 2007 with demands for public transportation and criticism towards the slow movement when it came to LOCE reformation. The Penguin Revolution was imperative to putting education reform as a priority for political agendas (Cummings, 2015). In 2009 there would be more demonstrations and the LOCE was finally repealed, though its impacts still vary in relevance. (Stromquist and Sanyal, 2013)

In 2011, student manifestations would reemerge in response to the continued lack of educational equality and frustration from students. Led mainly by university students, the outrage of continued economic growth but increasing inequality and the capacity for the Chilean

government to contribute more to educational attainment but not doing so, a student movement was born again. The consistent failings of the government to follow through on promises from the previous movements added to the struggle against President Piñera's repressive approach to the issue (Stromquist and Sanyal, 2013).

This student movement was supported by both university and secondary students, as well as the majority of civil society. CONFECH and the Coordinating Body of High School Students (Coordinadora Nacional de Estudiantes Secundarios, CONES) worked together to build and address demands. University students wanted free tuition as well as the poor quality higher education system that would, in some cases, extend degree lengths in order to demand more tuition. Their other main demands were greater democratization and an end to profit in educational spheres. High school demands were to end municipalisation, integration of civic education and sex education. They also wanted a national student transportation card and increases in public support to education. The movement also demanded more vocational schools and higher pay for teachers (Stromquist and Sanyal, 2013). The common demand remained equal, quality education for all.

The methods of this student movement varied and were framed creatively. Though occupations of schools and strikes were still implemented, there were various other manifestations over the years. The famous "Thriller Dance" was a choreographed dance performed on the lawn of La Moneda that attracted major attention. This flash mob featured students dressed as zombies claiming that the fees for university were killing them. Another manifestation was the 1800 hour race in which students took laps around La Moneda for 1800 hours as a way to represent the extremely high tuition rates. These creative demonstrations were surrounded by various marches that were also crucial in the movement (Stromquist and Sanyal,

2013). President Piñera tried to meet demands of students through revising his GANE proposal, which essentially legalized for-profit institutions, and hired new cabinet members. The students were dissatisfied with the government's response, or lack thereof, to their demands (Cummings, 2015). Students are still major actors in education policy. They have been catalysts for change and built a framework of demands that have lasted overtime. There is still much to be done to meet their requirements of quality education for all.

Education Policy

The system continued to be characterized by the three types of schools: public, private, and private-subsidized. In the mid-1990s, the contribution of parents coupled with state financing increased the level of shared financing for private-subsidized schools. In 2008, the Ministry of Education introduced the Subvención Preferencial or "Preferential Subsidy" a subsidy program designed to increase financial aid to schools with higher numbers of disadvantaged students. The Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación (SIMCE) is a standardized test used to allocate resources to compensate for socioeconomic disadvantages. The Subvención Preferencial was a way that policy-makers recognized the inequality of a flat subsidy rate and adjusted the system to increase equity (Meckes and Carrasco, 2010)

The Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación (SIMCE) began in 1988 and has persisted in the education system beyond the return to democracy. The goal of the SIMCE results are to address the needs of low-performing schools through compensatory funding. Not only does it provide data for financial decisions, it also provides insight on the performance of schools, beyond the market system. This test is taken by students in 4, 8 and 10 grade and

includes a variety of subjects like mathematics, and communication. It also assesses English, social and natural sciences, and history (Carnoy, 2007).

There is debate over the effectiveness of these exams. On one hand, the SIMCE provides useful data in the performance of schools. This is helpful to teachers, administrators, parents, and policy-makers. The SIMCE is recognized as a reputable source of information throughout Latin America in how it can be applied to reducing inequality in the education system in Chile. It is used to reward teachers financially in higher-performing classrooms through increased salaries. It is also used to establish goals for the education system. For example, a national goal set in 2000 was to reduce the number of students of lower performance by 50% by 2005. This goal was not accomplished though, and is recognized as unrealistic based off the normal pace of change. (Meckes, Carrasco 2010).

Opposition to the SIMCE outlines the issues of the demands of the assessment, the curriculum conforming to teaching to the test, and the influence of socioeconomics on the results. In many researcher's results, they find that socioeconomics are statistically significant to the performance of students (Meckes, Carrasco 2010). Many believe the SIMCE is over-emphasized in classifying schools. For example, in 2013, 73% of ranking for schools was based on SIMCE results. This means that higher-performing schools received both recognition and financial benefits. Considering the influence socioeconomics already presents in performance, it is oftentimes the public schools in lower-income areas that receive the least financial support though it is most needed. This leads to an increase in school closures (Montero, Cabalin, Brossi).

There currently is a huge movement of anti-standardized testing in Chile. This movement, named the "Alto al SIMCE" (STOP SIMCE), is a campaign to end standardized testing in Chile. They organized as the social concern for public education grew in Chile. They

question the fairness of this mode of evaluation. Alto al SIMCE was started in 2013 by education activists. They hold that the standardized test pressures students and schools to compete in a way that harms education as a whole. The high correlation between SIMCE scores and the income of families sparked controversy in the academic realm, especially when concerns about public schools, the only resource of education for poorer students, began to shut down. This campaign was the first to do so, and has partnered with teachers, administrators, communities, and students that agree with their issues. They aligned with many of the student movements and used social media to expand their campaign (Montero, Cabalin, Brossi).

Teacher's abilities and training, as well as motivation, are important when considering educational quality and equality. Schools are only as good as the teachers are capable to make them. Increasing teacher capacity is a key way to improving the education system. In Chile, there are low salaries for teachers, leading a lower societal view of the profession. Furthermore, there are little requirements to become a teacher. As of 2014, teachers were only require to maintain a certain grade-point-average and diploma. There are no additional requirements post-graduation, for example a standardized test, and there are not registration or probation processes once a teacher is in their job. This does not lead to the attraction of highly-skilled or passionate candidates (OECD: Figueroa and Wittenberg, 2014).

Teachers still exercise similar levels of autonomy in Chile. This autonomy is freedom to choose methods of instruction and the structure of the classroom. In fact, there is almost no supervision from school administrators in Chilean schools. Carnoy points out how the inspectors that once supervised the quality of classrooms no longer hold the responsibility of ensure quality. Instead, the market is expected to ensure quality of teachers and teaching through competition. In addition to this, directors who oversee administration, public relations, fundraising, and day-to-

day orders, do not often supervise the implementation of course plans or curriculum. Teachers have control over how they present the curriculum and how their classrooms will operate. This leads to a greater sense of responsibility over success in the classroom, but also creates space for inadequate teaching with little to no supervision nor support. It also makes it extremely difficult for teachers in poor municipalities that have far less access to materials and resources. They furthermore have less overall support. The fact that teachers are paid less in Chile than other college-trained professionals is theorized as the reasoning behind the level of autonomy in the system (Carnoy, 2007).

In a study performed by Martin Carnoy, he visited 10 schools in Chile, Cuba, and Brazil. The 10 schools in Chile were either public, private voucher, or private paid and all of them were urban. In the Chilean public schools, the classrooms were, on average, larger than their private and Cuban counterparts. Carnoy noted this leads to an increase in time for transitions, disruptions, and work; therefore, an overall decrease in time dedicated to instruction. An interesting trend in Chile is teachers feeling less prepared to teach math, or “less able” teachers ending up in low income schools in Chile at a higher rate than the other types of schools. Carnoy’s research points to the deep differences between these schools and the quality of education they produce (Carnoy, 2007).

The OECD also recommended improving teaching conditions. This means improving salaries, creating more manageable workloads, and building better support systems that would help teachers improve, develop, and remain motivated. It also means lessening the disparity of resources between schools. Although teacher salaries are what the majority of the Chilean education budget is allocated to, Chile spends less a proportion of its GDP on education than other OECD countries. Although comparatively, Chilean teachers spend an above average

number of hours teaching per year, their salaries are not above average. They also have a below average number of permanent contracts, 63% versus the average 82.5% as reported by the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS). By improving these working conditions through higher salaries, higher job security, and greater professional development, teachers can increase capacity to educate students (OECD: Figueroa and Wittenberg, 2014). Since the dictatorship, there have been educational reforms, but many policies and structure remain intact and heavily influential in the outcomes of Chilean students.

Outcomes

The education system has gone under a number of reforms, but these changes are often futile when it comes to creating equality. The government created expectations of change and increased social mobility. Nevertheless, students are still highly segregated by socioeconomic status. Then enrollment in each type of school is greatly stratified by class. In 2000, a decade after the return to democracy, 10 percent of high income families attended public school whereas 70 percent of poor students attended public school. The generally greater quality private schools were where half of high income students would go to school (Cummings, 2015). Not only so, but the standardized tests continue to plague students of lower socioeconomic status, who statistically perform lower, continuing the cycle of poor education. These standardized tests are also a reflection of the intense impact that socioeconomics and the freedom of school choice has on students. Peter Cummings applies the Duncan Index of Dissimilarity to the 2009 PISA scores in Chile. The PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) is an international standardized test used to compare qualities and statuses of education across countries. He finds

that Chile is the second most segregated country out of the 65 countries that participated (Cummings, 2015).

A similar result is also found by Duarte et al. when using the Intraclass Correlation Index. The ICC can be interpreted as “the probability that a randomly selected pair of students from a given school will have a similar socioeconomic status” or test results (Duarte et al, 2013). The closer to 0 the less socially segregated schools are. They find that Chile’s ICC value is above 0.6, which means the probability is around 60%. Comparing this to the average world value of 0.25 shows that Chilean segregation remains high (Duarte et al, 2013).

The performance of the different schools varies dependent on which type; public, private, private-subsidized. Lam, Mizala, and Romaguera studied the degree to which this type of school choice impacted student achievement and equity of achievement in 2014. Their research separated the within-school from between-school phenomena of student performance through the lens of achievement and structural relationships within schools. At the within-school level they discovered that private schools have significantly higher achievement, specifically in math, and are more equitable in achievement distribution than the other two types of schools. Public and private-subsidized revealed similar results (Lam, Mizala and Romaguera 2014).

When analyzing between-schools, they find that there are high levels of social class stratification between private and public schools. The private-subsidized schools showed greater diversity in social class. This contradicts the argument that school choice will center on those with higher socioeconomic status. They do find that the socioeconomic status relationships with achievement is stronger between schools. This means that the concentration of social classes has substantial effects on the mean achievement. Public schools show to be more effective at educating lower social-class students, and less advantageous at educating higher social-classes.

Furthermore, the socioeconomic relationship with achievement is least equitable in private-subsidized schools (Lam, Mizala and Romaguera, 2014).

They conclude that socioeconomic status has significant effects on achievement, specifically that higher socioeconomic status is associated with higher math achievement scores. They also conclude that the effects of socioeconomic status vary dependent on which type of school, being greatest in private subsidized schools, then public, and finally the least impactful to private schools (Lam, Mizala, Romaguera 2014). This is problematic when considering that achievement is often used as an important way to evaluate the quality of a school, not just the socioeconomic concentration of the students. It especially becomes an issue when recognizing that students of lower socioeconomic status typically cost more to educate (Lam, Mizala, Romaguera 2014).

Student performance on SIMCE has improved over time though, indicating an improvement in quality of education to some extent. For example, four grade reading and language has improved from 1999 to 2011 by 17 points. To a lesser degree, but still improvement nonetheless, math scores for each year have improved over time as well. This shows that the education system has grown in quality when quality is based majorly on test scores (Duarte et al, 2013). Programs such as Improvement of Education in Poor Zones (P-900) and the Program to Improve Educational Quality and Equity (MECE) had various results. The p-900 expanded to over 2,300 schools and the MECE impacted even more. These programs helped with infrastructure and raw materials for classrooms. Plank and Skyes find that there is a slight positive effect of competition in the metropolitan area only, and a minimal negative effect elsewhere. This is measured by test scores. They also find the P-900 program had

Duarte also studies how the impact of socioeconomics has had a slowly decreasing impact on test scores, reflecting the movement towards equality of education. Their analysis shows that the gap of achievement between rich and poor students has decreased between 1999 and 2011. This is mostly true in the primary level; the secondary level remains almost equally stratified with performance and socioeconomics (Duarte et al, 2013). This does not negate the progress that has been made over the time since the return to democracy that shows an improvement in equality and quality of education. Schools still play an important role in reversing the disadvantages of a lower socioeconomic status.

Thus, the outcomes of education policies since the dictatorship are highly variable. Standardized test scores have improved slowly over time in addition to socioeconomics having a reduced impact on these scores. Overall, there is still immense stratification between school types and between levels of wealth that are reflected in the quality of education received. The reforms made to address disparity have not fully solved the trenches of inequality. The new democracy has essentially created a different shade of the same system, controlled by the market-mechanisms and plagued with inequality.

Chapter 6

Cuba

Cuba's history is marked by foreign influence and harsh transitions of power. Fulgencio Batista is one of the leading personalities characterizing Cuban history. The Machado administration of the 1930's was repressive, and Batista rose to power through uniting the armed forces, student, group and unions. He organized a coup known as "Sergeant's Coup" in 1933. He was the de facto leader of Cuba and was eventually elected President in 1940 after adopting a progressive constitution. During his time in power he expanded public works, education, and economics. He was defeated in the next election of 1944 and replaced by Ramon Grau. After Batista there was a growing issue with corruption in the government; the economy was eroding as was public services (Perez, 2015).

For this reason, Batista returned in 1948 and was elected a senator. He then entered the 1952 presidential race, as the Unitary Action Party candidate, in hopes of displacing the current administration. Once it was apparent Batista would not win, he realigned his military companions and staged a second coup to overthrow Grau. The coup was bloodless and replaced Batista as the leader of Cuba once again, and he put his military allies in power as well. This illegal transition of power was not brought to justice, although lawyer Fidel Castro attempted to do so. Not long after, Latin America and the United States recognized Batista as the leader of Cuba. But his rule was very different the second time around. He became a tyrannical dictator.

He fought to control his citizens, congress, and embezzled massive amounts of money from the Cuban economy (Perez, 2015)

In 1954 and 1958, the “free” and “fair” elections had one candidate: Batista. Once learning that there was no legal way to overthrow Batista, Fidel Castro organized a revolution to remove Batista from power. The Anti-Batista rebellion grew going into the early 1950s. Many Cubans saw Batista as a hinderance to economic growth and stability within politics as well. The prices of common goods surged and inflation grew. It began with an attempted coup in 1952 and then with an attack by Castro on the army of Cuba in Santiago, Cuba in 1953. But the Cuban Revolution of 1953 was a failed attempt, and there was little to no change or consequences. The major result was Castro was now known as a leader of rebel forces due to his heroic and almost suicidal part in the attack in 1953 (Pérez, 2015).

Cuba in the 1950's had a large middle class, high material consumption rates, and significant influence from the US, especially in tourism. There was a strong American Mafia in Havana, and Batista grew very rich as dictator. Batista and his administration turned to murder and torture to remain in power while Cubans outside the successfully markets of tourism and crime grew increasingly poorer. Rebel movements grew over time, especially in the mountains, and universities were closed down.

The Castro brothers aligned disillusioned Cubans in a force of rebellion that, aided by Ernesto “Che” Guevara, waging guerilla war against Batista in 1956. Che Guevara was an Argentinian physician who traveled throughout South America and was radicalized by the disease and poverty he witnessed. He opposed capitalism and United State's interference in Latin America and admired the Soviet Union. He met Castro in exile and they chose to work together as a powerful force against Cuba. Che took to the forests in order to engage in guerilla warfare.

This type of warfare was supported by Cuban civilians who desired the revolution and chose to take up arms to help (Che Guevara). By 1958, the rebel movement-controlled land, schools, and hospitals. In 1959, the Cuban Revolution was a success and Batista stepped down from power (Perez, 2015)

Once in power, Castro nationalized all US business, and the US reacted by breaking all diplomatic relations. Castro worked hard to prove that the new regime would be different from the old. In fact, Castro began to align with the USSR in response to the US attempted invasion at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. In the days leading up to the US invasion, Cuba imprisoned anyone suspected of opposition to the regime, and the democratic socialist ideology quickly radicalized. In 1940, Castro determined the Constitution must be rewritten and contemporized, “left behind by this revolution...a socialist revolution” (Peréz, 2015; p 262). He also emphasized his alignment with Marx-Leninism. In 1965, Cuba’s political party was renamed the Cuban Communist Party, and in 1976 they approved the adoption of a new, socialist constitution. This constitution established the Council of State as the ruling office. It would then lead to Castro’s election as President of Cuba as well as First Secretary of the Communist Party; this being the most powerful office (Peréz, 2015).

Since then the government has remained communist, despite the economic difficulties that came from the dissolving of the Soviet Union. It is significantly difficult to visit Cuba from the United States due to its mistrust and animosity towards the US, its isolationism, its extreme censorship. Everything is highly regulated including public services and the economy. All of Latin America went through a recession in the 1980s. Finally, the United States’ embargo on Cuba continued to have deep impacts through the 70s and 80s. In 1989, when the Soviet Union collapsed and Cuba lost a major player and subsidized in their economy, the socialist projects

were set into spiral. The 1990s were extremely difficult for Cuba, but, despite these setbacks, Cuba survived through the attraction of tourists. By re-growing their economy, they were able to maintain their society while creating the dollar economy necessary for survival. Overall though, the Cuban economy is considered extremely inefficient (Perez, 2015)

After Fidel Castro's reign, his brother, Raúl Castro, stepped up in 2006 as de facto leader. Fidel Castro died 10 years later in 2016. The Castro brothers are known as repressive leaders who, as many dictators before, violently eliminate any opposition. The recent history of Cuba has been marked by a re-growth of tourism, devastating hurricanes, and a revision of the Constitution that took place in 2018. In 2009, President Obama lifted US restrictions on travel and remittances to Cuba in hopes of finding a "new direction" for relations between the two countries (Pérez, 2015; p 373). The new Constitution established the President in its current form as the second-most powerful position in Cuba. Today, it is an office held by Miguel Díaz-Canel. As mentioned, the most powerful position remains to be the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, still held by Raúl Castro (Timeline).

Actors

The relevant actors in Cuba are the government and its citizens. Cuba, being a republic with communist rule, has an extremely centralized system when it comes to almost every aspect of life. More specifically, the communist government is very focused on literacy, high education rates, and equality. The education system is extremely monitored by the state. Through the revolution, the communist party took control of the government, economy, and society. This centralized system gives control to the government to allocate resources, create policy, and distribute income, housing, food, and other social services. Though there is little mobility, very few Cubans are "in poverty" (Perez, 2015).

Cuba's administration focused, and continues to focus, on the education system. The state has an "unconditional" commitment to education and demonstrates this through its political will (Sabina 2009). Cuba has instilled efforts to support teachers and schools through financial resources. This allows for teachers to keep their jobs as well as schools to avoid closing. Schools dedicated to training teachers were put in place to train teachers to be successful and to adhere by the national curriculum. From the beginning of the post-revolution government, core members of the administration have made centralized decisions regarding the education system. I will discuss specific policies further, but it is important to keep in mind that the central government exercise close authority over the education system (Carnoy, 2007).

Cuba's educational policies and system have high levels of participation by citizens. Although they do not specifically make decisions, the profound participation of the Cuban people in educational projects is a significant factor in their success. In Cuba, education is seen both as a right and a responsibility of the population. Education policies are constantly being reformed and improved in order to correct mistakes, and there is influence from the active involvement of teachers, professors, and citizens. Students also played a major role in many campaign and movements to improve education. The beginning of this involvement came with the National Literacy Campaign of 1961. This campaign featured the slogan "The one who knows teaches the one who doesn't" (Sabina 2009). Another space of citizen involvement occurred in the realm of higher education. The Cuban goal of universalizing higher education is slowly being worked towards by citizens, specifically local professionals volunteering as professors, middle-schools offering classroom space, and local businesses providing material resources (Sabina, 2009). The involvement of citizens in Cuban educations looks different than

in many other countries, as it is increasingly the unification and cohesion of the Cuban people to accomplish educational goals and help educational projects succeed.

Education Policy

The new communist, centralized government first acted on the crisis of illiteracy. According to the 1953 census, only slightly more than half of 6 to 14-year-old children were enrolled in primary school and only 16.5% of 15 to 19 year-olds were attending secondary school. Over one million people were illiterate, and in rural areas illiteracy reached levels of around 42%. This number does not even include those that are functionally illiterate. The National Literacy Campaign began in 1961, just two years after the revolution. The goal was a complete eradication of illiteracy in the country. As mentioned, the motto of this campaign was “The one who knows teaches the one who doesn’t”. For this reason, there was a force of over 280,000 teachers, students, laborers, and even teachers from other Latin American countries, that worked to achieve literacy (Sabina, 2009). Professional educators built a curriculum for people to use to learn and teach.

The government called for literate students being let out of school early for the summer in order that they may teach illiterate adults. The teacher force of around 35,000 educators were paid their normal wage, and over 100,000 students mobilized to meet the needs of the campaign. These students were from ten to nineteen years old, with 40% of them being between ten to fourteen. Many of these student volunteers were motivated by the fervor set by the recent revolution. They organized themselves into military-style brigades and received an eight to ten day training program to prepare them to teach. They were given supplies and a hammock to set up in their host family’s home, and were prepared for the drastic change in living in the rural

conditions. The teaching-method was inspired by solidarity, and instructors were trained to not use any authoritarian-like discourse. (Kozol, 1978). The Cuban literacy rate increased immensely throughout the campaign and beyond, and now Cuba has one of the highest literacy rates in the world.

In a push to equalize education, especially between urban and rural schools, a difficult process began in the 1960s. This process included the implementation of a fixed income system that would allow for little variation between professions. For this reason, teaching became a desirable profession. It also included special teacher training dedicated to preparing educators for the difficulty of isolated, rural areas. The Castro regime desired universal access to education through lower secondary school, and by 1980 they reached universal tenth-grade. They created elite secondary schools and began placing secondary school dropouts in the military. The government initiated curricular reforms and reduced class sizes in both primary and secondary schools. The Cuban government mobilized “schools to the countryside” in order to unify urban and rural education. This brought urban students to rural areas during breaks in order to cut sugarcane and perform other agricultural tasks. On the opposite side, boarding schools were built in rural areas under the policy “schools in the countryside”. These were designed to combat lower performance in lower secondary school. The issue of these boarding schools was they were very expensive to build, therefore the Cuban government never completed all five hundred schools they planned to construct. These schools also enrolled large numbers of urban students, and overall improved performance through close monitoring and control (Carnoy, 2007).

The impacts on students’ quality of education by the freedom of parents and teachers is difficult to measure, and teacher’s autonomy within the classroom can lead to variance over curriculum, style, and success. Teachers in Cuba are, as previously mentioned, sent to teacher-

training academies. These schools are closely monitored by the central government in order that all teachers receive standard training that aligns with national curriculum. This national curriculum was imported from the German Democratic Republic and translated to Spanish. It also included a “work” aspect of manual labor (Carnoy, 2007).

As observed in Carnoy’s study, the Cuban teaching method is more consistent. Carnoy describes it as “participative but very directed” (Carnoy, 2007; 114). This approach is to have students work individually on, for example, a worksheet, and then the teacher reviews and explains the results. Every province in Cuba has a teacher-training institution for primary students, and postsecondary educators teach secondary teachers. Another form of control and standardization in Cuba is the lack of internet. While almost all schools have computers, they only have access to a close-circuit. This is the same for the televisions in schools (Carnoy, 2007).

The concentration of power in the government to regulate schools and teachers can be associated with higher performance from Cuban schools. Well-trained teachers that are supervised and instructed as well as working in the social environment of prestige, promote improved education. Cuba reported in 2018 that 100% of teachers in primary education received the minimum years of training required by Cuba, according to the World Bank. Students also spend a number of years with the same teachers. Primary age students remain with one teacher, aside from English and gym, for lower secondary school, just as they did in primary school. The theory behind this is maintaining a high level of supervision and guidance within teacher-student relationships. It also allows for greater teacher intervention in student well-being through relationship and deep understanding of each student’s life including their home environment. The standardization process through heavy monitoring on teachers, curriculum, and students has greatly characterized the Cuban Education system (Carnoy, 2007).

Major educational policies in Cuba since the revolution of 1959 were focused on equalizing education for all. They focused significantly on managing and reducing the gap between rural and urban school and wealth disparities with the “schools to countryside” mobilization. The government obtained objectives for quality education for everyone through their policies such as the Literacy Campaign and ensuring highly-trained teachers. Cuban education policy decisions were made hierarchically in a very centralized system, making reforms easier to implement to a strict regiment.

Outcomes

Cuban outcomes are difficult to measure. This is mainly due to the lack of reporting that Cuba provides and that the Cuban government does not believe in international assessments. They test sixth and ninth grade students internally each year. These tests are used in a similar manner to those of Chile, for feedback and data. The difference is the results are kept internal therefore they are not released to the public or internationally. Only the government is able to review the results and create reforms or make decisions. The educational bureaucracy implements actions without the involvement of parents or teachers, but this style may more directly improve the education system where needed. In 1997, Cuba participated in the UNESCO comparative study of language, math, and associated factors for third and fourth graders. The study was a cross-country testing of language and math in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, and Venezuela. The tests were accepted by National Coordinators and certified by third-party evaluators from the Educational Testing Service. The results showed Cuba to be a definite

exception to the rest of the countries. The students tested came from different backgrounds such as rural, urban, private, or public schooling (UNESCO, 1998).

The results of the test clearly indicate that Cuba stands out against the other countries. Cuban students, on average, outperformed the other countries in mathematics and reading. They scored over two standard deviations higher than the regional mean in mathematics. Even the lower scoring half of Cuban students still score above the higher performing half from other countries. Outperforming students come from both rural and urban backgrounds. UNESCO responds to the results from this study by observing how higher results come from systems in which there is school management, and high levels of political will measured by budgetary priorities (UNESCO, 1998).

Cuba's famous literacy program is another important outcome. The literacy campaign was a movement for equality for citizens, built of the ideology of inclusion, and reaching low-income and marginalized groups (Carnoy, 2007) This war on illiteracy was highly successful. By 1962, Cuban literacy was at 96%, one of the highest in the world. By 1986 nearly 100% of Cuban were literate. It has remained reportedly at this level of around 99.8% since then. This is an impressive accomplishment considering the world average literacy in 2018 is 86.3% (World Bank).

Cuba has continued to maintain a standard of performance recognized around the world. It has one of the highest literacy rates, over one million graduates of higher education since 1960, and 65 universities dedicated to providing access to higher education in every municipality in Cuba (Lopez, 2011). There are numerous theories as to why Cuba has such a strong education system. Some social scientists blame teachers and their capacity to teach and maintaining a lack of distractions and disturbances, and others look to curriculum as the source of great

performance. But each theory can be boiled down to the fact that proper schools, preparation and learning environments will lead to success in schools. These outcomes are all founded and made possible by the government and market system.

Overall, Cuba is recognized for the success of its educational policies in providing high-quality education to all citizens. This includes learning opportunities for children as well as adults. The implementation of policies and success is assured greatly by the resources dedicated to Cuban education by the government and their dedication to the efficacy of their system. It is also important to note that the equal distribution and focus on equality has shown to genuinely improve the education system for all. The outcomes provide evidence of Cuba's successful education system.

Chapter 7

Case Comparison and Findings

The different outcomes in these three cases have important implications for understanding educational equality. It is difficult to compare them overtime because there is a lot of data lacking for both Cuba and Chile during the dictatorship. This is, naturally, because information under dictators is often limited. Furthermore, Cuba continues to have an anti-imperial and anti-international organizational framework that restricts output of information. Despite this, there are still a number of factors that can be compared in order to illuminate these cases directly including those thoroughly described within each case. It is evident that each country and regime uses different theories and policies to build and facilitate the education system. While Chile imposed competition and decentralization, Cuba nullified competition and only created policies from the top down.

These results can be summarized in the following table:

Country	Regime-Type and historical context	Market-System	Education Policies	Outcomes
Cuba	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> dictatorship Fidel Castro and brother, Raúl Castro “Socialist” constitution extremely centralized system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> communist government determines income level economy is relatively inefficient, low consumerism (Carnoy, 2007; p 144) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> policies are made “top-down”. National Literacy campaign in 1961 “school to countryside” Teachers are heavily trained strict national curriculum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> outperforms many countries on standardized tests; higher scores in mathematics and reading one of the highest literacy rates in the world
Chile: Under Pinochet (1973-1990)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> dictatorship Augusto Pinochet economic growth new Constitution intense US influence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> neoliberal market (based on ideology of individual freedom and private property, deregulation) inspired by the “Chicago Boys” hyper-capitalist emphasis on free market movements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación (LOCE) voucher system Chilean families had the choice to decide what kind of school their child attended Major decentralization. Inequitable funding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> insufficient funding Disparity grew different levels of capacity in each municipality Schools allowed enrollment based off of status Standardized testing increase
Chile: Post-Pinochet (1991-present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Democracy; dictatorship ended with referendum Constitution remains from dictatorship many social/political movements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chile remains a capitalist country inequality of income some government redistribution of income competition driven 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many policies have remained movements against education same voucher system vouchers in low-income areas. Teachers have high autonomy and low salaries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved educational quality highly stratified by class with 10% of richer students attending private school and 70% of poorer students attending public school (Cummings, 2015). greatest factor influencing performance is socioeconomic status continued standardized testing

Figure 1 Summary of Case Points

One of the most evident ways to compare Chile, during Pinochet and post-dictator, and Cuba is with education spending. As shown by Figure 1, the percentage of GDP spent on education in each case varies. Chile during the dictatorship in comparison to Chile post-Pinochet does not show significant changes. The level of percentage varies year to year, but slowly rises leading up to the 1980s, when the LOCE and municipalization was introduced. The 1980s also brought an economic recession to Chile. When the percentage is taken again there is a clear decrease in percentage of spending on education, from 4.9% to 2.8%. This over 2% decrease aligns with the hands-off and localization of oversight that requires less spending. After 1990 with the transition to democracy, many policies remain the same, but the recognition from government to the underspending on education in public services leads to a steady percentage with slight increase overtime. When Pinochet loses power, the percentage was around 2.3%, and as the democratic regime continues, the education budget rises to 5.4% over a period of 27 years (Databank).

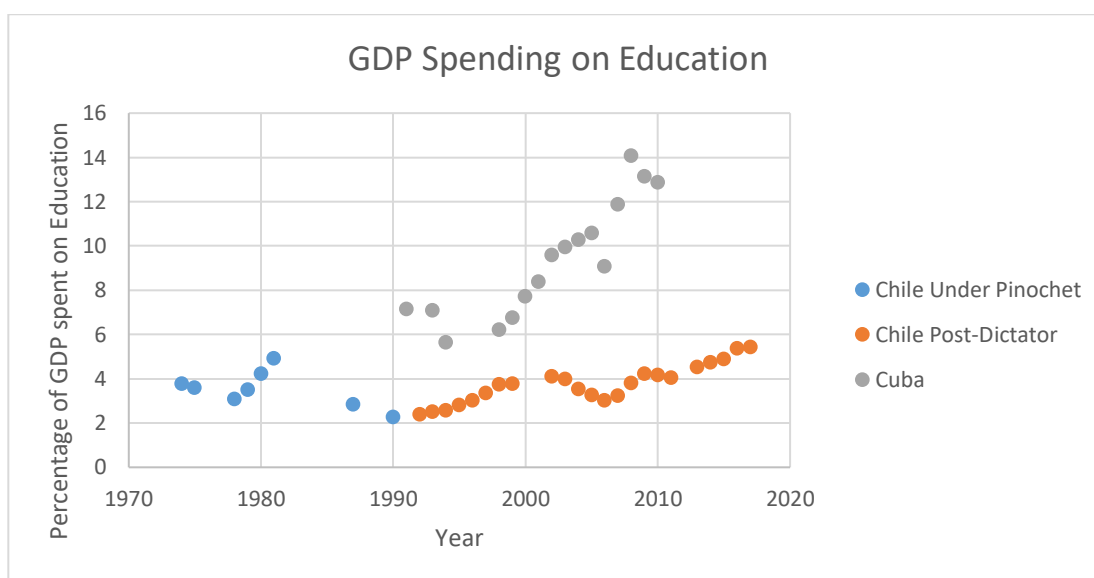


Figure 2: Government Spending on Education as a Percentage of GDP in Chile and Cuba (Original Source of data: World Bank Data from Databank)

This is evidence of the levels of social spending dependent on regime type. The democracy expanded social spending and the percentage of GDP spent on education. Where this argument does not

hold is when comparing to Cuba. Cuba, though not a democracy, spends far more on education than Chile. Over time, the Cuban percentage steeply increases with a peak at 14% in 2008 (Databank). This is evidence that the economic system is also a crucial factor in social spending. Cuba as a communist nation will inherently spend more on public goods such as education because the government is fully in control of supplying these services. It is still notable that education is one facet of public spending, and yet is still substantially greater than Chile's hyper-capitalist spending. This is important when considering the influence of socioeconomic status and performance. Because poorer municipalities tend to perform worse in Chile, the government spending is a policy to help equalize these disparities. Yet, overall spending in Chile remains a mere fraction of Cuban spending and reflects a distance between policy and means to carrying it out.

Though there is evidence of a lack of progress within Chile as well as numerous continuations of dictator policies, there is still growth in the education system, specifically concerning enrollment. Figure 3 shows the primary completion rates in Chile categorized by income quintiles and also by gender. As one can see, over time, there is an equalization of the percentage of people finishing primary school. The lowest income quintile, though still having the lowest percentage go from 66% to 92%. The highest income quintile remains at 94% within the dictatorship and increases to 98% afterwards, despite a dip to 88% directly after the end of the dictatorship (CEDLAS). This chart shows the increased equality for at least the completion of primary school amongst classes and gender in Chile post-Pinochet. This explains greater access to schooling and less drop outs and expulsions. It, again, does not speak into quality or the

unequal performances between socioeconomic classes. Cuba does not have comparable data.

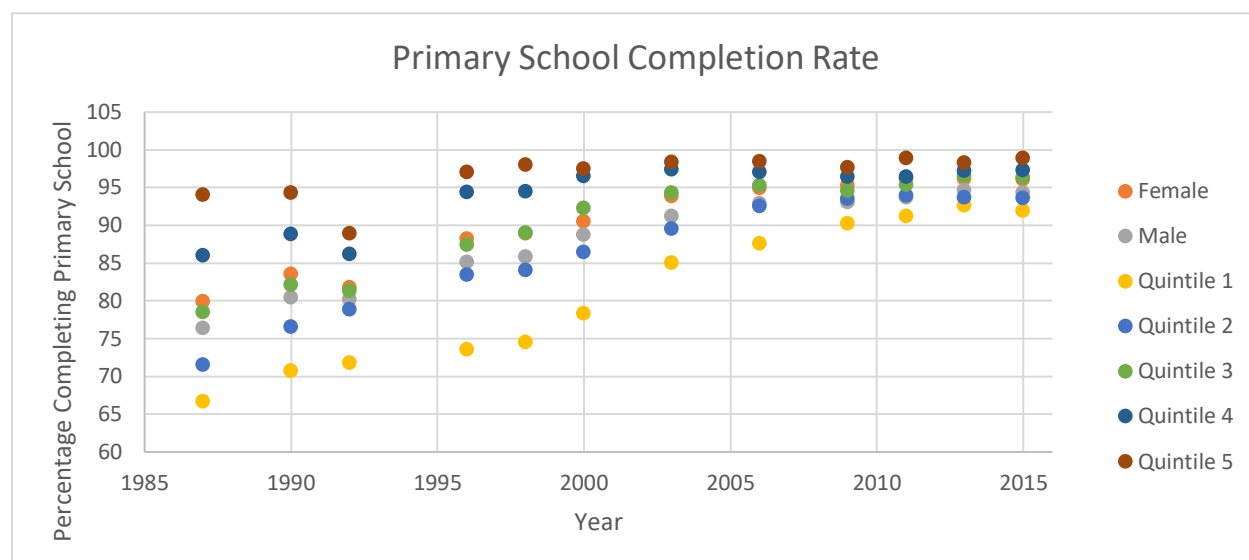


Figure 3 Primary School Completion Rate in Chile (Original source of data: SEDLAC (CEDLAS and The World Bank))

In order to look deeper at the factor of gender within equality of schooling, the gender parity index highlights the ratio of men to women in primary and secondary school. When the gender parity index (GPI) is less than one, it means that girls are disadvantaged in learning opportunities compared to boys. It is measured by dividing gross enrollment rates. This does not speak into the quality of education they are receiving, only the level of opportunity. As Figure 4 shows, Cuba had greater disadvantage for girls from 1974 until 1983, when the Cuban GPI was almost equal to the Chilean GPI at 0.99 (Databank). Cuba then had a spike in the late 1980's to early 1990's. This can be attributed to educational reform concerning unity of education and improving retention rates of students, but there is little to explain why during this time girls were now more advantaged than boys in educational opportunities, with a GPI of 1.07.

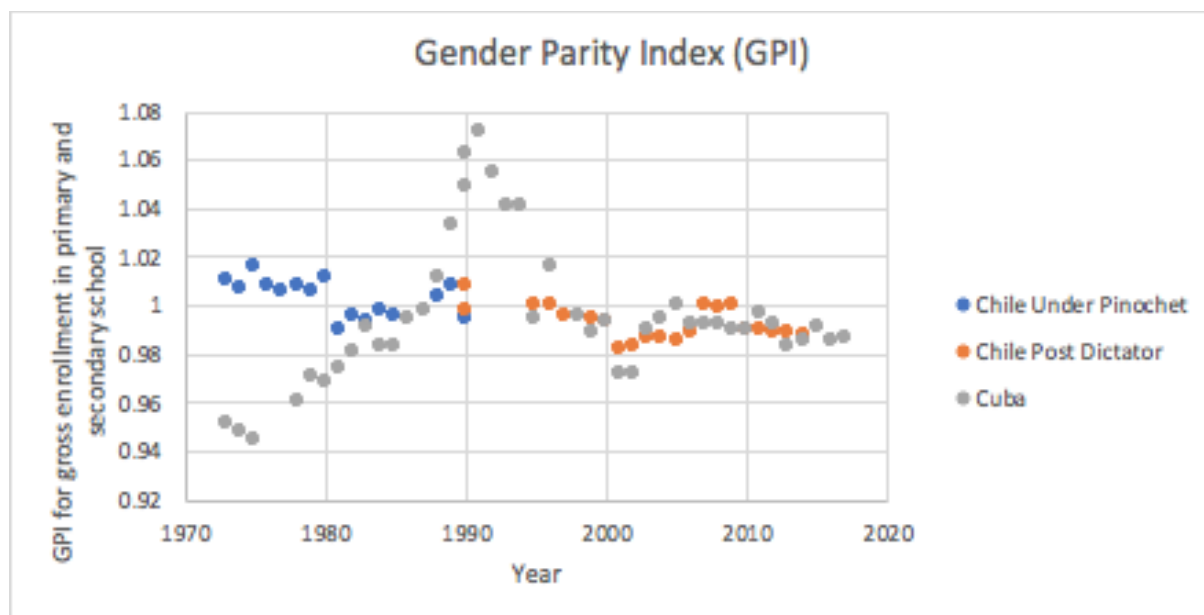


Figure 4: Gender Parity Index for Chile and Cuba (Original source of data: World Bank Data from Databank)

In the cases of Chile, the GPI begins above 1, with girls more advantaged than boys in education. As time continues, beyond the dictatorship, there is an equaling of opportunity with the GPI remaining between .98 and 1.00. Cuba also fluctuates between .97 and .99. Overall, when comparing the cases they are relatively similar in equal opportunity between genders when looking at primary and secondary school enrollment. This is potentially explained by the historical rise in women's rights and opportunities. Their participation in government as well as in social movements creates the space for prioritizing girl's educations. For example, in Chile, the recent student movements have included feminism and the equality of the sexes as a crucial pillar in the fight for education.

It is also important to directly compare the successes of each system. Using literacy rates as a measure of educational attainment, the success of Cuba's literacy campaign is even more clear. In 1981, the literacy rate was nearly 98% whereas Chile, under the dictatorship, had a literacy rate of 91%. This 7% can be attributed to the intense government involvement in the assurance of literacy for all citizens in Cuba. The World Bank only provide literacy rate data in Chile beginning in 1982, therefore it is hard to know whether the literacy rate was increasing from the beginning of the dictatorship, but it is clear that it

increases for the final years of Pinochet's reign, because in 1992, the rate is 94%. This number continues to increase during the democracy with the highest rate in 2008 at 98.6% and then levels out for the next 10 years around 96%. Cuban literacy remains at close to 100% over time. Literacy is often considered the basis for education and success, and therefore a pillar to the education system and important to consider when discussing levels of education.

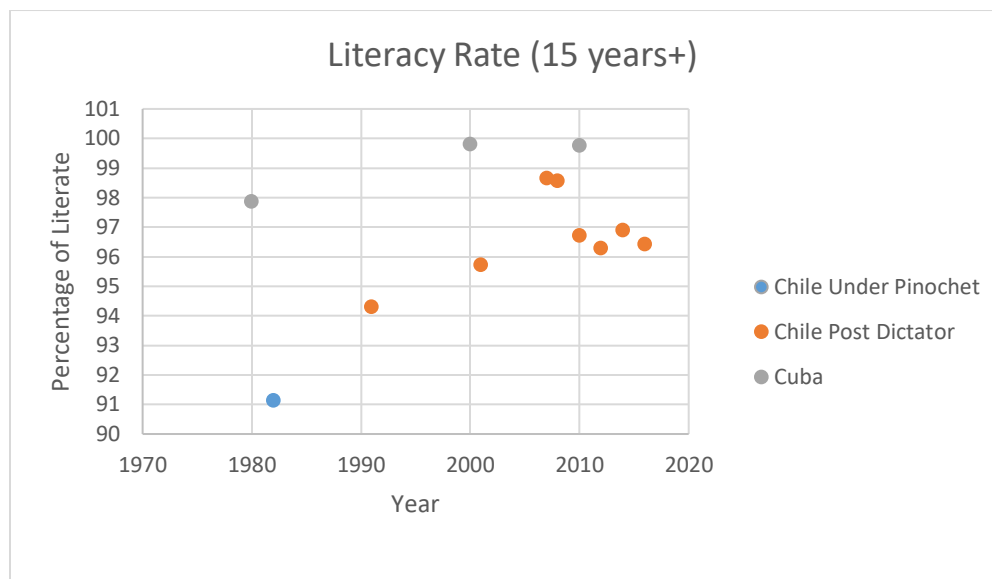
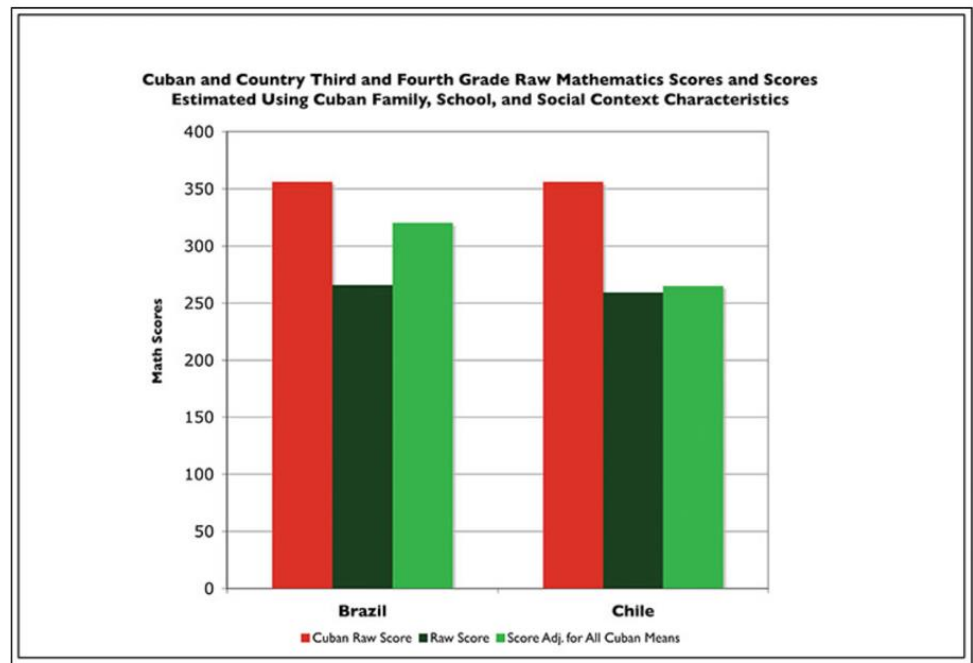


Figure 5: Literacy Rate (15 years +) in Cuba and Chile (original source of data: World Bank data from DataBank)

Another measure of education is performance on standardized tests. Figure 5 is from Martin Carnoy's book, "The Cuban Advantage" and illustrates the direct comparison between Cuba and Chile from the UNESCO 1997 testing. Carnoy's research included Brazil, but focusing only on the comparison between Chile and Cuba, one can see the clear outperformance on math scores of Chile by Cuba. The red to dark green bars are the raw scores. The light green bar is the adjusted score of Chilean students for social factors. Carnoy used important contexts in Cuba in order to more directly compare the performances. This is important to note because Cuba still has higher scores, but the difference is around 100 points. These important social characteristics to consider are the conditions of Cuba that allow for proper learning environments. This includes factors such as good health care, nutrition, and home

environments, but also includes factors outside of the home such as less violence, focused instruction, and well-trained teachers with low student to teacher ratios. Cuban schools with higher levels of control and management lead to better results and a more quality education system. This is made possible by a strict regime type that can enforce policy with complete control, coupled with a market system that favors equal distribution of public goods. The downside of this system is there is a lack of freedom and autonomy as well as an inefficient economy. The benefits for children are weighed against the costs of adults and their liberties (Carnoy, 2004). These standardized test results do not include a comparison of Chile during Pinochet’s regime. It can be deduced that, because many policies remain in place from the dictatorship through the transition to democracy, that results would be similar.



Comparing mathematics scores for Cuban students (red) with raw scores (dark green) and scores adjusted for various social context factors (light green) in Brazil and Chile. (Graph courtesy of Martin Carnoy)

Figure 6: Cuban and Chilean 1997 International Math Test Scores (adjusted) (Original source of data: Inogueira (2015), except from “Cuba’s Academic Advantage” by Martin Carnoy)

In conclusion, using the quantitative data presented as an illustration of the qualitative analysis, it is evident that the education system and its success is deeply impacted by the government and its policies. The government policies and their capacity to implement them directly impact the quality and equality of education within each country. While regime type is important to the development of the education system, I would argue that market type is the greater factor. In the cases of Cuba and Chile under Pinochet, the countries shared the regime-type of a dictatorship; the stark contrast is the market type. Cuba adopted a socialist constitution and a market-system of a command economy based off of communist ideology. Their centralized regime allowed for decisions and policies to be put in place in a hierarchical manner, but the market influenced the equality of resources including education. The lack of competition and destruction of socioeconomic imbalance created a system of parity. On the other hand, the Chilean dictatorship, though controlling, created a system of free-market, private property, and emphasis on competition. This neoliberal system led to an increase of inequality and stratification based off socioeconomic factors, and directly impacted the quality of education for all students in Chile, but especially the poorer ones.

This evidence is also supported by Chile's transition to democracy and the lack of great social change. Though Chile's regime-type changed, from dictatorship to democracy, the market-type has remained. In the same way, the education policies that were founded on the market, such as school choice, are still dictating the education system. The characterization of the Chilean education system and unequal and underperforming is still a reality. Therefore, despite regime changes, with the market still holding intense, competitive influence over the education system, it remains a highly disparate system. It is important to recognize that Chile has kept its Constitution since the dictatorship, and this will have immense impacts on the regime, its policies, and capacities, and plays a role in the lingering systems and issues.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The education system is impacted by numerous factors that are difficult to measure. There is extensive research on what conditions must be present for students to be successful such as health, safety and schools with high capacity to meet the various needs of students. It is evident that policies must be constructed and implemented to promote equality. This naturally begs the question of what education system structure is most effective in providing equal, quality education to children. I chose to look at how the regime type and market structure impact the education structure and its efficacy.

The above cases and analysis seem to indicate that regime and market-type do matter in increasing the capacity of schools and educators. Financial and physical resources are necessary to providing quality educations as well as maintaining equality between poorer and richer citizens. And government forces are necessary to providing public goods like education. Therefore, Cuba strongly benefits its education system with high public spending and centralized control over policies dedicated to equalizing education. Because they are a dictatorship with intense management over its population, Cuba is able to implement its policies to the fullest, most consistent extent. On the other hand, Chile's freedom of choice has led to stratification based on socioeconomics and underperformance. But, it is important to note that Chile's freedoms concerning the market and education system began under a dictator. Therefore, regime-type alone cannot explain why a country is able to increase capacity or implement helpful policy. The market-system is also important to consider. The competition-driven market structure that the Chilean education system is based on does not show clear correlation to improved quality or equality of education.

In conclusion, success of education systems cannot be predicted solely on regime-type or market-type. That being said, there is heavy influence of these two systems on education in a country, and they cannot be ignored. My first hypothesis, that Latin American democracies would have higher quality and more equal education systems cannot be confirmed by this study. This is because between the two Chilean cases, the democracy does improve education quality and equality. On the other hand, when comparing with Cuba, the Cuban dictatorship and command economy provide improved, more equal education to its children. For this reason, my second hypothesis is very important. Highly-capitalist, market-based economies do seem to influence the education system, and not positively. Cuban communism provides a better education than neoliberal Chile. My third hypothesis is relevant when recognizing that the Chilean democracy provided higher quality, more equal education than its dictator counterpart, but cannot fully be confirmed true. The market system and its impact on the education system may be a greater factor in determining success than the regime type, or potentially, they are not mutually exclusive in analysis.

There are also policies that are important, independent of the economy. While funding from the government is clearly crucial to the success of implementing policies, it is also clear that equipping teachers to have a greater capacity for their classroom is also important to success. Smaller classrooms with better prepared teachers that continue to be developed professionally have improved Cuba's education system. Although teacher autonomy is not inherently a negative thing, proper adherence to curriculum is also necessary for equalizing education. Cuba's prep schools for educators as well as their dedication to the proper treatment and working conditions, such as job security, for their teachers are policies that have improved their system.

It is important to note that these findings can be applied beyond Chile and Cuba. Many capitalist countries, including the US, emphasize competition and freedom of “choice” in education. As stated, there is little to no evidence that competition between schools and teachers improves the quality of education, but it does stratify the system and leave those in poverty with lower quality educations; solidifying the cycle of low income and poor education. Therefore, where there are intense levels of disparity, it is important to recognize that “choice” only applies to those who can buy it. For this reason, if the goal is to improve education quality and equality, then the government must adopt policies dedicated to furthering that goal such as equitable distribution of resources and reforms to equalize rural and urban schools. This potentially means eliminating private schools and allocating greater funds to the public-school system. Improving the education system to be more successful and equal does not exclusively mean an overthrow of the market-system, but a separation of the market from the education system.

This analysis would be incomplete without the acknowledgment of the limits of this study. It is difficult to measure and compare such subjective factors like teacher autonomy and capacity. In fact, as mentioned, the measure of education is difficult when considering test scores are not always indicative of high levels of education. Furthermore, a lack of data for Chile during Pinochet and Cuba in general make it all the more difficult to compare the cases. This study also raises the question of cost-benefit analysis of the restriction of adult freedoms, such as the educator’s choice in teaching-style, and the benefit of children’s academic achievement. Not only so, but the economic issues faced by communist countries such as Cuba, for example inefficiency, are a weighty cost. A country must face the question of whether education will suffer at the hands of government and market, or will the government and market slow in order that the education system may succeed.

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ACADEMIC VITA: Monica Mohler

EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University- State College, PA Graduation: May 2020

B.A. Double Major in International Relations and Spanish Minor: History

- Schreyer Honors College
- Paterno Fellows Scholar: Honors program including advanced academic coursework, thesis, study abroad and internship, ethics study, and service commitment

Pontifical Catholic University of Valparaíso- Valparaíso, Chile

Semester abroad immersed in Chilean culture, practicing Spanish, and taking classes

EXPERIENCE

English as a Foreign Language Programme- PUCV; Valparaíso, Chile Spring 2019

- Served as an EFL teaching assistant in a classroom of elementary learners
- Designed and implemented games to practice speaking English in an engaging manner
- Provided support for the teacher as well as for students in the acquisition of English

Pregnancy Resource Clinic - State College, Pennsylvania Summer 2018

Development Intern at Pregnancy Resource Clinic, a 501(c)3 nonprofit

- Coordinated fundraising initiatives to help raise over \$27,000 through cold calling, donor identification, database management, events, and soliciting donations
- Organized and facilitated events such as a 5K, baseball outing, and picnic
- Developed and maintained relationships with donors

Penn State Navigators Summer Training Program- St. Petersburg, Florida Summer 2017

- Personal and professional leadership development through a faith-based program
- Discussed difficult topics such as faith and religion with others in a team setting
- Worked full-time as a waitress at Bubba Gump Shrimp Company

Leadership & Activities

The Penn State Navigators- Leader Fall 2016-May 2020

- Responsible for leading and mentoring a group of 8 women in theme-based discussion
- Lead by directing weekly bible study, planning service events, promoting fellowship among members, and mentoring through one-to-one discipleship
- Penn State Navigators Benefiting THON's Fundraising Specialist

Navigators Benefitting THON- Fundraising Chair, Dancer, Member 2017- 2020

- Raised a total of \$15,765 for the Four Diamonds through Penn State THON
- Organized fundraisers throughout the year and motivated participation from members
- Represented Navigators Benefitting THON throughout the 46-hour no sleep, no sitting marathon

Volunteer Experience & Awards

Alternative Spring Break with the Penn State Navigators 2017, 2018, 2020

- Served military families through over 36 hours of yard/housework
- Improved conditions of a local church and homeless shelter to better the living environment

Pregnancy Resource Clinic Volunteer

- Organized and filed donor information and donations in the online system
- Led tours of the clinic to inform community members about the mission and work of PRC

Recipient of the Nagle Directors Fund Scholarship, EOPIP Award Scholarship, the Class of 1922 Memorial Scholarship, the Raymond Shibley Scholarship, the Roy C. Buck Scholarship, the Bruce R. Miller Endowed Scholarship, and the Wolfson Undergrad Scholarship