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### Publication Date

2013

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

From the Classroom to the Home: The Repercussions of the Growing Divisions in  
Public and Private Schooling in Peru

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Master of  
Arts

in

Latin American Studies

by

Jacqueline Rose Wagner

Committee in charge:

Professor Christine Hunefeldt, Chair  
Professor Milos Kokotovic  
Professor Alison Wishard Guerra

2013

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The Thesis of Jacqueline Rose Wagner is approved and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2013

## **Dedication**

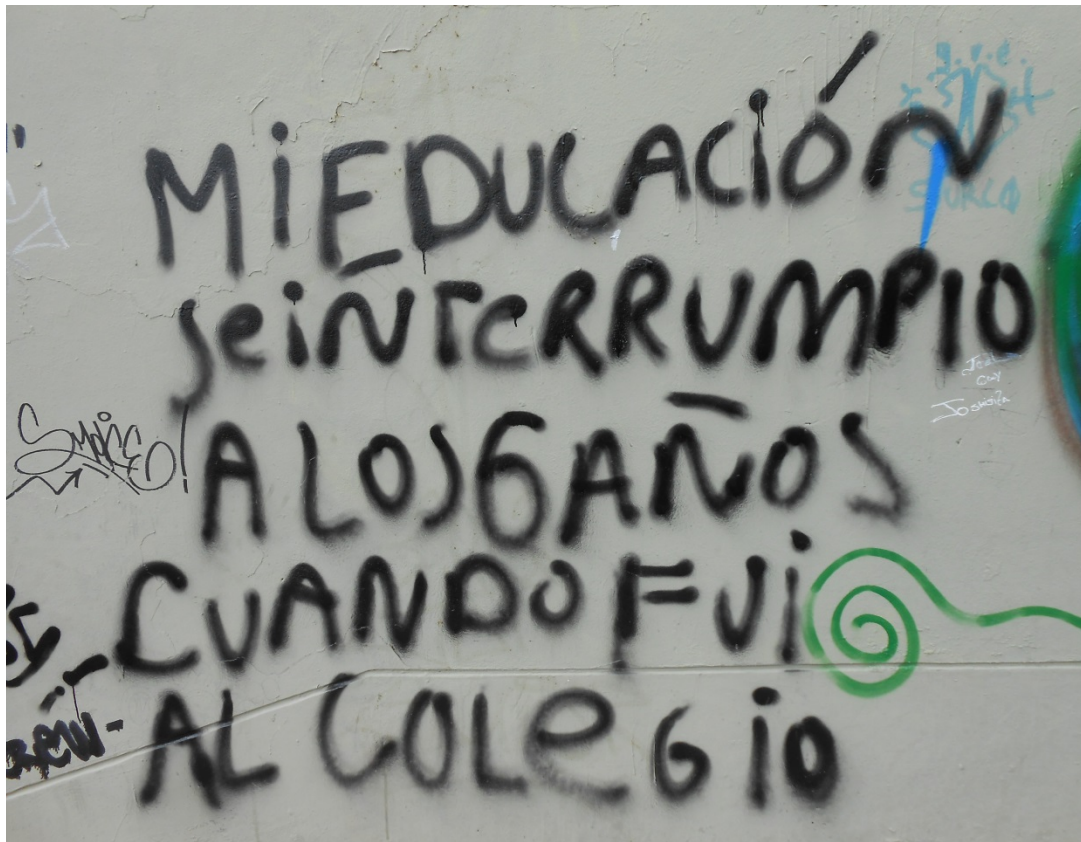
To Madre and Padre,

Thank you for always letting me take leaps, however crazy they may be, and  
telling me to fly.

Jessica, J. Christopher, Warren, Jenny, Tracy, Gino, and to all of my family,

All of your love, support, phone calls, and visits have helped and encouraged  
me to accomplish this project.

## Epigraph



*“My education was interrupted at age 6 when I went to school”*

Lima, Peru

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## **List of Abbreviations**

<b>MINEDU</b>	Ministry of Education, Peru
<b>OECD</b>	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>ONDEC</b>	National Office on Catholic Education
<b>PISA</b>	Programme for International Student Assessment
<b>SINAMOS</b>	National System for Support of Social Mobilization
<b>SUTEP</b>	Sindicato Unitario de Trabajadores en la Educación del Perú
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my thesis committee who has guided me through the various stages of this project. To my chair Christine Hunefeldt, thank you for the invaluable knowledge you have given me throughout the process of this project. Alison Wishard Guerra, thank you for your advice, both practical and theoretical, that helped me complete my field research. Misha Kokotovic, I truly appreciate you offering your time and your encouragement as I was completing this project.

To my cohort, Katherine, Tere, Troy, Esteban and Ralph, I am lucky to have been able to learn from each one of you throughout these 2 years, as well as have you all to distract me when I needed it most.

*Al final, quiero dar gracias a todos los niños y niñas a quienes tuve la oportunidad de conocer en este proyecto. Siempre persigan sus grandes sueños.*

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

From the Classroom to the Home: The Repercussions of the Growing Divisions in  
Public and Private Schooling in Peru

by

Jacqueline Rose Wagner

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

University of California, San Diego, 2013

Professor Christine Hunefeldt, Chair

As public schools in Peru consistently rank in the bottom in numerous international and national education assessments, private school enrollments have begun to spike. Private schools are filled with students from the elite and upper middle classes, leaving public schools predominantly comprised of middle to lower classes since the parents are unable to afford a private school tuition. It is this growing division that has been labeled an ‘educational apartheid’ within the educational system

in Peru. This thesis sets out to explore this apartheid at the local level in Lima, Peru. The intent of this project was to conduct ethnographic research on a public and a private primary school to investigate any perceived differences that may support the existence of educational inequalities that contribute to an educational apartheid. When looking at the Peruvian school system as a whole, the educational apartheid is occurring, especially including the larger and more costly private schools; however, when investigating smaller communities, private schools are seen as a path for social mobility, even if these expectations may be false. The case studies revealed that both public and private schools had positive and negative practices; therefore blurring the assumption that private is always better. In order to confront this educational apartheid, this thesis provides educational policy recommendations that call for attention on policies that are inclusive of all actors (teachers, students, parents) within the educational system, as well as systematic and methodical implementation to insure the success of future educational reforms in Peru.

## **Introduction**

This thesis is available to you today because I have had the opportunity to receive an education supported by invested teachers, high resourced schools, and parents that have encouraged my intellectual exploration. Through my time living in Peru, I quickly realized that accessibility to schools does not equate to accessibility to education. I felt that since I was given the opportunities that many do not have, I must use my education to shine the light on those that are not receiving the same. Education is not a problem strictly in developing countries, but also in “first world nations,” including the United States. However, in developing countries a failing education system only further exacerbates existing inequalities. This thesis intends to call attention to the grave situation of the educational system in Peru and discuss how the system’s failures have long-term effects on the lives of the children who are excluded from a quality education.

### **Educational Apartheid**

Peru has instituted a kind of educational apartheid that no longer astonishes the state and much of society: a quality education that is relevant and creates opportunities for those who can afford it or those that have the fortune of living in modern urban centers; a fictitious education, depleted of resources and discourages the majority of the population.

*-Consejo Nacional de Educación, Peru*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Consejo Nacional de Educación, *Hacia un proyecto educactivo nacional 2006- 2021*, (Peru: Consejo Nacional de Educación, 2005), accessed November 2, 2012, 37.  
<http://www.cne.gob.pe/docs/cne-pen/Hacia-un-Proyecto-Educativo-Nacional-set05.pdf>

The current educational system in Peru has been labeled an ‘educational apartheid,’ by its own national committee on education. The catalyst to this apartheid is a growing disparity between enrollment in private and public schooling in Peru. Realizing that the public education system is failing, parents with the monetary means are enrolling their children in private schools, resulting in a decrease in public school enrollment and a spike in private school enrollment. As illustrated by the above quote, this problem extends beyond enrollment statistics; the difference in the quality of education being provided to the students is contributing to larger societal problems. As the quote describes, parents are buying a quality education, instead of having it be universally accessible. As a result, the public school children are left with a “fictitious” education that leaves them without the means to move up the societal ladder and improve their status economically. This thesis sets out to examine this educational apartheid in the Peruvian context.

### **Literature Review**

Understanding the varying facets of education and its societal role provides a unique lens to analyze society. In order to analyze the educational apartheid, it is important to conceptualize the mechanisms in which education can be used. This paper argues that education can be used as a mechanism, intentional or unintentional, to maintain class inequality through reproducing poor and elite cultures in the classroom and further segregate society.

#### *Reproduction of Class Culture*

For the purposes of this paper, I will lay out the literature that discusses the repercussions of classroom inequalities by analyzing the role of education and schools, and their influence on society at large. The literature I will call upon discusses schools as institutions that act as a sorting mechanism that places students into their intended class levels. This thesis will integrate the work of Sam Bowles and Herb Gintis, Paolo Freire, and Maria Balarin to examine how schools are reproducing “poor” and “elite” cultures through what is being taught in the classroom and the organization and procedures implemented.

### *Human and Social Capital*

I will discuss the role of human capital, according to Theodore Schultz, and how it provides elite parents with agency that then leads parents to enroll their child into private institutions. Additionally, I will address James Coleman and Thomas Hoffer’s theories on human and social capital based on the interactions between parent and child and how this further supports the positions of the elite parents and child. As a result of this “exit” to private schools, the public school system is virtually depleted of human capital, or parents with the “know-how” to approach administrators and the Ministry of Education to demand better quality schooling. As a consequence, these factors lead schools to be segregated by class level as well as racially.

### **Overview of Research and Guiding Questions**

The field research for this project took place in Callao, a province of the capital city of Lima, Peru. The intent of this project was to conduct ethnographic research on one private and one public primary school to investigate any perceived differences in

both schools that may support the existence of educational inequalities that contribute to an educational apartheid. The central question guiding this project was: *Are there apparent differences with the organization, procedures, and interpersonal relationships in public and private schools in Lima, Peru? Can these differences be attributed to the educational apartheid?* In order to answer the larger research question, I needed to address smaller, more specific sub-questions:

1. What differences/similarities can be observed in the material infrastructure and organization in Peruvian public (SC) and private schools (SM)?
2. What differences/similarities can be observed in the instructional practices and processes in the classroom?
3. What differences/similarities can be observed in the development of interpersonal relationships in school? Student-teacher, student-student?
4. What external factors impede or promote the access to a quality education? Race, economic status, location?

### **Organization of Thesis**

This thesis is divided into five chapters, beginning with an overview of the state of education in Peru, including a discussion on government expenditure, lack of accountability, devalued teachers, all of which contribute to the proposed ‘educational apartheid.’ Chapter 2 explores the reform, *Ley General de Educación* proposed by President Juan Velasco Alvarado in the early 1970s, to discuss the origin of the problems that linger today, as well as provide a cautionary tale of the results of a failed implementation of a reform. The remaining chapters will discuss my field research, explaining my methodological approaches and my findings from the classroom observations, in order to argue that the ‘educational apartheid,’ as claimed by the *Consejo Nacional de Educación*, is a self-perpetuating cycle based on societal inequalities that lead to a segregated school system. The final chapter will analyze the



contributing factors that may be creating this apartheid, as well as the repercussions on society. In concluding this thesis, I will provide further implications of this body of work, along with suggestions for future research and education policy.

## Chapter 1: The Crisis in Peruvian Education

Peru has nearly achieved universal access to education for all primary school-aged children and continues to improve retention rates. While Basic Education<sup>2</sup> in Peru is obligatory for all children beginning at the age of six, the quality of this education, as measured by national and international assessments, reveals that it is not meeting expectations. This chapter will provide an outline of the state of education and student performance in Peru and discuss three aspects that influence Peru's low ranking performance. These three critical factors -- low government expenditure, lack of accountability in the Ministry of Education and devalued teachers -- contribute to the growing division between public and private schooling, which has been labeled an *educational apartheid*.<sup>3</sup> It is the phenomenon of the educational apartheid that has guided this project. However in order to assess this phenomenon more broadly, I will provide some background on the current state of education in Peru.

### Where Does Peru Rank at the International Level?

Currently in public schools, Peru has a 96% completion rate from primary school and a 92% transition rate from primary to secondary schooling.<sup>4</sup> Upon graduating from secondary school, students may go on to higher education at a university, an institute or receive technical training. There are a total of 35,917

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<sup>2</sup> As of March 2013, the Peruvian Ministry of Education stated on their website that Basic Education constitutes six years of primary school and five years of secondary school.

<sup>3</sup> Consejo Nacional de Educación, *Hacia un proyecto educactivo nacional 2006- 2021*, 37.

<sup>4</sup> "UNESCO Data Center." Last modified January 21, 2013.

[http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=143&IF\\_Language=eng](http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=143&IF_Language=eng)

primary schools and 12,527 secondary schools established throughout Peru.<sup>5</sup> For higher education, these numbers fluctuate between 900- 1600.<sup>6</sup> While these figures show that Peru has increased national access to basic education and significantly lowered illiteracy rates, the quality of education remains low. According to the Peruvian national examination of second grade students, *Evaluación Censal de Estudiantes*, only 23% of students met the expected reading comprehension skills. Additionally, only 13.5% of students reached the logical-mathematical reasoning standards.<sup>7</sup>

On the international level, the 2009 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which was administered by the Organization for the Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), further revealed the lack of effectiveness of schooling in Peru. In the PISA 2009, Peru ranked 63 out of 65 participating countries in reading and ranked 64 in Mathematics and Science.<sup>8</sup> Looking more in depth, the results show that out of the participating countries in the Latin American region, Peru ranked last. (Figure 1.1) Peru has made minimal improvements since the last PISA exam in 2000, in which Peru ranked last out of all 41 participating countries.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> This thesis will specifically focus on the urban setting; however it is important to note that the accessibility to schools in the rural areas is much less.

<sup>6</sup> “Peru: Matricula en el Sistema educactivo por tipo de gestion y area geografica, segun etapa, modalidad y nivel educativo, 2011.” Last modified February 11, 2013. [http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/magnitudes-portlet/reporte/cuadro?anio=14&cuadro=179&forma=U&dpto=&prov=&dre=&tipo\\_ambito=ambito-ubigeo](http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/magnitudes-portlet/reporte/cuadro?anio=14&cuadro=179&forma=U&dpto=&prov=&dre=&tipo_ambito=ambito-ubigeo)

<sup>7</sup> Oscar Gonzalez et al., *Peru - Public Expenditure Review for Peru: spending for results* (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 2012), 11.

<sup>8</sup> “PISA 2009 Database,” last modified February 6, 2013.

<sup>9</sup> “PISA 2000 Database,” last modified February 6, 2013.

**Table 1.1:** PISA scores on educational achievements: Latin American countries*Source: PISA 2009*

Country	Reading Scale	Mathematics Scale	Science Scale	Rank (1-65)
Argentina	398	388	401	58
Brazil	412	386	405	53
Chile	449	421	447	44
Colombia	413	381	402	52
Mexico	425	419	416	48
Panama	371	360	376	62
Peru	370	365	369	63
Uruguay	426	427	427	47
OECD Average	493	496	501	
First Ranked	556	600	501	1
Last Ranked	314	331	330	65

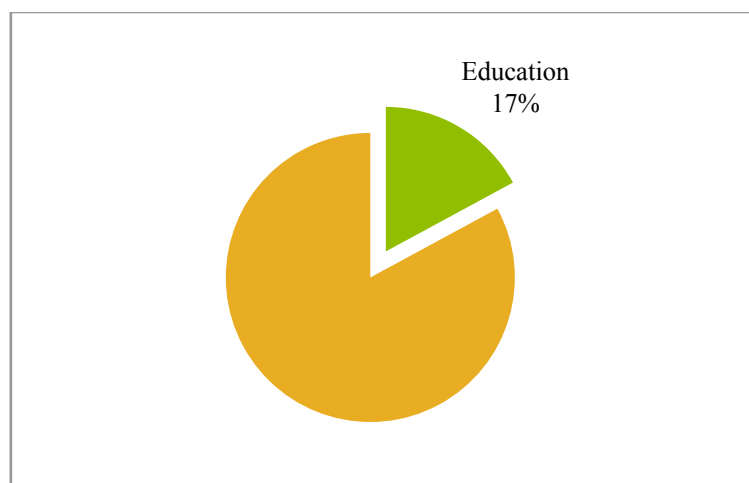
### **Contributing Factors behind the Declining Educational System**

It would be inaccurate to attribute the low achievement levels in Peru to one principal cause. Therefore, this chapter will focus on the three most significant problems: lack of funding, low accountability, and discontented teachers, all of which culminate in an increasing division between public and private schools in Peru.

#### *Low Government Expenditure on Education*

The crisis in education in Peru centrally stems from the lack of funding from the Peruvian government. Currently, Peru has one of the strongest and most stable economies in Latin America; however, the revenues from a growing economy are not allocated to education. Currently, the Peruvian government only allots 2.7% of its

GDP to education, one of the lowest government allocations in the world.<sup>10</sup> In Latin America, only the Dominican Republic has a lower education-expenditure-to-GDP ratio than Peru.<sup>11</sup> Only 17.1% of the government's total public expenditure is devoted to education (Figure 1.2) and, Peru allocates less than \$1,000 per secondary or tertiary student. Other Latin American countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, spend between two and three times more.<sup>12</sup> Without the funds to maintain school infrastructures, supply resources, and retain quality teachers, the public education system in Peru will continue to decline.



**Figure 1.1:** Public Expenditure on Education

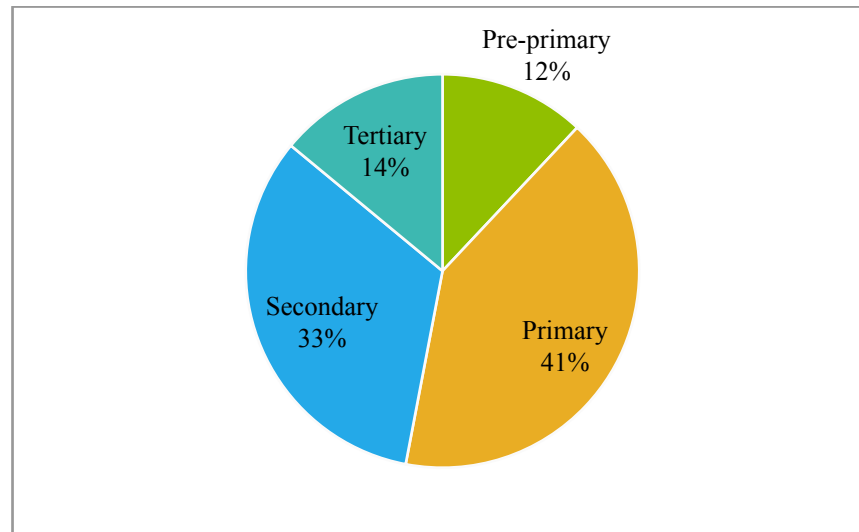
*Source: UIS Statistics, 2010*

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<sup>10</sup> World Bank. (2009). Data retrieved February 15, 2012, from World Development Indicators Online (WDI) database. < <http://data.worldbank.org/country/peru>>

<sup>11</sup> Gonzalez et al., *Peru - Public Expenditure Review for Peru : spending for results*, 43.

<sup>12</sup> OECD, *OECD Reviews of Innovation Policy: Peru 2011* (OECD Publishing, 2011), accessed January 21, 2013, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264128392-en>. 165.



**Figure 1.2:** Distribution of Educational Expenditure

*Source: UIS Statistics, 2010*

#### *Low Accountability from the Ministry of Education*

In addition to government's low investment in education, there has been a lack of stable leadership within the Peruvian Ministry of Education. Since 1990, there have been 21 different Ministers of Education, with 12 ministers in power for a year or less.<sup>13</sup> Maria Balarin argues that this severe discontinuity in leadership is reflected in the dismal state education system by the lack of accountability.<sup>14</sup> Due to the constant power change in the Ministry of Education, it is nearly impossible to see a reform carried through. These discontinuities have a severe influence on the quality of

<sup>13</sup> Ministerio de Education Peruano. "Nómina de Ministros." Last modified November 3, 2013, <http://www.minedu.gob.pe/institucional/nomina.php>.

<sup>14</sup> Maria Balarin, "Promoting educational reforms in weak states: The case of radical policy discontinuity in Peru." *Globalization, Societies and Education* 6(2), (2008): 163-178.

education because new agendas are constantly created and leaving the old ones behind to be forgotten.

However, in October 2012, a significant reform, the *Ley de Reforma Magisterial*, was passed, making it one of the deepest reforms in the past decade. The *Ley de Reforma Magisterial* regulates teacher training, opportunities for promotion, the rights and duties of the profession, salary and the grounds for termination, to name a few.<sup>15</sup> The Ministry of Education, along with numerous congressmen and politicians, have advocated for the passing of this reform. The head of Ministers in Peru, Juan Jiménez Mayor, even stated, “*Es la más importante del Estado*” (It’s the most important [reform] in the state).<sup>16</sup> However, there has been significant backlash towards this reform from teachers and the teacher’s union, SUTEP (Sindicato Unitario de Trabajadores en la Educación del Perú), revealing the frustration teachers feel with how reforms are implemented.

### *Discontented Teachers*

The most voiced frustrations coming from schoolteachers are their low salaries, the minimal resources adjudicated to schools, and the lacking value and appreciation for their work. Such frustrations were first expressed in the 1940s and have continued until today. Teachers still feel that they are constantly identified as the

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<sup>15</sup> “Ministra Salas defendió Ley de Reforma Magisterial ante acusación del Conare-Sutep,” *El Comercio*, January 7, 2013, Accessed April 1, 2013, <http://elcomercio.pe/actualidad/1519765/noticia-ministra-salas-defendio-ley-reforma-magisterial-ante-acusacion-conare-sutep>.

<http://www.drel.gob.pe/documentos/Proyecto%20Ley%20de%20Reforma%20Magisterial.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> “Jiménez sobre Ley de Reforma Magisterial: “*Es la más importante del Estado*,” *El Comercio*, August 20, 2012, Accessed April 1, 2013, <http://elcomercio.pe/actualidad/1458458/noticia-jimenez-sobre-ley-reforma-magisterial-mas-importante-estado>.

“problem” and in need of being “reformed.” One example of relegation occurred during Alan Garcia Perez’s presidency in the 1980’s. At that time, the government attempted to counter the failing educational system by focusing on “quantity” over “quality,” mainly by building new schools throughout the country. In order to supply the new schools with teachers, while at the same time lowering expenses, the government lowered the requirements and qualifications for teachers to become teachers. As a consequence, many poorly trained and unqualified teachers entered the newly built classrooms.<sup>17</sup> Instead of improving education, these actions further threatened the quality of education in Peru, as well as the positions of qualified teachers. Ironically, in 2006 when Garcia was re-elected, he blamed the teachers for their poor teaching due to their lack of training. To level the training disparities among teachers, *the Consejo Nacional de Educación*, under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, created the National Education Plan in 2007 to discuss the general improvement of the quality of education. The Plan’s focus was to implement teacher evaluations. According to Marit van der Tuin and Antoni Verger, the design itself in addition to the vagaries in the implementation of teacher evaluations had adverse effects on teachers’ daily; in some cases the interference the evaluations meant worsened the problem.

By Fall 2012 this process of administering Teacher Evaluations was brought up again in the recently passed, *Ley de Reforma Magisterial* (presented in the prior

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<sup>17</sup> Van der Tuin, Marit and Antoni Verger, “Evaluating Teachers in Peru: Policy Shortfalls and Political Implications.” *Global Managerial Education Reforms and Teachers: Emerging Policies, Controversies and Issues in Developing Contexts*, ed. by Antoni Verger. Hülya Altinyelken and Mireille de Koning, (Brussels: Education International, 2013), 127.



section). Teacher evaluations are seen as a way to “weed” out “bad” teachers, “bad” sometimes also meaning teachers who do not conform to aprista party lines. The Peruvian government and the Ministry of Education never admitted to their own error, namely, staffing more schools with unqualified teachers. However, teachers remember and, the new reform efforts are perceived as a direct attack on teachers. This is possibly the main reason for why continued teacher evaluations continue antagonizing teachers and intensify their frustrations.

In addition, the national teachers union, SUTEP, which has historically been a highly vocal advocate for teachers known for their Leftist alignment, has organized recent strikes against the *Ley de Reforma Magisterial*. In 2012, teachers walked out of the classroom on strike for a total of one month; the government responded by closing down various schools.<sup>18</sup> Besides protests in Lima’s streets, teachers carried their frustrations into the classroom, a mindset that affected their teaching, consciously or subconsciously. As students tend to side with their teachers, the transmission of knowledge in the classroom becomes problematic and naturally leads to further disruptions and increases the educational gap.

The teaching profession in Peru is far from an ideal career. In Peru, society views the profession as a “second choice.” It has become a stigmatized and devalued profession, largely resulting from the low pay they receive. In fact, teachers’ salaries are so low that the government struggles to recruit enough teachers to fill in the

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<sup>18</sup> Manuel Vigo. “Peru’s public school teachers return to classroom, after month-long strike,” *Peru this Week*, October 11, 2012, Accessed April 1, 2013, <http://www.peruthisweek.com/news-2953-Peru%C3%A2%E2%82%AC%E2%84%A2s-public-school-teachers-return-to-classroom-after-month-long-strike/>.

available positions. In 2007, one study found that living only off a teacher's salary in Peru placed one under the poverty threshold.<sup>19</sup> In 2011, a teacher's salary in Peru was around 475 soles a month (US\$ 173).<sup>20</sup> Therefore, in order to subsist, many teachers are forced to look for other employment to supplement their income. According to the newspaper *El Comercio*, after the passing of the *Ley de Reforma Magisterial*, in November 2013, the MINEDU minister Patricia Salas announced a pay raise for teachers from 100 to 500 soles per month the beginning of 2013.<sup>21</sup> However, the raises were made contingent upon teachers' evaluations and, more generally, the implementation of the level-based program of the *Ley de Reforma Magisterial*. As a result, teachers have not seen their salaries increased and are still, as of May 2013, (angrily) waiting.

### **Division between Public and Private**

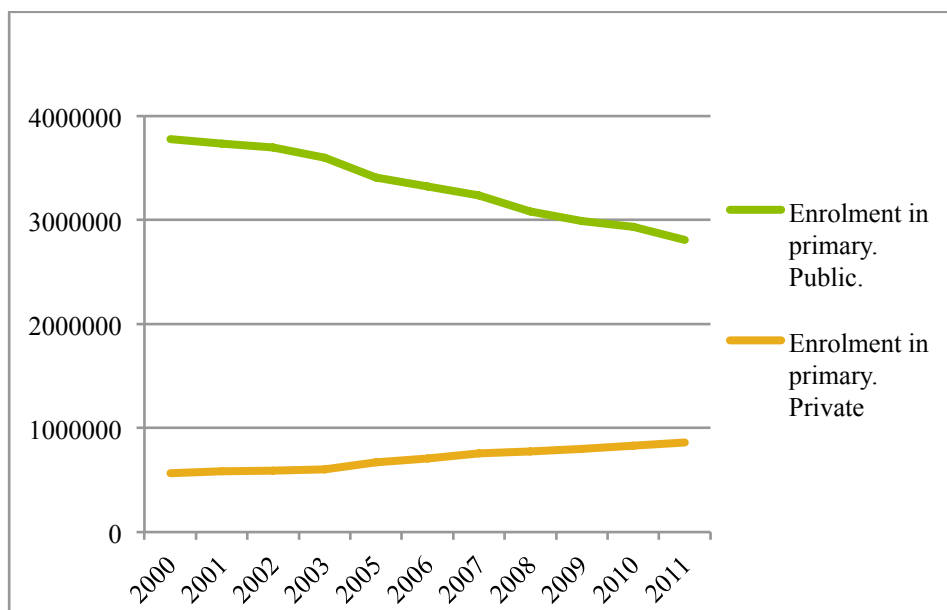
The aforementioned problematic indicators, poor performance on the PISA assessment, the low expenditure on education, lack of accountability, and underpaid teachers, all contribute to the grave deficits in the Peruvian educational system. These deficiencies have resulted in an increasing enrollment shift from public to private schools. More and more parents are opting to enroll their children in sometimes-subsidized private school to avoid being caught in the "educational drain," as illustrated by the graph below. (Figure 1.4)

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<sup>19</sup> Van der Tuin and Verger, "Evaluating Teachers in Peru," 132.

<sup>20</sup> Van der Tuin and Verger, "Evaluating Teachers in Peru," 133.

<sup>21</sup> "Minedu: aumento a docentes será a partir de enero del próximo año." *El Comercio*, November 16, 2012. Accessed April 1, 2013. <http://elcomercio.pe/actualidad/1497388/noticia-minedu-aumento-docentes-partir-enero-proximo-ano>.



**Figure 1.3:** Enrollment of Public and Private Schools in Peru

*Source: World Bank Data, 2011*

Currently in Peru, 78% of students in Peru attend a publicly managed school and 22% attend privately managed schools. According to the OECD, the public percentage is below the average, and the private percentage is above the average with 18% of students in a country enrolled in a private school.<sup>22</sup> In Latin America, Peru ranked third, behind Chile and Argentina, for the highest percentage of private schooled students. This division is even larger when specifically looking at the capital

<sup>22</sup> OECD, *Public and Private Schools: How Management and Funding Relate to their Socio-economic Profil.*, (OECD Publishing, 2012), accessed February 5, 2013, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264175006-en>. 19.

city of Lima, where 60% of students are enrolled in a private institution. In primary school in Lima, this number further increases to 68%.<sup>23</sup>

In Callao, where this case study was conducted, there are a total of 1,761 schools. The number of primary schools is 526, with 120 public schools and 406 private schools. In other words, 77% of primary schools are privately managed. The number of secondary schools decreases almost in half, with only 283 schools, due to fewer students remaining in school. Despite this decrease, 70% of secondary schools are still privately managed.<sup>24</sup>

Acknowledging this divide, the *Consejo Nacional de Educación* declared in 2005:

We have an anti-education, one that generates an anti-development: reproduces and amplifies inequalities, promotes an authoritarian culture, affirms one culture over another, scorns and nullifies knowledge, creative practices and attitudes in the population.<sup>25</sup>

As highlighted by the above quotation, this shift in enrollment is perpetuating a much larger problem in Peru; it is creating an educational apartheid.<sup>26</sup> Viewing education as a path to upward mobility, parents who can afford the costs of private schooling choose to invest in their children's education, rather than fighting for a

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<sup>23</sup> "Lima: Matricula en el Sistema educativo por tipo de gestion y area geografica, segun etapa, modalidad y nivel educativo, 2011." Last modified February 11, 2013.

<sup>24</sup> "Callao: Matricula en el Sistema educativo por tipo de gestion y area geografica, segun etapa, modalidad y nivel educativo, 2011." Last modified February 11, 2013.

[http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/magnitudes-portlet/reporte/cuadro?anio=14&cuadro=179&forma=U&dpto=07&prov=0701&dist=&dre=&tipo\\_ambito=ambito-ubigeo](http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/magnitudes-portlet/reporte/cuadro?anio=14&cuadro=179&forma=U&dpto=07&prov=0701&dist=&dre=&tipo_ambito=ambito-ubigeo).

<sup>25</sup> Consejo Nacional de Educación, *Hacia un proyecto educativo nacional 2006- 2021*, 37.

<sup>26</sup> Balarin, "Promoting educational reforms in weak states: The case of radical policy discontinuity in Peru," 165.

better quality in the national public schooling system.<sup>27</sup> The growing gap in numbers, as well as quality, between public and private education seems unavoidable and will have significant long-term consequences on the country's patterns of social mobility and, consequently, on the living standards of the Peruvian people. It is this divide and its consequences that my thesis explores through case studies in Callao. The case studies help explain why parents are increasingly deciding to take their children to privately managed schools, as well as the consequences of the public/private divide on Peru's social segregation and potentially conflicting future.

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<sup>27</sup> Gina Crivello, "Becoming somebody': Youth transitions through education and migration evidence from Young Lives, Peru" (Oxford: Young Lives, 2009): 1-36.

## Chapter 2: A Class Lesson from the Past

Just as it is important to understand the present day educational system in Peru, it is equally important to understand how the education system declined. The four aspects discussed in the previous chapter have a long historical trajectory, beginning since the 1940s. This chapter seeks to assess how Peru's educational system was (and is) embedded in the country's overarching economic and political transitions.

As a consequence of the internal migration from rural areas to urban centers beginning in the 1940s, more governmental attention was given to urban developments, including the need to build new schools and hire more teachers to educate the rapidly increasing number of children settling in cities. Since the government was unable to quickly respond to this exploding demand, private schools filled in the gap. In 1968, to avoid the further divide and gap between private and public schools, as well as in society at large, the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces (Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas) led by President General Juan Velasco Alvarado, spearheaded the most significant education reform to date, the *Ley General*. This reform was intent in addressing overall inequality and inequities within the schooling system; in a very similar line of argument to what is still being discussed today. Back in the late 1960s, the *Ley General* – in spite of its good intentions – resulted in failure largely due to its top-down conception and implementation, excluding the main social actors, namely, the schoolteachers, who were directly affected by the reform.

An examination of the Velasco's *Ley General* reveals that schools in the late 60s and 70s had problems similar to those detected fifty years later. Additionally, it provides a cautionary tale as to how governments should tackle and solve educational problems. In Velasco's case, the reform had a strong theoretical underpinning as it resorted to education-system-models, particularly from Eastern Germany. However, it lacked a viable implementation strategy leading to its ultimate demise.

### **Internal Migration and the Shift to Private Schooling**

From the 1940s onwards, Latin American countries experienced rapid economic and population growth. World War II prompted the demand for Latin American goods and materials. When the economic expansion began dwindling in the 1960s and 1970s, increasing numbers of people who had migrated to urban areas found themselves pushed to the margins of the urban economies; many were unable to revert back to rural endeavors. The result was an angered and anxious citizenry. Unemployment rates spiked, internal migration to the cities continued. As a reaction to growing instability, military regimes came to power in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Peru.<sup>28</sup> Peru was no exception to this general trajectory. However, among the military regimes, Peru was the only with a leftist slant eager to transform the country's social structure on two main counts: an agrarian and an educational reform. The social structure was characterized by stern class and race differences.

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<sup>28</sup> Thomas E. Skidmore, Peter H. Smith, James N. Green. *Modern Latin America*. (New York : Oxford University Press, 2010), 383-384.

Prior to the 1940s, the relatively stagnant racial system of whites, mestizos, and indios, was reflected in the Peruvian educational system, as well as the result of the prevailing educational system. Private schools were reserved for white elites, mestizos attended public schools, and indios were uneducated.<sup>29</sup> The ranging geography and Peru's diverse ethnic groups had a strong bearing on the (under) development of the educational system and, at the same time perpetuated the fragmentation of society. Similar to the rest of Latin America, education began to be a strong incentive to emigrate to urban centers. The demand for education was attached to the idea of social mobility, to "become somebody", and economic advancement. However, the majority of those leaving the rural areas were the more educated and more skilled. Migration was "brain-draining," depriving rural communities of their better-educated and skilled labor force. As a result, cities were swamped by workers, salaries dropped, and un- and under-employment rates hiked.<sup>30</sup> In 1967, the national rate of unemployment was 5.2%, but in metropolitan Lima it reached 26%.<sup>31</sup>

With the waves of internal migration, population growth, and economic development, the educational system experienced a major enrollment expansion in the 1950s and 1960s. The growing number of children coming from rural areas found their way into urban schools. Since these children mainly had an indigenous background, their schooling process also meant an insertion – sometimes for the first time – into a non-indigenous cultural environment. In sheer numbers, Peru

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<sup>29</sup> Rolland G. Paulston, "Teacher Supply and Demand Problems in a Developing Society: Peru." *U.S. Department of Education and Welfare*. (1970):7-8.

<sup>30</sup> Wadi Haddad and Terry Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking: Case studies of Burkina Faso, Jordan, Peru, and Thailand* (Washington, D.C: World Bank, 1994), 26.

<sup>31</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 26.



experienced the largest increase in school enrollments in its history, primarily in urban schools.<sup>32</sup> From 1958 to 1968, the number of primary schools rose from 13,473 schools to 20,049 and secondary schools from 552 to 1,805. Resulting in a 48% and 200% increase, respectively.<sup>33</sup> Compared to other Latin American nations, Peru had the second growth rate of primary schools and third for secondary school enrollment.<sup>34</sup>

When President Fernando Belaúnde Terry was elected president in 1963, he pledged his commitment to the modernization of Peru, naming education as a primary mechanism to achieve this goal. During Belaúnde's term, education greatly improved and illiteracy rates dropped substantially. Belaúnde recognized the need for funding education in order to implement significant changes. During Belaúnde's presidency, nearly 5% of the Gross National Product was spent on education, an amount that proved to be unsustainable in the long run.<sup>35</sup> Alongside education, Belaúnde sought to implement an agrarian reform, which would become a thorn in his side. After an initial attempt to redistribute land, Congress blocked further efforts for agrarian reform and peasants in the sierras reacted violently. When in addition to internal unrest the Peruvian economy took a hit in 1967, many of the promises Belaúnde had made went unfulfilled and resulted in even higher levels of social unrest. Various guerrilla movements, especially in the highlands, emerged to launch a revolution and

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<sup>32</sup> Balarin, "Promoting educational reforms in weak states: The case of radical policy discontinuity in Peru." 163-178.

<sup>33</sup> Rolland G. Paulston, "Teacher Supply and Demand Problems in a Developing Society: Peru." 1-36.

<sup>34</sup> Robert S. Drysdale and Robert G. Myers, "Continuity and Change: Peruvian Education." In *The Peruvian experiment : Continuity and change under military rule*, ed. by Abraham Frederic Lowenthal. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 254-301.

<sup>35</sup> Drysdale, and Myers, "Continuity and Change: Peruvian Education," 256.

Belaúnde's command responded with force, killing thousands of peasants.<sup>36</sup> General Juan Velasco Alvarado and his revolutionary military saw this as their opportunity to intervene.

### **Velasco's Fears of a Segregated Society**

As mentioned earlier on, General Juan Velasco Alvarado aimed at eliminating the stark class divisions that defined the country and he set out to implement these changes. A major political shift took place in October of 1968 when the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces headed by Velasco Alvarado led a successful coup d'état that resulted in the overthrow of President Belaúnde Terry. Unlike other military regimes in power in Latin America, Velasco did not set out to develop a socialist state, like Castro's Cuban revolution, nor repress the working class as in Chile and Argentina; Velasco wanted to integrate the urban and rural populations into society. To accomplish this, Velasco and his leftist military enacted the Plan Inca, the ideological justification for the regime. Originally developed by the officers of the Center for Advanced Military Studies, the Plan listed thirty-one aspects of concern.<sup>37</sup> The goals outlined in the Plan Inca sought to develop and modernize the country, diminishing inequalities and promoting Peruvian national identity and culture. To achieve these goals, Velasco following the Plan Inca nationalized petroleum, engaged in an extensive agrarian and industrial reform that would give power to peasants and

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<sup>36</sup> Skidmore, Smith, and Green. *Modern Latin America*, 167-168.

<sup>37</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 29.

the working class, and enacted a comprehensive educational reform aimed at restructuring the entire educational system.<sup>38</sup>

The agrarian reform was the foundation of Velasco's campaign. Immediately after his coup, Velasco began implementing the agrarian reform, with the goal of taking away land from the large (oligarchic) landowners and redistribute it equally to the peasantry and plantation workers. The 1969 Agrarian Reform law called for a governmental expropriation of coastal and highland land, taking it from those who had for decades amassed huge tracks of land. In spite of complaints and protests coming from campesinos in coastal and highland regions who wanted to speed up the expropriation procedures, by 1979 expropriations had reached 3.68 million acres of land, 30% of Peru's total cultivable land.<sup>39</sup> Velasco's agrarian reform gained attention for its comprehensive scale and the speed with which it was implemented, making it the largest land reform in Latin America since the Cuban Revolution.<sup>40</sup> However, in the end the agrarian reform did not accomplish as much as expected. Only 39% of agricultural land was affected and only a quarter of the rural population benefitted from the reform.<sup>41</sup> The same goals underlying the radical agrarian reform were mirrored in the educational reform that Velasco sought to enact next.

### **The State of Education prior to the *Ley General***

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<sup>38</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, "The Rural Landscape and Changing Political Awareness" in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society*, ed. Maxwell Cameron et al. (Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1997) 108-133.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Reid, *Peru, Paths to poverty*. (London: Latin America Bureau and Third World Publications, 1985), 47.

<sup>40</sup> Skidmore, Smith, and Green. *Modern Latin America*, 169.

<sup>41</sup> Reid, *Paths to Poverty*, 47.

Velasco feared that the societal and class hierarchies in Peru would be perpetuated through schooling. He knew that children in rural areas had higher rates of illiteracy and were not enrolling in schools, in comparison to their counterparts in urban areas. He also was aware of the increasing divide between public and private schools and wanted to provide equal opportunities to all citizens so the entire country could prosper.

The Revolutionary Armed Forces recognized that numerous societal problems converged in the educational system. The combination of rapid enrollment expansion and a school system originally designed by the Spanish elite led to three inherent problems: lack of educational opportunities, inequitable distribution of educational possibilities, and irrelevance of the curriculum.<sup>42</sup> Despite some progress in education during Belaúnde's term, over one quarter of Peru's children were not enrolled in schools in 1971 and one-third of adults remained illiterate.

First, a lack of educational opportunities meant that education was inaccessible to a part of the Peruvian population. Enrollment rates show that 20% of children of primary school age were not enrolled in school and secondary school was worse with only 70% of the age group (12-16 years) enrolled.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, a university level education was mainly reserved for elites. The overall effectiveness of schooling was poor as evidenced by low retention rates. Data from the World Bank shows that only

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<sup>42</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 26.

<sup>43</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 26.

38% of students successfully completed primary school and the graduation rate from secondary education was a dismal 12%.<sup>44</sup>

Secondly, educational services were unevenly distributed between the urban and rural areas. Schools in the urban communities greatly benefited from the major school expansion from the previous decade, including the construction of new public school buildings and the influx of new teachers.<sup>45</sup> As a consequence in 1967, only 18.4% of the population was uneducated but in the rural areas the rate reached 70.3%.<sup>46</sup> Literacy rates also expose this inequity, with literacy rates of up to 85% in the cities and only 40% in rural areas.<sup>47</sup> This disproportion can be partially attributed to the geographical disparities and ethnic diversity in the rural regions. Haddad highlights that the inequity did not only include the lack of access to schools but the lack of access to a quality education. Schools in each region of the country varied in the caliber of their resources, qualifications of teachers and instructional material. For example, textbooks were not provided freely to students; therefore they were only accessible to those that could afford to buy them. Furthermore, this inequity carried over into the labor market, where lower quality schooling yielded lower level jobs and better schooling yielded high-level jobs.<sup>48</sup> This encouraged the perception that the wealthy were smarter. Employers regularly preferred and hired candidates with a private school education and dismissed those with a public school education.

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<sup>44</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 29.

<sup>45</sup> Rolland G. Paulston, "Teacher Supply and Demand Problems in a Developing Society: Peru." 1-36. Bizot, Judith, *Educational reform in Peru*, (Paris: the UNESCO Press, 1975), 12.

<sup>46</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 27.

<sup>47</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 27.

<sup>48</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 27.

This inequity was accentuated further by the [in] effectiveness of the curriculum in relation to the job market. The school system was “isolated, irrelevant, and incapable of preparing Peruvians for life.”<sup>49</sup> In the classroom, the underlying problems were in the curriculum, teaching style and the values instilled. Textbooks and course materials reinforced racial and economic divisions, rather than promoting a sense of national unity. The school system was structured to benefit elite students enabling them to continue on to a university education, whereas the rest of the students began their adult lives at a disadvantage being ill prepared for the work force. Additionally, the teaching style and the values taught in the classroom were still grounded in Spanish-Mestizo culture.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, underprivileged students were faced with the difficult task of learning material that seemed impractical and removed from their personal experiences and culture. According to Haddad, “the education system was judged to serve neither the economic, cultural nor national interest of the society.” This reality discouraged children from the lower echelons of society to continue their education. For them, working seemed more beneficial than continue sitting in a classroom.

In addition to the inherent institutional problems associated with schooling, the military inherited a quite significant educational program from President Belaúnde’s administration. This program included an increased investment in education (5% of GNP and 25% of the federal budget). Such a relatively high investment forced the military to continue providing high levels of funding for education or risk public

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<sup>49</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 28.

<sup>50</sup> Mattias Vom Hau, “Unpacking the school: Textbooks, teachers, and the construction of nationhood in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru.” *Latin American Research Review* 44 (2009): 127-154.

protest, especially in Peru's major cities. Added to an increased financial stress, came higher expectations and a heightened value placed on education. As a result, enrollment rates and teacher salaries grew.<sup>51</sup> Given the growing financial constraints and the higher expectations, President Velasco's regime faced more challenges with education than the prior Belaúnde regime.

### **Theoretical Basis for the Education Reform: *Informe General of 1970***

The conditions in Peru had ripened to a point where there was unanimous support from a wide-range of social actors for a deeper reform of the educational system. Each group, however, had its own opinion as to how to implement changes. Teachers were primarily interested in salary increases; universities were concerned about maintaining their autonomy; students and parents were eager to uphold the value of an education and degree in relation to the job market. The range in priorities voiced from different quarters did not facilitate the implementation of the reform.

President Velasco himself acknowledged the importance of the reform in his Address to the Nation on the 149<sup>th</sup> Independence Anniversary in 1970:

Unless there is an enduring, far-reaching and effective transformation of the Peruvian education, there can be no guarantee of the success and continuity of the revolution's other structural reforms. Thus educational reform, the most complex but perhaps the most important of all, is a vital necessity for Peru's development and a major objective for our revolution.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Drysdale, and Myers, "Continuity and Change: Peruvian Education," 257.

<sup>52</sup> Juan Velasco Alvarado, *La revolución Peruana*, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1973).

The government was aware that in order to fix the innate problems of the school system and maintain the Belaunde inspired momentum, any educational reform would have to address each problem in a case-to-case scenario. As a first step toward educational reform, Velasco established the Educational Reform Commission (Comision de la Reforma Educativa) in 1969. In a setting where the Ministry of Education and the schooling administrators were highly politicized, the Revolutionary Armed Forces feared resistance and opted to choose individuals from outside the administration of the Ministry of Education to conform the Commission. Such individuals were mostly left-wing intellectuals.<sup>53</sup> Various religious leaders and members of the clergy also became active in the Commission, a move that eased the potential conflict between the church and the state. A scholar in educational issues, Emilio Barrantes was designated as president and “philosopher”; and, the president of the Higher Council of Education, Augusto Salazar Bondy became a key contributor to the ideas behind the new reform.<sup>54</sup>

As a precursor to the educational reform of 1972, Velasco’s government published the *Informe General* in 1970. The *Informe* established the philosophical foundation for the upcoming law. Renowned yet controversial intellectuals, Paolo Freire and Ivan Illich, were referenced to highlight the use of schools to liberate the poor (Freire)<sup>55</sup> and the need to rid

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<sup>53</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 30.

<sup>54</sup> Carlos Malpica, “Education and the community in the Peruvian educational reform” *International Review of Education*. 26(1980): 360.

<sup>55</sup> Paolo Freire, *The politics of education: Culture, power, and liberation* (South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey, 1985).



schools of “passive learning” (Illich).<sup>56</sup> The Commission’s overarching goal for education was to produce “the new Peruvian man in a new Peruvian society.”<sup>57</sup> According to Salazar Bondy, education needed to be accessible to all rather than continuing to be the exclusive preserve of the elite. As it stood, schools were viewed as perpetuating Peru’s social stratification. In a speech, Velasco argued: “the traditional educational system, an integral part of the overall socioeconomic structure, was designed to contribute to the maintenance of that structure.”<sup>58</sup> Therefore to achieve an educational and societal transformation, the reform would require a radical change in values, or as Freire would phrase it, an enhanced level of conscientization.<sup>59</sup>

Following Freire’s thoughts, the *Ley General* set out to do more than teach children. In his view, students had to become more aware of their place in society by encouraging collaboration and participation. Learning would become praxis, the combination of theory and practice, instead of the passive memorization of facts.<sup>60</sup> Conscientization through education would create a citizen aware of his/her responsibilities and rights, someone who held an appreciation for their culture, viewed cultural differences through a lens of equality, and appreciated work as a contribution to society.<sup>61</sup> Through conscientization, the “new Peruvian man” would have a sense of pride in his nation and responsibly contribute to shape society. The *Informe General*

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<sup>56</sup> Ivan Illich, *Deschooling society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

<sup>57</sup> Bizot, *Educational reform in Peru*, 13.

<sup>58</sup> Drysdale, and Myers, “Continuity and Change: Peruvian Education,” 254.

<sup>59</sup> Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 2000).

<sup>60</sup> Jeffrey Klaiber, “The Battle over Private Education in Peru, 1968-1980: An Aspect of the Internal Struggle in the Catholic Church.” *The Americas*, 43 (1986): 138.

<sup>61</sup> Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*.

outlined that the reform would be an “educational process whereby individuals and social groups gain a critical awareness of the historical and cultural world in which they live, shoulder their responsibilities and undertake the necessary action to transform it.”<sup>62</sup>

Data and statistics compiled in the *Informe General* showed that the educational system was inadequate to handle societal complexities and that it was actually perpetuating the economic, social and cultural inequities in Peru. The report listed the following problems with the current educational system: inequity, impracticality, outmoded and highly bureaucratic, inadequately trained teachers and the absence of promoted nationalism.<sup>63</sup> In order to practically achieve its goals, the commission identified three central objectives:

- Education for work geared to the integral development of the country;
- Education for structural transformation and improvement of Peruvian society;
- Education for the self-affirmation and independence of the Peruvian nation within the international community.<sup>64</sup>

Once the *Informe General* was published, the government and the Commission trained a group of men and women from the National System for Support of Social Mobilization (SINAMOS) for three months and then sent them throughout the country to inform and mobilize the public.<sup>65</sup> SINAMOS, whose acronym can be read as “sin amos” (“without masters”) was one of the most detailed and integral organizations

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<sup>62</sup> Bizot, *Educational reform in Peru*, 17-18.

<sup>63</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 30.

<sup>64</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 30.

<sup>65</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 31.

established by the Revolutionary Armed Forces. The purpose of SINAMOS was to mobilize and educate the peasantry and working class and to foment the continued support for the military. SINAMOS' role was fundamental because it recruited and maintained the support from people at the local level. Without public support the revolution was doomed to fail. In an Address to the Nation in 1972, Velasco stated that SINAMOS "should always remain like an agile body, less bureaucratic, in deep and dynamic contact with the popular sectors of the country."<sup>66</sup> Offices were established at the local level and SINAMOS representatives were sent out throughout the country to inform citizens of the military's thinking and reforms.<sup>67</sup> The essential goal of the military and SINAMOS, was to integrate the peasants and the working class into society in order for them to become more autonomous.<sup>68</sup> SINAMOS did indeed play an integral role in promoting the educational reform by informing citizens throughout the country about the beneficial changes and impacts the reform was to make.<sup>69</sup>

### ***La Ley General de Educación de 1972***

The educational reform of our revolution aspires to create an educational system that satisfies the necessities of the whole nation, that reaches the great mass of peasants, up to now exploited and deliberately maintained in ignorance, that creates a new consciousness among all Peruvians of our basic problems, and that attempts to forge a new kind of man within a new moralities that emphasizes solidarity, labor, authentic liberty, social justice, and the

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<sup>66</sup> Velasco Alvarado, *La Revolución Peruana*, 231.

<sup>67</sup> Jaymie Heilman, *Before the Shining Path: Politics in rural Ayacucho, 1895-1980*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010.

<sup>68</sup> Skidmore, Smith, and Green. *Modern Latin America*, 169.

<sup>69</sup> Bizot, *Educational reform in Peru*, 5.

responsibilities and rights of every Peruvian man and woman.<sup>70</sup>  
 -General Juan Velasco Alvarado in a speech 1970

In order to achieve such resounding objectives, the only option – as the government perceived it – was to enact a comprehensive reform that called for a thorough restructuring of the entire educational system. Finally, and after many revisions and extended collaboration, on March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1972, the official *Ley General de Educación* (Decree No. 19326) was approved by the government and put into effect.<sup>71</sup>

The *Informe General* stipulated: “there must be changes in education from its very foundations to its operative aspects, such as infrastructure, curricula, methodology and teacher training.”<sup>72</sup> Consequently, the *Ley General* implemented five mechanisms that called for the restructuring of school infrastructure, the renovation of bilingual education, teacher training and curriculum renovation, and nuclearization.

## 1. Restructuring Schools

The first component of the reform entailed the restructuring of the school system at two levels: basic education and higher education.<sup>73</sup> Instead of the traditional six years in primary and five years in secondary school, the new reform combined

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<sup>70</sup> Drysdale, and Myers, “Continuity and Change: Peruvian Education,” 254.

<sup>71</sup> Bizot, *Educational reform in Peru*, 17.

<sup>72</sup> Bizot, *Educational reform in Peru*, 17.

<sup>73</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 31.  
 Klaiber, “The Battle over Private Education in Peru,” 137-138.

primary and secondary education to create “basic education (BES),” which was reduced to nine years. The last three years of basic education were focused on vocational and practical education. This change was aimed at solving the problem of curricular irrelevance in education.

Upon graduation from basic education, students could pursue semi-skilled jobs or could continue with higher education. If students chose to continue with their education, they could enroll in Higher Education Schools for Professional Training (ESEP). Higher Education Schools for Professional Training was a three-year program devoted to the combination of academic and vocational studies. ESEP’s were to provide skills training for both sexes for in-demand jobs, as well as provide a curriculum to prepare students for the pursuit of higher education. Graduation from ESEP’s would qualify for admission to a university, therefore making it easier for all to enter the university.<sup>74</sup>

The overall goal of restructuring the school system was to ensure that education was committed to practical and academic skills, as well as a contribution to the economy.<sup>75</sup> By providing an education beyond only academics, more skilled laborers would be better prepared for their jobs and were expected to enter the work force after graduation.<sup>76</sup> Trained workers would then join the labor market, meeting a demand for labor and, thus, build the economy.

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<sup>74</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 31.

Klaiber, “The Battle over Private Education in Peru,” 137-137.

<sup>75</sup> Balarin, “Promoting educational reforms in weak states,” 2.

Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 31.

<sup>76</sup> Drysdale, and Myers, “Continuity and Change: Peruvian Education,” 267.

## 2. Bilingual Education

President Velasco himself was a mestizo, a cultural and social background that provided – aside from the overarching diagnosis of Peruvian society – a personal interest in enacting a better integration of society. The reform did encourage racial and ethnic inclusion with the innovation of bilingual education. Prior to the reform, the language of instruction in schools was Spanish, including areas with high indigenous, non-Spanish speaking populations. To counteract the exclusion of the rural and indigenous children, the 1972 *Ley General* declared that children should continue to learn to speak, write and read in their native tongue, including Quechua, Aymara and languages from the Amazon basin. In addition to incorporating courses to teach these languages, the language instruction of all subjects was to be in their native tongue.<sup>77</sup>

There were three significant benefits to the integration of bilingual education into the schools. First, it sought to eradicate long-lasting societal divisions. Second, the act of learning through one's native language facilitates the acquisition of a second language. Lastly, it contributes to promoting and celebrating the indigenous culture, amongst themselves and the rest of the nation.<sup>78</sup> The reform also required teachers in rural schools to speak the local language, preferably native speakers. Additionally, teachers were expected to be familiar with the community and culture, an aspect, which will be further explained in the next section.

## 3. Nuclearization

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<sup>77</sup> Balarin, "Promoting educational reforms in weak states," 2.

<sup>78</sup> Bizot, *Educational reform in Peru*, 25.

The most central, yet controversial part of the reform was the creation of nuclear schools.<sup>79</sup> Nuclear schooling, a concept that originated in 1930 in the Andean region of Latin America, proposed to decentralize decision-making and promote local participation.<sup>80</sup> The *Ley General* defined nuclear schools as “the basic community organization for the coordination and management of the educational services and other services used by education, within a specific geographical area for the promotion of community life.”<sup>81</sup> This concept required all schools within each district to pool all of their resources, including teachers and facilities, and share them equally amongst the community. Nuclearization steered schools away from creating a “one size fits all” mentality and allowed each district to cater their schools to best fit the individual needs of the students and the community, instead.

Nuclearization sought to address the majority of the problems of the traditional system previously outlined, namely eliminating educational inequity and improving effectiveness. The *Ley General* stipulated that nuclear schools were to cover every region in Peru and provide consistent quality of education throughout the country. The socialist-influenced nuclear schools would give students an equal opportunity to receive a quality education from the same qualified teachers and school facilities, despite their socio-economic or racial background. As a result, this strategy was meant to eliminate the perpetuation of class inequality because of the disparity in the quality of schools.

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<sup>79</sup> Drysdale, and Myers, “Continuity and Change: Peruvian Education,” 266.

<sup>80</sup> Bizot, *Educational reform in Peru*, 28.

<sup>81</sup> Bizot, *Educational reform in Peru*, 17.  
Article 64 –*La Ley General*.

A crucial element of nuclearization was the incorporation of schools into the community by making school resources available to the public. Following Salazar Bondy's concept of education as a lifelong process, schools were also expected to remain open to the community in the evenings for adult education.<sup>82</sup> Facilities were accessible to the entire community and were used for town-hall meetings and events. Teachers were expected to be active leaders in the community by maintaining contact with parents and students and by participating in neighborhood events. These process steered education away from being an isolating force and transformed it into an integral part of the community. The success of nuclearization largely rested on the teachers; their workload would increase, yet the reform did not consider salary increases.<sup>83</sup> This would later become a cause for conflicts with teachers and their union, SUTEP and, among teachers.

#### **4. Textbooks and Curriculum**

As stated in the *Ley General*, "the educational process will awaken in the Peruvian people a critical awareness of their condition and stimulate them to participate in the historical process of removing old structures of dependence and domination."<sup>84</sup> This goal could be achieved by rewriting school textbooks. Velasco's regime sought to re-write school textbooks, replacing Spanish influence in the curriculum with Peruvian nationalism. The new textbooks were designed to promote Peruvian identity and nationalism. Up to then, students were found to be more

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<sup>82</sup> Balarin, "Promoting educational reforms in weak states," 2.

<sup>83</sup> Bizot, *Educational reform in Peru*, 38.

<sup>84</sup> Reid, *Paths to Poverty*, 50.



informed of European history and the dominance of the Spanish than the pre-conquest and culture of Peru.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, there would be less emphasis in the new textbooks on the white elites and more on understanding popular culture.

The new generation of school textbooks depicted the Peruvian people in a more realistic and relatable manner, i.e. as workers, peasants and middle class.<sup>86</sup> Despite this substantial shift in reading social relations and agency, the new textbooks continued to describe the indigenous peoples as the “other”, placing an emphasis on past and present indigenous cultures and customs, rather than on social, economic, political and cultural equality. National identity was expressed through photographs of ancient art, artifacts, and ruins. Vom Hau points out that the new textbooks described past encounters between indigenous peoples and the Spanish more realistically, depicting the colonization process as violent and genocidal. Also, gender disparity was not addressed and women were hardly acknowledged as important political or social actors.<sup>87</sup>

## **5. Teacher Training**

Due to the educational expansion in the 1950s, new schools were built and teachers were in high demand. To meet this increased demand, many teachers obtained their credentials despite being under trained. In facing this problem, the military required that teachers go through re-training programs, as an endeavor to provide quality teachers in every school. The goal of the retraining programs was to

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<sup>85</sup> Reid, *Paths to Poverty*, 50.

<sup>86</sup> Vom Hau, “Unpacking the school,” 140.

<sup>87</sup> Vom Hau, “Unpacking the school,” 141.

update teaching styles, to ensure all teachers were well prepared, and to make the classroom more inclusive of all students. During their re-training, teachers were made more aware of the social, cultural and economic differences of their students in order to be more empathetic and adjust their methodology in diverse and needed ways.

In the classroom, teachers were to transition from just teaching *at* the students, to creating an environment where students were empowered to incorporate their own experiences in their learning. This was further encouraged by the innovation of the textbooks, as these allowed students to better relate to the material. Teachers were also instructed on how to teach their students *how* to learn, so that learning could become a continual process even outside of the classroom.<sup>88</sup>

### **Results of Implementation**

Upon the passing of the *Ley General*, the military embarked on translating the general goals into an action plan. As the reforms began to be implemented, Velasco's regime became noticeably more authoritarian. The Revolutionary Armed Forces became involved in so many social aspects and with so many interest groups that the government ended up alienating the masses instead of receiving support. No group felt safe from the military's involvement.<sup>89</sup> Velasco's health was also rapidly deteriorating and eventually caused him to step down from power in 1975. His successor, General Francisco Morales Bermudez, was also part of the Revolutionary Armed Forces but was significantly more conservative in his political outlooks. Once in power,

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<sup>88</sup> Fiona Wilson. "Representing the state? School and teacher in post-Sendero Peru," *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 19 (2000): 1-16.

<sup>89</sup> Skidmore, Smith and Green. *Modern Latin America*, 170.

Bermudez set out to retract from the repressive nature of Velasco's actions. The educational reforms were affected by this backpedaling, causing the ongoing implementation to become significantly flawed.

The ultimate "failure" of the reform can be attributed to three causes: the vertical approach to drafting the reform, the delayed implementation, and its excessive ideological nature.<sup>90</sup> First, the reform was drafted in a very top-down manner. Despite its socialist objective, the military grew increasingly repressive. The reform did not consult the teachers, schools nor the public for their suggestions or opinions. Moreover, the reform demanded more work from schoolteachers, yet did not include a salary increase nor other incentives. Furthermore, the exclusion of teachers from the drafting process ultimately contributed to igniting their resistance. As the government moved more to the right, the educational budget was cut further back. This resulted in goals not being completed, including the providing of texts in Quechua (and other indigenous languages) to the public.<sup>91</sup>

Secondly, the staged implementation of the reform due to the change in power added to the failure of the reform. In the early 1980s, the education system found itself in a state of further transition. Nuclearization was the first major action taken, but many problems were quickly exposed. The lack of funding and support made it difficult for nuclearization to continue and, it eventually failed, partially as a result of

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<sup>90</sup> Balarin, "Promoting educational reforms in weak states," 2.  
Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 31.

<sup>91</sup> Reid, *Paths to Poverty*, 50.

more conservative outlooks. The incorporation of education into the community, including adult and bilingual education, was nearly impossible.

The reform published in 1972, only saw the planned schools in operation nine years later (1981). Shortly after the pilot programs for Basic Education and Higher Education Professional Schools were in operation, Belaúnde was re-elected. Once again, the change in power halted the reform process before it could fully develop. As a tactic to avoid conflict with the remaining military supporters, Belaúnde allowed the new schools to remain, but without governmental support, leading to their gradual abandonment. At the same time, Belaúnde reestablished the prior school structure of primary, secondary and higher education schools, provoking a conflicting dynamic between the pre and post reform schools that eventually doomed the attempts at reform.<sup>92</sup> The delay in actualizing the BES and ESEP schools did not provide the new schools a chance to fully develop their potential.

Furthermore, the Educational Reform Commission decided to follow the process of a staged implementation, as a result of which pre and post reform schools operated simultaneously, a process which allowed Peruvian citizens to choose between the traditional schools or the revolutionary schooling, with a majority choosing the original schools. Data from the World Bank shows that by 1981 the Basic Education schools only accounted for 17% of all primary school enrollments. ESEP's were significantly under enrolled, occupying less than half of their physical capacity.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 31

<sup>93</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 36.

Such a severe under enrollment was caused by two factors: the fears of looming abandonment and the lack of legitimacy. It was apparent that the new schools were in danger of being completely left without resources, as it became obvious that they lacked the support of the new government. The legitimacy of ESEP's was in question, especially because the universities never agreed to automatically admit graduates from ESEP schools. In the end, graduates from secondary schools had a better chance of entering the university than the students of ESEP. The 1978 UNESCO report also revealed that the ESEP schools were three times more expensive than traditional secondary schools,<sup>94</sup> a reason for which parents made the logical choice of sending their children to the traditional schools. Gradually the reformed schools became obsolete.

The final reason to which many authors attribute the Reform's failure was its excessively ideological nature.<sup>95</sup> Similar to the agrarian reform, the military's plan was overly ambitious. The military underestimated citizens' resistance, when these found ways to circumvent the law: families avoided to place their children into the new schools, large landowners during the agrarian reform divided their landholdings into smaller parcels and split it among family members thus avoiding the loss of their land.

While the intentions and theory behind the *Ley General* appeared promising on paper, the implementation was severely flawed. Aside from losing power, the Revolutionary Armed Forces were unable to carry out implementation, ultimately

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<sup>94</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 37.

<sup>95</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 37.  
Balarin, "Promoting educational reforms in weak states," 2.

leading to the crumbling of the reform process. The World Bank's evaluation ranked the Basic Education schools as "satisfactory" and noted that the traditional teaching methods remained. The UNESCO 1978 report commented that teachers in rural, Quechua speaking areas were significantly less qualified than teachers in the urban areas, highlighting that the teacher retraining programs had been unsuccessful. During the implementation of the reforms various social actors, specifically the church and schoolteachers, felt excluded and threatened, a facet of the reform process that has contributed to the current tensions in the school system. After the reform process, these actors gained momentum and this in turn helps explain their continued opposition to numerous much less encompassing educational reforms since the 1970s.

### **Manifestations of Resistance**

From the theoretical foundation to implementation, the *Ley General* received a significant amount of criticism. However, the two most vocal critics were the conservative priests of the Consortium and schools teachers. As previously stated, the presence of these two groups in response to the *Ley General* would only be one of many more protests that have continued to take place in Peru through the present day.

#### *The Church*

Since colonial times, the Catholic Church has undeniably been involved in education, be it through missionary activities, be it through their involvement in universities or their political meddling. The church continued to play an integral role within the educational reform during the military regime in Peru, being included in the

planning, drafting and implementation processes of the reform. The fervent involvement of priests exasperated the tensions within the church hierarchy, which were initially instigated at the Council of the Bishops in Medellin in 1968.

The Council discussed how the church would apply the Vatican II principles in Latin America. Influenced by Peruvian Jesuit, Gustavo Gutierrez's call for liberation, priests began to place more emphasis on social justice in their teachings. Gutierrez called for the need for "liberation" from oppression and from avarice, selfishness, and lack of compassion in order to hold a more "perfect" relationship with God. The end result of the Council's deliberations was the publication of "Liberation Theology," which was a combination of Marxist theory and Catholic beliefs. Included in these new preachings was the "preferential option for the poor," which argued that poverty was a consequence of the sin of the rich, not of the poor.<sup>96</sup>

The publication of the Liberation Theology doctrine divided the priesthood between traditionalist Catholics and Catholics devoted to aiding the poor. This antagonist views translated into the education system as a division between elite *opus dei* schools and schools for the lower and middle classes. Beginning in 1963, the government announced "subsidized private education," or mixed-financed schools, in order to devote more resources to reach a high number of students not receiving an education.<sup>97</sup> As a result, there was a large expansion of "mix-financed" schools for the middle and lower classes primarily run by the Catholic Church. In the early 1950s there were 497 church-administered schools and by 1971 there were 1,051 church

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<sup>96</sup> Skidmore, Smith and Green, *Modern Latin America*, 367.

<sup>97</sup> Klaiber, "The Battle over Private Education in Peru," 140.

administered schools in total. 93% of these schools were free or were run at a minimal cost for students and parents, whereas by 1971 the prestigious elite Catholic schools were few.<sup>98</sup>

The enforcement of the 1972 Educational Reform further exasperated the division between the elite schools and the poor and middle class schools. This tension was also reflected in the church organizations, like the National Office on Catholic Education (ONDEC) and the Consortium, respectively. Despite the conflict between these two organizations, ONDEC had authority over the Consortium. The Consortium was angered by the priests favoring the underprivileged over their devoted (and donating) parishioners. By 1973, the Consortium began actively campaigning against the new reform. In an article in *El Comercio*, the Consortium found that the new Reform was a direct attack on private education and even went as far as to say that the reform was a “new form of internal colonialism and oppression” exerted by the government over private schools.<sup>99</sup>

Furthermore, the Consortium adamantly opposed nuclearization, viewing it as a “thinly-veiled attack” on private schools.<sup>100</sup> While nuclearization was considered an effective tactic for underdeveloped countries to save funds and avoid duplication of resources, private schools felt that they were at risk for being absorbed by the public schools.<sup>101</sup> From the point of view of private schools, the poor and low resourced state schools had everything to gain from this proposal, but the private schools had

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<sup>98</sup> Klaiber, “The Battle over Private Education in Peru” 141.

<sup>99</sup> Vom Hau, “Unpacking the school,” 147.

<sup>100</sup> Klaiber, “The Battle over Private Education in Peru,” 138.

<sup>101</sup> Klaiber, “The Battle over Private Education in Peru,” 138.



everything to lose. As time passed, the increasingly repressive military added amendments to the reform program that made it difficult for private schools to operate, such as requiring that the principal of each school be Peruvian, a challenge for Catholic and foreign national schools (Swiss, German, French, American, British) because many religious leaders and principals were from foreign countries.

In 1975 after continued debate and tension between priests and Church organizations, the Consortium and ONDEC officially split. Upon the Consortium gaining its independence from ONDEC, they objected to the elite schools being integrated with the underprivileged church schools, thus further dividing the Catholic educational system. This division created an additional challenge for the military to fully implement the reform, specifically nuclearization. In the same year, church-run schools accounted for 8.5% of the student population in Peru. Private but non-religious schools were 9.5% and the state public schools accounted for the remaining 82%. Despite being the minority, these private schools were the most prestigious and produced major leaders in Peruvian history, including three former presidents, Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, Jose Bustamante y Rivera and ironically, the president at the time, Francisco Morales Bermudez.<sup>102</sup> The heightened independence of the Consortium led to a stark polarization in the quality of education, and would, as a result, increase the socioeconomic disparities in Peru.

### *School Teachers*

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<sup>102</sup> Klaiber, "The Battle over Private Education in Peru," 139.

Schoolteachers have been vocal social actors throughout Peruvian history. As previously discussed, education plays a critical role in aiding and sustaining society. The educational system depends on teachers, and teachers' voices have been constantly present.

During the military regime, schoolteachers played a critical role as the *Ley General's* success ultimately depended on the teachers' ability to carry it out. The dependence on teachers placed the military in a vulnerable position. As previously seen, the new reform asked for more work for teachers without proper compensation and, it did not acknowledge the requests coming from teachers. The urban and rural teachers throughout the country ultimately opposed Velasco's radical educational reform not necessarily because they disagreed with the content and the strategies but because they were offended by their exclusion from the drafting process and viewed the whole reform process as a mechanism to limit the power of teachers while increasing the meddling of the state in educational issues. Despite knowing the teachers' opposition, the military, somewhat naively, expected them to implement the reform as instructed. The military and the Educational Reform Commission severely underestimated the teachers' ability and decision to resist.<sup>103</sup>

Schoolteachers' opposition happened in the classroom and in the streets. Giving the appearance of compliance to the new decree, in the classroom, teachers could take the reform into their own hands. Teachers used the classroom as a political platform of sorts to teach what they felt was important. They would omit sections of

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<sup>103</sup> Klaiber, "The Battle over Private Education in Peru," 147.

the new textbooks that contained excessive political ideology, supplementing them with other materials, such as newspapers and photographs.<sup>104</sup>

As previously stated, the *Ley General* further exacerbated the tensions between the government and the teachers' union teachers when teachers were required to go through retraining programs. The teachers felt that the programs had a hidden agenda trying to instill them with ideological support for the military's revolutionary ideas and agendas. Threatened and angered by the onset of the reforms, the Teachers Union, SUTEP (Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Educacion), was established in 1972.<sup>105</sup> Although SUTEP was not a political party, it aligned with the political party, Patria Roja. SUTEP particularly opposed the reform because they were against military dictatorships and, in more immediate matters, their claims for less work and more pay went unheard.<sup>106</sup> The military felt uneasy in their dealings with SUTEP and continued to refuse to recognize the union, even though the majority of teachers were members of the union.<sup>107</sup> Falling on deaf ears, SUTEP organized and unified teachers to walk out of their classroom to take to the streets.

#### *Teacher Strikes in 1978 and 1979*

With General Juan Velasco Alvarado's successor, Francisco Morales Bermudez in power, the military's reforms began to retrogress and promises went unfulfilled. Still frustrated about their low salaries, schoolteachers were ready to show

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<sup>104</sup> Klaiber, "The Battle over Private Education in Peru," 140.

<sup>105</sup> Wilson, "Representing the state? School and teacher in post-Sendero Peru," 1-16.

<sup>106</sup> Centro de Informacion Estudios y Documentacion. *Peru: Reforma Educativa en una Sociedad de Clases* (1980), 29.

<sup>107</sup> Haddad and Demsky, *The dynamics of education policymaking*, 36.

their resistance more publicly. In May 1978, 130,000 teachers walked out of the classrooms leaving most schools unable to operate.<sup>108</sup> Initially, teachers of the mixed financed schools hesitated to join in fear of defying their allegiance to private schools. However, mixed financed and private schoolteachers eventually showed solidarity and joined in the protest. The solidarity shown amongst teachers led to a resounding victory in the strike; they achieved their goals. In July 1978, a peace agreement was underwritten between SUTEP, the military, the Consortium and ONDEC, resulting in a victory for SUTEP<sup>109</sup>

Less than a year later, however, the teachers accused the military of not fulfilling the agreement from the 1978 strike. The Church found itself caught in the middle between supporting SUTEP and the state. The state gave ONDEC an ultimatum; for every teacher that was not teaching during the strike in the mixed financed schools, the state would reduce the school's state aid. At the same time, the cardinal was approached by SUTEP for his support, which he had provided in 1978. The Church was faced with the dilemma to support the military at the sacrifice of alienating the teachers or, help the teachers and risk a financial crisis.<sup>110</sup>

After much deliberation, the cardinal ended up accusing SUTEP of breaking the 1978 peace agreement, because allegedly SUTEP was politically ambiguous moving between union loyalties and Patria Roja party lines.<sup>111</sup> The conflict escalated; both state and mixed-financed schoolteachers went on strike. The military, angered by

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<sup>108</sup> Klaiber, "The Battle over Private Education in Peru," 152.

<sup>109</sup> CIED, *Peru: Reforma Educativa en una Sociedad de Clases*, 31.

<sup>110</sup> Klaiber, "The Battle over Private Education in Peru," 153.

<sup>111</sup> CIED, *Peru: Reforma Educativa en una Sociedad de Clases*, 34.

the call for another strike so soon after the last one reacted with force. They immediately withheld the salaries of the teachers who were on strike and fired those who had stopped teaching. In contrast to the 1978 strike, this time around, the confrontation was violent and hostile. Teachers were detained and one was shot. Eventually the strike was called to an end in September 1979 and was ultimately fruitless. The 1979 strike had lasting consequences: the State no longer trusted teachers and the members of SUTEP were labeled as “subversives,” who were undermining social stability.<sup>112</sup> As a consequence of military repression a more radical leftist group, Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) began recruiting teachers for their armed struggle. Amply publicized by the military, this move has ever since stigmatized teachers and their union in the view of subsequent governments and in public.

### **Connections to Present Day**

As discussed in the previous chapter, SUTEP remains a constant presence in Peru, as seen by the most recent, month-long SUTEP strikes in the Fall of 2012. Teachers remain underpaid and underappreciated by the government, administration, and society. It is clear that the division between public and private schooling and the disparities in educational quality between rural and urban areas continue to exist in addition to a persistent minimal funding, the lack of accountability with government officials and programs, and a devaluation of the profession. The statistics from Chapter 1 reveal the continuity of the problems that are reflected in the enrollment

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<sup>112</sup> Wilson, “Transcending Race?” 4.

increases in private schools in proportion to the decrease in public school enrollment. In the late 1960s, the Velasco regime had recognized the internal structural problems of the educational system, and attempted a complete overhaul of the whole system to address each issue individually. However, the reform failed because it was not implemented effectively and consistently. President Velasco and the Revolutionary Armed Forces reforms can serve as a cautionary episode for the currently proposed reforms, but continue to fail in implementation. While ideas of a massive overhaul of the educational system may appear to be solid on paper, if the implementation is not fully carried out in a strategic manner and inclusive of all social actors, then ultimately the reform is bound to fail and the problems in the Peruvian education system will continue to exist.

### Chapter 3: Methodology

The goal of this chapter is to utilize the case study method to understand the differences between urban, public and private schools in Lima, Peru by investigating at the micro level the reasons behind the significant increase in enrollment to private schools. Through contextualizing the findings in relation to the political, social, economic, and cultural conditions that the educational system was and continues to be embedded in, this section presents a reading of how and why overarching tensions and power struggles are lived on the ground, especially by students, parents, and teachers.

To complement the Peruvian Ministry of Education's statistics, as well as prior research on education in Peru, this section will provide a narrative of the protocols, classroom routines, and social interactions based on case studies. The central question is: *Are there apparent differences in the organization, procedures, and interpersonal relationships in public and private schools in Lima, Peru? Can these differences be attributed to the historically construed educational apartheid?* In order to answer this larger research question, more specific sub-questions need to be addressed:

1. What differences/similarities can be observed in the material infrastructure and organization in Peruvian public and private schools?
2. What differences/similarities can be observed in the instructional practices and processes in the classroom?
3. What differences/similarities can be observed in the development of interpersonal relationships in school? Student-student, Student-teacher?

4. What impedes or promotes the access to a quality education? Race, economic status, location?

### Research Design

In order to investigate the organization, processes, and social interactions observed in the classroom, I used a mixed methods approach that emphasized qualitative research practices. Drawing from the methods of Denzin & Lincoln (2005), Merriam (1998), Yin (2003), Creswell states that “case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information, and reports a case description and case-based themes.”<sup>113</sup> More specifically, this project is a *collective case study* in which I investigate one specific issue in multiple sites to illustrate the topic.<sup>114</sup> Following Yin, I used “logic of replication,” where I applied identical methods in both sites to best compare cases during analysis.<sup>115</sup>

Through ethnographic classroom observations, informal teacher interviews, surveys, school documents and governmental statistics to it is possible to better understand the infrastructure and procedures of public and private schools in Lima, the variety of social interactions in a classroom, and the external factors contributing to the accessibility of education. My case studies are based on ethnographic observations to detect classroom processes and structures in both schools. Additionally,

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<sup>113</sup> John W. Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry and research design* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2007), 73.

<sup>114</sup> Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry and research design*, 74.

<sup>115</sup> Robert K. Yin. *Case study research: design and method 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003)



observations focused on the interactions among the students and between students and teachers. Interviews with teachers provided insights into the workings of school procedure and the wider community context. The quantitative data was derived from distributed surveys to the parents of the student participants. These surveys will provide background information on the students and their parents, including age, employment, and income. School documents and statistics were added to supplement my collected data.

### **Positionality**

In the beginning of the study, my intent was not to participate in the classroom, but solely observe. However, during my stays in the public school, I was invited to participate numerous times while class was in session. Using my name as an example when writing a sentence on the blackboard, the teacher asked me to pronounce the words in English. Frequently, students spoke with me during breaks. Before my departure, students even provided me with poems, gifts, and food. This kind of very close interaction did not occur in the private school; I remained seated in the back of the room observing and was rarely spoken to by the teachers and students. While this did not hamper the case study, students' and teachers' reactions in the public setting provided me with a higher level of insights.

### **Location of Study**

The site for data collection was in Sarita Colonia, a small urbanization of Callao. Callao is a province located in the capital city of Lima, with roughly 969,000

inhabitants.<sup>116</sup> It is the largest port in Peru, located in the northern half of the Lima Metropolitan area, holding a large naval base that is located on the peninsula, La Punta. Callao is often known for the numerous prisons it holds, including the prison where Shining Path leader, Abimael Guzman, is being held since 1992. Callao is equally known for its high crime rate, including robberies, drug trafficking and a growing number of gangs.<sup>117</sup>

Sarita Colonia holds one of the largest prisons in Peru, the Sarita Colonia Prison. During my research I was warned daily that I needed to be careful because “*alli te roban*” (“they’ll rob you”). The high crime rate is paired with a high poverty rate. Both schools in this study were located within a quarter mile from each other and were only a few blocks away from the central prison. (See Figure 3.1)

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<sup>116</sup> Municipalidad de Callao. “Municipalidad de Callao” Last modified January 21, 2013. <http://www.municallao.gob.pe/>

<sup>117</sup> Peru has more than 13,000 gang members and according to a report by Infosur, more than 12,000 of these estimated gang members are based in Lima and Callao.



**Figure 3.1:** Location of Schools in Peru

*Source: Satellite image via Google Earth*

### Sampling Criteria

Through coordinating with the non-governmental organization, Enseña Peru,<sup>118</sup> I received access to the two schools selected for this study, Santiago Carmen and San Mateo (names have been changed for anonymity). The mission of Enseña Peru is to provide access to education to those who lack access to a quality school. Using the model of their sister organizations, Teach for All and Teach for America, Enseña Peru provides trained teachers to underfunded schools in impoverished neighborhoods. I spent the first month of my field research coordinating with the Enseña Peru staff, touring schools in Callao and meeting with school administrators to discuss my case studies and the criteria I was to use. Enseña Peru staff assisted with the logistics of securing my case study locations by coordinating with the school administrations and the teachers.

<sup>118</sup> “Enseña Peru.” Last modified September 21, 2013. [www.EnsenaPeru.org](http://www.EnsenaPeru.org).

The participants in this study were in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade of primary school attending either the public school, Santiago Carmen, or the private school, San Mateo. The central criteria for this study was that I would work in a public and private school in order to be able to answer the central question on the division of private and public schooling in Peru. The public school, Santiago Carmen, and the private school, San Mateo, were both located in the town of Sarita Colonia and were a quarter of a mile from each other. For this case study, I selected the schools based on the criteria that they were in close geographic proximity: the closer the schools are in terms of physical proximity, the more similarities I will encounter between the neighborhoods, socioeconomic backgrounds, and race. This leaves less room for generalizations between communities and, puts the internal dynamics of each school at center-stage.

### **School and Participant Demographics**

#### *Santiago Carmen*

Santiago Carmen is a public, elementary school with grades from 1<sup>st</sup> through 6<sup>th</sup> located in the center of the town, Sarita Colonia, Callao. Upon walking out the gated school, the local market is directly to the left. This outdoor market is where the town congregates, eats lunch together and picks up needed items. Santiago Carmen is an integral part of the community and, the majority of children living in Sarita Colonia attend the public school. It is the only free public elementary school in the area. The school day begins at 8am and ends at 1pm, from Monday through Friday. All students are required to wear uniforms daily; however, due to the varying financial situations among families and the cost of uniforms, the dress code is not strictly enforced. The

school is comprised of two buildings that were minimalistic in design and in need of renovation. The Ministry of Education shows that in 2011, Santiago Carmen had a total of 566 students and 30 teachers. There are four classes for the 5<sup>th</sup> grade, with a total of 87 students, 53 females and 34 males.<sup>119</sup>

### *San Mateo*

San Mateo is a primary school with grades beginning at preschool through 6<sup>th</sup> grade. Classes are in session from 8am until 4pm from Monday through Friday. San Mateo is part of the COPRODELI system. Schools under COPRODELI are subsidized private, Catholic schools throughout Peru and privately managed. Parents are required to pay a fee of 300 soles (US\$ 130) per month per student to attend San Mateo COPRODELI.<sup>120</sup> San Mateo is also located in the town of Sarita Colonia, Callao, but outside of the city center and only in close proximity to the Church, making San Mateo more isolated. The school is comprised of one large, two-story building in the shape of a horseshoe, well maintained and in good condition. In 2011, San Mateo had a total of 194 students and 6 teachers, with the teachers rotating to instruct their subject of expertise. The 5<sup>th</sup> grade had a total of 29 students, with 15 females and 14 males.<sup>121</sup>

### *Student Participants*

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<sup>119</sup> “Ficha de la institution Educativa, SC,” last modified February 11, 2013.

[http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/PadronWeb/info/ce?cod\\_mod=0659698&anexo=0](http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/PadronWeb/info/ce?cod_mod=0659698&anexo=0)

<sup>120</sup> COPRODELI is a subsidized private school, therefore tuition fees may vary depending on a family’s financial situation. The school also has an allotted number of scholarships that they disperse each year.

<sup>121</sup> “Ficha de la institution Educativa, SM,” last modified February 11, 2013.

[http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/PadronWeb/info/ce?cod\\_mod=1273317&anexo=0](http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/PadronWeb/info/ce?cod_mod=1273317&anexo=0)

Participants in this study were students enrolled in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade in either the public or private school. Students' ages ranged from 9-12 years, with the mean age of 10. All were Peruvian citizens and spoke Spanish as their native language. The 5<sup>th</sup> grade class at Santiago Carmen had a total of 28 students with one teacher, Prof. Marco, teaching all 5 subjects throughout the school day. The gender breakdown for Santiago Carmen was 11 girls and 17 boys. At San Mateo, the classroom was comprised of 27 students, with 14 boys and 13 girls. There were a total of 5 teachers that taught the 5<sup>th</sup> grade, each one teaching their subject of expertise.

#### *Parents of Student Participants*

Parent ages ranged from 28 to 59, with the mean age of 35. All parents were Peruvian citizens and spoke Spanish as their primary language. The mean income was 20 soles/day, the equivalent of 7 dollars, which is below the Peruvian minimum wage.<sup>122</sup> Household work and manual labor were the most common occupations held by parents, with 34% of parents listing employment in the home, i.e. household cleaning, caretaker, or household owner.

More specifically, the parents at Santiago Carmen had a mean age of 30-39. Over 60% of parents at Santiago Carmen were unmarried and more than 60% of parents worked in household and manual labor. The average household income for Santiago Carmen parents was 20 soles per day, which is equivalent to 7 dollars. At San Mateo, the mean age group for parents was 40-49. Nearly 60% of parents at San

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<sup>122</sup> Ministerio de Trabajo y Promocion del Empleo. "Articulo 24 de la Constitucion Politica del Peru" Last modified November 5, 2013. <http://spij.minjus.gob.pe/Graficos/Peru/2012/mayo/17/EXP-DS-007-2012-TR.pdf>

Mateo declared themselves as married. In contrast, San Mateo parents owned their own business or worked in the home and had an income of 25 soles per day or higher.

### **Measures**

These case studies were predominantly ethnographic, supplemented by quantitative measures, such as statistics and distributed surveys, designed to implement three measures to answer the central research questions: 1. Ethnographic observation in the classrooms of the public and private schools. This measure aims to provide insight into the mechanisms of both schools through understanding the school organization, processes, and social interactions; 2. Interviews with the teachers and administrators. The interviews were informal but provide an additional source to complement my personal observations; and, 3. The distribution of take-home surveys, which provide information on the parents of the students, household income, and parental educational attainment. This measure was supplemented with statistics provided by the Ministry of Education on the demographics of each school.

#### *Classroom Observation*

Observations took place in each 5<sup>th</sup> grade classroom, where I was situated in the back of the classroom observing and taking notes of the daily occurrences and interactions in class. Based on Yin's method of a "holistic observation," I was cognizant of my research themes, while observing the entire classroom and routines.<sup>123</sup> Due to safety concerns from Enseña Peru, I was advised not to bring any electronics with me during my research, and therefore relied on my detailed field notes instead of

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<sup>123</sup> Yin. *Case study research: design and method 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.*

recordings. As previously mentioned, this study used ethnographic observation to provide a narrative of the inner workings of a public and private classroom that statistics cannot reveal. My goal was to not interrupt the classroom routines but to unbiasedly narrate and analyze a typical week in each school.

### *Interviews*

I conducted informal interviews with the teachers of the 5<sup>th</sup> grade classrooms throughout the week. The goal of the interviews was to understand the organization of the school and the level of satisfaction with the school and administrators. Although I had prepared questions, due to the hectic nature of the teachers' schedule, my interviews drew from casual conversations. Due to the hesitancy from the private school teachers, along with the constant rotation of teachers for each subject, it was much more difficult to find a time to speak with them and therefore was unable to interview all five teachers.

### *Surveys*

I distributed a take-home survey to be filled out anonymously by the parents of the students in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade at Santiago Carmen and San Mateo. *[See appendix for survey]* The completed surveys provided familial background and demographic data that I could not gather through observation. The first section of the survey referred to the demographic background of the students and parents, including age and gender. The second section asked about parents' experiences, such as educational attainment, employment, and income. The third section focused on the academic patterns and



activities of the students, such as identifying who helped the student with homework, as well as inquiring about home resources, such as access to a computer and internet. The data received from these surveys was used to uncover the socioeconomic differences in the public and private schools. After compiling the data into Excel sheets, I utilized the software, *Dedoose*, to generate numerous graphs to provide graphic displays of the patterns revealed in the data and coded field notes

### **Data Collection Procedures**

This study took place over a period of two months (July and August) in Lima, Peru during the Peruvian winter of 2012. The first month I spent meeting with staff of Enseña Peru to discuss my project and logistics. I visited a variety of schools throughout the province of Lima, all of which were associated with Enseña Peru. Based on my selection criteria and permission from administrators, I selected Santiago Carmen and San Mateo to conduct my research for this study.

The second month I began organizing my study with administrators and teachers in both selected schools. Prior to classroom observations, I toured each school, individually and with an administrator, to view the layout of the school facilities. I spent a week in each school conducting classroom observations, distributing surveys, and interviews. Teachers and students were observed in their classrooms during regular school hours in the Winter quarter of the school year. During my observation I sat in the back of the classroom, to avoid distracting the students. I was able to observe all courses that took place within the classroom, but did not observe Computer or Physical Education, which met in a separate classroom.

Observations did not interrupt normal teaching, although occasionally I was asked to participate during in-class activities.

Prior to beginning my research, I developed a list of *a priori codes* to guide my project and construct my measurement tools. These codes would be utilized for my deductive analytic approach. The codes were as following: material infrastructure and organization, instructional practices and processes, and interpersonal relationships. During my study, I noted *emergent codes* that I had not previously calculated for and later included them in my coding. Additionally, I coded for *counter codes*, which were instances that did not support my hypothesis.

During observation I noted my three central themes. For material, I was watching for the organization of the school and the classroom, such as the layout of the classroom, attendance, gender, and resources. For process, I noted the variety of routines in both classrooms. This involved the schedule of classes, rotation of teachers and large and small group activities. Lastly, I observed the social interactions relevant to this study: student-student and student-teacher. [See appendix for coding scheme]

Due to the difference in the interactions that I had in each school, I was able to converse with the professor, Prof. Marco, from Santiago Carmen significantly more than the teachers at San Mateo. San Mateo teachers appeared to be wary and guarded; despite constantly reassuring them of my research topic and that I was not evaluating their teaching. Due to their hesitancy, most teachers rarely spoke to me and it was difficult to find time to ask questions. Conversely, Prof. Marco from Santiago Carmen

was very open and allowed me to ask any questions, and he openly shared his own anecdotes and opinions on the educational system.

The surveys were distributed to the students the third day of observation, a Wednesday, in each school. Along with the survey, which was to be filled out by a parent, I attached a note addressed to the parents introducing myself, explaining my project, as well as an explanation of the questionnaire. [See *appendix*] In the directions, I requested that the survey be returned with their child by Friday of that same week. At Santiago Carmen, all students returned the surveys by the end of the week. At San Mateo, I had to return the following Monday to collect the remaining surveys since few had remembered to bring them on that Friday.

### **Data Analysis Procedures**

The data collected from this case study was analyzed through the descriptions of the themes in each school as well as cross-case themes. Following Merriam (1988), I first performed a *with-in case analysis* where I provided a description of each case and the themes found in each. Then I conducted a *cross-case analysis*, analyzing the themes found in both cases, to interpret the meaning of the findings.<sup>124</sup> In order to avoid generalizing the entire case study, I focused on the three themes, material, process, and interactions, in order to examine the specific components of each

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<sup>124</sup> Sharan Merriam, *Case study research in education: a qualitative approach* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass Inc. Publishers, 1988).

school.<sup>125</sup> As previously mentioned, my analysis included the themes that emerged during and after data collection, utilizing my *a priori*, *emergent* and *counter* codes.

### *Observation and Interviews*

I typed my field notes and interviews and used the program, *Dedoose*, to begin coding based on my compiled coding scheme. Initially, I read through my notes to get a general sense of my *a priori*, *emergent*, and *counter* codes. Later, using *Dedoose* I marked the central themes, material, process and social interactions, as well as sub-themes under each. Through coding, I was able to quantify my data and perform a cross-case analysis of both schools to create graphs and statistics for the frequency and caliber of each code.

### *Surveys*

I compiled and entered the information on the students and parents of Santiago Carmen and San Mateo from the surveys onto an Excel sheet. I then uploaded the spreadsheets to *Dedoose* to compare the demographics of both schools. In addition, through the program I was able to compare the survey data with the codes found from my field notes.

## **Limitations of the Case Studies**

Limiting my study to one public and one private school in Lima may open my project to criticism for being too narrow and not comprehensive. However, this study is not meant to portray or explain the workings and meanings of every public and

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<sup>125</sup> Yin. *Case study research: design and method 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.*

private school in Peru, but to provide a narrative that supplement the macro-statistics that reveal the disparities in the public and private schools. In addition, there are a wide variety of private schools; these schools range from American and International schools, religious, and subsidized schools. Therefore, the findings from the private school used in this study are not representative of all private schools in Peru.

## **Chapter 4: Findings**

These case studies were designed to observe the inner workings of a public and private school in Peru in order to understand which of the ground factors may help explain the long-term accumulated schism in Peru's urban educational system. As discussed in the previous chapter, the three central themes used to guide this observation were: material organization and infrastructure, instructional practices and processes, and interpersonal relationships. Additionally, a survey was distributed to understand the familial background of the student participants in this study. Because this project is primarily based on observations and surveys, the intent of this project was not to measure the strength of the curriculum nor the teaching quality; instead, the intent was to observe and expose the differences found between the public and private schools based on the aforementioned themes. This chapter will discuss each of the themes uncovered during this "snapshot-ethnography" and the subthemes addressed under each. I will begin with discussing the observations from each school, Santiago Carmen and San Mateo, followed by an assessment of how the distinct observations relate to one another.

### **I. Material Organization and Infrastructure**

The first theme that was coded for was material organization and infrastructure, which focused on the school as a whole, including how the schools were structured and run and the protocols and policies being enforced. Differences in the material organization of Santiago Carmen and San Mateo can be seen in four

categories: layout of the school facilities, classroom organization, uniform policy, and resources and technology.

## **Santiago Carmen**

### *Layout of School Facilities*

Santiago Carmen is a primary school located in Callao with grades 1<sup>st</sup> through 6<sup>th</sup>. The school day begins at 8am and goes until 1pm, meeting Monday through Friday. Upon entering the school grounds through the gated entrance, to the right are the administration offices and in separate buildings to the left are the classrooms. The school is comprised of two, one-story buildings. The buildings surround an empty, concrete surface, which is where Physical Education takes place. The classrooms for grades 1-5 are in one building and across the field is the building holding the classrooms for grades 5 and 6. Despite being relatively close together, there appeared to be little movement between the two school buildings. There was a small cafeteria next to the administration's office, which had small meals, snacks and beverages for purchase. Due to the school day ending at 1pm each day, students return home to eat lunch. Interaction between classrooms and grade levels was minimal. During breaks when the students were permitted to leave the classroom to buy snacks and chat with friends, the majority of students remained with peers from their classrooms.

### *Classroom Organization*

The 5<sup>th</sup> grade class at Santiago Carmen had a total of 28 students with one teacher, Prof. Marco, teaching all 5 subjects throughout the school day. The gender breakdown for Santiago Carmen was 11 girls and 17 boys. Throughout the course of this study the number of students in attendance fluctuated between 24 to 28 students per day.

When asking Prof. Marco how attendance was taken and how it factored into grading, he explained that every morning he circulates the room and marks each student's planner if they are present that day. However, he stipulated that he does not penalize the students because typically it is neither the fault nor choice of the student, but of the parent. Instead, Prof. Marco explained that he used attendance as a way to keep track of the students and their patterns. If a student was consecutively absent, he would contact the parent to make sure the parent was aware of the absence and to see if the family was having any problems.

### *Classroom Layout*

The 5<sup>th</sup> grade classroom at Santiago Carmen was basic in design, with the foundation made of cement walls lined with unscreened windows. The room provided sufficient space to hold all students; however, it was cumbersome to move around and prevented the teacher from comfortably maneuvering between desks. The student desks were arranged in groups of 6, with 3 groups in the front and 2 groups in the back. The white board was positioned in the front of the classroom and the teacher's



desk was located in the back of the room, behind the students' desks. The classroom displayed a variety of student projects, such as drawings, poems, and experiments. In addition, there were Peruvian flags, religious pictures, and academic and motivational posters decorating the room. Lining the walls were shelves and storage containers holding an assortment of books and activities, however the amount of dust collecting on top of them indicated they had not been used in some time.

### *Uniforms*

Santiago Carmen had a compulsory uniform code, although administrators and teachers did not strictly enforce this policy. Due to costs, many parents could not afford to buy uniforms for their children. While interviewing Prof. Marco, he explained that most students had one uniform (or sometimes one that they would share with a sibling close in age) but they would only wear it to school for special events. Due to the cost of uniforms and the financial burdens already imposed on many families, Santiago Carmen could not enforce the dress code. *[See appendix for cost of uniforms]* During this study, 80% of students wore their uniforms each day. That being said, on the last day of my observation, Prof. Marco told the students to come in their uniforms so we could take a group picture. On that last day, every student was in uniform, illustrating Prof. Marco's prior statement.

### *Resources and Technology*

Upon my initial tour of Santiago Carmen, I observed that the classrooms had limited technology and relied on basic resources, such as textbooks, a chalkboard, and

notebooks. For this reason I was surprised when I entered the 5<sup>th</sup> grade classroom where I would be doing my observation and immediately saw a TV screen mounted on the wall. The TV was connected to the teacher's PC computer to display documents, pictures and videos. During my interview, Prof. Marco explained that the computer and TV, which appeared to have been purchased within the past two years, were not provided by the school, but were donated to his classroom by a member of the community.

After spending time in the classroom I noticed that the computer and TV were not being utilized. Only once during this study did a lesson incorporate technology. While teaching Communication class, Prof. Marco displayed sentences and pictures through a Microsoft Word document for the students to copy into their notebooks. He intended to play a video from *YouTube*, however the speakers did not work and there was no Internet connection. Despite appearing to be of good quality, Prof. Marco informed me that the computer had had a virus for a long time, making the computer virtually unusable. The school refused to pay for technical support since his was one of the few classrooms in the school that had a computer or TV. Additionally, Prof. Marco said that internet availability "*viene y se va*" ("comes and goes"). It typically depended on the school having enough money that month. Since very few teachers had the technology to use the Internet, it was not a priority.

Textbooks were rarely utilized in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade classroom because there were insufficient copies for each student. Although the Peruvian government through the Ministry of Education is required to provide adequate textbooks for each classroom,

Prof. Marco said he had only received a few copies to serve for the whole classroom. The lack of textbooks made it difficult to teach and took time away from the lesson. On average, Prof. Marco spent between 10 – 15 minutes out of an hour-long class, copying the examples from the book onto the chalkboard. In order to alleviate this problem, Prof. Marco occasionally made copies of the textbook and distributed the handouts to each student. However, due to deficient school funds, teachers were limited in the amount of copies they could make per year and therefore Prof. Marco predominantly relied on copying the textbook on the chalkboard or reading aloud to the class.

## **San Mateo**

### *Layout of School/ Facilities*

San Mateo is a primary school comprised of preschool through 6<sup>th</sup> grade. The school day begins at 7:45am and ends at 4pm, Monday through Friday. San Mateo was gated in with a high brick fence making it nearly unrecognizable as a school from the outside. Upon entering San Mateo, to the left was a school chapel and on the right are two preschool classrooms, which were isolated from the rest of the school. Walking past the preschool, there was an open, concrete floor with painted lines for the soccer field and goals at each end. At the far end was a stage with a microphone for assemblies and performances, as well as the area where students lead school-wide prayer at noon every day. Each classroom for grades 1-6 was located in a two-story building that wraps around the recreation and assembly area. All classroom doors

faced inwards, creating a *U shape*. The only two courses that did not meet in the designated grade classroom are Physical Education and Computer. Physical Education and recess took place in the recreation area and the computer class was located in a classroom on the first floor that contains nearly 30 computers to be utilized by the students. Adjacent to this classroom was a large cafeteria where students were provided with lunch.

### *Classroom Organization*

The 5<sup>th</sup> grade classroom at San Mateo was comprised of 14 boys and 13 girls, for a total of 27 students. Attendance remained consistent at San Mateo. During my observation there was never more than one student absent per day. During the first period of each day, the teacher took attendance of the students in the classroom and entered names into the system on the computer. A San Mateo administrator explained that the school then keeps records of attendance of all students. During the school day, each subject was taught by a different teacher, who rotated through the grade levels to teach his or her subject of expertise while the students remained in their designated grade classroom. As a result, the students typically saw 4-5 teachers per day.

### *Uniforms*

Every student at San Mateo was required to wear a school uniform. Administrators and teachers strictly enforced their uniform policy throughout the school day, including recess. During this study, 100% of students wore the correct uniform every day of the week. Enforcement was strict at San Mateo, as observed

during a class where the teacher disciplined a student for not having his shirt completely tucked in. Due to the manageable size of the student body, staff was able to observe and enforce such protocols.

### *Technology*

All classrooms at San Mateo are equipped with a laptop for the teacher and a flat screen TV that is mounted on the wall and connected to the teacher's computer. During my tour of the facilities, the vice principal informed me that all their computers had the Microsoft programs installed, such as Word, Excel, and PowerPoint, as well as a DVD drive, speakers, and accessible Internet with the teacher's password. The laptop and TV appeared to be relatively new and working properly. The vice principal explained that their teachers were highly encouraged to integrate technology into their lesson plans and teaching styles. This was seen during this study where 4 out of the 5 teachers observed utilized technology during their lessons.

### *Resources*

Every student at San Mateo had an individual copy of all textbooks for each subject and most lessons were based on the textbooks. The teachers had an electronic copy of the textbook displayed on the TV screen and students were seen following along with their personal copy. Students were allowed to take their textbooks home with them each day, as well as write in them. In addition, teachers had distributed handouts and worksheets to the students to perform in class activities or to supplement course content. For instance, the science teacher provided handouts that contained

diagrams of wind systems for their lesson on the environment, which could not be found in the book.

### *Classroom Layout*

Upon entering the classroom, I immediately noticed the organization and openness of the 5<sup>th</sup> grade classroom. The walls were painted white and decorated with posters and students' work on bulletin boards. There were numerous storage units where supplies, games, and books were arranged. In addition, the students were directed to keep their desks in order and always hang their backpacks on their chair or in the back of the classroom. This organization made it easy for the teacher and students to move around the classroom.

The classroom was spacious enough to fit the students' and teacher's desks, as well as walk about the classroom with ease. Desks were arranged in groups of 4, with 3 groups in the front and 3 groups in the back. The teacher's desk was located in the front right corner of the classroom, which allowed the teacher to watch the students while teaching the lesson from the computer. The front of the classroom had white boards that covered the entire length of the wall. Above the white board was the flat screen TV, which displayed content that could be seen from all angles of the classroom.

### **Analysis of Material Infrastructure and Organization**

The varying material infrastructure and organization in these two cases illustrate the structural differences in the public and private schools, as well as the severe impact that a lack of resources have in terms of teaching effectiveness. The two schools are relatively similar in terms of student demographics, such as age, gender and ethnicity. However, the study body at the public school is much larger than that of the private school. Both schools offer the same grade levels, 1-6, but the public school had 3 classrooms per grade, instead of 1, and had 5 times the amount of teachers. The students in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade were taught the same courses, Grammar, History, Math, Science, and English<sup>126</sup>, however the school day at San Mateo was longer, which allowed additional courses to be included, such as Computer and Religion. *[See appendix for class schedules]*

In addition, the private school enforced a punctual schedule, as well as attendance and uniforms. Enforcement of such policies came from teachers and administrators, by monitoring students during breaks and class time. The smaller size of the private school made enforcement more manageable. In 2011, Santiago Carmen had a total of 566 students, with 87 students in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade divided into four classrooms.<sup>127</sup> Conversely, San Mateo's student body had a total of 194 students, and only 29 in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, this enforcement may not have occurred in the public school since it had a higher enrollment and teachers were already busy with supervising their students. Additionally, administration took the students' familial and

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<sup>126</sup> Comunicación, Social Personal, Matemáticas, Ciencia y Ambiente, Inglés

<sup>127</sup> "Ficha de la institución Educativa, SC"

<sup>128</sup> "Ficha de la institución Educativa, SM"

financial background into account and realistically could not enforce such protocols, such as uniforms and attendance.

This theme highlights the impact of the availability, or lack of, resources, such as textbooks and technology in the classroom. The private school had integrated technology noticeably into its classrooms, as each classroom was equipped with a laptop and a flat screen TV that linked to the functional computer and speakers. At San Mateo, 4 out of the 5 teachers observed in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade classroom utilized technology during their lessons. Teachers displayed the electronic copies of the textbooks for the students to follow along, showed PowerPoint slides with examples and exercises as well as displayed pictures, graphs, and videos. Additionally, the students at the private school were offered a Computer course, in which each student had a computer to use individually and were taught techniques for typing and how to use the internet. The incorporation of technology provides the students with an introduction to computing that is relevant to the workforce and will give the students an advantage for the future.

Conversely, the public school was very low resourced and had minimal use of technology in their schools. The students at Santiago Carmen did not have their own copies of the textbooks, nor were there enough to share in partners. The lack of resources impeded the lesson and took time away from the actual teaching. The teacher was forced to copy the exercises by hand from the textbook onto the board and have the students copy them into their notebooks, a process that took valuable time away from teaching course material.



Since the students were not even provided with textbooks, it was not surprising that technology was absent. The classroom I observed did have a computer and a TV screen, however this was due to a private donation and did not come from the public school funds. Despite having a computer in the classroom, it was unusable due to a virus and the lack of funds to hire a technician to do repairs.

The findings on the organization of the schools reveal that there are numerous differences between the private and public school, specifically in the size of the schools and the large role that resources play in the classroom. Based on the findings on the material infrastructure and organization of both schools, it can be asserted that as a result of the lack of funds and resources in the public school, academic learning and instruction are hindered and disrupted. Whereas in the private school, students received uninterrupted instruction and a superior learning environment due to having access to more resources.

The intention of this case study was not to evaluate the curriculum in both schools, but focus on the organization and procedures in the classrooms. That being said, distinct differences in the content did appear and are worth noting to supplement the discussion on classroom organization. It was observed that the content at the private school was taken beyond the supplied textbooks, by providing students with handouts that supplemented these materials. In the public school, the subject content and the lesson plans were not as detailed, which can be interpreted as a result of the lack of resources as compared to the private school. For example, in History at San Mateo the students were discussing the different indigenous groups that exist in Peru

and their customs. Students were provided with handouts about the various indigenous cultures in Peru, such as the Inca and Moche civilizations, which allowed the teacher to offer more detailed information than was given in the school textbook. In the same course at Santiago Carmen they were discussing the geography of the Peruvian states and districts. For example, students were instructed to locate Iquitos and the Amazon River on a map. Such instances were commonly observed signaling that the differences in curriculum were notable.

In addition, data from the OECD confirms that there is a large disparity in student performance between public and private schools in Peru. When looking at reading scores from the PISA 2009, the average reading score for public school students was 489 and the private school score was 519, resulting in a difference of 30 points. However, when looking at Peru, the median score for public school students was 350 and 439 for private school students, thus revealing a significant disparity of 89 points. Not only is this difference significantly below the OECD average, but it is also important to note that the Peruvian private school scores are still worse than the OECD public school average.<sup>129</sup>

## **II. Instructional Practices and Processes**

The second theme that was coded for was instructional practices and processes. This theme focused specifically on the class schedules, classroom procedures and teaching styles in both schools. Differences in the routines of Santiago Carmen and

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<sup>129</sup> OECD, *Public and Private Schools: How Management and Funding Relate to their Socio-economic Profil.*, Chap. 81.

San Mateo can be seen in two categories: Class Schedule and Teaching Style and Activities.

### **Santiago Carmen**

#### *Class Schedule*

At Santiago Carmen, one teacher was responsible for instruction of all subjects, including Physical Education, for their assigned classroom and grade level. Prof. Marco, whose name has been changed for this study, taught the 5th grade at Santiago Carmen. Prof. Marco was responsible for the students in his classroom beginning at 8am and until the end of the school day. Although the official schedule shows specific time allotments for each subject, the schedule was not strictly followed. *[See appendix]* Prof. Marco selected how long and when a subject was going to be taught. For example, Communication on Mondays was listed as 9:20-10:00 but on the day I was observing it began at 8:50.

#### *Teaching Style and Activities*

When class was in session, students were continually working on an activity or assignment. The professor was not always monitoring the students, but created an environment where the students held each other accountable. The lessons were typically taught with Prof. Marco standing in the front of the classroom leading the lesson, using a textbook to guide the content and selecting examples to write on the board for the students to complete. He began with picking students to stand up and

read aloud the directions or explanations from the textbook to the class. After the students read in front to the class, Prof. Marco instructed the students to applaud for their peer. This created a sense of camaraderie amongst the students, and appeared to ease the nervousness of participating aloud, as I had observed many students eagerly raising their hands to participate. After listening to directions, Prof. Marco wrote examples on the board and then assigned students to answer the examples.

Students were permitted to work individually or in small groups at their tables, allowing the students to choose the learning style they preferred. Throughout the week about 80% of students worked in small groups and 20% worked individually. Additionally, Prof. Marco never gave the students a specific amount of time to complete their work; instead he waited until he saw that the majority of students were finished before moving forward. The students appeared to be working rigorously on their assignments but never seemed rushed. As the students were working, the teacher walked about the classroom checking the students' work and giving individual corrections. As soon as the majority of the class completed the assigned task, the teacher asked for volunteers to write the answers and explanations on the board. The activity concluded with the class applauding for the volunteer.

Prof. Marco was not only laid back in his teaching style, but also in his demeanor. In certain instances, Prof. Marco answered his cell phone in the middle of class and even left the classroom to walk to get coffee with me, revealing a lack of accountability and responsibility within the school and profession. Additionally, there were few times that Prof. Marco had to discipline a student. I deduced that this was

because he did not implement many restrictive policies and appeared to let the students work as they pleased, as long as they were actively participating. That being said, when discipline was observed, it was most commonly accompanied by humor or mockery. When Prof. Marco saw a student sleeping or talking with a peer instead of working, he would address them in front of the class in a joking manner, without raising his voice.

## **San Mateo**

### *Class Schedule*

San Mateo had a designated teacher for each subject. The students remained in their designated classroom for every class, except for Computer and Physical Education, while the teachers rotated around the classrooms, teaching one subject to all grade levels (1-6). Each class ranged from 45 minutes to 2 hours and 15 minutes, meeting three times a week. *[See appendix]* During a typical school day, each grade met with 4-5 different teachers. Teachers followed the schedule strictly and were always punctual during this observation. A bell would sound when it was time to switch subjects, which helped to ensure the entire school was on the same schedule. Additionally, since all teachers were rotating classrooms, they were held accountable by one another.

### *Teaching Style and Activities*

Similar to the punctual class schedule, the classroom activities were also centered on time efficiency. The teaching styles were militaristic in nature with the enforcement of time, constant inspection of uniforms and the cleanliness of the classroom, and demanding students sit upright at their desks. There was little interaction between teacher and student, aside from teaching the class and answering questions. The five teachers observed in this study all had a similar teaching style, lesson plan, and demeanor.

As previously mentioned, technology was highly incorporated into the classroom. The teachers at San Mateo displayed their lesson plans, worksheets, textbook pages and examples on the TV screen so that the students could follow along. After reviewing the lesson, the teacher assigned an exact number of examples for the students to complete within a specific time frame. The frequency of individual work was much higher than small group work.

Teachers were all attentive and present while teaching. They never left the classroom and rarely diverted their eyes away from their students. With a stern face and arms folded, the teachers circulated the room, monitoring the students, counting down the time, and assuring that they were completing the assigned task. This constant supervision ensured that all students were working diligently on their assignment. As a result of this vigilance, additional discipline was uncommon, however when it occurred it came in the form of a raised voice and warning to take away a privilege. The students responded by keeping their head down and returned to do their work.

## **Analysis of Instructional Practices and Processes**

As previously stated, the classrooms at Santiago Carmen and San Mateo had similar classroom arrangements and demographics, however, the processes involved in the classrooms varied greatly. This was specifically seen in teaching style and classroom activities. In terms of classroom procedures, Santiago Carmen and San Mateo were starkly different. The findings from the case studies showed that the private school was academically rigorous, promoted efficient learning, and had access to more resources in the classroom. As evidenced through the classroom routines and procedures, San Mateo was focused on efficient learning through the quasi-militaristic structure based on time and authoritative control.

The 5<sup>th</sup> grade classroom at Santiago Carmen had an environment that was casual and comfortable, with the teacher leading the discussion but not lecturing. Students were encouraged to work alongside the professor and were welcome to correct him if he said or wrote something incorrectly. The public school classroom promoted interaction and peer learning during the lesson. While the teacher led the class and maintained order, he allowed the students to choose their own learning style when completing exercises. Additionally, he never assigned a specific time amount to complete an assignment. Having minimal rules and restrictions allowed the students to hold a certain amount of autonomy and created an open space for learning and interacting. This environment also appeared to encourage students to enjoy learning and being in the classroom.

The classroom observations at San Mateo illustrate a teaching style that was focused on the productivity and efficiency of course content, the following of an authoritative figure and promoting individualism. As mentioned, teachers monitored students while they completed a task and inspected their uniforms and posture. Each teacher held a dominant presence in the classroom; they would lecture on content, and then instruct the students to work individually on the assigned exercises. Stress was placed on time, whether it was controlled by sounding bells to switch subjects or providing the students with a time frame in which they had to complete an assignment. This method promoted efficiency and productivity, resulting in a fast-paced learning environment.

### **III. Development of Interpersonal Relationships: Student-Student, Student-Teacher**

The third theme that was coded for was the development of interpersonal relationships. This theme focused on the observations of student interactions within the classroom. The interactions included in these findings were between student to student and student to teacher.

#### **Santiago Carmen**

##### *Student-Student Interaction*

During this study, the student to student interaction in Santiago Carmen was frequent. Due to the teaching style, as discussed in the previous section, students were given more freedom to interact with one another while completing assignments. Furthermore, Prof. Marco encouraged the students to appreciate the work of their



peers. The simple gesture of applause after a student participated gave the volunteer confidence and fostered a sense of community and camaraderie between the students. By allowing the students to elect group work lent more opportunities for students to learn from one another. Due to this arrangement, students in Santiago Carmen were observed more frequently helping one another with the assigned task than the students in San Mateo.

#### *Student-Teacher Interaction*

Prof. Marco had an inclusive teaching style, in that he created a classroom environment where the students felt comfortable to participate, as well as enjoy the lessons. He did not regularly enforce his authority in the classroom; he took command of the class to teach while allowing students to interrupt with questions and comments. Students were encouraged to voice their opinions, actively participate in class with their classmates, and ask their peers for questions and for help. He welcomed the students to assume the role of the teacher by assigning them to teach one another in their groups and explain their answers in front of the class. During one class he said, *“Si escribo algo mal, me corrigen. Es comunicación. Estamos comunicando en esta clase.”* (If I do something incorrect, correct me. It is communication. We are communicating in this class). In this instance, Prof. Marco was teaching his students that they too had the capability and authority to correct him if he made a mistake. In addition, he was highlighting that correcting or critiquing one another is a form of communication and does not need to be negative.

Prof. Marco did not need to persuade or coerce the students to do their work or participate. They appeared to enjoy being in the classroom as noted through students' laughter and smiling, as well as students waving their hands anxiously to write on the board. The frequency of laughter in the classroom was over 14 times that in San Marco. Furthermore, Prof. Marco used humor to gain the attention of the classroom. He made numerous jokes about his classroom and popular culture in order to include all students. The interaction level between student and teacher at Santiago Carmen was high, as well as the overall enjoyment level in the classroom.

This sense of closeness between the students and the teacher appeared to extend outside of the classroom. Numerous times during his lessons, Prof. Marco made direct connections from the course material to the lives and futures of the students. This was observed in Communication class when he encouraged students to study hard in order to go to college. He used myself as an example and said that I had studied and went to college, which allowed me to travel and be with them in the classroom. These instances of encouragement showed Prof. Marco going beyond the role of a teacher; he was invested in his students' future and wanted to see them succeed.

The interaction between student and teacher also played a role in the involvement of the parents. Prof. Marco demonstrated a relationship with the students and their parents. This was seen in the classroom when he asked a student about their parent's health and when he asked if a student's father had found a new job. He also used his relationship with the students' parents as motivation. For example, the teacher

would comment that if the students did poorly on their test or did not behave well in the classroom, he would talk to their parents on his way home.

Although this study did not include interviews with the parents, from observation of Prof. Marco's comments to the students about their parents revealed that there was parental involvement, specifically in the form of accountability of the students. The relationship between student, parent, and teacher provides another level of support for the students and a network of accountability. In asking the professor about the level of involvement of the students, he said that while the majority of the parents had the intentions to be involved when time permitted, their low level of education did not allow them to be of much help. The parental support may not have come in the form of academic help but more in accountability and encouragement. Furthermore, as highlighted by the surveys, the question asking who helps the students with their homework revealed that over 50% identified someone other than a parent.

Prof. Marco was an important figure for these students outside of the classroom. During this study, I accompanied Prof. Marco to lunch where I was able to conduct my interviews with him. When we were walking to the local market, numerous parents and teenagers shouted "*Oye Profe!*" ("Hey Teacher!") or "*Que tal profe?*" ("How's it going, teacher?"). One parent came up to Prof. Marco and said that her son "*te manda saludos*" ("sends his greetings") and that he was now working in Chile. These encounters outside of the school revealed that he was a central figure in the community, but also had continued contact with his students and parents after they

graduated. This instance highlights the integration of the school as a fundamental part of the community.

## **San Mateo**

### *Student-Student Interaction*

There was minimal student interaction in the classroom at San Mateo. The majority of activities were individual assignments that transitioned into a large group discussion. Before class began, students were very talkative and friendly with one another. When the teacher entered the room the students quickly quieted down to listen. As mentioned in the previous section, the atmosphere and teaching style did not encourage peer interaction since classroom procedures were highly reliant on individual work. During the times when students worked in small groups, the teacher disciplined the students for talking too much. It was apparent that individual work was valued over collaboration. However, this interaction appeared only to be limited inside the classroom. The students seemed trained to work and obey while in class and once they exited the classroom, they would interact and play with their peers as would be expected of typical 5<sup>th</sup> graders.

### *Student-Teacher Interaction*

In addition to limited interaction between peers, there was even less interaction between student and teacher. The teacher was seen as the authority figure, who managed the time, the course content, and the organization of the class. Despite

having 5 different teachers each day, the students behaved similarly with each one. The students listened and followed directions, with little disruptions. The central communication was when the teacher was providing instructions, teaching the lesson, or selecting students to participate.

During the study, a casual conversation between student and teacher was never observed. There were few instances of laughter during class time and the teachers rarely made comments that were not directly related to the course material. Only once did a teacher incorporate a game as part of the lesson, and the students were seen laughing and interacting with one another. Most commonly, the teachers maintained their authority by teaching from the front of the room and monitoring the students while they completed individual assignments. It is important to note that this study only consisted of observations for one week in each school; therefore these activities could occur more frequently, but were not observed within the time frame of this project.

### **Analysis of Levels of Interactions**

From the findings on the organization and procedures of San Mateo, it is not surprising that a parent would elect to enroll their child into a private school if they had the financial means. However, the study did find that private school was weak in the area of social development. From the classroom observations, this study revealed that the public school was stronger in promoting the interpersonal relationships and social interactions, in and out of the classroom. While the encouragement of

interactions was left out of the private school teaching methods, and instead predominantly promoted individual learning.

The findings overall highlight that in the public school, students had a high frequency of interaction as seen in the two modes, student to student and student to teacher. The classroom activities and teaching styles as discussed in the previous section influence these interactions, and also help to explain the minimal social interactions in the private school. To look more closely into these relationships and how these social interactions are significant to the larger picture, I will analyze each individually.

#### *Peer versus Individual*

There were stark differences in the use of student interaction in the classroom, varying between peer and individual work. Student to student interaction was much higher in the public school due to the classroom routines. In the public school, the teacher incorporated more small group activities to promote peer learning. He rarely told students to work individually, but instead allowed the students to choose whether they preferred to work in groups or alone. With this option, the majority of students elected to work in groups. Throughout the school day, students were observed chatting and laughing with each other indicating that they developed friendships with many of their peers.

At San Mateo, there was minimal student to student interaction within the classroom. This is not to say that students were not friendly with their peers, but that

the classroom procedures, as dictated by the teacher, did not promote or encourage peer interaction. Occasionally students would converse but this was normally out of turn and was disciplined. However, before and after class, the students were speaking with their friends, walking about the classroom to visit other friends, and the same would take place during their recess and lunch.

#### *Authority versus Collaborator*

From the findings, there was a disparity in how the teachers were viewed by the students in each school: authority figure or collaborator. In the private school, the teacher was viewed as the authority figure, who dictated the lessons and made the decisions for the day. The role of the teacher was further distinguished by monitoring the students. For example, while the students worked on an assignment, the teacher patrolled the classroom keeping order, watching for side conversations and ensuring the students were working diligently. When a student did misbehave, the teacher was quick to discipline by threatening to take away a privilege. Due to this teaching style, there was nearly no interaction between student and teacher that would resemble closeness.

The significantly lower percentage of closeness observed between student and teacher could be partially attributed to the fact that the teachers rotated with each subject. The students spent 1-2 hours with a teacher before they changed subjects, seeing a total of 5 teachers per day. In addition, this constant rotation made it difficult for teachers to be accountable of their students and could easily overlook patterns of tardiness, fatigue, etc.

Conversely to San Mateo, at Santiago Carmen the closeness level between the students and teacher was high, as evidenced by laughing, smiling, and the teacher's knowledge of the student familial background. Another factor that contributed to the higher level of closeness in public school was due to having the same teacher remain with the students all day, every day of the week. This allowed the teacher to get to know his students better by identifying the patterns of the students and establishing contact with their parents. Through my conversations with the teacher, he could discuss the background of each of his students without contemplation and identified their patterns of absence, fatigue, and familial background.

#### **IV. External Factors: Parent and Familial Background**

In order to collect data on the background of the students, surveys were distributed to the parents of all the student participants in Santiago Carmen and San Mateo. As discussed in the Methodology Chapter, these surveys asked questions on the background of the students and parents, as well as household resources. The data collected from the take-home surveys helped to address the fourth research question on the external factors affecting a student's achievement. It is important to note that it was not apparent that race played a role in the access to education in these case studies. All participants listed themselves as Peruvian nationals and identified as "mestizo," or mixed blood. The absence of indigeneity and language differentiations does not permit this study to have an analysis of race. However, these surveys do expose evidence that in these case studies, there is a slight economic divide between students in the public and private schools.



## Parents of Santiago Carmen

The mean age grouping for parents at Santiago Carmen was 30-39. With the second largest group being 20-29 years of age. Over 60% of parents at Santiago Carmen were unmarried. 40% of these parents described themselves as single and 20% listed themselves as “*conviviente*” or cohabitants. This term is typically used for a couple that is unmarried but living together. The use of this term is more commonly used in towns where there is a lower socioeconomic level. Due to the high cost of marriage in Peru, many couples opt to live together and start a family without officially participating in the act of marriage. Therefore, the prevalence of the term *conviviente*, signals to a lower class and income level, which is consistent with the background of parents of Santiago Carmen.

Nearly 60% of parents at Santiago Carmen only completed part of secondary schooling, and only 4 parents reported attending an institute.<sup>130</sup> Over 60% of parents were employed as housecleaners or performed manual labor. The average household income for Santiago Carmen parents was 20 soles per day, which is equivalent to 7 dollars. This equates to 600 soles per month, which is well below the minimum wage set by the Peruvian government. In June 2012, Prime Minister Oscar Valdes announced that the government would increase the minimum wage to 750 soles per month, which further increased the wage disparity for parents in Santiago Carmen.<sup>131</sup> In terms of resources, less than 40% of students at Santiago Carmen had access to a

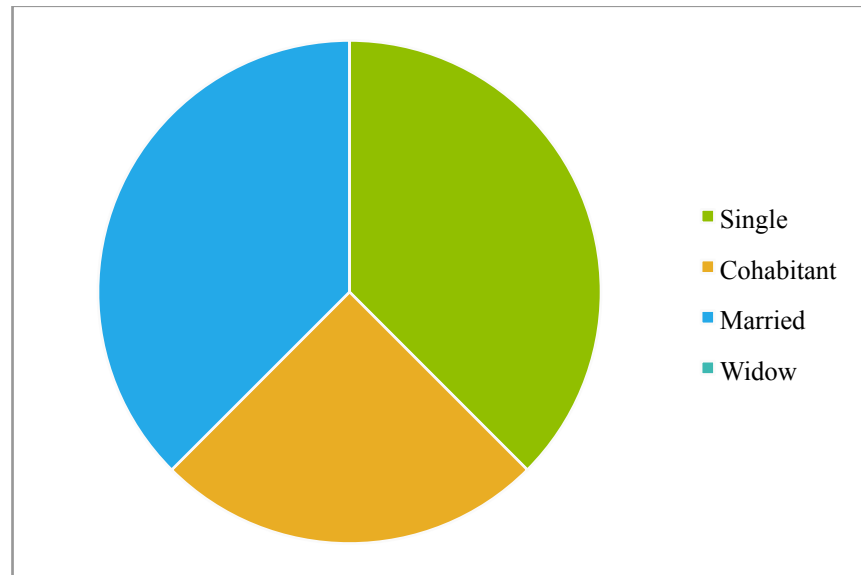
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<sup>130</sup> An institute in Peru can be most commonly described as vocational training, where graduate receive an associate’s degree.

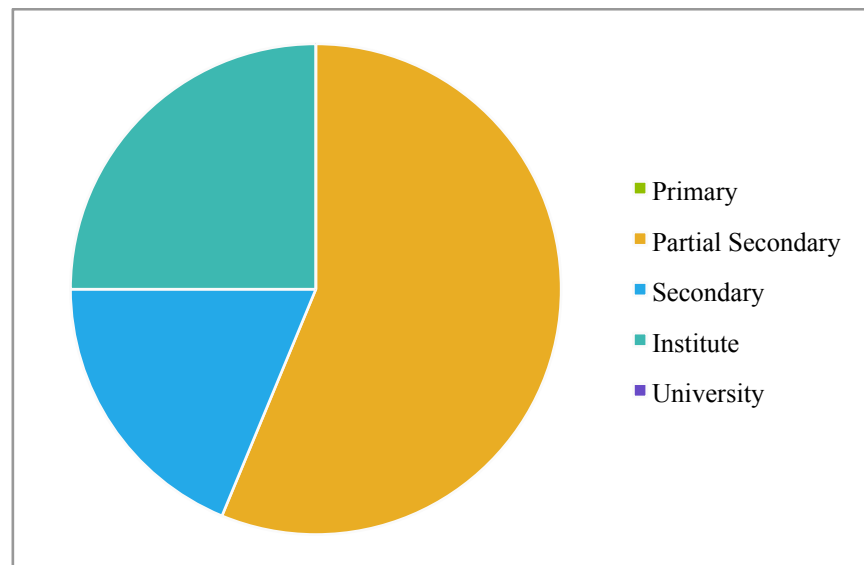
<sup>131</sup> Ministerio de Trabajo y Promocion del Empleo. “Articulo 24 de la Constitucion Politica del Peru”

computer and internet outside of school. In an interview with Prof. Marco he explained that computers are uncommon since many of these children come from very poor homes. Therefore, he knows he cannot assign projects that utilize a computer.

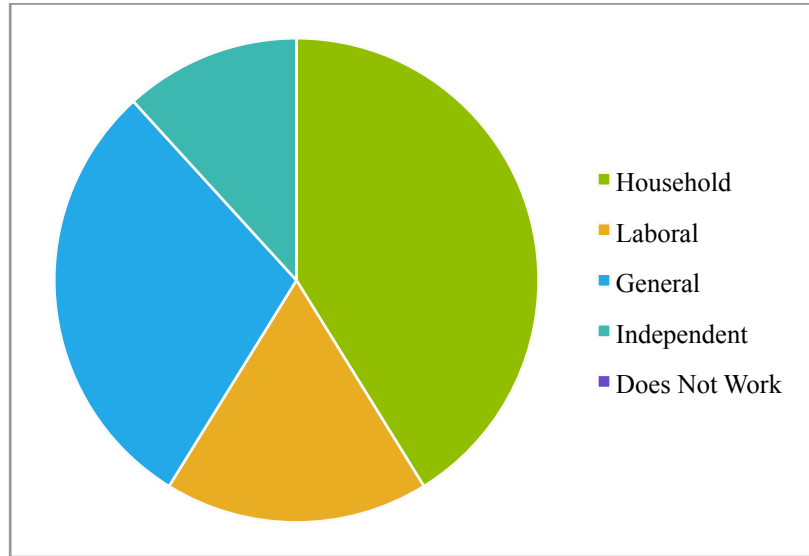
### Santiago Carmen Parent Data



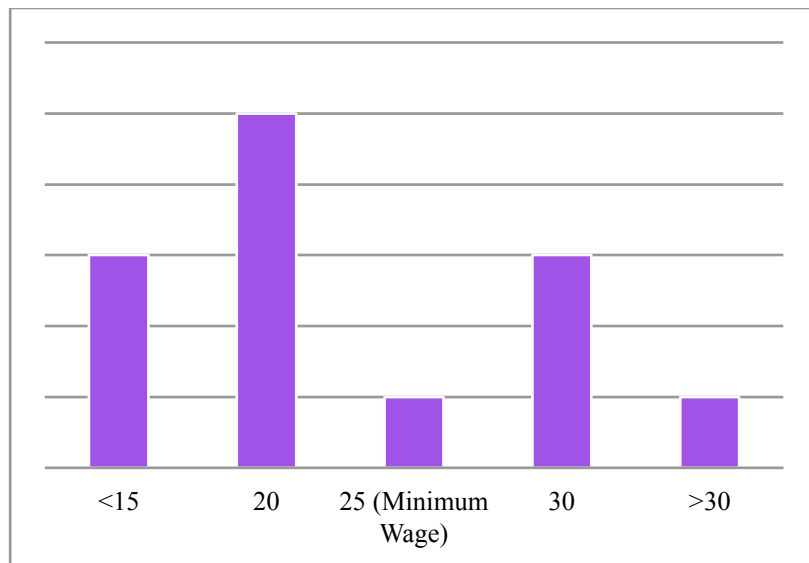
**Figure 4.1:** Civil Status of Santiago Carmen Parents



**Figure 4.2:** Highest Educational Attainment of Santiago Carmen Parents



**Figure 4.3:** Profession of Santiago Carmen Parents



**Figure 4.4:** Daily Income of Santiago Carmen Family

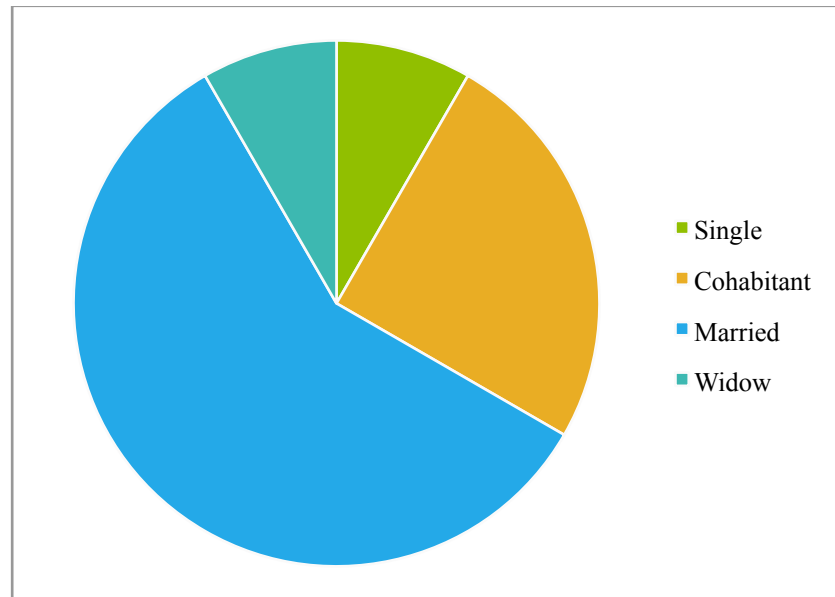
## Parents of San Mateo

The mean age for parents at San Mateo was 40-49. All parents completed secondary schooling and 20% went on to higher education. Nearly 60% of parents at San Mateo were married. Parents either worked in house cleaning or owned their own business. Entrepreneurship most commonly suggests that they own a mini store (*bodega*) or supply store. 70% of San Mateo parents had an income of 25 soles per day or higher.<sup>132</sup> This means that the majority of the parents at San Mateo were making at or above the Peruvian minimum wage, which is higher than parents at Santiago Carmen. However, since San Mateo is a private school with a required tuition fee, it is not surprising that the parents at San Mateo have a higher income. The higher income also explains the increased access to computers in the home at San Mateo. Overall, the parents were still living below middle class standards, but still 50% of students at San Mateo reported to having access to a computer and internet at home.

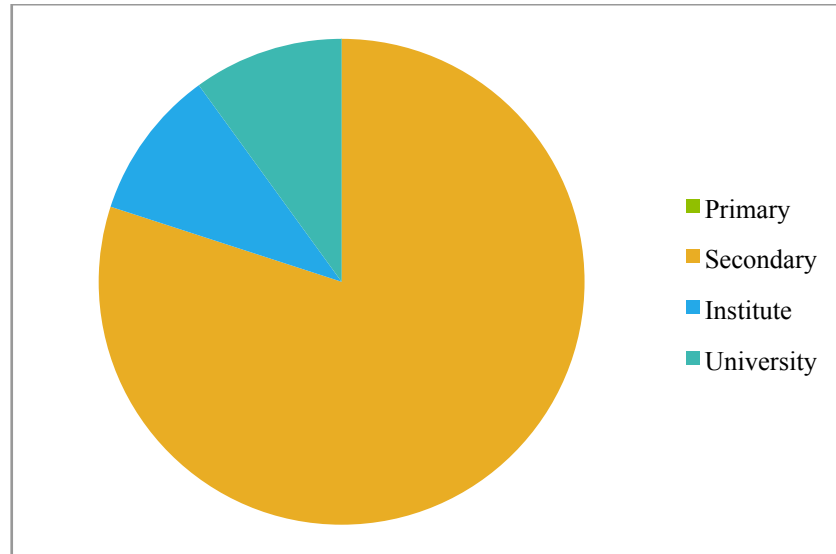
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<sup>132</sup> Data revealed that there was a break between <25 and <15. I speculate that the incomes at >15 are from the families who are receiving scholarships from COPRODELI.

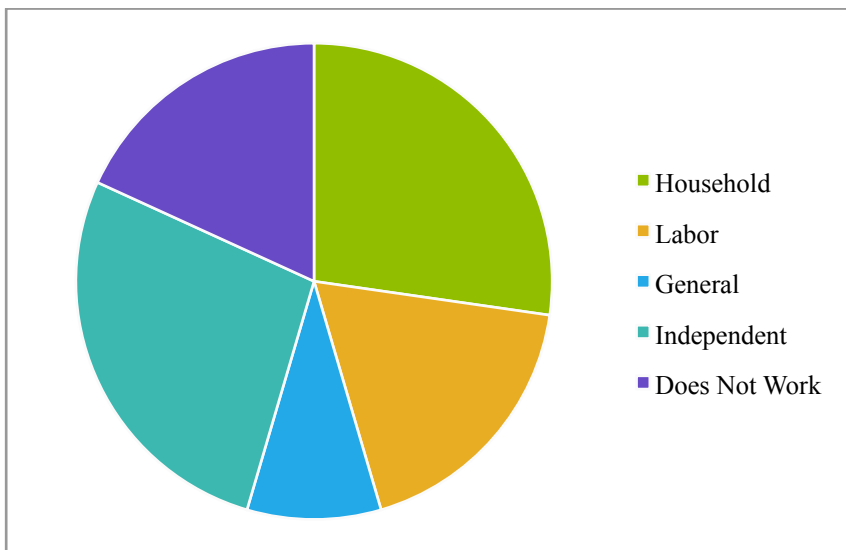
### San Mateo Parent Data



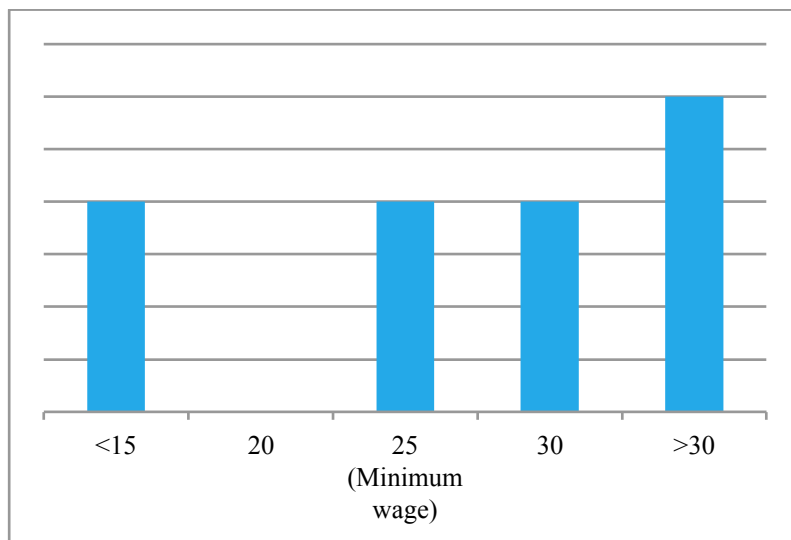
**Figure 4.5:** Civil Status of San Mateo Parents



**Figure 4.6:** Highest Educational Attainment of San Mateo Parents



**Figure 4.7: San Mateo Profession of San Mateo Parents**



**Figure 4.8: Daily Income of San Mateo Parent**

### **Analysis of External Factors**

When looking at external factors such as parent's age, civil status, educational attainment, employment and income, there are noticeable differences between the parents at Santiago Carmen and parents at San Marco. The quantitative data taken from the parent surveys show that the parents of students attending public school Santiago Carmen, were younger in age, unmarried, and had a lower education attainment and employed in household labor such as cleaning or physical labor with a daily income of 20 soles per day. In contrast, parents at San Mateo had a higher income with a majority of parents earning above minimum wage. This was expected since the parents could afford to pay tuition. These results show that even slightly wealthier parents are choosing to enroll their children in a private school. In sum, the data collected from the surveys supports the theory of the educational apartheid as creating a class-level division between public and private schools.



## Chapter 5: The Self-Perpetuating Cycle of the Educational Apartheid

In this thesis I have outlined the state of education in Peru and the factors, both historic and present, that contribute to its poor quality. As evidenced in Chapter 1, the “exit” to private education is being driven by the inadequate national education system. Factors such as low government expenditure, low accountability within the Ministry of Education, and the devaluing of teachers, all contribute to the worsening education system in Peru and in return, act as catalyst for the exodus into private schools. Maria Balarin similarly states:

The deficits of the national education system are evident not only through results of national and international assessments, but also in the very precarious material conditions in which many schools operate in view of the lack of resources (in terms of teachers’ salaries, availability of funds for the maintenance of infrastructure, lack of school materials, teacher training, etc.), all of which negatively impinge on the circulation of knowledge.<sup>133</sup>

My findings from the case studies are consistent with Balarin, as well as several other studies on the Peruvian educational system.<sup>134</sup> In addition, the results from the PISA 2009 confirm the disparity in student performance between public and private schools in Peru. The results show a gap of 89 points between public and private schools, with the median score for public school students at 350 and 439 for

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<sup>133</sup> Balarin, “Promoting educational reforms in weak states.”

<sup>134</sup> Arregui 2000; Cueto et al. 2003; PREAL and GRADE 2003; Hunt 2004; Benavides et al. 2006; PREAL and GRADE 2006.

private school students.<sup>135</sup> These differences have incited an increase in enrollment to private school and a decrease in the enrollment in state schools, as seen in Figure 1.3.

The question then arises, how can these differences be interpreted and what are the repercussions of this shift to private schooling? In order to answer these questions, I will provide context on the origin and organization of schools. Using the theories of Bowles & Gintis, Lave & McDermott, Theodore Schultz, and Coleman & Hoffer, I will discuss the role of schools in relation to society, through looking at how schools are maintaining the class hierarchical structure, and how the case studies provide an interesting counter to this argument through highlighting patterns of social mobility.

Incorporating educational theory on the role of schools in society, this chapter will address the facets of the educational apartheid through three components. First, I will examine the role of schools in the reproduction of class-based culture, using the material infrastructure and organization, instructional practices and processes, and interpersonal relationships in the classroom to explain the differences found between the two schools. The second component will discuss the use of capital, human and social, as a mechanism to secure one's place within the hierarchy. Lastly, I deduce that this division is segregating the schooling system in Peru, thus arguing that the educational apartheid is a result of a self-perpetuating cycle.

### **Reproduction of Class and Culture**

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<sup>135</sup> OECD, *Public and Private Schools: How Management and Funding Relate to their Socio-economic Profil.*, Chap. 81.

First, it is important to see how formal schools in the Western world, being influenced by industrialization, were designed and operated on a factory system.

Newman & Holzman describe this process:

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, schools were being transformed into bureaucratically administered institutions modeled on the factory... The literature of the time compares school superintendents to factory managers, teachers to industrial workers and children to the 'raw materials', which were to be "shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life."<sup>136</sup>

Today, these mass-producing schools are continually expected to generate students of the same "standard" in large quantities. Students are still grouped in batches organized by age, rather than ability. Students are required to spend an allotted amount of time on each subject, as well as, utilize attendance as the primary mechanism to account for students. This system was believed to effectively produce large numbers of trained students who could best enter working society.<sup>137</sup> These schools promote "punctuality, regularity, attention, and silence," as the key habits for success in an industrial society.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, if schools were created following the same system as factories do, this thesis argues that they will also reproduce the same "mode of production" which produces and sorts students into jobs within the societal structure.

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<sup>136</sup> Fred Newman, Fred and Lois Holzman, *Unscientific psychology. A cultural-Performatory Approach to Understanding Human Life*.(New York: iUniverse, Inc, 2006,) 92.

Peter E. Jones, "The Living and the Dead in Education: Commentary on Julian Williams." *Mind, Culture & Activity*, 18(4), (2011), 367.

<sup>137</sup> Peter Jones, "The Living and the Dead in Education: Commentary on Julian Williams." 367.

<sup>138</sup> Kathy Seal, "Make minorities thrive in high school and college". *Education Digest*, 70(1), (2004) 29-37.

In line with the factory system, schools similarly sort students to spots within the class hierarchy through “teaching” class culture. In discussing the Peruvian educational system, the *Consejo Nacional de Educación* del Peru wrote:

One factor that acts as a backdrop for any other has to do with the educational apartheid that exists in our country [Peru], which relegates most of the public schools to the reproduction of the culture of poverty, subordination and despair, while reserving elite private education for social and educational reproduction.<sup>139</sup>

The document in which this quote was published highlighted several inefficiencies in the Peruvian education system, while naming the division between public and private schools as the most critical and threatening to the country. This quotation highlights that the public schools are reproducing “low” or “poor” culture, meaning the teaching of skills for work rather than for higher education. As a result, these students are being sorted into working class jobs, thus maintaining the middle and low class structure. On the other side of the spectrum, through a more effective curriculum and specialized teachers, private education provides students with the skills to pursue higher education and go on to a professional career, thus maintaining students in the upper class. It is through this “teaching” of culture that schools sort and reproduce class levels.

However, the case studies reveal an interesting dynamic to this structure. The private school was comprised of families from middle to lower-middle incomes, which shows that private schools, even as small as San Mateo, act as a venue for social mobility for families from lower classes, rather than a stagnant class structure that is being reproduced.

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<sup>139</sup> Consejo Nacional de Educación, *Hacia un proyecto educactivo nacional 2006- 2021*, 73.

Similarly, Paolo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* argues that education perpetuates the class system. The bourgeoisie attend the top schools, receive the best education and go on to the most highly paid jobs; whereas, the lower classes attend underfunded, low resourced schools, receive an adequate education and obtain middle class jobs. When looking at the “big picture” of education in Peru, the school system does not work in that all who receive an education will move up socially and economically; rather the classes remain in the same location with very little mobility.<sup>140</sup> However, the findings from the case studies highlight that there is a pattern of slight social mobility within a small community in Lima. Families from middle to lower classes had the opportunity to enroll their children into private schools due to a more affordable tuition. Therefore, the role of parent’s expectations, which may be false expectations, plays a significant role in this decision, and highlights that schools are still believed to a mode of social mobility.

Sam Bowles and Herb Gintis also argue that education solidifies societal inequality. Schooling in Western societies mirror capitalist production, which prepares students to enter the workforce. It is this reproduction of the capitalist division of labor, which reproduces economic inequality. Bowles and Gintis state:

Schools function to make more adequate employees by transmitting to students the characteristic required to fit into the social relation generated by a capitalist division of labor. Not only are students inured to the kind of work provided by the capitalist institutions, but they develop the personality traits and institutional understandings

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<sup>140</sup> Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

they require to function in such institutions.<sup>141</sup>

Therefore schools are providing students with tools to enter the workforce. However, these tools differ between schools. Private education, similar to San Mateo, instructs students on standardized knowledge, or how to take a test, that will allow them to attend the university and enter into a professional career. On the other hand, the public schools teach practical knowledge and vocational training to allow students to begin working. In addition, Prof. Marco's provided a sense of social belonging, encouraged students to learn from each other, and above all, think outside of the box.

The case studies show that the private school teaches a curriculum centered on standardized knowledge that will aid students in achieving higher education, but fails to provide students with adequate social skills, in which the public school excelled. The findings from these case studies revealed that the private school similarly followed the factory-type organization and structure. Aside from learning the basic rudimentary subjects in school, students are imprinted with learning patience, following the rules, and taking direction from authority. This was seen through strict enforcement of protocols, teaching styles that centered on efficiency and productivity, promoting respect towards authority, prepared teachers and lesson plans and high integration of resources and technology.

At the private school, the school day was centered on time, from sounding bells to providing a time limit to complete an assignment. This method promoted efficiency and productivity, which created a fast-paced learning environment.

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<sup>141</sup> Bowles and Gintis, *Schooling in capitalist America*, 131.

Teachers arrived promptly and were always prepared with their lesson plans, allowing teachers to only focus on teaching. Within the classroom students were working individually on their assignments or listening as the teacher lectured. This efficient practice allowed for more time devoted to learning course content, and better preparing students for assessments.

Another facet of the reproduction of class culture is the emphasis on individual work and respect for authority. In the private school classroom, each teacher held a dominant presence in the classroom. They would lecture on content, then instruct the students to work individually on the assigned exercises, and students respectfully followed. Moreover, the private school emphasized individual work while the public school promoted group learning. In the private school, the stress on individual learning reflects the stress on individualism, rather than collaboration. For example, students were encouraged to find the answers on their own, without asking for help. This promotes the ideology of individualism; students are ingrained with needing to obtain success based on one's own effort, in order to be better than the rest.

As a consequence, the private school was found to not fulfill one of school's primary roles. Schools are believed to be a place for children to learn how to interact with others. Competition is so instilled into the classroom that schools are actually alienating students from their fellow classmates. Collaboration and socialization are being replaced by competition among students for the best grades and to be the best in their class.

As evidenced by the case studies, we can see that there are disparities between the services provided in public and private schooling. The private school had numerous resources, including new copies of textbooks for each student, shelves full of learning activities surrounding the classroom (without dust), and integration of technology that was accessible to all students. While it is to be expected that the quality of the resources would be higher in the private school due to additional funding, this case study revealed that the state school was not meeting minimal requirements, which can partially be attributed to low government funding, as discussed in Chapter 1. More specifically, this study found that the students in the public school did not have enough copies of the textbooks to share with a partner. Despite promises from the Peruvian government, my observations show that such promises are barely kept. Even with the increased attention on education, as seen through the recent increase in the number of educational reforms, public schooling still appears to be significantly lacking. As a result, time was lost on copying sentences and examples onto the board. As the private school promotes efficiency for more learning, the public school is already disadvantaged due to depleted resources, which further detracts from time spent learning the material in the classroom.

### **Role of Capital in the Exodus to Private Education**

As more Peruvians began to recognize that schools were reproducing these alarming disparities, private school enrollment mushroomed. To further explain this exacerbated division between the elite and working classes in Peru, an analysis of how human and social capital are at work must be included in the discussion. Theodore



Schultz argues that capital does not solely apply to commodities and money; humans can make an investment in themselves and therefore should be viewed as capital. One can increase human capital through schooling, social interactions, and various learning opportunities. Similar to other types of capital (social and cultural), human capital is transferable.<sup>142</sup>

This transfer is most significant between parent and child. Coleman and Hoffer analyze the role of parents in relation to human capital and argue that social and human capital are complementary. Coleman and Hoffer find that if parents have high human capital and share high social capital with their child, their human capital transfers to their offspring.<sup>143</sup> While the case study showed that San Mateo parents had a higher educational attainment (human capital), it may be assumed – if Coleman and Hoffer are right – that more human and social capital is shared with children. Although we do not know the particulars of the relationship between parents and child understanding this relationship would enhance our knowledge on how “capital” is transferred to the next generation and how the interaction between parental home and types of schooling systems might affect the overarching social structure and the patterns of mobility in society. If the frequency of interaction and quality is high, one could assume that private school parents transfer their human capital to their child. Conversely, if the human capital of the parents is not complemented by social capital, due to structural and functional deficiencies, then human capital will not transfer. In

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<sup>142</sup> Theodore W. Schultz, *Investment in Human Capital: The Role of Education and of Research* (New York: Free Press, 1971).

<sup>143</sup> Coleman, James S. and Hoffer, Thomas. *Public and Private High Schools: The Impact of Communities*. New York: Basic Books, 1987.

other words, if both parents have high human capital but have limited or no social capital with their child, it will not contribute to their child's educational and intellectual growth.

The poor and working class parents in Peru are more commonly undereducated or uneducated, thus only permitting them to share a minimal amount of human capital with their children. Additionally, due to the parents' need to work in order to financially support their family, the social capital between parent and child is likely to be lower. Many lower and working class families in Peru experience structural and functional deficiencies, such as an absent parent and minimal interaction due to working long hours. Therefore, lower class children are predisposed to disadvantages even before entering school.

Aside from the transfer of knowledge, parents are able to use their capital to ensure and protect their child's education. This can be represented as a parent contesting their child's grade with a teacher. Parents are aware of the differential quality of private and public schools when it comes to job market success and thus, especially, wealthier families resort to utilize their capital, both monetary and intellectual, to choose private institutions in order to secure a quality education for their child. It is perceived as an investment in the child's and family's future. Balarin argues that "The increasing supply of private education [...] has meant that much of the popular demand for better educational services is satisfied through exit strategies into the private system – which can also be read as individual or family strategies to

achieve or enhance their positional competition.”<sup>144</sup> This investment is also described as “opportunity hoarding,” an act by the middle and upper classes to distinguish themselves economically and socially. By enrolling their child in a private institution, parents expect to secure a future for their child so they may have more opportunities, such as attending a competitive university and achieving a successful career, which is often a false expectation, as highlighted through the private school in this case study. The cases indicate patterns of minor social mobility through a choice of schools and parents’ awareness and preference of schooling their children in a certain way. Private schooling choices appear to be an ‘out of the local community’ choice, with the ultimate goal of furthering more upward social mobility. This is shown through Prof. Marco, who links the school to the community, whereas in the private school – even with how the curriculum is organized and the location of the school – there is a community detachment ingredient.

The elite parents’ choice has a long lasting impact on the state of education in Peru. Elite parents hold higher human and social capital that provide them with more “know how” by which they have the means to demand an improved public schooling system. However, these parents are choosing to abandon public schooling as a whole, instead of demanding a better public schooling system for all. According to Balarin, the “exit” to private schooling “has further disenfranchised the users of public education, who often lack the force or the means to articulate and channel their demands for better education in ways that might lead to more coherent policy

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<sup>144</sup> Balarin, “Promoting educational reforms in weak states,” 173.

making.”<sup>145</sup> With the loss of support from the wealthier parents, there is a loss of a voice for those families that remain in the low quality public schools. With a lower education attainment, as evidenced by these case studies, the middle and lower class parents lack the resources to approach school administrators and the Ministry of Education to petition for better schooling, and have no other option than to enroll their child in the below-average state schools.

However, it is important to note that in the case of Santiago Carmen parents were involved in the classroom due to the mediation of the teacher, who was a prominent member of the Sarita Colonia community. The high social capital in the community aids the parents in being involved in their child’s school, despite having low human capital. Additionally, in the public school there was stress on collaboration and group learning, further emphasizing social capital amongst peers. When Prof. Marco teaches, he encourages all students to read aloud and participate, as well as learn from one another. What is implied here is that this public school accentuates community involvement and collaboration and, that parents, students, and teachers articulate social capital.

While Santiago Carmen promotes socialization and collaboration of and in the learning process, the strictly factual facet of education in the school appears to be low. It cannot be overlooked that promoting social interaction does not substitute for academic knowledge, and vice versa. In other words, a student who gains strong social

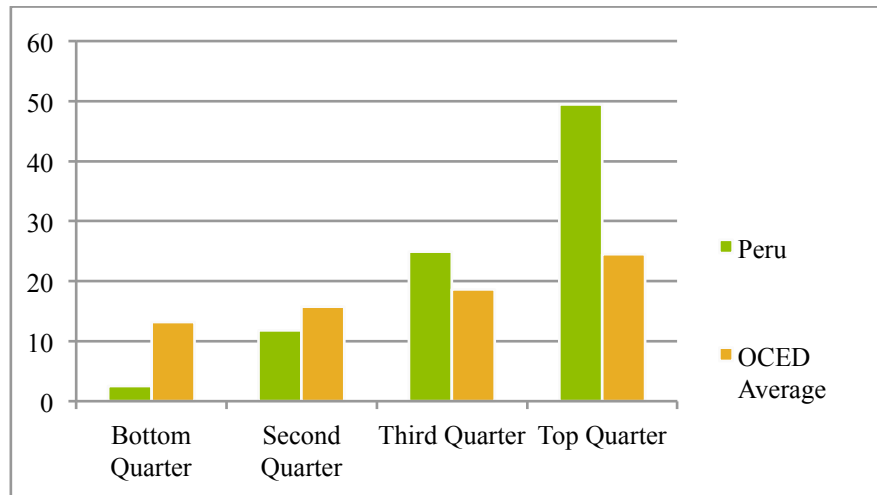
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<sup>145</sup> Balarin, “Promoting educational reforms in weak states,” 173.

skills still cannot go far professionally if he/she does not know simple addition or subtraction.

### **Segregation in the School System**

The severity of the shift to private schooling goes beyond just avoiding the poor public schools; this division is creating a segregated school system. As previously stated, while many families are aware of the poor quality of public schooling, not every family can afford a private education for their children. In general, most private schools are filled with children from the elite and upper middle class families. In my case studies however, the private schools were comprised of lower middle class families, highlighting another sector of private schooling. Conversely, public schools predominantly teach children from the middle and lower classes. The case studies revealed this income division existed, however in a much smaller degree. When looking at the data from the OECD, it confirms that private schools are saturated with children from the higher classes, as illustrated in the graph below (See Figure 5.1). Nearly 50% of the total number of students enrolled in private schools comes from the wealthiest 25 percent of the country.



**Figure 5.1:** Proportion of Students Who Attend Privately Managed Schools

*Source: PISA 2009*

Even more startling is the generalized assumption that since public education has become so depleted of resources, the educational system in Peru is bad leading to a reinforcement of the opinion that private schooling is always better. A study by the OECD found that in Peru, even when the academic performance of both public and private are near the national standards, the likelihood that economically advantaged students will attend privately managed schools is still more likely.<sup>146</sup> While it is uncommon that performance in a public and private school would be the same, the statistics show that just the concept of a private school equates to better quality, revealing that private education has become an assumed decision, or an automatic response.

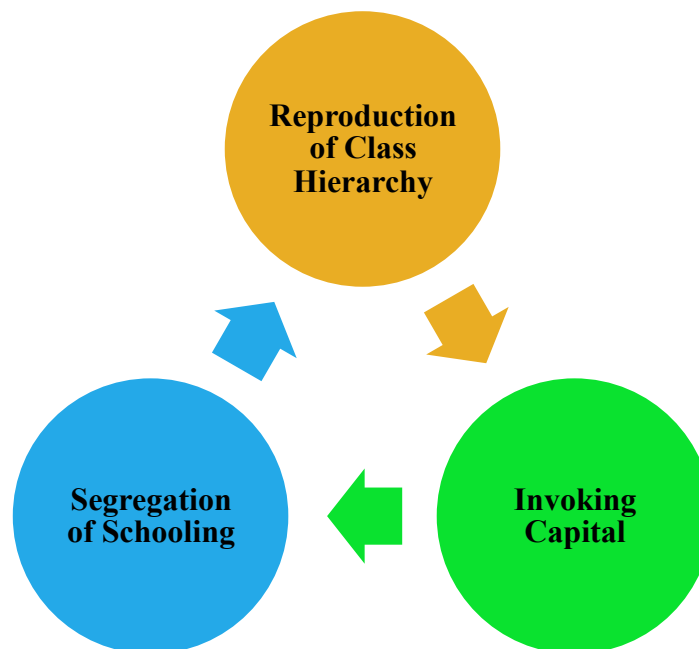
<sup>146</sup> OECD, *Public and Private Schools: How Management and Funding Relate to their Socio-economic Profil.*,

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this same opportunity hoarding occurred in the 1940s, as a way to avoid “mixing” with indigenous peoples but also to ensure the elite classes’ status over the lower classes. We can see a similar process occurring in 2013. The quantitative data from the case studies supports this same income division. The parent surveys showed that the parents in the private school had an income of minimum wage or higher, which was above that of the public school parents. This reveals that socioeconomically advantaged parents, even minimally in this case, are choosing to enroll their children in a private school. This divide may be further exacerbated depending on the city and community and when income disparities are much larger. However, the findings from the case studies additionally suggest that there is a pattern of social mobility.

Social divisions along class (and ethnic) lines result in classrooms deprived of diversity. Looking at the stark racial divides in Peru, we can also infer that income disparity also means that the segregation in the classroom is racial, as well. In the broader national picture, with a higher level of class and race segregation in schools, the educational apartheid tends to increase with grave consequences for Peru’s future. This divide also means that elite students in Peru are more unaware of the conditions of lower and middle-income students in their country. Through segregation, elites are less exposed to peers from racial and class groups other than their own and risk being sheltered from the rest of the country. Additionally, they do not experience different social interactions because schools now do not allow them to have this exposure.

### **The Cycle of Educational Apartheid**

Founded upon preexistent inequalities within the country, apartheid is a culmination of historical pasts, as mentioned in Chapter 2. These case studies and the literature provided in this chapter argue that educational apartheid is in fact part of a self-perpetuating cycle that reproduces class divisions, motivates the wealthy to choose private schooling while taking their capital with them, and leaves schools deprived of diversity. This cycle is depicted in the chart below (Figure 5.3).



**Figure 5.3:** Cycle of the Peruvian Educational Apartheid

The educational apartheid reflects the current social class structure, as well as reinforces these inequalities through this division in education. Public schools continue to produce “poor” culture while elites pay for quality education that maintains the class hierarchy. Private education aids them in receiving high test scores to allow them to enter better schools and eventually move into a respectable career or



even study at a university abroad. On the other hand, the students in public schools struggle to stay in school, while handling other obligations outside of school, such as supporting their family. These students hope to graduate from secondary school but rarely achieve entering the university. The educational apartheid therefore is not just relevant within the educational system in Peru, but continues to increase the socioeconomic inequalities within the country.

Interestingly, the case studies revealed, at the smaller scale, an anomaly to this cycle. Among families with only slight differentiating earnings, some families decide to send their kids to a private school, due to the affordable private schools, and some send them to the public schools. This demonstrates that opportunities exist for social mobility for lower and middle class families, however the actual result of the actual mobility would need to be proved through a longitudinal study.

## Conclusion

This thesis explored numerous facets of the Peruvian education system, beginning at the classroom level and on through the analysis of schools as institutions. Theoretically, I explored how the educational apartheid is occurring at the macro-level, in which the Peruvian education system is perpetuating a cycle that “teaches” a class-based culture that reinforces societal inequalities. As a result, public schools produce students that will remain in their middle to lower class level, by providing few opportunities to advance academically and economically. However, utilizing case studies to investigate this phenomenon on a smaller scale, I found that in smaller communities and much smaller schools, there are, in fact, patterns of social mobility.

## Implications

As a result of the findings of this study, there are several implications as well as topics that demand future research.

### *Defining a Quality Education: Is Private Always Better?*

The findings from the case studies challenge the dichotomy that private schools are always better and public schools are always worse. The case study revealed there were significant differences in the organization of the schools, the routines in the classroom, the social interactions, and the background of the students. From this study, we see that the private school was academically more rigorous, in terms of enforcing protocols and following a strict curriculum, with increased resources, and trained staff that promoted efficient learning. On the other hand, the

public school encouraged peer learning, collaboration with authority figures, and self-confidence, despite having fewer resources, which impeded learning in the classroom. What I found during my research was that there was a stark contrast in the two schools between academic rigor and social development.

Therefore, an additional question emerged, what factors determine a “quality education” and who defines it? What is more important to promote: the acquisition of knowledge, typically measured by standardized tests, or the enjoyment to learn and the development of relationships? As I have previously mentioned, one of these factors cannot stand alone; education should encourage academics, as well as social development. However there needs to be a continued discussion on pedagogy and implementation practices that can provide a successful balance between the two.

### *Educational Policy*

As long as public schools continue to be of low quality and underfunded, the families with the financial means in Peru will continue to elect to enroll their children in private schools. While enrollment in private schools cannot be immediately halted, policy can address the reasons causing this shift to the private sector in order to prevent continued enrollment divisions.

Educational policy needs to be devoted to exploring the most effective forms of educational practices. The findings from this study found that both the public and private school had both positive and negative teaching practices and protocols. While the private school performed strongly in teaching an effective curriculum, the public

school promoted socialization and the teacher, Prof. Marco, would be considered an ideal teacher on many levels. Therefore, the Ministry of Education should create a committee with teachers and administrators from both public and private schools (with representatives from the varieties of private schools) in order to create a dialogue between the varying institutions. This discussion would result in all schools learning the positives from each school and therefore improving public school education, as well as private school education.

While reforms are needed in order to create these structural changes within the educational system, the historical case study from Chapter 2 should serve as a warning of failed policy. While on paper a reform may appear promising, if the implementation is not effectively carried out, then the reform will ultimately result in failure. Using President Velasco's reform, *La Ley General 1972*, as a lesson for policy making and implementation, the current Peruvian government under President Ollanta Humala needs to acknowledge that successful reforms must not be strictly top-down in policy nor implementation. In the process of drafting the *Ley General 1972*, various social actors, including schoolteachers, were excluded. By ostracizing the teachers who would be implementing the reform, the government had predisposed their reform to failure. In response to this exclusion, the teacher's union, SUTEP, formed and has since remained politically and vocally active. Consequently, the inherent problems in the educational system remain from the 1970s as well as the groups that resisted the reform.

In 2013, we see hints of this same top-down approach occurring. Current educational reforms, such as the *Ley de Reforma Magisterial*, are said to be targeting teachers in a way that places blame on educators. The current outcry from teachers, specifically through SUTEP, provides warning that this reform may not achieve its intended goals. As a lesson from the past, policy should not be enacted as a way to discipline teachers but should begin with analyzing the institution, including the government expenditure and distribution of resources. This case study revealed that the resources in a public school classroom were minimal and that government and Ministry of Education's promises are not being fulfilled.

In addition, Chapter 1 exposed the gross inconsistency within the Peruvian Ministry of Education. Having more than 21 different ministers since the 1990s reveals that there is a severe lack of accountability. Without consistency within the Ministry itself, reforms to improve these problems will rarely be drafted, much less properly implemented. Therefore before placing blame on teachers, attention first needs to be focused on the structural deficiencies of the Peruvian Ministry of Education and ensuring the fulfillment of their own promises.

### **Future Research**

In addition to policy implications, there is also a need for further research on this educational apartheid. Organizations such as the OECD, Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo, Save the Children, and Young Lives are in the progress of implementing long-term investigations focusing on a wide range of problems within the education system in Peru. However, specifically in relation to the educational apartheid, there is

a continuous need for research, specifically on the differences between the rural and urban sectors in Peru, as well as a longitudinal study that can further examine the future consequences of this apartheid.

### *Rural versus Urban*

Due to the scale of this study, I was unable to investigate the differences between schooling in rural and urban areas in Peru. The economic divisions between public and private schools are significantly more drastic in rural areas. Furthermore, the problems in education are further amplified in the rural context. The *Consejo Nacional de Educación* stated that 97.5% of the most disadvantaged schools in Peru are located in the rural areas.<sup>147</sup> Therefore the division between the rural to urban area in terms of schooling is a topic of grave importance that demands attention.

### *Longitudinal Study*

A longitudinal study looking at the effects of this public and private school divide is needed to more fully understand the repercussions of this divide. A study exploring the progression of students through both private and public schooling will allow us to more clearly understand the repercussions of this cycle. This case study was only able to provide accounts of the divisions in the classrooms based on observations in order to supplement literature on this division. If a longitudinal study were conducted, the material impacts on students would be better understood, as well as substantiate the influence of schools in maintaining socioeconomic inequalities.

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<sup>147</sup> Consejo Nacional de Educación, *Hacia un proyecto educactivo nacional 2006- 2021*, 73.

**At what point will it burst?**

This thesis serves to provide insight into how education is distributed within the classrooms in a public and private school in Peru, as well as examining the role of the educational apartheid, as labeled by the *Consejo Nacional de Educación*, as a self-perpetuating cycle. The findings from this study reveal that there are large disparities between both schools. This brings up one final question: As the economy continues to expand in Peru, so will private school enrollment, but at what point will it burst? With enrollment in private schools showing no signs of leveling out in the near future, we are left to wonder how this expansion will affect the material infrastructure and organization, instructional procedures and processes, and the developing of interpersonal relationships in the private schools. The findings from this study highlighted that the success of the private school was the manageable size of their student body. Therefore, how may this expansion ultimately hurt the quality of schooling in private schools, or will Peru eventually become overridden by private institutions? Without the intervention of successful educational policy and a stable Ministry of Education to enact and carry out reforms, public education in Peru will remain in a state of crisis and the cycle will continue to perpetuate inequalities.

## Appendix

### Schedule for Santiago Carmen

<b>Institución Educativa</b>						
<b>HORARIO</b>						
	HORA	LUNES	MARTES	MIÉRCOLES	JUEVES	VIERNES
1	8:00 8:40	Valores	Tutoría	comunicación	Plan lector	matemática
2	8:40 9:20	Razonamiento Verbal	Matemática	comunicación	comunicación	matemática
3	9:20 10:00	Comunicación	matemática	matemática	matemática	ciencia y ambiente
4	10:30 11:10				ingles	
<b>R E C R E O</b>						
5	11:10 11:50	Matemática	Caligrafía	R. Matemática	matemática	ciencia y ambiente
6	11:50 12:30	Comunicación	E. F.	arte	E. social	comunicación
7		E. Religión	E. F.	arte	E. social	comunicación



### Schedule for San Mateo

Horario de clases 5to grado					
Hora	Lunes	Martes	Miercoles	Jueves	Viernes
7:45 - 8:00	Emulando Ideales				
8:00 - 8:45	Liturgia	Comunicación	Comunicación	Matemática	Matemática
8:45 - 9:30	Personal Social			Musica	
9:30 - 10:15	Personal Social				
10:15 - 10:45	RECREO				
10:45 - 11:30	Personal Social	Tutoria	Ciencia y Ambiente	Musica	Computación
11:30 - 12:15	Personal Social	Tutoria		Personal Social	
12:15 - 1:00	Ed. Fisica	Ciencia y Ambiente		Inglés	
1:00 - 1:45	ALMUERZO				
1:45 - 2:30	Ed. Fisica	Ciencia y Ambiente	Personal Social	Matemática	Comunicación
2:30 - 3:15	Matemática		Religion	Ingles	
3:15 - 4:15	Matemática		Religion	Ingles	

**Cost of Uniforms****PRECIOS DE UNIFORMES**

(tela polystel grueso con diseño)

TALLAS	MUJER	VARÓN
8-10-12	S/ 70.00	S/ 68.00
14 – 16	S/ 78.00	S/ 78.00
S – M – L	S/ 89.00	S/ 92.50

LOS PRECIOS INCLUYEN:

MUJER: Jamper, blusa y corbata michi

VARON: Pantalón, camisa y corbata

## **Distributed Parent Survey**

Buenas tardes,

Mi nombre es Jacqueline Wagner y soy una estudiante de postgrado de la Universidad de California, San Diego en Estados Unidos. Hace de 2 años, yo estudiaba en La Católica aquí en Lima como estudiante de intercambio. Ahora estoy haciendo las investigaciones para mi tesis en Antropología. Mi tesis investiga las diferencias y las semejanzas entre los colegios públicos y privados en la ciudad de Lima, Perú. Para hacer este proyecto, pasaré una semana en 2 colegios: Santiago Carmen y San Mateo. Este proyecto será etnográfica y principalmente basado en observaciones.

Usted está recibiendo este carta porque estaré en el salón de clase de su hijo/hija. No voy a grabar los nombres de ningún estudiante, ni padre, ni profesor. Todo será anónimo. La única cosa que pido de usted es que llena la siguiente encuesta y lo vuelvas con su hijo/hija esta semana. Esta encuesta me ayudara mucho con mi investigación. Recuérdese que estas encuestas también son anónimos.

Muchas gracias por su ayuda y cooperación. Si usted tiene unas preguntas, por favor me llames o me escribes. *Cel:* 989203208 *Correo:* JacquiRWagner@gmail.com

Saludos,

Jacqueline Wagner

**Colegio:**

**ID #:**

**Información sobre Usted.**

1. Fecha de nacimiento: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Sexo: M/F
3. País de nacimiento: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Raza/Grupo étnico: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Estado Civil: Soltero/Casado
6. A que se dedica: \_\_\_\_\_

**Información sobre su hijo/a**

1. Fecha de nacimiento: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Sexo: M / F
3. País de nacimiento: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Raza/Grupo étnico: \_\_\_\_\_

**Información sobre la familia**

1. Cual es su lengua materna? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Usted habla otro idioma? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Cual es la lengua materna de su hijo? \_\_\_\_\_
4. En casa, con quien habla su hijo su lengua materna? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Su hijo habla otro idioma? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Cual es el idioma principal que se habla en casa? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Cuantos soles ganan per dia/ Cual es el ingreso anual en su hogar?  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. Usted y su familiar han visitado alguna Universidad? \_\_\_\_\_
9. En la familia quien ha asistido a la Universidad? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Cual es el nivel mas also de educación que ha completado? \_\_\_\_\_
11. Regularmente donde hace su hijo(a) la tarea? \_\_\_\_\_
12. Alguien ayuda a su hijo(a) con la tarea? Favor de indicar quien \_\_\_\_\_
13. En que materia tiene su hijo mas dificultad? \_\_\_\_\_
14. Tiene una computadora en su casa? Internet? \_\_\_\_\_

## Coding Scheme

### Material Infrastructure and Organization

CODE	TITLE	DESCRIPTION
<b>OA</b>	Attendance	During classroom observation, I counted the number of students in the classroom at the beginning of each day.
<b>OG</b>	Gender	During classroom observation, I counted the number of female and male students in the classroom.
<b>OU</b>	Uniforms	During classroom observation, I counted the number of students wearing the correct school uniform in the classroom.
<b>OTECH</b>	Technology	During classroom observation, I took note of the number of times professors and students utilized technology in the classroom. Technology appeared as computers, laptops, and television screens.
<b>ORES</b>	Resources	During classroom observation, I took note of the resources utilized number of times professors and students utilized resources, aside from technology, in the classroom. Resources appeared as textbooks, pen and pencils, handouts and worksheets, games and figures, and chalkboards.
<b>OLA</b>	Layout of School	Through touring the schools, I took field notes and diagramed the physical organization and layout of the school facilities, noting the classrooms, administration offices, sport fields, cafeteria, etc. Additionally, I supported my notes with photographs of the facilities.
<b>OCL</b>	Classroom Layout	During classroom observation, I took field notes and diagramed the layout and organization of each classroom. I noted the layout of student desks, teacher's desk, chalkboard, storage space, decorations, etc. Additionally, I supported my notes with photographs of the classrooms.
<b>OFAC</b>	Facilities	Through touring the schools, I took field notes on the condition of school facilities, focusing on the conditions of the infrastructure and quality of resources (old or new). Additionally, I supported my notes with photographs of the conditions of the facilities.

### Instructional Practices and Process

CODE	TITLE	DESCRIPTION
PSCH	Schedule	I collected schedules from both 5th grade classrooms, which note the subject and times for each day of the school week,
PT	Time	Through analyzing field notes, I coded for each reference to the time, schedule, or limiting time for activities or class
PTC	Teacher Change	I coded field notes for the periods of teachers changing classrooms.
PSC	Subject Change	I coded field notes for the periods of subject change in the classroom.
PD	Discipline	Through analyzing field notes, I coded for phrases from teachers indicating discipline. For example, discipline was from students not completing work, talking while the teacher was speaking, not completing an assignment on time.
PIT	Informal Teaching Practice	I coded field notes for instances of informal teaching practices. For example, a teacher answering their cell phone during class time.
PIS	Informal Student Behavior	I coded field notes for instances of informal student practices. For example, students running around the classroom to talk with a peer without permission
OIND	Individual Activity	From field notes, I counted the number of times the teacher utilized classroom activities requiring individual participation
OLG	Large Group Activity	From field notes, I counted the number of times the teacher utilized classroom activities requiring large group participation
OSG	Small Group Activity	From field notes, I counted the number of times the teacher utilized classroom activities requiring small group participation

### Interpersonal Relationships

CODE	TITLE	DESCRIPTION
ISS	Student-Student Interaction	I coded field notes for the instances of student to student interactions during classroom observation
IST	Student-Teacher Interaction	I coded field notes for the instances of student to teacher and teacher to student interactions during classroom observation
ICLT	Closeness of Teacher-Student	I coded field notes for the instances indicating closeness between teacher to student. For example, mentioning a student's parents.
ICLS	Closeness of Student-Student	I coded field notes for the instances indicating closeness between student to student. For example, complimenting peers on a correct answer
IE	Enjoyment	I coded field notes for the instances indicating enjoyment in classroom. For example, teaching joking with student
IL	Laughter	During classroom observation, I counted the number of times the majority of students laughed during class.

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