

ABSTRACT

RECONFIGURATIONS OF THE CHILEAN STATE IN SOCIAL POLICY:
THE EMERGENCE OF A POST-NEOLIBERAL STATE

Jeanne Simon

jsimon@udec.cl

Inés Picazo Verdejo

mpicazo@udec.cl

Universidad de Concepción (Chile)

Chile is well known for the extreme Neoliberal policies applied during the military government, and which included the privatization of many social services such as education, public health, and the pension system. Since 1990, the Center-Left coalition, *La Concertación*, has democratically governed Chile. The *Concertación* governments have maintained the Neoliberal structure, but have sought to find a “third way” between the two extremes of a Keynesian State and a Neoliberal Economy. The objective of this paper is to analyze the extent to which we can characterize the actual Chilean State as a Neoliberal Welfare State or whether it is necessary to develop new categories to describe the Welfare State that has emerged in Chile since 1990. Our argument is that the term “Neoliberal State” does not help us adequately comprehend the new forms of social regulation that the Chilean State has adopted since the return to democratic politics in 1990, and we tentatively propose a new term “Post-Neoliberal State.”

To characterize this new mode of social regulation and the State reconfigurations that sustain it, the paper will center its analysis in the educational policies between 1990 and 2004, evaluating the policymakers’ perspective of the innovations made and the programs maintained. Educational policies were selected due to their importance both as a requirement for continued economic growth as well as a key instrument in promoting social cohesion and mobility.

Our analysis indicates that Chilean center-left policymakers have sought to use the inherited Neoliberal structure and market mechanisms as instruments to promote greater social justice. Indeed, they have appropriated key elements of Neoliberal policies, and “recycled” them to promote targeted State intervention whose goal is to promote greater social mobility. One example is the use of quantitative measurement instruments to identify the schools with the poorest results in order to increase State presence in these schools to improve educational quality. As can be seen with this example, the Chilean State has not limited its role to bureaucratic and administrative regulation, but rather plays an active role in promoting certain social outcomes. If indeed the Chilean State does act in many situations as a “central agency” that uses the tools available to produce and promote specific social outcomes rather than just promoting economic growth, can we still consider it to be Neoliberal Welfare State? The final part of the paper seeks to better define the Neoliberal Welfare State and suggests the incorporation of a transitional category “Post-Neoliberal State” to describe the new modes of social regulation that emerge in response to the social atomization frequently associated with Neoliberal Welfare States.

RECONFIGURATIONS OF THE CHILEAN STATE IN SOCIAL POLICY: THE EMERGENCE OF A POST-NEOLIBERAL STATE

Since the 1980s, Neoliberalism has established itself as one of the principal doctrines orienting state policy, and in a globalized world it seems that there is no alternative. Still, and despite this global tendency, Chilean governments since 1990 have made important changes in social policy, transforming the model for Neoliberal Welfare States in Latin America. This transformation in the social protection system, especially in the area of education, is principally characterized by the activation in the role of the State. The emerging Welfare Regime is based on both a criticism of the Neoliberal State for the associated social fragmentation as well as a rejection of the centralizing tendency of the Social Democratic State. This new set of social policies is oriented by a new referential that seeks to combine political democracy, economic growth, and social justice within a competitive global economy.

Chile is well known for the extreme Neoliberal policies applied during the military government (1973-1989), and which included the privatization of many social services such as education, public health, and the pension system. In 1989, after 15 years of neoliberal policies in a globalized context, the general consensus among the principal parties was that Neoliberal economic policies had been effective in transforming the Chilean economy, but that a greater State role was required to ensure the participation of a larger part of the society in the benefits of this economic development (Simon 1999). Indeed, it was clear that the richest Chileans had benefited from the privatizing Neoliberal modernizations, while the poor and a good part of workers and self-employed had been unable to do so due to the high economic cost. The privatization of the health insurance (ISAPRES) created important social problems when they would refuse to attend persons with long, expensive illnesses. In education, the inefficacy is observed in the “negative externalities” that the socio-economic segmentation has produced (González, 2003). Children attending public schools, coming from poorer families, obtained poorer results in the national educational tests than children coming from richer, more educated families that principally studied in private or charter schools (Cox 2003, Prawda 1992). According to experts, the introduction of selection and competition mechanisms and the application of subsidy on demand had created the socio-educative segmentation and the accompanying inequity. According to C. Cox (2003: 34), the creation of charter schools that benefit from state financing did not promote greater competition in productivity between the schools, but rather encouraged the best students to abandon public education.

With the return to democracy in 1990, the Center-Left coalition, *La Concertación*, has governed Chile. The Concertación’s principal goals are economic development and social justice, where education is one of the principal priorities in the government’s agenda. In his first speech, President P. Aylwin (1990-1994) made a clear commitment to a market-based model of economic growth, but one with a fairer distribution of the benefits and where education would play a key role: “In the last few years, Chile has experienced economic growth and important modernizations in diverse sectors of national activity. However, this positive situation coexists with the presence of a very profound inequality. If this inequality persists without a quick, effective solution, we run the risk of consolidating two distinct, antagonistic countries A moral imperative demands that we move towards a Chile where there is increasing social justice The move towards greater equity is also a requirement for the country’s

political and economic stability The democratization and modernization of Chilean society and the payment of the social debt /acquired with the poor, makes education one of the principal goals of this government”.

President Aylwin’s speech reflects a consensus that Chile has modernized in many important ways, but that questions the type of society being built when one considers the access to health, a home, the University, or the quality of education received by children living outside of large cities.

The Concertacion governments have prioritized education because it can provide both individual and collective benefits, and it is necessary component for the combination of economic growth with social equity (Ramos 1997). This perspective associates education with greater social mobility and individual responsibility within a market-based model that has only been slightly modified by the Concertacion governments, increasing State support for market functioning in areas like technology development and innovation.

But the commitment to social justice expressed by President Aylwin indicates that the Concertacion is not simply inheriting the policies of the previous government. Indeed, they have recycled many of the values present in social policies prior to the Neoliberal regime. Despite their criticism of the market for many years, many of the new policymakers accept that the Market can be an effective mechanism when there is an active State assuring fair competition and socially just results. This reinterpretation emerged from the intense research activity, debates and propositions developed in certain international forums and/or independent academic centers during the military regime in all areas of social and economic policy (Puryear 1994, Simon 1999). A large part of the experts, intellectuals, and politicians that integrated these centers were integrated into the policy and administration teams, including those developed by the Ministry of Education, by the Concertacion after 1990.

Although a complete change in social policies would appear to be the most likely strategy in response to the negative evaluations of the social impacts produced by the military regime’s privatization policies (such as important deficits in educational quality, in the equity of its distribution, and system financing) as well as for the “window of opportunity” offered by the change in regime (Kingdom, 1984). There was a political desire to produce changes within a context of stability and continuity in economic development—the desire to demonstrate that economic development could be achieved within a democratic context.

Simply put, the goal of the new Chilean Regime is to resolve the tension between the State, the Market, and society. The government’s vision, as expressed by President Aylwin in his speech, is to transform Chile into a modern society, one that is characterized by democracy, social justice, and economic freedom. This vision implies important changes in the educational system, and in the Chilean Welfare model.

To begin characterizing this new Chilean regime, the present paper centers in the case of primary education because the first transformations in the Neoliberal model began in this sector, while changes in the health sector, employment policy (unemployment insurance and work day reduction), and innovative policies for poor families (Chile Solidarity Program) began in 2000. Surprisingly, education is not a sector that experts generally consider when analyzing the evolution of the Welfare State, preferring to concentrate in the traditional social protection sectors: health, pensions, and

employment. This neglect of education is also present in important studies of Welfare Regimes in developing countries, such as Esping-Andersen (2000).

A close look at the transformations implemented by the three Concertación governments in educational policy indicates that innovations have occurred in its objectives, in the values that inspire the policy, in its instruments, and in its institutions (Picazo 2003). We argue that these innovations reflect an important move away from a Neoliberal regime. We use the term Post-Neoliberal Welfare Regime to characterize this critical reinterpretation of the Neoliberal model because in many ways it is a continuation of the previous regime. However, this move is also characterized by an activation of the State's role in the pursuit of characteristically state goals, such as inclusion, social cohesion and the common good, ideas which are not present in the Neoliberal discourse. This activation, rather than retrenchment of the State's role, not exempt from political and social polemic represents a difference with respect to contemporary European and North American experiences (Pallier).

Our hypothesis affirms that since the return to democracy in 1990, Chile has initiated a reform of the primary educational system that implies fundamental changes in both the principles of education policy as well as in the forms of educational provision. The reform of the system, presently in process, is based on a reactivation of public protection in education and indicates a social protection model based on the progressive construction of a new welfare regime, which we characterize as "post-Neoliberal". Based in the cognitive perspective, our analysis indicates that the social transformation in the last 15 years is based on a questioning of the Market alone as the universal solution to economic and social development problems, and the emergence of a new configuration based in a concept of a "modern society" based in democracy, economic growth, and social justice, and which seeks to incorporate all social sectors. However, this emerging regime presents certain contradictions, and has not been entirely successful in creating this "modern society".

From a theoretical point of view, we favor the cognitive approach and the concept of *référentiel* to understand the social changes that have taken place in the last 15 years in Chile. However, following Pierre Muller (2005:175), understanding the transformation of public policies as a change in *referential* does not mean that all the dimensions of prior policies are either questioned or abandoned because "a central part of the role of mediators is based precisely in the articulation between old and new beliefs". Our position is that, to understand the development of the action of the Chilean State, the actor and institution perspectives need to be combined. First, the perspective of the actors enables us to understand the State's autonomy to act upon a given social reality. However, this perspective needs to be complemented by the institutional perspective that enables us to evaluate the limitations introduced by the policy legacies of the previous Neoliberal regime and how they define the public choices of the Democratic State. Interests are also important, but we consider that the interests of the stakeholders are incorporated in their arguments and representations.

The first part of this paper will present a theoretical explication of the change, analyzing the interaction between ideas, institutions, and interests in the last 15 years. The second part of the paper will characterize the post-Neoliberal State as a referential change expressed through a different formulation of the educational problem, through the implementation of distinct solutions and certain institutional innovations.

CONCEPTUALIZING CHANGE IN STATE ACTION: STRUCTURES AND POLICIES

In the 1990s, most of the work on social policies and social reforms have been strongly dominated by the historical institutionalism perspective, the concept of path dependency and lock-in effects. The accent is placed on the importance of the institutional variable in the continuation of certain policies that develop along paths pre-established by past institutions and that structure future changes. For example, Paul Pierson (1994) argues that Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan were unable to substantially cut budgets due to obstacles produced by the institutional resistance to change.

The institutionalist perspective has been criticized for its excessive determinism and the reduced maneuver given to the political sphere. Indeed, the adoption of the institutionalist perspective to explain educational policies in Chile would argue that little has changed with the democratic transition, and that the Neoliberal regime is the principal explanatory factor of the present policies in democracy. In contrast, we argue that the educational reform has produced changes in objectives, in principals, and in the instruments used. Consequently, we accept the less rigid perspective that gives politicians certain space for maneuver within inherited institutional structures.

Some authors, such as Wilsford (1994: 275), have signaled that “under certain conditions big change from a past path is possible”. Accepting the importance of institutions as argued by C. March and J. P. Olsen (1989), Wilsford insists on the role of new, passenger moments in the orientation of political decisions as he demonstrates in his analysis of the financing system reform of French public hospitals in 1984. Faced with alarming financial costs in hospitals and despite the opposition of the medical team, the Director of the Kervasdoué Hospitals, nominated and supported by the socialist government, implemented a structural reform of the financing system of these establishments.

Bruno Palier and Giuliano Bonoli (1999) present another illustrative study of the changes produced during the 1980s and 1990s in French social policy. For these authors, the introduction of apparently partial reforms or the “non-intended” effects of certain variables implied in the measures (emergence of new interest coalitions, financial and institutional commitments that could not be denied) can be assimilated to strategies for change when they are not corrected when produced or when they modify the opportunity structure of future changes.

Certainly despite the change of the political regime, a series of formal institutions developed under the military regime remain: the Constitution of 1980, the Law that regulates the educational system and that was decreed the day before the inauguration of the democratic regime; the 1990 budget; school principals named by the military regime and who could not be removed. Institutional theory does not provide assistance to explain the transformation in the Chilean educational system in the 1990s because institutional history implies continuity. The Chilean case shows that accepting the inherited “rules of the game” does not negate an intellectual reinterpretation of the same politico-institutional variables. Specifically, this reinterpretation involved a re-signification of some of the almost mythical principal ideas (“ideas-fuerza”) of what had been educational policy prior to the military government within the institutional context inherited from the military regime. The challenge, as indicated by the Minister of Education at the time, was to develop “long-term policies that do not brusquely or traumatically affect the actors of the educational system, and that incorporate tradition

and innovation, and that it is carried based in the reality inherited” (Lagos, 1990). Following Peter Hall (1993: 278), we conceptualize this attitude as social learning, as “a deliberate attempt to adjust the goals or techniques of policy in response to past experience and new information.”

The origins of this social learning process lie in the intense research activity and debates and propositions developed in the 1980s in certain opposition think tanks. The intellectuals, politicians, and experts who integrated these centers used analytical categories and educational ideas whose goal was to improve on the pre-coup bureaucratic, centralized State as well as to improve on the military regime’s decentralized, Neoliberal model that had been incapable of assuring quality and equity levels.

These intellectuals and politicians became the political elite and the policymakers of the democratic governments in the 1990s. We argue that they pursue a new cognitive framework, whose central idea is to make economic and social goals compatible. This logic recognizes the sector *référentiel* that implies recycling, creating something new from old elements. The idea of recycling or “conversion-adaptation” of public action has been conceptualized by Pierre Lascoumes (1994) as the notion of *transcodage* in his research on environmental policies in France. Taken from electronics vocabulary, it indicates the transcription of instructions from a program into another code. Pierre Lascoumes defines the notion of *transcodage* as “the set of grouping activities and translation of information and practices into a different code” (Lascoumes 1994: 22). In short, disperse data are brought together until they can be read completely and translated into a different record, which permits their diffusion to the interior and exterior of original social field.

However, the notion of *transcodage* can only explain part of the process because the elements that assure the functioning of the transcoding are not actors, as is the case of public policy mediators. The Chilean “mediators”, as defined by Muller (2005: 183-186), are much more structured, less diffuse and less homogeneous than the “operators” of Pierre Lascoumes (associations, administration, mass media).

In the Chilean case, the modifications in educational policy that was certainly produced with the change in government can be partially explained by the political-technical re-signification of the authoritarian legacy developed by a group of policymakers. These policymakers were able to adjust the inherited institutions to their own sectoral *referential*, adapting it to the reigning cognitive framework and even incorporating it into the new strategy to improve educational quality and equity. The concept of “institutional conversion” (Thelen: 2003-2004) reveals that inherited institutions should be conceptualized not only as a limit to State action, but also as opportunities to institutionalize new programs in certain cases (such as in the voucher financing system, decentralization, or standardized tests (SIMCE)). Consequently, the permanence of some of the military legacies is due to that with their maintenance implied increasing returns (1989) or benefits of the initial investment. We suggest that this was the case of civil servants and supervisors that the Ministry of Education inherited from the previous government and whose expertise in the area was difficult to replace in the short term.

CONCEPTUALIZING CHANGES IN STATE ACTION: IDEAS, ACTORS AND POLICIES

Since the 1980s, many social scientists have sought to understand state action by understanding their ideas. This literature is influenced by Thomas Kuhn's theory of scientific revolution and the concept of paradigm (Hecló, 1974, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999, Jobert and Muller 1987, Muller and Surel 1998, Hall, 1993 and 1997, Dietmar and Busch, 1999, Faure, Pollet and Warin 1995). The ideas that are susceptible to producing principal changes in State action have been compared to a "scientific paradigm" (Hall 1993), a "referential" (Jobert and Muller, 1987), and a "policy core" (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999). Consequently, a profound paradigm change, or "third-order change" (Hall, 1993) would be explained by a change in policy objectives and instruments, or as indicated by Muller (2005), by a change in the normative framework that orients public action, a change in the instruments and in the institutional frameworks that structure action. In contrast, the smaller changes of the secondary aspects (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999) or the use of different instruments (Hall, 1993) takes place within the same paradigm, "policy core" or *référentiel*.

The changes in public policy are produced by the intervention of agents, individuals or collective actors. A paradigm change is produced by the replacement of one advocacy coalition, consisting of multiple actors located in different institutions (legislators, the media, universities, interest groups), by another (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999). A *référentiel* changes occurs because the "mediators" have been able to define a new cognitive framework, a vision of a sector of public action or for a concrete problem, making it intelligible for the rest of the actors through the elaboration of a philosophy of action and legitimatization strategies of public intervention.

The concept of *référentiel* does not assume that there is consensus, but rather delimits the intellectual field, defining the terms of the debate. Indeed, any one of the values of the *referential* can be the motive of confrontation, such as the debate over the role of the State and the Market in the provision of education during the 1990s, without questioning the importance of the *referential*.

The perspective of Paul A. Sabatier and H. Jenkins-Smith (1993), based on American politics, argues that the political decision can be explained by the preeminence of the advocacy coalition's vision on the particular issue. Despite the fact that they come from different institutions, the members of the advocacy coalition share a precise and consistent belief system (consisting in values, representations of a reality to explain, a problem definition and the possible instruments to be used). For a same policy, Sabatier considers that there are several belief systems depending on the existing coalitions (between two and four different systems). Sabatier considers that the form of definition, institutionalization and evolution of a public policy depends on the confrontation between these systems, where one will dominate.

The "discursive coalition" of Bruno Jobert (2001), based on a French vision of public policy, argues that the internal consolidation of a coalition, composed by the different actors involved in a public policy, resides in the existing agreement on the terms that define a concrete problem, and that a shared belief system is not necessary. According to Jobert, "A discursive coalition can perfectly reunite actors with contrary visions about interests that they want to promote, but it requires that they agree on the cognitive framework and the conflict resolution institutions."

The incorporation of ideas and the concept of *référentiel* as a pertinent variable in the explanation of the movement of State action towards post-Neoliberal regulation implies three steps. First, the *référentiel* in educational policy needs to be characterized, identifying the social image that has dominated in the last 15 years in Chile. Secondly, we need to understand how this education *référentiel* adjusts to the global *référentiel*, which requires characterizing the social project of the global *référentiel* and the idea of education held by this sector's elite and the role it plays as part of the global project. The analysis and understanding of the adjustment of the sector's *référentiel* constitutes a key stage in the analysis of the education policy analysis. As Bruno Jobert and Pierre Muller demonstrated in their research on the French State in action, the decisive variable in the change of a public policy is the meaning attributed by the global and sector *référentiels*, the relation between the sector in question and the evolution of society. Based on this model of analysis, we propose that the elaboration of educational policy during the Concertación governments responds to an operation of adjustment of the global and sector referentiels.

Thirdly, we need to identify the social actor who will elaborate the educational sector image. As Bruno Jobert and Pierre Muller (1987:71) indicate the elaboration is an activity of intellectual alchemy that implies two types of operations. First, it requires the decoding of the global *référentiel* /sector *référentiel* to make it intelligible for other actors through the elaboration of a philosophy of action. Then, it requires a recoding in norms and criteria of public intervention.

THE REFERENTIEL OF CHILEAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Since 1990, the Concertación's political project is based in the combination of two types of global *référentiels*: one is based in social justice and solidarity and the other in a modernization based in the country's economic competitiveness. These two visions were explicitly crystallized in 1991 under the concept of "growth with equity", which makes modernization and social justice the two structuring axis of educational policies. The global *référentiel* that articulates the social changes and that legitimates the arguments and strategies for change are defined in a specific concept of modernity. This conception tries to make competitive economic growth global compatible with political democracy and social justice. Indeed, the modernizing global referentiel that orients Chilean state action combines the ideas of "liberty, prosperity, and competition". This image was supported by the work of the Economic Commission of Latin America (ECLA), and especially by the economist Fernando Fajnzylber (1990).

The Concertación's program is based in a criticism of both Neoliberal orthodoxy and Keynesian Statism. Emerging from these criticisms, the Concertación's proposal is based in a distinct management of the market economy and the problems associated with poverty and the lack of equity. Indeed, in many of the speeches of the first years of transition, references were made to a "mixed economy" and "social market economy." They did not question the role of the market and private initiative, although they did question the postulates that venerated the market and reduced the State to minimal functions.

Consequently, the principal challenge of the Concertación is to demonstrate how economic development is compatible with political democracy, that change is possible within a context of political stability, and that liberty is compatible with social justice. The slogan of the Concertación's 1989 presidential campaign was "La alegría ya viene" (happiness is on the way), and the slogan "crecimiento con equidad" (growth with

equity) is based on the same challenge. The 1989 slogan represents the intellectual construction capable of awakening with the Chileans a feeling of a subjective symbiosis between liberty, social justice, and economic growth.

The predominant representation of education in the 1990s responds to a national vision that is characterized by two dimensions. First, the educational *référentiel* was structured by the idea of a political commitment to the poorest sectors through the payment of the “social debt”, based on the idea that the poorest sectors had paid the highest cost for Chilean economic development. This image developed slowly over time, and during the second Concertación government (1994-2000), a new image in education emerged, without abandoning the first, which makes education and knowledge the fundamental axis of the country’s modernization in the context of progressive social equity. In reality, between the first two governments a political discussion emerges on the nature of the democratic transition and on the necessity to seriously face the issue of the country’s modernization. Some intellectuals linked to the government, such as José Joaquín Brunner or Eugenio Tironi, considered that the transition was complete and structural transformations need to be implemented to modernize the country. The government began to pursue a more profound and long-term intervention in the educational system structured by the idea of improving equity and quality.

The knowledge and experience accumulated during almost two decades in expert forums formed the base of the four programs implemented after 1990: the Program targeting the 900 poorest schools, the Rural Elementary Education, and the Program to improve Educational Quality and Equity (MECE 1992-1997). The orienting criteria of the first two programs was equity, and in the first three, the payment of the social debt. The goals of the MECE program are equity in the distribution of education and improvements in the quality.

The education *référentiel* is defined by the primary role given to education in the consolidation of social democracy and in the capacity to contribute importantly to the creation of human capital, which is one of the pre-requisites for economic growth. As a result, the *référentiel* that structures educational policy, its social extension and hierarchy of objectives combines the ethical and economic dimensions. At the same, the educational *référentiel* will be determined by a global political objective which is transversal to all the public policies: a successful democratic consolidation.

The consensus on modern citizenship is also being articulated in other social policies throughout the period 1990-2005. For example, in the health sector, there are policies based on the concept of solidarity and greater social participation. In labor policy, the work week has been reduced from 48 to 35 hours, and an unemployment insurance was created.

However, conflict has also been present within this global rationality. The vision and strategies of primary and secondary teachers have developed from a confrontation over the definition of the *référentiel* into a confrontation within this modernizing *référentiel*. The Chilean debate on the appropriate role of the State and the Market in society can be divided in three general positions, which also reflect the principal positions present in the international debate on the future of the welfare state: the critique from the Left, the critique from the Right, and the official position.

A strong State role is defended by the Chilean Communist Party and the Teachers Union. Despite the fact of important changes in 2000, the official position of the

Teacher's Union in their 1997 National Meeting characterized Chile as "a new phase in the development of capitalism and particularly in the political and economic Neoliberal model" (Colegio de Profesores, 1997). This position criticizes the emerging referential because they believe that the State should play a larger role in promoting social cohesion, social justice, and development. Consequently, the State cannot limit itself to only financing and regulating education, but should also directly administrate educational establishments. From this perspective, Concertacion educational policies are but timid corrections of the imperfections of the Neoliberal welfare model without a fundamental transformation.

The Neoliberal vision is represented by the opposition of the political right, by private school owners, by some think tanks such as the Center for Public Studies (CEP, *Centro de Estudios Públicos*) and for a good part of the print media. The defenders of this vision argue for a limited, subsidiary role of the State, and only in those areas where the market and the family have failed. This vision prefers private action in education and reduces the State's role to a subsidiary role that demands greater educational freedom and the corresponding deregulation by the public sector. This position criticizes the Concertacion's education policy for the increased centralization of educational policies and the growing role of the State due to its inefficient use of financial resources.

The official position is a position of transformation within a context of change. This post-Neoliberal vision is promoted by politicians and intellectuals close to the center-left government of the last 15 years, and includes high public servants, think tanks like *Fundacion Siglo 21* or *Programa Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Educacion*. This position insists on the continued need for profound changes in the present system, believes in the existence of important ruptures with respect to the inherited Neoliberal model, and argues that they have introduced a new paradigm in social policy that can serve as a model for other countries. The declarations of Joseph Stiglitz (2002) during one of his visits to Chile support this position: "None of the authors of the exceptional post-Pinochet Chilean pattern seems to realize that their political success is because they have moved away from the Washington Consensus."

The specialized literature in Chile maintains similar positions. Gauri (1998) recognizes certain elements of inflection in the Neoliberal model that have produced certain contradictions. Espinola and Moura (1999) argue that the reform process is unique and continuous between two different political periods: one dictatorial and the other democratic. In contrast, Cox (2003) argues that since 1990, Chilean educational policies respond to a new paradigm that combines aspects of Neoliberalism from the military regime but with centralizing aspects from the period prior to the military regime.

All of these debates take place in a political moment characterized by a negotiated transition from a military regime to a democratic regime: prohibition of questioning in words or actions of Neoliberal economic policies, the maintenance of certain structures inherited from the military regime (the Constitution of 1980, the Law of Education Regulation (1990)), technocratic State action that is opening slowly to increased social participation, and the presence of both local and national civil servants (such as school supervisors and principals) whose professional career was mostly during the military regime. In contrast, the mediators who have developed and put into place the new educational policies are social scientists who analyzed, criticized, and evaluated the Neoliberal modernization process from both an internal and international perspective where the dictatorship process impacted profoundly in the social learning process.

THE MEDIATORS

During the military regime, while the Chicago Boy's "silent revolution" of modernized Chilean society and economy, the educational experts in opposition think tanks analyzed the "silences of the revolution", the perverse effects that the Neoliberal model had produced. Indeed, from these distinct forums such as the Programa Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Educación (PIIE) or the Centro de Investigación and Desarrollo Educativo (CIDE), the proposals presented by opposition experts surpassed the proposals of other actors with voice in elaboration and complexity, including political parties and interest groups.

The Chilean educational sociologist Cristián Cox (1989) in his analysis of the population's demands and the offers of political and social actors, argues that the dominant political actors during the military regime were "blind to the results" introduced by the educational transformations of the military government because they were located in tension points and not in the changes that these introduced.

However, in the forums of the educational experts, these results were recognized and the scholars generated new categories that combined the principals of the educational tradition, the results of the Neoliberal modernizations, and the challenges presented by the information society of the 21st century. These experts, ideologically center-left, developed a proposal that went beyond the public-private discussion and focused on the new relation between the State, education, and society, and the need to improve educational quality, and increase equity in its distribution. Additionally, their studies reflected the search for the synthesis lost in the 1970s and 1980s: the viable articulation between economic growth and social development within a democratic framework. They were able to translate this powerful combination into a set of policies, objectives, criteria, measures and instruments. In short, they developed a government program. Interestingly, the results of these studies for almost two decades coincide, and even anticipate, the international orientations in education developed by international organizations like ECLA and UNESCO (1992).

The capacity of learning and adaptation to the transformation that Chile experienced during almost two decades combined with global developments were the determining characteristics in the influence of these experts in the policymaking process of the 1990s.

The scientific character of the program of action and the consensus on the diagnosis of the problem and the possible solutions were other characteristics that contributed to the leadership of these experts within the Ministry of Education. The ideological positions that characterized the pre-73 debates were replaced by a pragmatic vision that oriented by a perspective of innovation and reinterpretation that is sensitive to the practical effects of past political decisions and present social demands for education. The military regime had institutionalized technocratic decision making, and the majority of the experts in the 1990s maintained in important ways this legacy. Research demanded that they face critically several postulates or myths that society in general, political actors, and progressive Chilean sectors maintained. In this sense, their questioning of the bureaucratic, centralized, protective State is the most illustrative case.

These research centers had an important impact in the definition of the Concertación's political agenda in Education as well as other policy areas. During the military regime, public debate virtually did not exist because the mass media was censored, the

universities were under surveillance, and the political parties were centered in the democracy-dictatorship dialectic. Due to their international financing, these centers were some of the only public spaces where policies could be discussed and analyzed.

The new global and educational referentiels developed within these centers, but to explain their institutionalization in concrete public policies, we need to consider the window of opportunity that the change in regime represents. Indeed, the relation between knowledge and power—between politics and policies—depends on the selection of advisors or experts in the government. Theda Skocpol (1985: 16) signals that the “universal sinews of state power” lies in the presence of “loyal and skilled officials and plentiful financial resources”. Hecló (1974), in his study of social policy in Sweden and Great Britain, considers that the experts situated in key positions within the State are a principal factor in the understanding of policy public formulation. Cobb and Elder (1996) signal that right people need to be in the right place and the right time so that a public problem can be put into the government’s agenda.

It is difficult to understand the preeminence of the educational référentiel without considering the privileged positions that the experts held in the spheres of power as “experts-praticiens”, following the category used by Muller (2005: 184). They will theorize as well as execute the educational changes from important positions of political and technical responsibility.

In less than two decades, they have been promoters, producers, carriers, and executors of an educational policy that responds to the country’s need for social-political democratization and modernization.

THE EXPERIENCE OF DICTATORSHIP AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE IDEAS

Bermeo (1992) analyzes how the authoritarian experience influences the vision of democracy, and argues that “dictatorship can force use to reevaluate the nature of the regimes, our enemies and our own objectives and behavior. The experience of dictatorship can produce an important cognitive change” (273). Other authors, Higley and Gunter (1992), O’Donnell (1986), and McCoy (2000) also analyze the relation between the experience of dictatorship and normative, cognitive and instrumental changes that lead to redemocratization.

In the Chilean case, the dictatorship lasted almost two decades, impacting Chilean society and political, economic, and social actors. From the perspective of public policy formulation, a principal consequence of the political learning was the replacement of the political strategy of confrontation with a search for consensus between the visions and interests of the distinct actors. Specifically, we can conceptualize these using the concepts of Jobert (1994) as debates “forums” and negotiation “arenas” for the public policies of the transition.

In Chile, several consensuses emerged with redemocratization. First, there was the consensus to avoid repeating the climate of social-political polarization of the past decades, and thus the consensus was against excluding ideological postures. This consensus translated into an aversion to political confrontation and a certain culture of compromise that characterized the strategy adopted to generate support for the formulation of new educational policies.

A second consensus emerged where electoral democracy was the preferred option for government. The democratic transition inaugurated a political stage characterized by a

change in the strategy of negotiation and conflict resolution and in the construction of global projects. Moderation and compromise became the informal “rules of the game.” The concept of political learning permits the integration of this “global” dimension into the analysis of policymaking because it considers the “political regime” dimension—a relation that has not been well developed in government agenda studies. Beginning in 1990, it would be difficult to understand the rhetoric of social and political elites and their consensus strategies in policymaking without considering the consensus on democracy as ideal for society and a resource for its transformation. These consensus help explain why the educational policies developed since 1990 can be considered State policies rather than just positions of political parties (Cox 2003: 43). These policies are based in initiatives defined through agreements between the government, opposition parties, and educational sector representatives, and these policies have transformed the sector. For example, the National commission on Modernization in Education set the objectives and priority strategies for educational reform, the financing and implementation of a longer school day, the approval of the Law establishing voluntary performance evaluations that define a new, professional rather than functionary concept of the teaching career, and the modification of the Constitution making 12 years of education obligatory.

However, this climate of consensus has not eliminated the confrontation that exists between the different visions and interests. García-Huidobro (2001) highlights the existence of conflicts between technical rationality and political rationality at the reform level; between positive knowledge of Ministry functionaries and the pedagogical knowledge of the teachers at the implementation level; and the debate between the principles of teaching liberty and the right to education and between the role of the State and the Market at the reform consolidation level. These conflicts have impeded the generation of consensus on the strategic value of education in the construction of society and the mechanism to achieve it.

Definitively, the experience of the dictatorship and the revalorization of formal democracy contributed to the increased pragmatism of many political and intellectual elite (Simon 1999). Elster (1988: 93) argues that continuity in the elites “facilitates learning from past lessons and memories of past facts”. Actors like Ricardo Lagos, Patricio Aylwin, Gabriel Valdés, Andrés Zaldívar, Ricardo Núñez, Gerardo Arriagada, Edgardo Boeninger, Angel Flisfish, José Joaquín Brunner, Norbert Lechner, Manuel A. Garretón and Tomás Moulián; and Iván Núñez, Cristián Cox, Alfonso Bravo, and Juan Eduarado García-Huidobro within the educational sector began their careers prior to the military coup, analyzed the military regime and their public policies during the military regime, and have played important roles in defining the global and educational referentiels in the democratic transition.

The practical translation of this progressive transformation of “speaking and making policies”, as described by Javier Santiso (1997) was performed the Concertacion coalition and the educational experts who were members, and became producers, carriers, and implementers of the modernizing référentiel where the consensus comes from the path to follow.

TOWARDS A POST-NEOLIBERAL MODEL

In this second part, our thesis is that the perspective of the post-Neoliberal State seeks to solve two problems associated with the Neoliberal model: State passivity and market domination of social well-being. This position, however, does not suggest that the reactivation of the State’s role in Post-Neoliberalism can be reduced to more social

policies or to an increase in public spending; rather, it involves the construction of an inclusive society based in a new social contract. This different social contract consecrates the social rights of all persons based in the principles of social justice, solidarity, and responsibility.

The questioning of the Neoliberal State in a democratic context principally involves its incapacity to assure internal social cohesion in a context of globalization. Chile is well-known for its radical implementation of the Neoliberal model during 15 years within a repressive context that inhibited mucho social protest. On the positive side, some social indicators improved during the military regime: illiteracy dropped from 10% to 6%, high-school enrollment rose from 51 % in 1973 to 75 % in 1989, and infant mortality under 1 year dropped. However, elementary school coverage dropped from 100% in 1973 to 95% in 1989, social spending in health, education, and housing per capita dropped, and there was a drop in the percentage of the labor force that actively contribute (from 60% to 55%) (Ffrench-Davis 2001). In 1990, at the end of the military regime, more than 40% of the population was considered to be poor or indigent, twice the percentage in 1970 (Ffrench-Davis 1990:130, Raczynski 1993: 88).

THE SOCIAL MODERNIZATIONS OF THE CHILEAN NEOLIBERAL MODEL

The military regime dramatically transformed the development of Chilean politics as well as its society and economy. Prior to the military regime, Chile had one of the most developed Welfare states in Latin America (Mesa-Lago 1991). In its development, the State assumed progressively more responsibilities in a process that began at the beginning of the 1920s, was accentuated in the 1950s and 1960s, and culminated in the 1970s, when social justice became a national priority. Relevant dates are the creation of the public education system (1930s), unemployment insurance (1937), public health system (1952), National Medical Service for Employed persons (1968), distinct social prevision plans (1925-1970) and labor legislation (beginning in the 1920s) that included severance pay (Acuña 2001).

The military government's adoption of Neoliberal economic policies redefined the propositions, objectives, and the social space of public action and modified the institutional organization in addition to reducing the financial and human resources oriented to social spending.¹ During this period, the government emphasized market logic and efficiency in their social and economic policies, cutting universal coverage and requiring all but the extremely poor to pay.

In the 1980s, the military government implemented an extreme form of a Liberal Welfare State in the form of "Seven Modernizations", where the best social programs were considered to be those based on market logic and with the least possible interference of the State. The goals of social policy were to satisfy the basic needs of the poorest, to open the road to an effective equality of opportunities, and to incorporate the poor into the market so that they can be self-sufficient, arguing that these goals are best achieved through economic growth and efficiency. All other social services should be transferred to the private sector for administration and provision and financed by personal contributions. Given that each worker pays for social services and has the possibility to choose the administrator of his/her funds, each person as an informed consumer will choose the organization providing the best service.

¹ Social expenditure fell drastically during the military government. In 1971, social expenditure was 25% of GNP and in 1981 it was 14% (Arellano 1985). Additionally, personnel in various agricultural agencies were reduced by 80 % between 1973 and 1980 (Schneider 1995:95).

For the Neoliberal policymakers of this period, extreme poverty was due to two factors. First, state intervention had produced sluggish growth and high inflation, hitting the poor hardest. Secondly, extreme poverty was principally due to the socio-cultural characteristics of the poor themselves and the obstacles inhibiting market integration. Simply, poverty existed because the equal opportunity to participate in the market did not exist (Castañeda 1992). Included among the policies implemented in this area are a small subsidy for minors living in poor families; subsidies to senior citizens and handicapped in extreme poverty and without social security; employment assistance programs. According to the military government, if after these active State interventions social inequality still existed, then they are due to “God or to merit” (ODEPLAN, 1983).

According to this perspective, employment opportunities should be stimulated through the reduction in the cost of labor, social security reform, and the elimination of restrictions and other policies that reduce labor market flexibility. Furthermore, people would be motivated to work when their survival is based on their integration into the market. The transfer of social service provision from the State to the private sector and to the local level would let each family choose the type and quality of social service desired, transforming a citizen into a consumer of social services. The market would efficiently allocate resources, and the State would be limited to objectively targeting and evaluating social benefits to the poorest and the correction of certain costs or negative results produced by market operation. The overall result would be improved social services at a lower cost.

The Neoliberal State was seen as a necessary condition to promote individual liberty and equal opportunities (Vergara 1983). In a speech on March 11, 1981, General Augusto Pinochet state: “These legal norms are based in our profound conviction that individual autonomy and equal opportunities for everybody provide the essential base for the Great Nation to which we desire to construct and integrate.” Individual liberty does not refer to political liberties of citizens, but rather to the economic liberty of consumers without State interference. The principle of equal opportunities is established in opposition to State intervention and decision making. Their position is of classic economic liberalism, which argues that only a free market can guarantee an efficient distribution of opportunities.

An important characteristic of the policymaking process was its technocratization, which was presented as a guarantee that technical and rational rather than political criteria would dominate in the adoption of sectoral policies (Silva 1991). The technocratic rationality can be considered one of the policy legacies maintained in the present political culture in the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC).

According to Hayward and Klein, the other measures associated with Neoliberal policies such as weakening the power of the teacher’s unions and the decentralization of health and education provision is due to political motivations rather than a public desire to dismantle the Welfare State. The objective was to liberate school administration from the control of local authorities.

EDUCATION ENTERS INTO THE MARKET

Prior to the military government, the educational reforms, their contents and objectives in the first three quarters of the 20th century are based on the role of education in the national process of industrialization and internal market development. In educational material, the Law on Obligatory primary education (1920), constitutional indications

(Constitution of 1925 and its reform in 1973) as well as the social consensus coincides in the primordial role of the State in education. Even when the liberty to teach existed in Chile since 1925, observation indicates that education is centralized. The State has been (and is) the principal actor in educational provision as well as controlling and orienting the educational system. The State defines the objectives, the pedagogical contents, methodologies, and forms of evaluation. The constitutional norms express the doctrine of the “Teacher’s State“ (*Estado Docente*) because the state standardizes and regulates education and is responsible for maintaining and increasing the public provision under the administration of the Ministry of Education. The system is characterized by the Chilean State apparatus, which is centralized, bureaucratic and vertical in its actions. Additionally, education contributes politically through its democratizing function, participating in the construction of citizenship; socially, creating possibilities of social mobility; and economically, providing tools for personal and national development (Lamarca 1939 and Núñez 1987). The national consensus on the importance of education in the national project that until 1973, governing was characterized as educating (“*gobernar es educar*”) and the State was called a Teaching State.

With the arrival of the military regime, education not only entered into the marketplace but important consensuses on the relation between the State and society through education were broken (Núñez 1989)

First, the balance between public and private education, which played a role of cooperation in the State’s educational mission, was upset. The Subsidiary State replaced the Teacher State, and the principle of teaching liberty was understood as the liberty to build and open new schools.

Secondly, the principle of equal opportunities that guaranteed access to education for all youth ended. Until 1973, the education system had developed due to free education at all levels, infrastructure development, and a set of programs for the poor. However, the modernizing transformation implemented by the military government ended this principle and these measures. Educational quality came to depend on the type of educational establishment, which depended on family resources.

Third, education entered into the marketplace and became an economic good, abandoning the concept of public service. Fourth, the ideological pluralism that had characterized the educational system ended.

Finally, teachers lost their historic condition as public functionaries, losing their job stability, and their traditionally active role in political and social life. Union activity was accepted only with the corporative framework imposed by the military regime.

Definitively, the most radical transformations of the military government were implemented after 1981: the transfer of school administration to municipal governments; the financing of demand by subsidizing the number of students who attend class each day; privatization of the teacher’s professional status; and the promotion of curriculum flexibility. All these changes were implemented by a subsidiary State that limits its responsibilities to assuring elementary education (1980 Constitution. art. 10). For the military regime, the access to secondary and university education was considered an exception situation. Those who benefit from this privilege should “pay or repay this cost to the community” (Directiva presidencial sobre educación numero 5).

In 1990, the new government inherited a educational system with the following characteristics (Aylwin 1990, MIDEPLAN 1996, CEP 2000):

- Pre-school education coverage 16.5% for children 0-5 years.
- Despite the achievements in coverage, 3.4% of children aged 6 - 13 years are not incorporated in the formal educational system and 67.7% of them belong to the poorest third of the Chilean population.
- Important repetition and desertion rates.
- Serious quality problems in elementary education, especially municipal education detected by the PER (Pruebas de Evaluación del Rendimiento) and SIMCE (sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación) tests. Important differences were detected between public and private sector establishments, and between the different socio-economic levels. Consequently, a negative territorial and social distribution of learning exists. Certain rural provinces were classified as “high educational risk” where only one third of the minimum objectives defined by the programs were demonstrated. Definitively, the inequity in the results in elementary education is linked to socio-economic factors.
- High school education presents serious quality and inequity problems, aggravated by the disorientation existing on the goals of secondary education. Its institutional and curricular structure are an anachronism with respect to social demands and to those created by the replacement of import substitution industrialization by an export-lead economic model based in private sector development.
- The curriculum does not respond to the evolution of knowledge or to the requirements of an open society in a free market economy.
- 19.7% of youth between 14 and 17 years old are not incorporated in the educational system. Of these, 41.4% pertain to the poorest 30% of Chilean families.
- Spending in the educational sector dropped from 4.67 % of GNP in 1982 to 2.33 % in 1990.
- The under-financing of this affected especially teacher salaries, which reached a minimum value in 1990, representing a fourth of the real values reached at the beginning of the 1970s.
- Municipal administration of the establishment presented a budget deficit of 7,000 million pesos in 1990.

The sad balance in the financial, educational, and social dimensions can be read as a crisis in the Neoliberal educational model: a crisis in social justice, financial crisis, and governance crisis. This crisis contributed to eroding its legitimacy for the principal part of the political class, the teachers, and most of society. All of these groups were demanding and waiting for a transformation in the Neoliberal educational model.

THE ENDOGENIZATION OF EDUCATION IN THE POSTNEOLIBERAL MODERNIZATION OF CHILE

Beginning in 1990, one of the principal changes lied in the political elites' definition of education and its key role in economic growth and societal cohesion as well as its

contribution to the modernization of Chilean economy and society. Consequently, first elementary education and then high school education acquired a privileged position within the agenda of the three Concertación governments. President Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) considered that “the process of democratization and modernization of Chilean society and the payment of the social debt to the poorest makes education a priority objective of this government” (21 mayo 1990)², the following President, Eduardo Frei (1994-2000) identified education as the first social priority. The actual President Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) affirmed that “education is the key to the future, it is the key for equal opportunities” (21 mayo 2002). All three governments place education in a strategic location in the consolidation of social democracy and in the capacity to participate in economic growth through the formation of human capital.,

These presidential commitments are translated into a redefinition of the relation of the State to education and to society. This cognitive process implied innovations and redefinitions in i) the political objectives and the values that inspire them; ii) the instruments to carry them out; and iii) in educational institutionalization. In terms of public policies, these changes imply the activation of public regulation, modifying the thesis of a subsidiary role of the State.

Education: the key to growth with equity

From a political point of view, the idea that articulated by the leaders of the three Concertación governments is that the social dimension of political democratization needs to be addressed. Consequently, beginning in 1990, the government has sought to respond to its electoral promises through an economic policy based on “growth with equity.” Since then, social policies and especially education have recovered the importance lost during the military regime. The Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) defends the “undeniable and positive role of the educational system in the global challenge facing Chile: to combine economic growth with social equity in an improving democratic context” (MINEDUC 1993).

Two of the fundamental elements that characterize the educational referential developed by the dissident epistemic communities in the 1980s. First, education should really be a factor in equal opportunities, sustaining the base of a democratic and more socially just society. On the other hand, education and knowledge are also fundamental components in the modernization of Chile in a framework of progressive social equity. For both of these elements, the State must not only be a regulator of education, but must also be educationally active. Both conceptualizations assume principal changes with respect to the inherited Neoliberal model.

The emphasis of the Concertación policymakers in equality emphasizes the need to assure to every individual the minimal level of basic capacities that will permit them to obtain their well-being in the marketplace. This conceptualization of equal opportunities is distinct from the inherited one in that it recognizes the tensions existing between individual liberty, economic growth, and equality opportunity. The Concertación conceptualization is closest to the ideas of Giddens (2000), who argues that this tension can only be addressed by acting on the social conditions of equality opportunities, eliminating social exclusion through social investment policies. From this perspective, social problems should be attacked at their origin through “generative policies” and the substitution of a Reactive Welfare policy with a “Positive welfare” policy. Consequently, State action should concentrate on maintaining a healthy

² The speeches of May 21st is when the President addresses the Congress to inform on the State of the Union.

population and not only curing them; on assuring equality and not only addressing the exclusion problems.

Recent studies have indicated the increasing importance of elementary education in post-industrial societies and in the child rather than the male breadwinners and their families as occurred during the Golden Age of Welfare States. The promoters of the LEGO™ paradigm advert the threat caused by an unequal access to knowledge and the importance that this is acquiring in the future-oriented political strategy (Jenson and San Martin 2005).

The profound disparities in the education results according to family socio/economic level, the type of school administration (public, private or state-funded by privately managed), and the geographic situation (rural vs. urban) are generated by a profound deficit in equity. The deficits identified in MINEDUC evaluations support the political and technical criticism that the military government was principally responsible for the increase in social inequality. Consequently, this position argues that the guarantee of access to a school and the completion of the 12 years of obligatory education is not sufficient to assure justice in education. Indeed, from the PostNeoliberal perspective, fair educational policies should guarantee equality to access of knowledge and know-how. In other words, educational policies should assure equal results so that children can participate fully in the productive world as well as in a democratic society. From this perspective, the educational system cannot provide the same treatment to every child because the children are not all equal.

Consequently, the objective of PostNeoliberal targeting is distinct from the Neoliberal objective, which was conceptualized as a separate policy to minimize and mitigate the effects produced by structural economic adjustment and poverty. In contrast, the Concertación has implemented programs like the P-900 School Program, where the government actively intervened in the 900 schools (10% of the total) with the lowest test results, and the Rural Elementary Education Program, providing teacher training in the development of new methodologies and educational resources.

One of the principal goals of Concertacion educational authorities is a more equitable, egalitarian society in a democratic context, conceptualizing democracy as a society where political liberties, economic liberties, and social rights are recognized and respected. It is for this reason that quality, equity and equality need to be understood from an ethical perspective, as contributing to economic growth, and as a key aspect of the construction of social citizenship and governability. The PostNeoliberal referential is based on the idea that democratic stability requires, in the words of Esping-Andersen (2000:2), “a level of social integration that only genuine social citizenship can inculcate”.

NEW INSTRUMENTS

Financing according to demand: An old instrument for new objectives.

The Concertacion government strategically decided to maintain the principal educational financing mechanism put into place by the military regime. Chile is one of the few countries where education is national and is subsidized through a subsidy (voucher) paid to the establishment for each day that a student attends class. This system, based in a neoliberal concept of education as a market, has been considered during both periods as contributing to system decentralization. This decentralization permits the school owners to implement their own policies improvements and investment based on the particularities of the educational establishment and its students.

Still, beginning in 1990, the subsidy system was modified in order to better reach the goals of improved quality and equity.

From the Neoliberal perspective, the voucher promoted more efficient use of resources and greater educational quality. However, national studies have shown that positive results have been achieved only in the objective of efficiency (Gonzalez, 2003). With respect to quality, there is no consensus on the effect of the subsidy. On the one hand, numerous studies have found a lack of equity and the existence of segregation dynamics linked to the system (Gonzalez, 2003). Concertacion policymakers have reinterpreted the voucher system, seeking to progressively eliminate its indiscriminate character and to create more economic incentives to improve the schools that children from low income families attend. In these schools, the subsidy is greater per student in schools where the number of students is small.

Comparing the variations in the Chilean Welfare State from an economic dimension following Wilensky (1975), it can be observed that public spending in education was reduced in important ways during the military government and increased during the Concertacion governments beyond the levels of public investment lost during the military regime. Between 1982 and 1990, total government spending fell from 27%, from 4.9 % to 2,5% GNP (Cox, Lemaitre, 1999), while public spending from 1990 to 2000 increased from 2.6% to 4.3 GNP, and has increased at an average annual rate of more than 6% (Cox, 2003). The Chilean economic crisis at the beginning of the 1980s is not sufficient to explain the differences because Chile experienced continuous economic growth while educational spending continued to fall. In contrast, during the Concertacion government, even though there was negative GNP growth in 1999, public spending as a percentage of GNP increased from 3.7 % to 4.0 % (MINEDUC, 2001).

To finance increased social spending, the Concertación in cooperation with some of the opposition rapidly implement a Tax Reform (1993), indicating the political and social consensus with respect to the need to address social problems. The Finance Minister, Eduardo Aninat, declared in 1994 that education is the key in to economic development and Chile's successful integration into the global economy, and despite the fiscal austerity of the second Concertacion government (Eduardo Frei), educational spending was not affected (El Mercurio, 1994).

The Tax Reform opened the possibility of educational financing shared between the State-family-private actors. In short, government-subsidized, privately or public ally owned schools could ask for family contributions. The public subsidy diminished for those schools requiring an important family contribution. This complementary form of financing was successful, although it produced certain segmentation dynamics that threatened the equity principle. In response, MINEDUC created compensatory mechanisms, such as a school obligation to provide scholarships for those students whose families did not have the financial resources.

To assure that this economic variable is not a "secondary phenomenon" (Esping-Andersen 1999:33), its composition needs to be analyzed. According to González (2003), the category of quality improvement programs and "assistance" are less important at the end of the 1990s, while infrastructure has considerably increased due to the lengthening of school day, initiated by President Frei. State subsidies have continuously increased in the 1990s, seeking to correct equity problems with important impacts in the coverage of three categories: adults and special needs and rural children.

This increased investment has also sought to reduce educational differences between regions through the National Fund for Regional Development and the Educational Infrastructure Fund. Additionally, using a geopolitical criterion, the Concertacion governments have assigned resources, investing per student almost 30 times in the scarcely populated regions than in those with greater density (González 2003).

NEW INSTITUTIONALITY

New Educational Partnership with the Municipal Governments

The Concertacion has also maintained municipal control over education. This decision was adopted by the Concertación despite teacher demands for a return to a centralized system. This compromise was achieved due to the preeminence of a educative *référentiel* that accepts decentralization in the direct school management within a framework of a pro-active, educationally responsible State. This position represents a profound difference with respect to the absent State of the Neoliberal model. Additionally, the decentralization of the military government sought to weaken the traditional teacher union by decentralizing and privatizing their work status. The each teacher's working conditions are determined by the teacher and his/her employers within the framework of the Labor Code. Given that unionism has traditionally been a characteristic that separates the Left and Center/Left from the conservatives, Hayward and Klein (1994) signal that the decentralizing reforms during the Thatcher government in the United Kingdom are better understood as an attempt to weaken teacher union power than the public intention of dismantling the *Welfare State*. Indeed, the conservatives approve measures that tend to increase the degree of autonomy in school management in order to free them from control by local authorities.

In the Chilean case, the political decision to maintain municipal control of education is due to three reasons. First, it maintains the global coherence of the political program of the three Concertacion governments: the county plays an important role in the decentralization and democratization process, and it is the democratic nature of the new policies that differentiates the PostNeoliberal from the Neoliberal decentralization policy. The PostNeoliberal policy seeks to favor the administrative, financial, and pedagogical decentralization based on the premise that education is one of the first "experimental fields of a participative democracy" (Núñez and Vera 1983).

Secondly, the Concertacion governments have sought to address teacher concerns with respect to their work status through other institutional forms without returning to a centralized State. For this reason, the Concertacion governments suggest that the approval of a Statute of Education Professionals is sufficient. This national standard would return the status of public functionaries to teachers, and they would no longer be treated as any worker of the private sector. The basic idea, which was introduced by the Neoliberal regime and prevailed in expert studies, is that the State should regulate and not necessarily administrate.

Thirdly, with the first democratic mayor elections in 1992, the meaning of municipal decentralization changed because they would now be elected by popular vote rather than designated by the President as during the military government.

The Post-Neoliberal Regime represents an intent to construct a new educational partnership in which the municipal governments are slowly assigned greater capacities to take on new initiatives in education and other areas.

Revalorization of civil society

The appreciation of civil society suggests the emergence of a *cleavage* in the conception of a centralized and planning State that dominated in Chile prior to the military regime. Intrinsically, this idea translates into a political desire to find new forms of decentralized government, different from the Neoliberal conception applied in an authoritarian context.

During the military dictatorship, the dissident epistemic communities began to rethink the importance of civil society as well as the role of the State in a democracy. It is likely that this rediscovery would not have occurred without the influence of Neoliberal ideas based in a minimal State or without the profound State repression. From their position marginalized from “official Chilean society” during the dictatorship, the dissident intellectuals recognized the importance of a strong civil society, community and local management, and school and teacher autonomy.

Interestingly, this paradigm shares many aspects with the Neoliberal conception of the State because both visions share the idea of the self-transformation of society rather than initiated by State monopoly. Logically, these perceptions diverge with respect to how this statism needs to be overcome. For the liberal right, the market is the liberating force; while for the social-democrats of the Concertation, decentralization and an organized civil society are the key elements. In this aspect, the Concertacion’s project is similar to the Giddens’ Third Way: the construction of modern Chilean society implies the active participation of civil society.

Bringing the State Back In

The Concertacion’s perspective of promoting change within a context of continuity, resulting from political learning and social learning processes, has produced a redefinition of the State and its role in Education. Beginning in 1990, a State defined by its functions of strategic orientation, regulating at a distance, promoting autonomy, and evaluating results replaced the directing, centralized bureaucracy that had been associated with the center-left in Chile. The new State form is a “central agency” that uses not only the traditional tools of norms and budgets, but also uses instruments of information, evaluation and incentives; contracts out many functions and creates support networks in society; proactively assures the quality and equity of the educational system through specific programs and strategies implemented over time (Cox 1997). The post-Neoliberal State has become the “coxswain” and is no longer the “rower” (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993) that finances, regulates, evaluates, and encourages, but does not administrate.

The Post-Neoliberal State is not a return to the State that existed in Chile between 1930 and 1960, characterized as an “arena” of conflicts and compromises between different interests and visions. Nor can it be considered an “instrument” in the hands of a certain social class as conceived during the government of Salvador Allende (1970 -1973). The post-neoliberal State is similar to the State characterized by Skocpol in *Bringing the state back in*: the State has a certain amount of autonomy with respect to social forces and actively and voluntarily participates in the construction of society with society.

Furthermore, the Post-neoliberal State has increased the degree of intervention in the educational sector, increasing the institutional supply of locations and procedures for consulting and negotiation. The three Concertación governments have sought out different discussion forums and arenas to assure political plurality and representation of the interests implied in educational reforms, while maintaining a certain control of the

process. It is the State that directs the forums and makes the final decision, but based on the discussions and promises made.

Thus, although the Post-Neoliberal Regime shares many elements with the previous Neoliberal Regime, it would be an error to characterize this new State as a simple continuation. The degree of intervention, the *enjeux* and the ways of acting are different. The Post-Neoliberal State is an active State, inclusive of visions and interests of distinct social actors, responsible and respectful of teaching freedom and private educational management.

Teachers: towards a convergence of visions

With the subsidiary State and the privatization of labor relations in the 1980s, teacher job stability became unstable and dependent on the good will of municipal authorities. The Labor Code did not recognize the specific nature of teaching nor the rights from prior legislation. The salaries did not depend on their experience and fell during the military regime. Professional training was hurt due to scarce State support and the deterioration of teaching as a career. Teaching was politically controlled and teacher unions were not recognized and the official "Teacher's College" was imposed by the military government in 1974. With the elimination of the condition of "State teacher" and the "intellectual worker" of the national construction project, the traditional symbolic bases of teacher identity was weakened (Adeler and Melnick 1998). Prior to the military regime, Chilean teachers had traditionally been social agents in the community where they lived, with roles and responsibilities that went beyond the school's walls.

The studies carried out by the dissident expert forums during the 1980s recognized this situation and sought to develop an integral policy to solve the identified problems. From centers such as CIDE and PIIE, very elaborate proposals for the democratic context were developed. In 1985, a group of experts reunited in CIDE considered that the future democratic agenda should contemplate "a teacher statute that recognizes the specificity of its function and regulates the stability of the position: the return to university training; and the establishment of representative and democratic unions " (Cox 1985). The PIIE center detailed a set of measures to be adopted between 1991 and 1993, such as the creation of a Commission to write that Teaching Statute, which "should be elaborated before December 1990" (PIIE 1989).

The passing of the Teaching Statute in 1991 constituted one of the most important ruptures with the past with respect to decentralization and the State's regulating role. In short, it was a national norm that permitted the change in personnel management, eliminate the arbitrary power of the municipal authority, and all within a context of decentralized management of the educational system. Additionally and more importantly, the Statute ended the privatized nature of the teaching profession, and returned to a certain extent their condition of public servers, recovering job stability; a salary structure was approved that assured income floors and incentive mechanisms linking teaching results to salary; and a "teaching career" was re-implemented.

The 1991 Statute was also criticized because it implied a recentralization of education regulation and for the reduced flexibility of school management. These effects were considered by the opposition and by some members of the government as steps backward in the modernization of the educational system. Consequently, the State was modified twice (1995 and 2000), introducing the possibility of modifications in the number of professors based on fluctuations in the number of attending students to a

certain school. In all cases, one of the virtues of the Statute is to have permitted the governability of the educational system and the establishment of minimal conditions to continue with larger changes in the system. Between March 1990 and March 2003, teachers have participated in 48 days of strikes (Cox 2003), which is comparatively lower than their Latin American counterparts.

However, throughout the 1990s, the principal questioning of the educational model and the modernizing referential in which it is based came from the teachers. The disagreement between teachers and the government is due to both substantial and formal reasons. Teachers criticize the educational model because they do not have the status of public functionaries; the decentralized nature and demand-led financing has been maintained; and public financing is provided to most private schools. This last criticism is based on the meaning of public education. According to Iván Núñez (2003: 499), advisor to all the Concertacion Ministers of Education, the government defends the support to “public interest” education, independently of whether it is public or private as long as the establishment does not illegitimately exclude students. In contrast, the teachers do make a distinction, rejecting public financing of private education.

With respect to the form, the Teacher’s Union deplore the inexistence of real consulting mechanisms and critique the mechanisms that reduce participation to individual opinion surveys rather than scenarios of collective participation (Ássael, Pavez 2001).

Consequently, although the Teacher’s Union recognizes the strategic character of education in the construction of a more just, equitable society, they critique the lack of change with respect to the principal changes made by the Neoliberal regime. As mentioned earlier, for the Teacher’s Union the changes are but timid corrections of the imperfections of the Neoliberal model, and more important transformations need to be made.

From conflict about the definition of the referential to conflict within the referential

The third Concertacion government, inaugurated in 2000, opened a window of opportunities to the sector of Concertacion that seeks to find a convergence between the teachers’ concept of teaching and the modernizing referential.

President Ricardo Lagos, who was also the first Concertacion Minister of Education, achieved an agreement between the government and the Teacher’s Union in 2000 and ratified with a law, supported by all the political sectors in 2001. Consequently, the government has promised to improve working conditions, salaries, and teacher participation. Teachers accept, among other measures, to link part of their salary and professional evaluation to a accreditation and competence evaluation system. The agreement initiated an strategic alliance between both parts that are differentiated from the protest and conflict period of the 1990s.

According to Núñez (2003), the agreement is the result of several factors: a) the costs of the strikes and protests that were long (e.g. 1998) and did not produce significant benefits for the teachers; b) the acceptance of dialogue as the best means to raise proposals; c) a new political style that began with a change in union leadership; d) a professional negotiation style based on expert advice; e) the affiliation of the Chilean Teacher’s College with the international education organization whose positions are less ideological than the unions in the majority of Latin American countries.

CONCLUSION

In public policy literature, many studies have affirmed the incapacity of States to change a path more or less set in the past. Similarly, other texts demonstrate the determining nature of neoliberal ideology and the globalization's uniforming tendency on national policies. As a result, Neoliberal policies are often perceived as the only possibility due to the global economic context, limiting a State's capacity to define its own policies.

The analysis of educational policies in Chile since 1990 indicates that a State does have a certain freedom of movement. We argue that the maintenance of certain policy legacies, such as municipalization, privatization of education, demand-led financing, or an open economy, are policies that can be explained as strategic decision based in a specific characterization of modern society. The three Concertacion governments have understood that a country's modernity is based in an ineluctable interdependence between public order (democracy), economic order (market economy) and a social order (social justice). To reach this type of society, education is the social sector that best promotes the articulation of these three types of order, and one that requires an educationally active State.

The educational innovations of the last 15 years have shown that the success and legitimacy of State actions tending to transform a social sector depends on two characteristics. First, the changes should correspond to the representations that the political, social and economic actors have with respect to the society in general and the sector in particular. Secondly, the transformations should be performed according to the social mediation forms characteristic of the actual political regime: consensus in the case of Chile after 1990.

The progressive convergence of positions and visions of the actors in the political and educational fields have been possible thanks to the preeminence of a modernizing *référentiel*. This *référentiel*'s importance lies in its ability to integrate, at different rhythms, the visions and interests of the principal political and educational actors. In this way, the referential incorporates market-based mechanisms and "choice" model associated with Neoliberalism and defended by the political right and private sector, maintaining the importance of competition, of market logic to reach certain objectives, efficient, decentralized management, and shared financing. Additionally, the referential also reincorporates the State, as defended by certain political parties and by the Teacher's Union, emphasizing the importance of education in the achievement of a more just, developed society, defending an educationally pro-active State and making teachers one of the keys to successful change.

Furthermore, the paths adopted for these social transformations are necessarily distinct from the experiences before and during the military regime. The questioning of the relationship of civil society with the Teacher State and with the Neoliberal State have made citizen participation and consensus two of the fundamental values of the new *référentiel*. However, the technocratization of public decision making that characterized the Neoliberal State and continues to characterize the Post-neoliberal State is not very coherent with a democratic discourse that encourages citizen participation. Indeed, citizens are demanding greater participation in the decision making that directly affects them, questioning the pretension of a few to monopolize the definition of public interest even when it is to provide greater rationality to State action. The political challenge to achieve consensus requires finding spaces where technocratic expertise and public deliberation and negotiation can interact. During his visit to Chile in 2004, Bruno Jobert insisted that the creation of public deliberation and negotiated construction

forums is one way to diminish the Chilean disenchantment with both the State and the Market.

The mediators that formulate and develop the modernizing referential in Chile are seeking to redefine the roles of both the Market and the State. They continue to look for modernization based in a market economy and economic growth in a globalized context, but now this modernization should also be compatible with greater levels of social equity.

The welfare regime emerging in Chile since the 1990s represents a movement towards a more active state in the context of an open economy, opening new spaces of reflection on the ways to achieve citizen well-being. Consequently, the Chilean example challenges the thesis that globalization forces States towards a retrenchment or a progressive privatization of social provision. Indeed, the Chilean Post-Neoliberal Regime suggests that at least extreme forms of neoliberalism create the need and the possibility of greater State participation, but in the definition and orientation of new institutions rather than in provision. The Market remains an important element in the Post-Neoliberal Regime, but is pro-actively controlled by the State in the name of social justice, economic development, and democracy, transforming the original neoliberal conception.

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