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Abstract:

The Chilean Winter: Student Movements and Higher Education Reform in Chile

In the winter of 2011 (May-August) higher education students throughout Chile mobilized to improve their neoliberalized education system that they perceive to be in crisis. Through a historical review of Chilean higher education reform and student political activism, and fieldwork conducted during the mobilizations, I examine the conflicting cultural repertoires of two groups of students – the leaders and base level students. The leaders embrace a pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire that draws on ideas of student political activism and the structure of higher education from before the dictatorship. Base level students on the other hand embrace a post-dictatorship cultural repertoire inherited from the residual fear from the dictatorship, and which is influenced by a neoliberal ideology of individual rights. This disconnect between the leaders and base level student cultural repertoires has created the need for a new cultural repertoire. Led by a group of students I refer to as the negotiators, there has been a development of a new popular aesthetic cultural repertoire uses the popular imaginary and culture, and is more performative and visual. Additionally, the new cultural repertoire has been able to incorporate the interests and comforts of all student groups, serving to unify and strengthen the whole movement, and consequently amplifying its ability to produce both profound political and cultural changes.

The Chilean Winter: Student Movements and Higher Education
Reform in Chile

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THE CHILEAN WINTER 2011 HIGHER EDUCATION STUDENT MOBILIZATIONS

A crisp, grey morning in smog covered Santiago, mid-June 2011, around fifty of my weary eyed students and I sat in haphazard circles on a small outdoor terrace tucked behind the English Pedagogy administrative buildings of our private Jesuit university. The president of the *Centro de Estudiantes de Pedagogía de Inglés (CEPIN)* (student government of English pedagogy majors) called the meeting to order and all listened attentively. “*Hola compañeros. Today... we’re going to evaluate whether or not we want to hold a *paro* (strike).*”¹ Two weeks earlier we had a *paro*, but only for the hours between our coffee break and lunch. That day our *carerra* (department) had joined with university students from throughout Santiago and together we marched from our respective campuses to the front of the Chilean Ministry of Education. Since June, students of higher education in Chile had been engaging in the largest demonstrations since the waning days of Pinochet’s regimes in the late 1980s, with frequent march of over 200,000 people and expansive organizing efforts in nearly every institution of higher education. Chilean students were mobilizing to improve their neoliberalized education system that they perceived to be in crisis. The students’ efforts are known internationally as the Chilean Winter.

¹ Throughout this paper there are many quotations taken from the informants of my field research. It’s important to note that much of my fieldwork was conducted in Spanish, As the researcher, I have taken on the responsibility of translating their words into English as accurately as possible. There certain words I have left in Spanish, as there is no comparable word or phrase that can be used from English. These words are italicized throughout the document.

At my first march I walked at the side of one my students, as she gleefully bounced up and down with all her Chilean *compañeros* chanting “*Y va caer, y va caer, la educación de Pinochet*” (And will fall, and will fall, Pinochet’s education). Long banners hung from the hands of hundreds of marchers, with their university and *carerras* name carefully painted on the fabric. After an hour of slow marching, we arrived at the Ministry of Education. Barracks and policemen, wearing army green berets and carrying batons guarded it ominously. I soon noticed all the side-road outlets down the main street of central Santiago were blocked. The scratches from loud speakers sparked up from all around proclaiming “*Chicillos, estamos acá hoy para exigir una educación gratuita y de calidad.*” (Guys, we are here today to demand a free and high-quality education).

A few days before on my way home, I had seen that very slogan, plastered across the main entrance to *casa central* (administrative offices) of the *Universidad de Chile*. On June 10th, 2011 the university’s students had taken over the institution’s main administrative offices, and had symbolically been using them since as the mobilization’s headquarters. According to my English Pedagogy students, the students working within the walls of the *Casa Central* were leading the mobilizations. As I strolled passed the main entrance, a friendly student handed me a little pamphlet outlining the three objectives of the movement: that Chilean university education be (1) free, (2) public, and (3) and of a high quality.

Back at CEPIN, we were months away from being as organized as *la Universidad de Chile*. Our voting process ended in the decision to have a *paro*,

but that in two-days we would reconvene once again to vote on whether to continue it. During those two days I watched students aimlessly meander around the university cafeteria, unsure of what they were to do, and with many students seemingly absent those days. When I asked the few students who had surprisingly shown up at the university what they were doing during the *paro*, they explained that while they of course wanted to improve Chile's higher education education, they were not interested in participating in the mobilizations that the leaders from the *Universidad de Chile* proposed, often because they felt unprepared to do so.

Throughout the next few weeks I shifted between observing the students at the *Universidad de Chile* and working with the students of CEPIN. I noticed that all students were talking about the same need to improve Chile's higher education system, but at the same time observed what seemed to be two distinct group of actors, the leaders with students like those from the *convocatrio* and the base level students, like those from CEPIN. Each group was informed by a different internalized understanding of how and why students mobilize, or what I call a disconnect of cultural repertoires. Cultural repertoires are an inherited set of culturally and historically inscribed actions and understandings of resistance that a group of people know how to do and are expected to do.

The disconnect was caused by the leaders' embrace of a pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire and the base level students' embrace of a post-dictatorship cultural repertoire.

The pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire is inherited from the history of student political activism in Chile prior to the start of dictatorship in 1973, which I will

argue is characterized by a collective-centered understanding that is influenced by the historically inscribed revolutionary role of Latin American students.

Furthermore, because of their prior experiences of political participation, the leaders tended to apply the rhetoric and tactics of past mobilizations in their approaches to Winter 2011 mobilizations. The base level students embraced a post-dictatorship cultural repertoire that led them to interpret the mobilizations through an individual-centered understanding that was more sympathetic to the residual fear generated by the dictatorship's repression of political activism, as well by the neoliberal ideologies pursued by Pinochet's dictatorship. Unlike the leaders, the base level students were resistant toward political participation because of their fear and because their understanding of civic participation does not include the repertoire of resistance internalized by the leaders of the movement. Ultimately, the disconnect of cultural repertoires between these two levels limited the unity among, and challenged the democratic vitality of, the movement. This lack of unity at times inhibited the movement from progressing forward.

This disconnect between the leaders and the base level students is in the process of being bridged as a new cultural repertoire is being formulated by a third level of students that I identify as the negotiators. These students are sympathetic to the interests and cultures of both the leaders and the base level students. This enables them to construct a new cultural repertoire that combines elements of the pre-dictatorship and the post-dictatorship cultural repertoires, and that incorporates new elements of aestheticism and popular culture that satisfy the

interests of all levels of student actors. A new repertoire of resistance is being developed that draws on popular images and culture, that is more performative, and that incorporates the civic learning needs and interests of the base level students. This enables the base to more effectively and comfortably engage in the mobilizing efforts coordinated by the leaders. As a result of the new cultural repertoire, Chilean students have not only united and progressed, but have inscribed new civic and political cultural repertoires within Chilean society.

To construct my argument I rely on various sources. First, I conducted fieldwork in Santiago, Chile from May to July 2011. At the time, I was an English Teaching Assistant for the *Universidad Alberto Hurtado* English Pedagogy department. This fieldwork was comprised of interviews with students from public and private institutions of higher education, with professors, and with various other Chileans. These interviews were conducted in individual and group settings. It also included extensive participant-observation of students at various higher education institutions and political organizations, as well as at large public events. I also used primary source materials such as pamphlets and magazines collected on the streets before and after marches, and news sources from various Chilean online newspapers.

For this study, I also draw upon secondary sources to contextualize and interpret the findings of my fieldwork. Specifically, I use secondary source research on the history of Chile's higher education system, covering the era from the independence from Spain to the years after the 1980 neoliberal reforms implemented by the military dictatorship. I also include secondary source research

on the history of Chilean politics since the birth of the *Federación de Estudiantes de Chile (FECH)* in 1906, and Latin American student politics since the Córdoba Reform Movement of 1918.

In the next chapter I will discuss the history of the Chilean higher education system since the end of the colonial era. I attempt to compare the ideologies and structures from before and after the military dictatorships implementation of neoliberal reforms in the 1980s. This comparison forms the basis of the Winter 2011 mobilization's claim that the Chilean education system is in crisis. In chapter two, I trace the development of the Chilean student movement by examining four major historical moments of the student movement within their contexts of the Latin American student movement, as well as Chilean national politics and economy. In chapter three I provide the theoretical framework of cultural repertoires. I use theories about social movements, collective action, and citizenship, in which I draw from Tarrow, Tucker, and Cerda et al. I also describe the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire of the leaders, and the post-dictatorship cultural repertoire of the base level students. The final chapter is an extended discussion of my findings, for which I provide examples from my fieldwork. I discuss the grievances, demands, and tactics of both the leaders and the base level students, to demonstrate the disconnect between these two levels of actors that complicated the progress of the movement. I then describe the emergence of a new cultural repertoire, led by a third level of actors that I call the negotiators. This developing popular aesthetic cultural repertoire strives to bridge the disconnect between the leaders and the base level students, allowing the

movement to establish the unity and democratic structure necessary to propel the movement forward.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORY OF THE CHILEAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

Throughout the weeks of the Winter 2011 mobilizations, I would find pamphlets almost everywhere I walked in central Santiago, either because they'd be scattered around or handed to me by a group of students. Pamphlets were a quick and inexpensive quick way to inform the public about the movement, and so every *carrera* and political organization would produce and distribute their own pamphlets to spread their message. On almost all the pamphlets was, some form of the phrase “*Fin de la marketización de la educación*” (End of the marketization of education).

What exactly was meant by marketization of education? Briefly, it refers to the re-structuring of the Chilean education system under the neoliberal model. Before expanding on this explanation, however, it is important to discuss the political and social structure that enabled the “marketization of education.” In this chapter I first discuss the history of neoliberalism in Latin America, and its unique development in Chile. From there, I explore the direct influence of neoliberal models on the Chilean higher education systems. I discuss, in particular, the reforms implemented by Pinochet's military dictatorship in 1980 that sought to dissolve the public system that emerged from the original colonialist university system, and the incentive to create a new private sector of higher education. Finally I look at the effects of the 1980 reforms on the education system and social hierarchy, which I argue are the core causes for the Winter 2011 mobilizations.

History of Neoliberal Reform in LA

Beginning in the early 1980s Latin America underwent what many argue to be a fundamental political, economic and cultural shift, caused by what is referred to as “structural adjustment”. During colonial rule, Latin America’s republics acted predominantly as oligarchies. Under oligarchic rule, states functioned as consolidated nations with assumed political stability and control over political process. State control included operating and administering the public education systems. Around the 1930s Latin American states embraced the global trend of the Keynesian welfare state. States began to take on an interventionist role in the economy and increased public spending on social services. Public resources were spent on supporting citizens with minimum incomes, as well as better nutrition, health, housing, and education programs. All of these services were seen as the political rights of citizens. The political shift towards the Keynesian welfare state also profoundly impacted the education systems by orienting them toward curriculums based on citizenship formation and knowledge of the state. (Torres 1997)

In the early 1970’s the Keynesian welfare state period came to a harsh end as authoritarian dictatorships claimed power in many Latin America countries. These new dictators claimed that the welfare states were breaking apart. They felt Keynesianism failed to address nations’ economic vulnerability caused by the deep income inequalities. By the 1970s many of these nations had accrued high levels of debt and were increasingly dependent on foreign loans to maintain their economies, to the point where they could not pay the interest on the loans. (Torres 1997; Harvey 2005)

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank entered Latin America with a strategy to relieve these nations of their increasing debt burdens. The IMF and World Bank's encouraged nations to borrow money from them, with the agreement that it would be invested in national development projects of structural adjustment. Structural adjustment was guided by neoliberal theories that believe that only free individuals organized around markets can produce economic growth and well being because only individuals are capable of satisfying their own needs. (Cavieres 2011) Furthermore, neoliberalism encouraged the extension of market transactions into all realms of human interaction. (Pitton 2007) The neoliberal state is characterized by free trade or deregulation, a small public sector, and increased privatization. It creates political and economic conditions that protect the property rights of individuals. (Cavieres 2011)

The new neoliberal states abandoned what were considered by the IMF to be excessive state interventions in the economy and the tight regulations of the market of the 1930s. They replaced them with strategies of market efficiency that would restore states' economies. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s military governments made major cuts in state social spending. This caused an overall decrease in welfare services. (Torres 1997) Thus, economic stability came at the cost of many citizens' celebrated rights. In particular, public education's structure and objectives transformed. Finally, the policy recommendations by the IMF included that the remaining public institutions adopt a "business-like model." (Cavieres 2011: 113)

Neoliberalism in Chile

Before discussing the neoliberal education reforms implemented in Chilean higher education during the period of structural adjustment, I want to further explain the birth of neoliberalism in Chile. The specific features of the Chilean neoliberal reform are a combined result of its historical context and its interaction of domestic and international factors. While many of its features resembles the larger narrative of neoliberal reform in the rest of Latin America. Chile's specific process and outcomes are arguably more extensive in comparison to other countries in the region. (Pitton 2007)

Like other Latin American countries, prior to the dictatorship, the Chilean state played a central role in the distribution of goods and services following a keynesian state intervention model. While social services expanded during this time, Chile still struggled with extensive wealth and income inequalities. In the late 1960s, popular movements mobilized demanding a fairer distribution of socioeconomic wealth and power. As a result of their efforts, Salvador Allende was elected president of the nation in 1970. He vowed that during his presidency Chile would undergo a deep social transformation. Using the power of the state, Allende intended to redistribute the nation's wealth and income in a more equitable manner. A key program his administration promised was the nationalization of private companies, including copper production, one of Chile's largest industries. (Pitton 2007)

Allende's policies were to a large extent successful in serving the needs and demands of the popular movement. The business community and political

conservatives, however, were less satisfied with Allende's agenda for change. They considered his reforms a threat to the status quo, consequently challenging their traditional access to economic and political power. A period of global economic stagnation during the beginning of Allende's presidency threatened to send Chile into a deep financial crisis. Those in the political opposition argued this was an ideal time to decrease social spending and increase investment. Allende, however, chose to ignore their recommendations, and Chile became increasingly indebted and dependent on foreign capital. This created a shortage of basic goods and consequent expansions of the black market. As conditions worsened, Pinochet's military regime took power in a violent coup-de-tat on September 11, 1973, during which President Allende was killed during the bombing of the central government building in Santiago. (Pitton 2007)

When Pinochet took power he immediately started implementing neoliberal policies that called for decreased state intervention across society. After the previous period of economic instability, many Chileans supported the disciplined financial and economic policies implemented by Pinochet. The state stopped promoting development, and instead promoted the extension of the market into everyday life. These policies were based on the work of Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago between 1957-1970, Chile sponsored a group of Chilean economists to study with Friedman at the University of Chicago, with the agreement that Chile would be used as an experimental lab for neoliberal policies. These policies were supported by a group of economists, known as the "Chicago Boys" because they had studied at the University of Chicago with

Freidman, and returned to Chile at the beginning of the military dictatorship. They proposed a economic and political plan known as the “seven modernization...[which was a] comprehensive package of reforms....[that] extended the market model to other social areas such as...education.” (Pitton 2007: 254) The rest of this section will explore the effects of these policies on the education sector of Chile.

Human Capital Approach

A parallel narrative to economic development in Latin America is that of education reform. Formal education is considered one of the key factors in stimulating economic development, as it directly shapes the national labor force. As an under-developed or periphery nation, the structure of Chile’s education system has been a subject of debate, influenced by the development suggestions of international financial institutions. These institutions’ theories impact the overarching structure and role of a national education system. In the following paragraphs I discuss the different economic development perspectives that have informed international education policies, including the policies in Chile.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the developing world’s education systems were informed by dependency theory. Dependency theory, according to Immanuel Wallerstein’s definitions, is the idea “that countries in the world are connected to the functions they perform in the world economy.” (Brint 2006: 89) As a periphery state, Chile’s function was to provide raw materials for core, industrialized states. This theory of global divisions of labor, suggested that education was more worthwhile for the wealthy, landowning classes than it was

for disadvantaged groups and the poor. Accordingly, the theories suggested that disadvantaged groups and the poor required only enough education in order for them to work as cheap labor for the wealthier classes and business owners. (Brint 2006)

In the 1980s, a new paradigm for education systems based on human capital theory, was recommended in conjunction with the IMF and World Bank's structural adjustment policies. (Coraggio 1997) It "emphasized educational practices based on competition, individualism and accountability." (Cavieres 2011: 112) For the most part, the international financial institutions' power was mostly indirect, providing recommendations and advocacy, and acting as a external donor for school projects if the nation complied with to the World Bank's recommendations. Cavieres (2011:117) comments that "International financial agencies.... were committed to these reforms by offering them as the solution to the poverty that affects developing...countries."

Human capital theory "assumes that economic development is possible in any nation that fully developed and uses its human resources." (Brint 2006: 91) Furthermore, in human capital theory, education policy must be directly connected with economic development, so that new knowledge gained in schools can be applied in the market. (Coraggio 1994) It assumes public investment in formal education will lead to the development of individuals' innate capacities. Once individuals form new sets of knowledge and skills, or in other words develop their 'human capital', they will become more productive. Income will rise, and this will produce a higher social wellbeing and economic growth.

(Cavieres 2011) Under these theories, neither economic development nor development of human resources alone is considered sufficient for real economic growth.

Human Capital theory “is reflective of the Western experience of mass schooling...[and was] promoted by international agencies and international schooling experts.” (Brint 1996: 91) School reforms influenced by human capital theory were modeled after “economic notions such as competition and efficiency.” (Cavieres 2011: 117) Investments were made in the people, especially among the extreme poor, often meaning an expansion of the schooling system to those previously without access to schooling. (Coraggio 1994) Furthermore, the World Bank offered frameworks for how a given country should spend their schooling funds, aiming at a combination of efficiency and equity in distribution. Elements such as curriculum reform and smaller classes were of lesser importance in the World Banks model. (Coraggio 1994)

Human capital theory is met with much criticism. On the one hand, the World Bank’s efforts fail to access the levels of power in a society that perpetuates inequality. (Brint 1996) Additionally, it has the potential to discourage new ideas for adaptations that better suit the particular circumstances of a country. In Latin America, the privatization of schooling has resulted in serious problems for families, as they now have to help pay for an education that had previously been provided by the state. Privatization has also exacerbated social inequalities, because the wealthy have been more successful in taking advantage of private education. Those in lower income groups have less

knowledge of how to enroll in higher performing schools and how to excel in the increasingly privatized school system. (Torres 1999) The main criticism of human capital theory, however, is that the central relationship between investment in formal education and economic development has little data supporting that it actually works. It has not been proven that more educated workers actually become more productive workers. (Brint 2006) These findings have caused human capital theory to be less influential in international financial institutions policy recommendations. Unfortunately, in the last few decades, many nations, such as Chile, are left with the structures in place to continue with the human capital approach, and thus it has; but not without a series of trials and tribulations. In Latin America, the marriage of education and the market has often meant a large increase in the “privatization of higher education and in the deterioration of public universities,” (Segrera 2010: 5) as the government divests from public education, and passes the responsibility of education into the hands of private firms. This two-part process of divestment and privatization has nearly brought the historical predominance of public higher education over private education to an end.

Chilean Education Reform

Chile is a particularly interesting nation to consider, in terms of the effects of neoliberal policies from structural adjustment, because it is one of the first developing nations to have implemented a comprehensive neoliberal reform. (Pitton 2007) Furthermore, Chile was almost unanimously, considered a success. Thus, this offers important into the negative and positive consequences of

neoliberal reforms, particularly within the realm of higher education. Chile's education system has been greatly impacted by the policy changes influenced by international financial institutions' theories of how education systems should be modeled. Working in collaboration with the Ministry of Education in Chile, the IMF and World Bank made educational reform recommendations that "introduced the neoliberal rational into schools," (Cavieres 2011: 117) at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. "Using notions of quality education, human capital, and efficiency, these projects justify the link between development, markets, education and individuals." (Cavieres 2011: 117)

Chilean primary and secondary education reforms

While in this paper I focus on the education reforms implemented at the tertiary level, I first need to discuss the effects that human capital and neoliberal reforms implemented during the dictatorship have had on primary and secondary education in Chile.

Neoliberalism was first introduced into the schools "in the early eighties to improve the administrations of schools." (Cavieres 2011: 117) According to Garía-Huidobro (2003), director of the *Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Educación (CIDE)* (Center of Research and Development of Education), the military government introduced a profound reform at the organizational base of the education system that combined decentralization and privatization. The reforms, known as *la Ley Orgánica Constitucional de la Educación (LOCE)* (Organic Constitutional Law of Education), were implemented on the final day Pinochet was in power. The LOCE reforms successfully decentralized the public

school system by transferring control of schools from the central Ministry of Education to the 300 municipalities around the country. The military government then introduced a new financing system, based on demand, that gave students a monthly subsidy for school and allowed them to choose between attending a municipal school or private schools that offer free education”. (García-Huidobro 2003: 7) Due to these reform, public schools were no longer guaranteed the same funding as before, since school funding was now distributed based on the number of students enrolled. Furthermore, this funding also became available for private schools. Private schools agreed to use this subsidy to lower the enrollment fees for students. (Caveries 2011, p. 117) As a result, the education system that had consisted of a large public sector and small, elite private sector became an integrated system of public, *particular subvencionado* (subsidized private or charter schools), and private schools. With fewer resources available for public education and a constantly decreasing enrollment, many argue that the previously strong public education system significantly weakened. (Cavieres 2011) The reforms served to reproduce social inequalities by limiting the lower income social sectors access to opportunities through education. Furthermore, the schools were (and again continue to be) characterized by major resource, opportunity and learning quality gaps. The LOCE reforms have undeniably been the primary culprit in forming a Chilean society characterized by highly segregated socio-economic differentiations, consequently making aspirations of social and economic mobility nearly impossible for many students today. (Garcia-Huidobro 2007)

Chilean Higher education reform

In comparison to other parts of Latin America, Chile has more accelerated effects of neoliberal reform in higher education. Montes argues that the higher education reforms, between the years of 1981 and 1982, created “a transcendental change” in the Chilean university system that is irreversible. (Montes 2006, p. 7,10) According to Segrera, the main trend in higher education during this time was a “quantitative expansion in enrollment and programs, increased privatization, significant institutional diversification, [and] growing restrictions on public funding.” (Segrera 2010: 1) As mentioned above, arguably the most important shift has been the increasing marketization of education. Since the rise of neoliberalism, education has become thought of as “something to be bought at the market and not as a right of citizens.” (Segrera 2010: 2) Some of the negative consequences of these new trends include “budget constraints that reduce access and quality, student loans with severe constraints, [and the] costs of tuition...increasing in public and private universities [consequently] restricting access and leading to student protest movements.” (Segrera 2010: 2-3)

Foundations of Chilean Education System

To better trace the effects of neoliberal reforms on higher education, it is helpful to understand the shape of education prior to their implementation. The university system in Latin America was first founded under Spanish colonial rule, starting in the early sixteenth century. Each of the 10 original colonial universities was founded as a royal and pontifical institutions authorized by the Spanish crown, and were modeled after Salamanca University in Spain. The main

objective of the universities was to preserve clerical power and influence in the colonies by developing their leaders within these institutions. The church and its council of a rectors and clergymen administered the institutions. While federal governments did attempt to intervene in the governing of the universities, for the most part, the universities were able to remain autonomous from the state. The academic structure of the universities reflected its intentions of forming future leaders for the church. As such, universities were divided into a small number of relatively independent *facultades* (colleges), in which students prepared themselves for liberal professions in one of the four core fields of theology, law, medicine, and the arts. Teaching was primarily conducted through deductive learning, and as some argue, failed to inspire students to engage and to grapple with the world around them. (Gale 1969)

This failure was of minimal importance to the students however, as the majority of the students were from elite families and held little concern for the rest of the population. University students were taught their social class' values and standards, and how to preserve the class' status through their positions of authority in the colony. (Gale 1969) Excluding the few students from poorer families who managed to obtain a scholarship, the majority of the colonial population was unable to study in the universities. This elite dominance was due in part to the high costs of obtaining a degree, making it far too expensive for anyone other than the elites to afford. Universities reinforced class differences by providing colonial elites with a powerful tool to maintain the status quo of the

church and the aristocratic wealth and power throughout the colonial era.

(Liebman, Walker & Glazer 1972: 1-4)

In the early nineteenth century, many colonies in Latin America prepared to declare their independence. In anticipation of independence, new ideas and bodies of thought began to emerge in the universities and in society. Universities then incorporated new perspectives into the traditional universities. After independence, the new republics became increasingly interested in developing higher education in their nation. In the first half of the nineteenth century Latin America experienced a great proliferation of new universities using the guiding principles of the religious institutions that preceded them. Other secular institutions were also established during this time. They, however, acted against church order, ousting clerical authority. (Gale 1969: 67) One such university is the *Universidad de Chile*, founded by Andres Bello in 1842. As h'd envisioned, the *Universidad de Chile* played a critical role as the national university until 1980. (Soifer 2009: 172) Eventually the state assumed full control of all universities, formally separating the universities from the church authority.

In spite of the universities' new separation from the church, many of them preserved traditions from the colonial era universities into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These traditions included the theoretical (as compared to innovative) orientation of the universities, to some extent the autonomy of the universities, and most importantly its elite social prestige. As I will discuss in the next chapter, many of the more negative elements of the traditional Latin America university model have served as the recurrent motivating theme of student-led

higher education reform movements in Latin America throughout the twentieth and 21st centuries. The nineteenth century witnessed limited student activism, especially as a result of the waning excitement for national affairs after declaring independence. (Liebman, Walker and Glazer 1972: 4-7)

Prior to the 1960s enrollment was significantly lower due in part to the “selective admission [process based on the]...national standardized academic test and secondary school grades.” (Brunner 1993: 72) In Chile, for example, enrollment was around 20,000 in 1954. (Katz and Spence 2009) Starting in the early 1960’s more middle and working class students began to graduate from high school, and began demanding more tertiary education options. They placed political pressure on the state to widen access to higher education, and universities experienced a doubling on the number of enrolled students between the years of 1960 and 1974. Informed by the early colonial universities, universities functioned independently of the state with their own self-administered Council of Rectors, comprised of elected leaders from each of the 8 universities. (Pitton, 2007) Their independence “entitled [them] to freely initiate school and course and awards and professional titles and academic degrees.” (Brunner 1993: 71)

At the start of 1980, the whole university system was comprised of eight universities: two catholic, [and] six state.” (Brunner 1993, p. 71) Prior to the 1981 reforms, universities were defined by “an institution dedicated to produce, process, and spread knowledge, through research, education, and cultural activity.” (Montes 2006: 13) These institutions are referred to as the “traditional” universities. All eight of the establishments were fully funded by the state.

(Montes, 2006: 13) Their public financing was “protected through public incremental funding...based on previous budgeted allocation and distribution formulas” (Montes, 2006: 13) Public funding was deemed a defining element of universities; therefore, prior to the 1980s new universities could only “be established with the government approval, securing public funding and the legal validity of their education certificates” (Brunner 1993: 72) Because education was perceived a universal right before the dictatorship, the government wanted to ensure that higher education was free of charge, which it was until the 1980s. While there were some post-graduate students were enrolled, universities were predominantly made up of undergraduate students. (Brunner 1993) In summary, prior to Pinochet’s dictatorship, all universities were state funded institutions, endowed by and respected by the state with independence of governance, allowing them to be democratic educational institutions. Universities were exposed to external influences, and “related to the whole culture, socio-political and economics” (Montes 2006: 13) surrounding them. Furthermore, in the years just before the dictatorship, there were high levels of student political participation, with faculty and students involvement in both university and national politics. (Pitton 2007) In the next chapter I will discuss in greater detail the political environment of this era.

The 1980 Reforms

Although the educational reforms discussed here were primarily implemented in the 1980s, the military government began introducing new policies as early as 1973 when the dictatorship first began. One such early change

was the military government's decision to take "compulsory control of all universities and cancelled their self-governing powers" (Brunner 1993: 71) This decision was made in anticipation of the 1980 reforms, because it would allow the military government to more efficiently implement and enforce the new rules. Furthermore, without their self-governing powers, universities had little opportunity to intervene in the application of these new policies. (Brunner 1993) Additionally, according to Pitton (2007), the military government attempted to suppress all forms of democratic participation in the universities. Students movements were closely monitored, academic freedom experienced new limitations, and faculty and students were expelled from the universities for their political beliefs and practices. In general, the military dictatorship's new policies toward universities were nationalistic and of an anti-Marxist tone.

When the reforms were implemented in 1980, they caused rapid and radical changes that profoundly affected the entire higher education system. The primary objectives of the reforms were based on neoliberal theories. One major initiative was to deregulate higher education by promoting "private initiative' in the organization of new institutions." (Brunner 1993: 73)

Effects of 1980 Reforms

How did this shape Chilean higher education? According to Montes (2006), ex-rector of the *Universidad de Chile*, it has transformed knowledge and education into goods that can be traded in a market of knowledge. Similarly, the quality of higher education institutions would be regulated by market competition. The impacts of neoliberal reforms at the structural level of higher education led to

seven fundamental changes: (1) deregulation, (2) diversification, (3) decentralization, (4) loss of institutional autonomy, (5) mixed-funding system, and (6) the creation of a new private sector of higher education. (Pitton 2007)

Deregulation

The military government announced deregulation as a means for promoting private initiatives in higher education. In other words, by encouraging deregulation of the education system, the military government could decrease the state's administrative role in education. Neoliberal theory suggests that private institutions are more efficient in creating educational access and opportunity than the government. Thus, at a time of increased demand for education in Chile, the military government passed the burden and responsibility of expanding higher education into the hands of the private sector. (Brunner 1993)

(2) Diversification

Before the arrival of the military government, the eight higher education institutions in Chile were all public universities. The 1980 reforms introduced a new three-vertical-tier higher education structure, diversifying the landscape of higher education by establishing two new levels: professional institutes and technical training centers. Students in professional institutes study for two to four years, and are not granted a licensure. Technical training center students study for a maximum of two years in a vocational field. The state continues to provide fiscal support for two state-owned professional institute. Technical training centers, on the other hand, have always been, and continue to be, owned and operated by private firms. (Montes 2006)

The diversification of the higher education system is reflective of the military governments effort to reorient universities' curriculums toward more technical and vocational fields. (Pitton 2007) Pitton argues that the reorientation of curriculum transformed education into a "commodity shaped by the consumer's demand." (Pitton, 2007, p. 259) With many new opportunities available for students to study, Chilean students experienced a dramatic increase in access to higher education after 1980. Enrollment of individuals from the two lowest quintiles of income distribution increased the most rapidly. (Kazy and Spense 2009) It's worth noting, however, that although the number of students increased from the lower socioeconomic backgrounds entering higher education, where they enroll within the different tiers of higher education is closely associated with their socioeconomic background. (Pitton 2007) Lower income students typically study in professional institutes and technical training schools than in universities. These institutions are almost exclusively of the private sector. This is due to a variety of factors, many of them related to consequences from Chiles primary and secondary education. Nevertheless, Kazy and Spense (2009) suggest that the enrollment of students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds has led to the emergence of a wide and heterogeneous middle class.

(3) Decentralization

Until the reforms of 1980, the two universities located in Santiago, the *Universidad de Chile* and the *Universidad de Santiago de Chile*, dominated much of the higher education landscape. They had broad national influence through their regional campuses in various locations throughout the country. The 1980

reform forced these two universities to forfeit their regional campuses; instead converting them into independent institutions. Twelve new state universities were established (along with two new professional institutes). (Brunner 1993)

Decentralization also indirectly stimulated the growth of the private higher education sector.

(4) Loss of institutional autonomy

As discussed earlier, prior to the 1980 reforms universities enjoyed a self-administered coordination with the Council of Rectors. For decades this body included members from all the publicly funded universities, and was granted full autonomy by the state. After the reform, however, the collective autonomy of the universities was almost completely taken away from them. While the Council of Rectors still existed, it no longer held the role of developing inclusive goals among the regional campuses. Instead each university had to act independently of the others, forcing them to compete for students, staff, and resources. (Brunner 1993)

(5) Mixed-funding system

Between 1973 and 1980 federal funding of the university decreased from seven percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to just over four percent. The military government restricted its financial assistance to only the 22 traditional universities, meaning no private institutions received state funding. (Brunner 1993) According to Brunner, by “partially transfer[ing] the costs of the state financed institution to students and/or their family’s...[it] force[d] these institutions to diversify their funding sources.” (Brunner 1993, p. 73) These

reforms made institutions increasingly dependent on student fees for financial support. According to Kazy and Spence (2009), Chilean families absorbed a large portion of the costs of maintaining universities by requiring students to pay enrollment fees for the first time. The government established the *Fondo Solidario* (solidarity fund) to distribute credits to the fee-paying student, but only to those studying in one of the 22 public universities. Interest rates were first set at 2%, and were not allowed to exceed 5% of the recipient's salary. However, only 80% of students who applied for credit from the *Fondo Solidario* actually received it.

The military government's other main strategy diversify funding was to change the lump sum grant funding process. Before 1980 universities were guaranteed full funding by the state, distributed in lump sum grants known as *Aporte Fiscal Directo* (AFD, Direct Fiscal Allocation). After the reforms, AFD grants were significantly reduced, covering only one-third of higher education institutions financial needs. Furthermore, after 1989 five percent of the remaining AFD was distributed through a competitive process based on the number of papers each university published. (Kazy and Spence 2009) It is also worth noting that the number of institutions competing for AFD funding has increased with the establishment of new universities and professional institutes, making the funding process even more competitive. The funding changes in higher education has ultimately resulted in stimulating increased competition between institutions for both students and state funding in public higher education. (Montes 2006)

(6) *Creation of a Private Sector of Higher Education*

Between 1980 and 1995 there was a rapid growth of private institutions entering the market, which later contracted between 1995-2005. (Kazy and Spence 2009) By 2003, 70% of higher education enrollment was in the private institutions (Segrera 2010) The main issues surrounding private education include: (a) accreditation, (b) quality, and (c) finances and profit.

(a) Accreditation

Prior to the 1980s, all new universities had to receive state approval before establishing themselves. After the reform, new private institutions were no longer required to go through any government accreditation process to before establishing themselves as an institution, and instead required only a peer-review board to approve its legitimacy. In other words, accreditation was (and continues to be) a voluntary action for new institutions of higher education. For institutions that do opt to earn their accreditation,

“[it] involves six different areas of evaluation – institutional management, undergraduate teaching, research, post graduate teaching, relationship with the community and quality of infrastructure – and can be obtained for two to seven years....Only a handful of Chilean Universities, out of a total of 61, have received full accreditation in four or more of the above mentioned spheres, and for a period running from four to seven years.”
(Kazy and Spence 2009: 128)

Because the review process is optional, it eases institutions' entry in the education market.

(b) Quality

Regarding quality of private education, neoliberal theories suggest that market competition will force these institutions to improve their quality of services and outcomes in order to attract the best students and faculty. In reality,

however, this improvement in quality has not resulted from the expansion of higher education. According to Kazy and Spense (2009:128), instead, it has created a binary between “low end” and “high end” market entry strategies for new private institutions. “Low end” market entry strategy refers to the institutions that have expanded “the number of teaching campuses they operate across the country without much serious concern for quality and accreditation.” Monckeberg adds that “these universities function like businesses, with a business manager, and a large number of them lack student organizations...[they] treat the student like a consumer.” (Walder 2008) Examples of these universities include *Universidad Autónoma de Chile*, *Universidad Bolivariana*, and *Universidad Pedro de Valdivia*. Other universities opt for the “high end” market entry strategy, meaning they enter the market with “high quality staff, state-of-the-art infrastructure, and world class curricula.” (Kazy and Spence 2009: 128) Examples of “high end” universities include *Universidad de Alberto Hurtado*, *Universidad Diego Portales*, and *Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano*. In general, because private institutions have no public or research function, they are often solely teaching establishments. (Brunner 1993)

(c) Financing and Profit

Another major concern regarding private universities is the question of financing and profit. Private universities receive almost no resources from the government. Even more so than public institutions, private institutions must seek out other sources of funding. Like public institutions the majority of the financial burden has been placed on students and their families through matriculation and

enrollment fees. The government created a separate credit system for private universities. It is known as the *Créditos con aval del Estado* (credit with the support of the state). At five percent, interest on this is much higher than that of the *Fondo Solidario*. Furthermore, the majority of the students using the credit system for private education are low-income students attending professional institutes and technical training centers. (Kazy and Spence 2009) Students now struggle to pay back their excessive debt for many years after receiving their degree.

An additional source of funding comes from private investors, many of who are foreigners. As Montes describes, these investors are interested in the profits from education. *Universidad de las Americas*, for example, is owned by a group of Canadian investors. According to Monckeberg, while these universities are called non-profit corporations, nearly none of them follow that legal norm. In other words, she claims these foreign investors are interested in earning money from these educational institutions. Additionally, investors along with their Chilean business partners have administrative and ideological control of the institution. (Walder 2008) As mentioned above, the deregulation of Chilean higher education pushes education and knowledge further under market ideology. It steers higher education away from its traditional role of producing and disseminating knowledge for national purposes, and into a mindset of competition, individualism, and profit.

Effects on the Social Structure

The effects of the 1980 reforms have not only changed the structure of the Chilean higher education system, but have also had a profound impact on the social structure it (re)produces. For comparison, in 1990, the lowest income quintile comprised less than 5% of students, whereas the upper income quintile comprised more than 40% of students in higher education; and while students from the lowest income quintile received just over 11% of the student grants and loans, students from the highest income quintile received approximately 23%. These statistics show the disproportionate enrollment and financial support between poor and wealthy students over 20 years ago. Today, the distribution of enrollment and financial support has shifted towards students in the lower-mid range income levels; however, many of these credits were used for students to attend professional institutions or technical training centers. (Pitton 2007) The “high percentage of unpaid loans constitutes a clear indication that the fees and financial mechanisms should be reconsidered.” (Kazy and Spence 2009) Ultimately, this demonstrates how the military government’s successful push to diversify the financing of higher education in Chile has disproportionately affected the lower income groups over the higher income groups. This has the effect of “further perpetuating structural inequalities inherent in Chilean society by leaving poor students out of the financial resources need to cover tuition, while [continuing to subsidize]...privileged students.” (Pitton 2007: 263) I argue that addressing these multiple inequalities and social segregation between lower income and higher income students is at the core of Winter 2011 mobilizations.

CHAPTER TWO: STUDENT POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN CHILE FROM 1906-2006

One early Sunday morning in mid-June, I was invited to attend the *Convocatorio de los Actores del Movimiento* (gathering of movement actors) at the *casa central* of the *Universidad de Chile*. Up to this point, my understanding of the movement had been limited to my interactions and observations with the English Pedagogy students at a small, private university. I decided to attend the *convocatorio* to see if perhaps outside of the confines of our small *carrera* other actors, leaders specifically, were interpreting the movement in different ways than my students.

The *convocatorio* had an open invitation to all university and secondary students in Chile, asking them to bring their respective student federations' *petitorios* (list of demands), and to collaboratively participate in the construction of a *petitorio único*, as an all-inclusive document representing the Chilean students demands. Upon its completion, the students intended to deliver it to the Ministry of Education and use it as their primary negotiating instrument. Apart from their youthful faces, it would have been easy to mistake the passionate students leading the *convocatorio* for actual government representatives. The elegance and deliberateness of their speech, their respect for democratic processes, and remarkable understanding of the situation of higher education in Chile impressed me greatly. This formal and constructive atmosphere continued throughout the day as we broke into four focused work groups, to later reconvene with reports on our work groups' progress.

The leaders of the *Centro de Estudiantes* from the English Pedagogy department I worked at joined me later in the day. I watched them take a back seat, as they carefully observed the national student leaders conduct the activities throughout the day. While watching my *centro de estudiantes* leaders, I suddenly realized that they had clearly learned their organizing tactics from watching the national leaders at those *convocatorios*. These national leaders were experienced experts of the mobilizing process. But I still wondered where the national leaders were drawing their sophisticated practices from, and why something as grand as the Winter 2011 mobilizations could happen so easily and spontaneously in Chile.

In this section I provide a historical context of student political activism that I argue explains the awareness and approach of the leaders of the Winter 2011 mobilizations. I do this by examining four moments in the history of university student political activism and mobilization in Chile: The Córdoba Reform Movements of 1918-1922, the Chilean university mobilizations in the 1960s, tertiary and secondary student mobilizations in the 1980s against the dictatorships reforms, and the 2006 Chilean *Revolución de los Pingüinos*. I also include descriptions of the periods between these major moments in order to better contextualize them.² These four moments will help explain the tactics and demands of the leaders of the Winter 2011 mobilizations.

Early Year of Chilean Student Activism: 1900s and 1918-1922

² In this section, I make reference to social movements in other social sectors (e.g. workers movements), which were equally as important to the political development of Chile as the student movements. Nevertheless, I choose not to discuss these other movements in as much detail as they are less needed to understand and interpret the Winter 2011 mobilizations.

Birth of the federación estudiantil de Chile (FECH)

I begin my discussion of the history of student political activism in Chile with the birth of the *Federación Estudiantil de Chile*, or more commonly known as the FECH. While student activism occurred before the 1900s in Chile³, I will focus on the FECH as it is considered to be the most significant student political body, with its immense power and influence over Chilean student political activism.

At the beginning of the 1900s Chile's universities were experiencing massive growth in enrollment. This fundamentally changed the elitist colonial dynamics of the university. As enrollment expanded, students became increasingly concerned with other professional and structural matters of the university, with one of the most salient topics being its colonial legacy. Students were agitated by the excessive emphasis on professional training that dampened the university's ability to foster scientific inquiry and curiosity. As a result of these frustrations in 1906, the students of the *Universidad de Chile* came together to found the FECH. (Bonilla and Glazer 1970) The first years of the FECH were met with few serious conflicts. Its primary ambition was a moral program of social and cultural improvement for workers and students. Students engaged in

³ As mentioned earlier, as the colonies became republics, there was an effort to change the colonial university system. These efforts lasted until the later half of the nineteenth century, when students lost their excitement for national and regional social change and transformations, directing their interests instead toward Europe. These students sought new ideas and values to adopt from Europe, becoming increasingly cosmopolitan and less regionalist. By the early twentieth century, however, the students' interests returned to regional and national concerns.

many social protests, yet their actions were not of a revolutionary intention as they occurred before Marxist ideology took root in Latin America.

Chilean students were not alone in their political activism. The first international congress of Latin American students was held in 1909, with the simple intention of “forging a new cultural and political solidarity among Latin American students.” (Bonilla and Glazer 1970: 32) Representatives from the FECH attended these international gatherings, and established friendly relationships with various national student federations. However, in spite of Chile’s early participation in the regional student movements, the political climate in Chile would keep the FECH only marginally involved in the regional student politics over the next decade. This includes their limited participation with the 1918 Latin American University Reform Movement spurred by the Córdoba Movement in Argentina. (Liebman, Walker, and Glazer 1972)

The years following the birth of the FECH were complicated by the post-World War One economy. While Chile’s abundance of nitrate mines has prospered during the war, causing significant national economic growth, starting in 1913 the nitrate market experienced a major fluctuation that forced mines throughout Chile to close. Unemployed miners, agitated by the excitement leading up the Chilean presidential elections in the 1920s, organized multiple labor marches. The mass unrest of workers found hope with the presidential candidate Arturo Alessandri, who promised “a government of love” (Bonilla and Glazer 1972: 43) Many students also pledged their support to him. After his triumphant victory in 1920, Chileans were hopeful that he would lead the republic through a

social transformation that would break the colonial ties of the past. To the nation's regret, however, his legislature cooperated poorly with his leadership, causing him to leave many of his campaign promises unfulfilled. Students dropped their support for him and he eventually resigned as president. Yet in spite of his troublesome presidency, Alessandri symbolically represented a new spirit in society that yearned for a change from colonial ways. (Bonilla and Glazer 1970) The FECH, among various social groups, deeply embodied that newfound spirit.

The rise of the revolution in Russia captured the political imaginations of Chilean students. They were absorbing communist doctrine through the news from Russia, contemplating the idea of the exploitation of the many by the few. The students treated this new, monumental idea as an impulse to build stronger alliances between students and workers. In 1919, the students brought together a heterogeneous group of organizations to discuss the serious problem of rising living costs and mass unemployment, resulting in the constitution of the *Asamblea Obrera de Alimentación Nacional* (Workers Assembly of National Nutrition). The FECH sustained their efforts in support of the workers through the early 1920's, in part with their *Universidad Popular Lastarria* (Popular University) that guided workers in interpreting and navigating their world. (Bonilla and Glazer 1970) These primarily peaceful matters of workers rights and permanent social criticism consumed much of the FECH's energy and resources into the 1920s.

The university reform movement

While Chilean student political activism in 1918, as I will discuss, was relatively stable, students throughout the rest of Latin America were engaged in

arguably more revolutionary matters with the beginning of the Córdoba Reform Movement. The movement began in the *Universidad de Córdoba de Argentina*. As Liebman, Walker and Glzaer (1972) suggest this movement inscribes the beginning of student activism and radical politics in Latin America. Much like in Chile, Argentina in the first two decades of the twentieth century was experiencing economic struggles as a result of the unbalanced distribution of wealth among the population, with the landowning, commercial and financial elites dominating the economic and political spheres. (Aguirre 1987)

Frustrated by the limited modernization of the university, students at the *Universidad de Córdoba* in Argentina mobilized in 1917 to demand changes. Starting with the medical students, student groups publicly demonstrated against the university's archaic and oligarchic structure and legacy. Much like in Chile, the Argentine students were disturbed by their institution's failure to use its resources to develop new knowledge and pursue new ideas, leaving itself restricted to narrow philosophical perspectives and failing to respond to the cultural needs of the nation. Additionally, students pleaded for an education with more practical training, rather than strictly formal lectures. (Liebman, Walker and Glazer 1972)

Student leaders created a pro-reform committee with the task of pressuring university authorities and the government. That committee eventually became the Student Federation of the *Universidad de Córdoba*. (Aguirre 1987) The committee organized a national strike day, which called for the support of the students from around the country and for the intervention of the government. One result of the

strike was the formation of the *Federación Universitaria Argentina* (University Federation of Argentina), a general assembly for Argentinean university students. The movement's success in mobilizing and attracting the attention of the nation, and their success in getting the reforms to be accepted, was only the beginning of much larger second wave of student activism. (Aguirre 1987; Marsiske and Alvarado 1999)

Unlike the students in Chile who managed to get their presidential candidate Alessandri elected, the students in Argentina did not.⁴ Their liberal candidate lost to a conservative, which the students interpreted as nullifying their efforts. In response the Argentine students held the first *Congreso nacional de estudiantes universitarios* (National conference of university students) in Córdoba, bringing together delegates from Argentina's various student associations. The congress' major outcomes were a formalized alliance between the workers' federations and the students, and two seminal documents defining the mission, ideology and demands of the movement. Arguably the better-known document is *La Juventud Argentina de Córdoba a los Hombres de América* (The Argentine Youth of Córdoba to the men of America), or more commonly referred to as the Córdoba Manifesto. (Aguirre 1978) Aguirre suggest that there are three interrelated themes within the manifesto that since its formulation have been present in almost every manifesto or congress in any Latin American country:

- 1) A new academic orientation or organization to the university. (Ex: proposing student participation in the administration, unionizing character of students)

⁴ I would argue this decisive movement explains why Chilean students marginalized themselves from the Reform Movement.

- 2) A questioning of the existing social order, which plants a desire for revolution of class struggle for the global society.
- 3) An international order based on an integrated and unified Latin America, which to a great extent is anti-imperialist and nationally bound. (Aguirre 1987)

The government approved many of the reforms from the Manifesto and, as Marsiske and Alvarado explain, "had an immediate influence on all the universities in Latin America," (Marsiske and Alvarado 1999: 153) The Córdoba Reform Movement began the University Reform Movement that dominated Latin American student politics for years to come. Glazer suggests that the repercussions of the University Reform Movement were much greater in many parts of Latin America than in Chile at the time of the University Reform movement. However, Chile did eventually incorporate the many of the demands of the University Reform Movement as these reforms became more pertinent to the Chilean struggle. (Bonilla and Glazer 1970) Therefore, while in this period there were no formal programs prepared and presented by the Chilean students based on the University Reform Movement. I find it valuable to understand the development of the Córdoba Movement because of the themes and strategies formulated during this time. I will now describe the origins, development, and effects of the University Reform Movement In Chile.

FECH 1918-1922 and the Declaration of Principles

Although the Chilean students were only marginally involved with the University Reform Movement, by no means were Chileans students inactive during this time. The years 1919-1922 were known in Chile as a 'great man' era of the FECH, due to a group of leaders with strong personalities who were able to

negotiate a great deal of independence for the FECH. Many later became important actors in the national political scene. (Glazer 1970) Bonilla suggests that it is in part because of those leaders who were excelling politically and socially that the FECH removed themselves from the Córdoba Movement. At the time, the demands of the Córdoba Movement, such as democratization, were considered by the FECH to not be worthy of their efforts (Bonilla and Glazer 1970)

In this era the FECH, now a legal entity, followed its main aim “to study and co-operate in the solution of national problems.” (Bonilla and Glazer 1970: 45) In addition there were three general purposes, which included objectives regarding the moral and physical betterment of members, the progress of public education, and the cultural and material improvement for workers. (Bonilla and Glazer: 1970)

In 1920, the FECH held another convention to revise the original bylaws from 1918. It was a four-day gathering of 1200 delegates (both students and non-students), who passionately debated and formulated the FECH’s “Declaration of Principles”. Bonilla suggests that the FECH convention “constituted perhaps the most complete expression of the new spirit that swept through the organization in the months after the first Great War.” (Bonilla and Glazer 1970: 45) The “Declaration of Principles” from 1920 redefined the FECH’s objectives in ways that dramatically changed the “students’ vision of the character of their own organization and its place in the society in which it functioned” (Bonilla and Glazer 1970: 45) It was a much more exhaustive document than the bylaws of

1918, reflective of an emerging attitude of permanent criticism and constant evolution that came out of the Russian Revolution. (Bonilla and Glazer 1970) The Declaration of Principles named education as a primary responsibility of the state, and thus it was required to be free, secular, and obligatory at the primary levels. Furthermore, it needed to be “geared to the formation of free men” and a more equitable society.

Toward the end of 1922, however, the FECH arrived at a low point in their organizing. It is at this point that the FECH begins to incorporate the basic demand points of the Córdoba Movement into their own agenda, as the latter’s demands became more meaningful to Chilean students. In June of 1922 the FECH organized an assembly known as the *Segunda Campaña en Chile* (Second Campaign in Chile) where they wrote a *Manifiesto pro-reforma Universitaria* (pro-university reform manifesto) using the language of the Córdoba Movement.

The leaders of the FECH called for,

“cooperation in a reform of the basic principles and methods and of the programs of our university...to abolish the old concepts and open our universities to all the threads of science, ethics, and aesthetics, ...to be represented in the councils to make ourselves heard and to establish truthful relationships of kindness and mutual understanding between those who teach and those who learn,...[and for] all the students of Chile to unite and to action” (Manifiesto Pro-Reform 1922)

In addition to the manifesto, the students outlined a four point resolution which included:

- 1) The autonomy of the university: A decision making council comprised with proportional representation of the three actual members of the universities,
- 2) A reform of the teaching system: Professorial liberty to teach and free student attendance
- 3) A revision of the methods and content of study: A student-driven study to examine problems respective to each *facultad*,

- 4) An extension of the university: To connect the university to social life and attend to the discussions of science, philosophy, and art, through free courses and special conferences. (Resolution from FECH Convention 1922)

These points demonstrate the increasing influence the Córdoba Reform Movement had on the Chilean students as time went on. Chilean students incorporation of the basic points of the Córdoba program suggest that the FECH's initial period of agreement and institutional support was coming to its closure. No longer did the students have the cooperation of the government that had once granted them an independent voice of influence. Additionally, the recession of the "great man" era prompted a decline in the strength the FECH's strength in the 1922. The Chilean students' concern with university reform faded to a large extent into the background, not to resurface again with its previous level of influence and power until the 1930's. (Bonilla and Glazer 1970)⁵

Between FECH eras: 1931-1957

⁵ According to Bonilla and Glazer (1970), at the beginning of this era of student activism in Chile, Marxist ideology was still slowly being introduced into the national discourse. While the influence of these writings created "a climate of vigorous social protest, the revolutionary spirit that was to be manifested later was not yet present" (Bonilla and Glazer 1970: 32) As Bonilla suggest, the earlier documents produced by the FECH lacked the dialogical nature that its later documents contained. Students, nevertheless, were drawn to the revolutionary mentality, to the idea that they could erase the past. Bonilla recalls how the impulse for change among students emerged as reports of the Russian Revolution arrived in Chile through its news. The students and labor press closely followed the news reports of the Revolution, spurring a fascination with the revolutionary mentality. It is during this time that the *Partido Comunista de Chile (PCC)* was first founded; however, it "did not achieve firm doctrinal footing until years later" (Bonilla Glazer 1970: 37) Therefore, while students involved in the FECH were engaged with pre-Marxist revolutionary ideals and theories at this time, their efforts had minimal complications due to party affiliations. It would only be a short while, however, before the FECH became infested with inter-political party tensions and strife.

The three decades that followed the initial decline of the FECH in 1922 were characterized by a repeating series of national economic and social problematic factors that influenced the organizational shape and demands of the FECH. These problems included:

- (1) Grave national economic problems exacerbated by an ever-increasing inflation.
- (2) The Chilean people's election of presidents (in 1920, 1938, and 1952) who promised new benefits for workers and the lower middle class, but repeatedly failed to fulfill the public's expectations, and thus became disfavored among the Chilean people.
- (3) Abuse of civil rights, and laws that restricted liberty. (Glazer, 1970, p. 146)

The work of the FECH during these years embodies the Chilean people, particularly the students', deep frustration and discontent with the limited concrete outcomes of their struggles. As its first revitalizing act in 1931, the students of the FECH held a mass meeting to re-form the FECH. The FECH quickly got enmeshed in Chile's emerging "vigorous, broad-based" leftists partisan politics, which was the first major instance of political party influence on student activism, and which has continued in varying degrees ever since. (Bonilla and Glazer 1970) According to Bonilla and Glazer (1970:133), "the FECH became internally crosscut by political factors more responsive to partisan interests than to FECH values in themselves." To this end, the FECH was quickly losing the independence it had enjoyed from 1918-1922. Party politics, thus

divided and diverted student focus just as much as they served to strengthen the intensity and complexity of their work.

The political cleavage between the students of the FECH was only exacerbated into the 1940s, as student political affiliations become so overbearing that they prevented the FECH from functioning internally. *Facultades* were working independently from one another, and struggled with a division in student reformist agendas. In spite of the separations, students remained fundamentally connected through their shared belief in the ideas of the Córdoba Reform Movement. Thus, their dividing point was less ideological than it was practical. (Bonilla and Glazer 1970)

Student Political Activism in Chile during the 1960s

The 1960s began the next major era of student activism in Chile. In the early 1960s Chile experienced significant mobilizations of popular movements as a result of contested presidential elections, and the increasing strength of the leftist parties. Among all the political hype was a great interest for university reform, leading students to mobilize on the various campuses across the nation. (Altbach 1989; Pitton 2007) This era is informative for understanding the Winter 2011 mobilizations because it demonstrates the political influences on student politics. Furthermore, for the leaders of the winter 2011 mobilizations the 1968 reforms embody their revolutionary ideals. As one student wrote in a article in the *Universidad de Chile's* major student newspaper *Bello Público* (Beautiful Public), “This [the *Universidad de Chile*] and the other universities are mobilized for the purpose of achieving the recovery of the university in its totality, like they did in

'67." (Salas 2011) I will discuss the cause, layout, and implications of political party affiliations in student politics, and then explore the events leading up to and the outcome of the 1968 reforms.

The 1964 elections in particular created great enthusiasm and tension throughout Chile. The incumbent president of the conservative party withdrew from the elections, leaving two candidates who both called for "sweeping social change." (Bonilla and Glazer 1970: 207) One candidate was Frei, a center-leftist Christian Democrat (DC), and the other was Salvador Allende of the *Frente de Acción Popular (FRAP)* (Front for Popular Action), which combined the socialists, communists, and other leftist groups. With evolving political alliances and arising concern over the potential victory of the left after two close elections, Chileans were closely affiliated with their political parties. After Allende's second defeat in 1964, Chile became even more of a hotbed for political tension. (Farrell 1986)

While the national elections were not strictly a university matter, the students were intensely involved as a result of their strong political affiliations with national parties. The influence of the national political parties seeped into the universities, making the university reform movement of the 1960s essentially based on national party interests. In addition, enrollment expansion from 1960 through 1974 meant an increasing number of the middle and working class students in the university. (Pitton 2007) While the number of enrolled students increased, new sectors of students from the lower classes did not enter the more prestigious *carreras* in the same rate as the students from the upper classes,

creating a disproportional distribution. Bonilla and Glazer (1970) refer to this phenomenon as an educational pyramid, because recruitment to top careers was still limited to its traditional elite populations. Nevertheless, as enrollment increased, so did the demographics of the institutions. New students' voices challenged the existing structure and culture of the institution, in an effort to make it more accommodating of their actual needs – both future (careers) and current (quality of learning and administrative representation).

Myron Glazer conducted an extensive study in September of 1964 analyzing “the extent and nature of professional commitment among Chilean university students, [and its] positive and negative effects of political involvement of such commitment.” (Bonilla and Glazer 1970: 282) He interviewed students from the medicine, engineering, law, history and education *facultades*. While he was mainly interested on how professional and political attitudes of university students affects national development, I find his study particularly interesting in terms of the tensions he uncovers about the political climate of universities at the time. For example, in the engineering *facultad* (the least political of the four *facultades*) less than ten percent of the students were members of political parties, although nearly fifty percent were sympathizers. Glazer (1970: 237-8) explains that the pedagogy *facultad* appeared to be a “student miniature of the national parties, violently attacking one another and attempting to impress on everyone the importance of supporting their positions.” He found those “on the right of the political spectrum were almost completely devoid of university strength.” These examples demonstrate the intensive leftist politics that greatly politicized nearly

the entire university system around the time of the 1964 elections. His interviews also discuss the use of political repertoires derived from the Córdoba Reform Movement, particularly through the mechanisms of strikes and protests. (Bonilla and Glazer, 1970, p. 269)

The main motivations for the mobilizations were the students' discontent with universities' outdated structures, their general lack of resources, and an interest in more closely linking educational talents with national needs. Again many of the demands reflected the changing demographics of the university, and the need to adapt the traditional university structures and attitudes to fit the new population. (Bonilla and Glazer 1970).

In his book, "*La Reforma en la Universidad de Chile*," Madge traces the reform process of the *Universidad de Chile*. As the primary power in university politics, the FECH began the initial preparations for the reform process in 1965 by organizing the first *Seminario de Reforma Universitaria*. In this first meeting they analyzed three main topics: (1) the basic points of university reform, (2) the structure of the university, and (3) the expansion of higher education in Chile. They argued that "a university education, [is to be] characterized because of how it aspires to form individuals who, on the one hand, have a clear concept of the world and of life, and on the other hand, are professional with adequate technical and scientific preparations." (Madge 1973: 122 [1964]) This quotation beautifully illustrates the students' vision and hope for their own education, that it be equally as focused on professionalism as on civic awareness and social action. Other proposals include the interest in (1) re-asserting student voice in the representative

bodies through either co-government, (2) a restructuring of the faculties so that they be less fragmented and more accessible for professional development and research, (3) an introduction of “Departments of Social Action” in each faculty that would “introduce the social dimension in the university and the possibility for social change,” (Madge 1973: 124) and (4) a plea for a general law of higher education. According to Madge (1973), they wanted to begin a debate about higher education in Chilean society that would create the conditions for radical reform.

In June of 1966 the FECH held a second convention, during which the students defined a programmatic platform for the student movement. The students designed a strategy of “dialogue with authorities” to put the convention’s agreements into practice. The strategy was used into 1966 and 1967. However, it proved to be ineffective, which forced students to revise it, and slowly put their authority in crisis. (Madge 1973)

As previously mentioned, Chilean universities in the 1960s were engulfed in political partisanism. The two most prominent political presences were the Christian Democrats (DC) and the *Joven Comunistas* (the Young Communists). The Christian Democrats were in control of the FECH from 1965-1967. They were behind the “strategy of dialogue with authorities” that was included in the 1966 convention’s platform. Communist students, however, rejected this approach, and instead favored more revolutionary democratic strategies for change. Madge describes the difference between the two student political group, as the *DC* having a “modernization” perspective, whereas the Communists had a

“reformist” perspective.⁶ These fundamental differences between the student political parties can easily be identified in how they interpreted the democratization of the *Universidad de Chile*, arguably the primary topic of debate at this time. On the side of the DC, democratization was interpreted as “*cogobierno*” (co-governing) with student participation and voice in the *Consejo Universitario* (University Advisory Committee). The communists interpreted it as the right to a student vote in the advisory bodies and asking for students to hold 25% of the representative spots. (Madge 1973). The DC’s FECH leadership and perspectives prevailed after the DC victory of the FECH elections in 1967.

The philosophy and education *facultades* were more sympathetic to leftist ideologies, specifically communism and thus, opposed DC domination of the FECH. (Glazer) Frustrated after the 1967 FECH elections, communist students and professors in these two *facultades* began organizing their own reform movement of the FECH, trying to surpass the FECH’s authority of rule. (Madge, 1973; Bonilla and Glazer 1970) The reform movement led by the leftist leaders of the pedagogy *facultad* spread into various *facultades* of the *Universidad de Chile*. They demanded a revolutionary overhaul of the university and organized many activities. For three weeks in May 1968, student from the pedagogy and philosophy *facultades* and the FECH were in *toma* in the *Casa Central* of the *Universidad de Chile*. At the end of the three weeks, the student secured a reform agreement. Included in it was the creation of a Central Commission of Reform,

⁶ An additional difference between the two groups was that the students of the FECH supported the presidency of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei, while the Communist students, still frustrated by the defeat of their presidential candidate Allendes, saw their efforts as attempts to undermine and dismantle Frei’s presidency.

which included student representatives, and achieved “the democratization of the university power,” (Salas 2011) one of the main tenants of the Córdoba Movement. Additionally, the 1968 reform enabled students to elect authorities with more leftist thinking. The reforms declared “University for all” with higher state support for higher education, and the creation of the “*Departamento Universitario Obrero Campesino (Duoc)* (University Department for Workers and Farmers) for research, outreach, and training of the working class.” (Salas 2011) Furthermore, it suggested an explicit public role for universities in Chilean society. (Salas 2011; Altbach 1989)

Post-1968 and the Start of the Dictatorship

While the reforms succeeded, the political parties retained influence over student activism into the 1970s and up to the start of Pinochet’s military dictatorship. The students continued to divide themselves further along party lines. (Altbach 1989) Glazer (1970) in early 1969 expresses concern that the university movement had lost its momentum, and that they could only regain by forming a coalition with all groups interested in transforming the universities.

All the students’ efforts to democratize the university were completely reversed with the start of the military dictatorship in 1973. It marked the end of a chapter of intense student political activism in Chile. Pinochet greatly suppressed the political activities of university professors and students, many of whom fled in fear of being kidnapped by the military police. While some students did engage in protest against the dictatorship, their efforts did not share the same strength and enthusiasm of the preceding period.

Chilean University and Secondary Student Political Activism in the 1980s

The 1980s witnessed a shift in the cultural repertoire of student political activism that continued until the arrival of democracy in 1990. The mobilizations of the 1980s continued trends of political party affiliation, the revolutionary student identity, and democratic representation. But these movements also introduced new trends that have continued to inform and inspire the shape of the Winter 2011 mobilizations.

University student activism in the late 1980s

The FECH continued to play a historical protagonist role in civil society, like it had since before 1918. Pinochet dismissed the rector of the *Universidad de Chile* in 1973 and replaced him with a military-style administration. Students had since then struggled to maintain their political presence within the universities. In 1976 university students launched an effort to reorganize the student movement, camouflaging their democratic political efforts under a cultural platform.

Secretively they would share information meant to advance a combination of contra military regime efforts and internally focused university improvement efforts. (Tagle 2009) As from before the dictatorship, political party affiliations continued to polarize the students' efforts.

In 1983 a large wave of protests began, which created the impulse to expand the student mobilizations, and to reconstruct more democratic student federation and *centro de alumnos* (student councils). (Silva 1985) Various sectors of Chilean civil society joined the students in these efforts, including secondary students. Their primary grievance was the pervasive economic crisis that had

existed since 1981. The students played a particularly important role within these initial mobilizations, and were, as Tagle (2009) describes, "the vanguard of social protests." Whereas previously mobilizations had a predominantly peaceful nature, the 1980s student mobilizations were increasingly violent. Students were not, however, the solely responsible for the violence, as it was used as an attack and defensive tool against the government. The military regime ruled through repression and fear, and their interactions with the 1983 student protests were no exception. Police attacked with violence causing students to defend themselves accordingly. A positive outcome of the violent interactions was that it called into question the military regime's tolerance, and as Tagle (2009) explains, broke the barrier of censorship surrounding the regime.

The first wave of protests also brought forth a renewed effort to reorganize the FECH. As students demanded a democratic society, they realized that the most effective way to ask for democracy was to practice it among themselves. They sought to reorganize the FECH to be representative of Chilean students from all backgrounds. Students from the DC and the Communists agreed to work together, and eventually formed the *Unión Democrático*. (Tagle 2009)

From 1984 to 1986 university students continued building coalitions with other social movements, to collectively fight against the dictatorship. In 1986 when the military regime threatened to cancel the universities' academic year due to the violence, the students called a *paro nacional* (national strike day), where massive numbers of students, workers, professionals, and other sectors of the opposition mobilized together to oust Pinochet. Their failure served to convince

students to radicalize their efforts. The following years were characterized by even more violence than the previous ones. As Tagle (2009) argues, “They were exercising what was a revolutionary process.” To quote:

We succeeded in opening spaces that have permitted the student movement to enter and to participate in political life. If we had not created the *Centro de Alumnos*, if we had not achieved triumphs, concrete, real, practical triumphs, what the student see and feel, we would not have succeed in having student be confident of themselves and in the student movement. But we achieved it and now we [Chile] have a standing youth. (Tagle [1988] 2009)

Secondary student activism in the 1980s

Among the many social sectors mobilizing against the dictatorship in the 1980s were the secondary students. It’s important to consider their mobilization, not necessarily for the purpose of understanding the trajectory of the university student movement specifically, but rather to shed light on a critical moment that set the stage for the 2006 secondary student mobilizations that many students in the Winter 2011 mobilizations participated in. Additionally, I think it is important to discuss the politics of secondary students because many secondary students inevitably become students in institutions of higher education, and they bring with them the experiences and knowledge gained during their political participation in secondary school.

Much like the universities, the public education system in Chile underwent major restructuring in the 1980s under Pinochet’s military regime, based on neoliberal models of privatization and standardization. In an interview conducted in 2010 with students who attended the elite public high schools, the main issue of discussion was the increasingly overburdened poorer municipalities unable to

provide quality education. Municipalities were already in charge of the health systems, community centers, and other public services activities like garbage pick up, and adding education as both an additional administrative and financially burdensome task was simply too much.

The harmful effects of municipalization were an additional grievance against the military government in the 1982 secondary students mobilizations in Santiago. They also demanded a democratically elected student association. Students used the repertoire of *tomas*, *paros*, *protestas*, *panfletos* and *petitorios*. Much like today, students would decorate the front gates of schools with hundreds of desk legs sticking out like barbed wire or students stood on the rooftops of their schools wearing masks to hide their identity and protect them from police brutality. Practicing political opposition during the dictatorship posed a great risk to the safety of individuals and their families. While these mobilizations are remembered as violent times, students were prepared to resist whatever violent actions were taken against them. (Bustos and Leiva 2004)

In contrast with the violent repression, the 1980s were also characterized by a “*cultura super distinta*” (unique culture) (Bustos and Leiva 2004) among secondary students. While there were moments of inter-political party conflict, there were many more instances of inter-political party collaboration and unity, as students set aside many of their personal political preferences in order to create a unified movement could more successfully confront the dictatorship, to demand democracy for the Chilean people. Students supported each other by training secondary students located in the peripheries of Santiago about the mobilization

process. They created a horizontally democratic process for creating a *petitorio*. While political partisanship issues were encountered, they were overcome for the greater mobilization objectives. Although they were unable to stop or undo municipalization, ex-participants of this time do not consider their efforts to have been a failure. The emotional and social impacts on the students involved formed a political legacy that continues to influence student activism today.⁷ This is seen in the striking similarities between the grievances, demands, and tactics used in the 1980s and those used in the 2006 secondary student mobilizations.

Revolución de los Pingüinos: 2006 Chilean Secondary Student Mobilizations

“Este es un primer paso para lograr un movimiento estudiantil más organizado, comprometido y que también pueda proponer cambios, alejándose de la pasividad que ha caracterizado por tantos años a los jóvenes.” (García-Huidobro 2007: 5)

“This is a first step to achieving a more organized and committed student movement that can also be able to propose changes, relieving itself of the passivity that for many years has characterized the youth”

The quotation above speaks to the significance of what happened with Chilean secondary students in 2006, when from May to June millions of Chilean secondary students protested against the privatization of education under center-leftist President Michelle Bachelet. (Orlansky 2008) It exerted a great influence on student political activism in Chile for the *hijos de la democracia* (the children

⁷ The documentary *Actores Secundarios* (2004) endearingly concludes with the *ex-alumnos* sharing their personal triumphs and defeats from their participation 20 years ago. Some commented they would never do something like them again, because being a political militant never came through for them. They felt like their friends were gone, and their aspirations had dwindled into hopelessness. The majority, however, remember their participation as some of the most important actions from their life. As one *ex-alumno* said, “I continue in this same manner, always living with that fire in my heart. We continue to be *los secundarios*, carrying on that spirit. We make strong human social connections of solidarity.” (Bustos and Leiva 2004) Another *ex-alumno* claimed that “the journey was the important thing... what we learned and what we lived.” (Bustos and Leiva 2004)

of the democracy), particularly with the Winter 2011 mobilizations. The generation of *los hijos de la democracia* can be defined by two main attributes. First, that they grew up in a time in which there was a great increase in the access to education, which has consequently generated higher expectations for the quality of education. And more literally, *los hijos de la democracia* refers to the generation born at the end of the dictatorship, meaning they've only ever experienced living in a democracy. (García-Huidobro 2007: 3) While the older generations' historical memory is still salient, the newer generation has only indirectly experienced the repression of the dictatorship. What this generation is well acquainted with, however, is the effects the dictatorship has had on the Chilean education system. Additionally, these youth watched the preceding generation remain passive as the education system failed many of them. As one student said "they were a generation of conformists...Today the majority of students are aware that Chilean education is in crisis. A few years ago students didn't know of the problems that we know about now." (García-Huidobro [2006] 2007: 4)

In 2006, over fifteen years after the end of dictatorship, this generation of socially aware secondary students were waiting for the perfect moment to mobilize themselves. That moment arrived in May of 2006, when a school in one of Chile's southern regions flooded due to a failing plumbing system. This small, rather isolated event triggered the first wave of the mobilizations. (García-Huidobro 2007) Students began to occupy the flooded school in the south, which then proceeded into a series of marches through central Santiago. (Orlansky 2008)

After this first wave of mobilizations, the movement only continued to grow, breaking the post-dictatorship cultural repertoire of social silence. Over the next few weeks Approximately 250 schools were in *paro*, with an estimated 600,000 to one million students participating. The mobilizations were predominately peaceful, with only an occasional incident of violence. Their efforts attracted the support of the media, the *Colegio de Profesores* (the national teachers union), representatives from la Concertación (President Bachelet's center-leftist party) and various university student federations. Students expressed two concrete demands: (1) To remove the exam fee for the *Prueba de Selección Universitaria (PSU)* (national university entrance examination), and (2) to be able to use the student transportations passes at any time of the day, not only the two times permitted with the current pass. The government, in its attempt to quell the amounting unrest, quickly responded to and accepted the students' two demands. (García Huidobro 2007)

In spite of the students' apparent success their dissatisfaction grew in depth and scope. Their concerns were no longer limited to small economic matters, but rather came to include the structural elements of the education system. This led the students to propose a seemingly radical demand, the repealing of the LOCE. (García-Huidobro 2007) By mid-May all the *liceos emblemático* (elite public secondary schools) in central Santiago were occupied, with students living and sleeping in the schools every night even though the frigid winter had begun. Students coordinated assemblies where they united their collective goals in a *petorio*. The demands were extensive, ranging from a

revision of the full-day class schedule (previously there had been morning and afternoon sessions), to the abolishment of the LOCE and an end to municipalization of education. The students publicly rejected the realities of the education system. According to García-Huidobro (2007: 5), “The secondary students, without contemplation, declared Chilean education in crisis...the reason for the crisis: inequality...that is expressed in the dissimilar results received on the PSU.” Just like the most recent movement, their *petitorio* was used as their primary negotiating instrument with the government. (Navarro 2006)

Within 10 days of their first assembly, the students pressured the government into accepting a table of dialogue to discuss the LOCE with students and the Ministry of Education. The students in the dialogue came as representatives of their constituencies, not as negotiators. The ministry avoided agreeing to any structural changes, offering only isolated solutions instead. While the student representatives vehemently resisted accepting short-term solutions, in the end that is exactly what happened. (Lavanchy 2008) On July 1st, 2007, President Bachelet accepted a significant part of the students *petitorio*. She agreed to provide better food subsidies for low-income students, better equipment and infrastructure for schools, and a better student transportation pass. Furthermore, she agreed to a revision of the LOCE, to create a superintendent of education, and to create a presidential advisory committee for education designed to generate consensus around the different themes raised by the student movement. (Navarro 2006) The major outcome of the movement was *la Ley General de la Educación (LGE)* (The General Law for Education), which did abolish the LOCE, but still so

closely resembled it that students considered it to essentially be the same. Some students were satisfied with the accepted changes, but many remained dissatisfied with Bachelet for failing to address the deeper issue – the structure of the education that perpetuated the reproduction of social inequalities. (Lavanchy 2008)

To show their frustration with the recent decisions, the secondary students called a *paro nacional* for June 5th, which proved to be highly successful. On June 7th the first *Consejo Asesor Presidencial* meeting was held with the new student representatives. While the new committee began its work, the mobilizations went into decline. Students were tired of being mobilized, were unsatisfied with the limited concrete outcomes of their efforts, and eventually ended the mobilizations and returned to class. (Lavanchy 2008)

While not necessarily the revolution they hoped for, many students considered the *Revolucion de los Pengüinos* to have been a successful process. As one student explained “the major success was putting these demands back into the public debate. The valuable and important thing our generation has done, is root that discontent into a constant struggle for historical demands, and have made history.” (García-Huidobro [2006/b] 2007: 6) They revived the pre -dictatorship political repertoire of *tomas*, *paros*, *petitorios*, and *asambleas*, while also introducing new strategies. For example, from its initiation to its closure, the mobilizations were autonomous and genuinely student-led. The students also introduced the practice of horizontal leadership, by using *voceros*. The role of the *voceros* was not to act as a delegate expressing their own interests, but rather to

act as the reporter for agreements made at the smaller assemblies held in schools around the country. Between this and the new widespread use of cell phones, instant messaging and blogs, communication was more decentralized and rapid than in earlier mobilizations. (García-Huidbro 2007)

The CONFECH

Before moving into my discussion of the Winter 2011 mobilizations, I need to briefly describe one more important Chilean student political structure – the *Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile*, or more commonly known as the CONFECH. This body is the main and most widely recognized student body of the Winter 2011 mobilizations. According to its blog, the CONFECH “brings together the students of the universities under the *Consejo de Rectores* (traditional universities⁸) organized by democratically elected federation. It is the only student organization with a national character.” (Blog Confech)

The CONFECH has existed for 25 years. However, today’s CONFECH is the product of its reorganization in 1997 when university students joined together against the privatization of public higher education. (Documento Guía Congreso CONFECH 2012) In 1998, 2003 and 2006 the CONFECH led mobilizations against the government to increase the money available in the *Fondo Solidario* and to improve the conditions of the student transportation pass. In 2005 they again mobilized to improve the state student financial assistance, and again in 2006 in support of the *Revolución de los Pingüinos*. Over the next two years the CONFECH joined with other education sector’s leaders (i.e. with the *Colegio de*

⁸ “Traditional universities” refers to the public and Catholic private universities that received state funding in the years leading up to the dictatorship

Profesores (the national teacher's union) and the *Agrupación Nacional de Empleados Fiscales* (ANEF) (National Association of Fiscal Employees) to form the *Asamblea Regional por la Defensa de la Educación* (Regional Assembly for the Defense of Education) (ARDE). With an occasional march, the CONFECH led the Chilean students in the fight for a better education leading into the year 2011. (Documento Guía Congreso CONFECH 2012)

CHAPTER 3: THEORY OF CULTURAL REPERTOIRES

One of my favorite professors in the English Pedagogy *carrera* asked me to co-teach a few classes with two sections of first year English Pedagogy students. On my first day attending his class the students presented short tourism videos about Santiago they had produced in English. Building on their interest in digital media, I proposed teaching a class on digital storytelling - a new digital multimedia form of storytelling that encourages reflection and introspection. The professor liked my idea, so a few days later, just as the student mobilizations were just beginning, I taught the lesson. The students and I watched a short digital story, and afterward dissected its different parts, drawing meaning from the images and words. Then, I asked the students to try writing their own digital stories by completing a “storyboard” handout on the topic: “How have you changed and what have you learned since you started university?” I hoped to learn about their awareness and aspirations for the emerging movement.

A week later, I received the storyboards. While aesthetically impressive with intricate drawings and photographs, the content was surprisingly superficial, touching mainly on stress and friendships. A handful of students commented on political topics, such as that they’d liked their first protests, and that they wanted to be more informed now that they were in university. One student wrote, “Actually the university has a strike for the education and all the students in the country...agree with this.” (Storyboard 2012) After reading all the storyboards, I saw little indication that these first year students had understood the proceedings of the emerging student movement.

This conclusion was further confirmed the more time I spent with the English Pedagogy students. While some of them felt compelled to participate in student political activism, their lack of political experiences prior to starting university left caused the perception that they were unprepared to engage with the larger political mobilizations with the *Universidad de Chile*. While some students started university with aspirations of participating in student political activism, what they knew how to do and were comfortable doing differed significantly from what was happening with the leaders, serving only to exacerbate the disconnect of understanding and action between these two levels of students.

In this chapter I will discuss the definition and theory of cultural repertoire, and how the different cultural repertoire of the leaders and the base level students have generated a disconnect between understandings and actions between these two levels. I argue that the leaders embrace a pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire informed by the history of student political activism in Chile prior to the dictatorship and within the larger context of Latin America, and to the communitarian cultural ideals of that time. The base levels, in contrast, embrace a post-dictatorship cultural repertoire that is influenced by the neoliberal ideology implemented by the dictatorship, and similarly is based on the liberalist cultural ideals of individual rights.

Definition and Theory of Cultural Repertoires

To define the concept of cultural repertoires, I draw upon political theorist Sidney Tarrow's theories of social movements. In his book Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics (1998), he explores and analyzes the

various dimensions of a collective action that constitute social movements. His theories around the ideas of “repertoire of contention” are particularly useful for discussing the cultural repertoires of the leaders and base level students, and the new cultural repertoire developing in the Winter 2011 mobilizations.

For Tarrow (1998: 30), repertoires are “a limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice.” For example, a repertoire may include petitions, assemblies, strikes, marches, occupying premises and obstructing traffic. “The repertoire is at once a structural and a cultural concept, involving not only what people *do* when they are engaged in conflict with others but what they *know how to do* and what others *expect* them to do.” (Tarrow 1998: 30) In other words, they are culturally and historically inscribed actions that often reflect the structures they aim to challenge and change. Repertoires are inherited through culture; therefore,

“Particular groups have a particular history – and memory – of contentious forms. Workers know how to strike because generations of workers struck before them; Parisians build barricades because barricades are inscribed in the history of Parisian contentions; peasants seize the land carrying the symbols that their fathers and grandfathers used in the past.” (Tarrow 1998: 21)

Because these forms of contentious politics are so deeply inscribed within the cultural history of these groups, it is “easiest for people to employ a form of collective action they know how to use...[from] part of a repertoire that is generally known and understood.” (Tarrow 1998: 98)

In this case, the types of actions and tactics employed in social movements, such as Chile’s Winter 2011 student mobilizations, are based on an inherited set of actions and understanding that the group of people know how to

do and are comfortable with doing as they've always done it this way. This idea of the "culturally inscribed and socially communicated" (Tarrow 1998: 20) repertoires of contention that reflects the structures within a society are what I refer to as cultural repertoires throughout this paper.

These cultural repertoire, while deeply internalized by groups of people, are not thought of as static. Tarrow (1998: 31) argues that, "the repertoire changes over time, but only glacially. Fundamental changes depend on major fluctuations of interests, opportunity, and organization. These in turn, correlate roughly with changes in states and capitalism." This idea explains the change in cultural repertoires from before and after the dictatorship in Chile, as a result of the rise of neoliberalism and the historical memory of repression from that era. Tarrow (1998: 37) also notes that "the inherited forms of the past...did not disappear with the invention of the new repertoire...the older forms were infused with more general meaning and combined with new ones." Tarrow (1998: 21) furthermore explains how certain leaders "may creatively combine forms of contentious repertoire to gain the attention of others who may not be drawn in by traditional forms, bringing new social meaning to traditional repertoires." The idea of combining traditional repertoires in culturally appropriate ways to create new social meaning and traditions will help describe the emergence of the new cultural repertoire during the Winter 2011 mobilizations.

Leaders

"Youth is always surrounded by heroism. It is disinterested. It is pure. It has not yet had time to contaminate itself." – Córdoba Manifesto 1918

Above I wrote that the leaders of the Winter 2011 mobilizations embraced a pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire. What do I mean by a pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire? I define it as the set of repertoire and understandings that are inherited from the culture and history of student political activism from before the dictatorship. The leaders' cultural repertoire combines the historical vocation of the revolutionary with ideas from the communitarian concept of citizenship. They draw upon the earlier practices of political activism described in chapter two, inheriting the culturally inscribed repertoires.

Who is it that comprises this group of politically active Latin American students? In their comparative study of six countries' university students' politics conducted in the early 1970's, Liebman, Walker and Glazer (1970) identify several factors, including student's socio-economic status, father's political party preference, university socialization experience, field of study (career and faculty), and political involvement. While this study was conducted nearly 40 years ago, I think their findings regarding the factors that influence student participation still holds relevance today. The characteristics above describe groups of students who have had some experience with the revolutionary cultural repertoire of student political activists of the past. Through their political experiences, they students have internalized this repertoire and continue to practice it in many of the same ways as earlier generations of Latin American student political activists.

According to Liebman, Walker, and Glazer (1972: 221) "Camilo Torres, a Colombian guerrilla, priest and sociologist from 1970s argued that being a revolutionary is the 'historical vocation' of the Latin American student."

(Liebman, Walker and Glazer 1972: 221) The leaders of the Winter 2011 mobilizations identify with inscribed role to be “idealists, activists, and even rebels.” (Liebman, Walker and Glazer 1970: 21) This role was first inscribed during a period characterized by strong leftist politics. While there are certain leaders who romanticize these times because of their leftist politics, it is important not to broadly identify the students with the leftist parties. Since the dictatorship and the rise of neoliberalism, the practices of political parties have changed dramatically. Therefore, many leaders do not identify with leftist parties. Furthermore, leaders today are not just political militants, but pragmatic political activists deeply committed to addressing the issues caused by Chile’s neoliberal system.

The other perspective the leaders bring to their cultural repertoire is the communitarian definition of citizenship from before the start of the dictatorship. Most basically, communitarianism defines citizenship through an individual’s civic participation, in forms beyond voting. Citizenship involves the sense of belonging and collective identity. (Cerdeña, Egaña, Magendzo, Cruz and Varas 2004) Understanding how communitarianism interprets democracy, politics, rights, the public/private, and civic participation help to explain the leaders of the Winter 2011 actions.

Base Level Students

There has been a pivotal shift in the Chilean student political cultural repertoire for many others since the military dictatorship. Base level students embrace this post-dictatorship cultural repertoire, as unlike the leaders they do not have experiences with the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire described above.

This made the base level students less likely to initially participate in the Winter 2011 mobilization because they were unfamiliar with or critical of the repertoire practiced by the leaders, and because their diverging understanding of citizenship does not encourage civic participation in the same manner as the leaders.

As described above, student political activism in the years leading up to and including the dictatorship were characterized by intense political militancy, and on many occasions the use of violence. The military government stopped any students and professors from engaging in oppositional politics, placing anyone who did choose to engage in these in danger. At this time many supporters of Salvador Allende's socialist government fled the country, going into exile. Talk of revolution among students occurred in only in secret, sadly bringing a long cultural repertoire of Chilean student political activism to a screeching halt. Additionally, due to the rapid and extreme implementation of neoliberal policies during the dictatorship, much of the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire dissolved

While the *hijos de la democracia* of the Winter 2011 mobilizations did not directly experience the dictatorship, base level students experience the historical memory of fear and repression of their elders. They do not see themselves as historical revolutionaries in the way that the leaders see themselves, because being a revolutionary is associated with violence and poor economic times. Thus, their concerns with mobilizations are more culturally appropriate.

Further contributing to the base level students cultural repertoire that makes them resist participation in the mobilizations is the rise of liberalist concepts of citizenship that have come with the rise of neoliberalism, and the turn

away from communitarian concepts of citizenship. Liberalism conceptualizes citizenship as equality among people who follow the law and participate in political life. The common law (constitution) establishes belonging among citizens, and protects individuals the right to autonomous choice and private sphere of freedom. Civic participation, thus, is defined solely by voting. (Cerdeira et al. 2004) Liberalist ideologies, as a hegemonic ideology, allows for the further neoliberalization of Chile. In schools, civic learning is taught from the liberalist perspective, which lends people of the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire to claim there is no civic education in Chile. Together these factors explain why the base level students overwhelmingly identify with this concept of citizenship.

In conclusion, while base level students have come to internalize the post-dictatorship cultural repertoire, the leaders have somehow resisted it, and instead embrace the revolutionary cultural repertoire from before the dictatorship. This has generated a separation between the leaders and the base level students in terms of their repertoire and understandings. In the next chapter I will discuss how this separation was manifested within the Winter 2011 mobilizations, and how students are bridging this separation to propel the movement forward.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Joven Militante (Young Militant)

She went to *un liceo emblemático*. It accepted only the brightest of Santiago's young women. Underlying the school's prestigious reputation was a strict patriarchal and repressive school culture, meant to teach these young, impressionable minds how to comply with authority and social norms. Among the school restrictions was the prohibition of political militancy.

Her resentment toward her school's teachings with her own education inspired her to seek out an alternative social and political education. After a few interviews with different political youth organizations, she started attending and participating in *la jota*, the young communist party of Chile. She and her *jota* peers at school formed a collective. They made their presence known with sound bombs and political propaganda, drawing other students' interest. They held a series of marches, each one large than the one before it. The school's administrators decided the marches had grown too large, and they decided to expel all the members in the collective.

After her expulsion, she started at a new school for her second year; this one much smaller, closer to her home, and not *emblemático*. It was less politically organized, and although she'd suffered from her militancy, it by no means deterred her away from her passion to live a political life. Soon after her arrival at her new school she established a *la jota* collective. The administration let them operate, but under certain limitations. Friends of hers attested to the cultural changes experienced in the school soon after her arrival; that they learned from

her critical perspective and political actions. At school she accepted the limitations; but her personal life was a different story. She became critical of every aspect of her life - questioning her heterosexuality and religious beliefs. Finally she formed a profound belief in communism, in its approach to changing the world. She'd continued as a militant until her third year of high school, but chose to leave it her fourth year as she prepared for the PSU.

Now in her third year of university, studying Sociology at the *Universidad Alberto Hurtado*, she finds her political life taking a new, more informed path. Disappointed by *la jota*, she's embarked on a new journey of self-formation, which has include with her Sociology peers, reading documents and books, and attending lectures. Today she has a more complex understanding of her own political ideology, and uses it to inform her political participation.

I first met her while we both sat on the edge of the English Pedagogy students' assembly in the first days of the strikes. While a Sociology student, she'd taken a number of pedagogy courses to relieve herself of the strictly theoretical sociology *carrera*. While she associated with this group, like me, she questioned how much she should engage with them, as we both knew it was not our own role to intervene. With time she returned to participate in the sociology *carrera*'s mobilizations and the university's general assemblies. We started running into each other at lectures. We'd sit together at assemblies, updating each other on the movement's recent developments, and marched together on the national strike days. She taught me all the protest chants.

A few weeks later we grabbed lunch together. She spent our lunch reflecting on how surprised she was by her participation in the mobilizations after so many years since her militancy, and her amazement of how much she'd been enjoying it.

A matter of days after this conversation, the university's leaders started to prepare for radicalizing their mobilizations. That week rumors spread of a possible *toma* of the university, a truly radical action. Preparations were coordinated in private with a small group of the most committed leaders late on school nights. By Friday everyone knew of the *toma*, yet no one spoke of it. That week I seldom saw her, and when I did she seemed removed and distracted. On Saturday we had made plans to go out, and I called her for hours and received no response. The next morning, Facebook was filled with comments about the *toma* of the university. Immediately I knew why my phone calls had not been returned. The *toma* held for just over 24 hours, when the police forcefully used tear gas to evacuate the students from the building.

The next Monday, we met for lunch to talk about the intense weekend happenings. She came bundled up in three sweaters, struggling to keep her eyes open after a week of all nighters. I tried to ask her about the *toma*, but she said it was simply too dangerous to talk about. If any students' names are released, they can easily be expelled. The danger seemed all too familiar. She did engage me in a few small stories, however, each a little crazy and unnerving. While of course frustrated by the results, she also experienced an overwhelming sense of joy. She had reengaged with her younger radical self, this time, however, more cautiously.

Her political engagement is inspired by her belief in the communist ideology. For her, the reason to her peers struggled to mobilize is because their education has been too theoretical. It has failed to provide students with the language needed for engaging with their world. Additionally, it has limited their ability to recognize themselves as a class, because they are not poor, oppressed and exploited, but middle class. To her, the middle class is oppressed and exploited, and as of now, her life work is to help others recognize that and learn to overcome it. She told me, as young sociologists, it is our responsibility to study what is happening with the student movement in Chile, to let people from all over know what is going on. And as aspiring pedagogues, it is our job to continue learning about the critical pedagogy so we may challenge our students to see their own oppression and potential as a class.

This is just one example of the intimate experiences, frustrations, and aspirations of individual students participating in the Winter 2011 mobilizations.. Each individual is a summation of various political and cultural influences, or intersecting identities. Therefore, while I categorize individuals into seemingly static groups, is important to remember the unique individuality of the millions of students that it is made of.

In this chapter I will discuss the findings of the fieldwork I conducted this past winter (May-July 2011) in Santiago. I will first explore how the main student leaders embrace pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire, and how base level students embrace post-dictatorship cultural repertoire. Finally, I will discuss the emergence of a new cultural repertoire facilitated by a third level of actors I refer to as

negotiators. This group of students, because of their understanding of the leaders and base level students, have combined elements of the two existing cultural repertoire with popular aesthetic elements. The discussion of my findings is separated into three sections: (1) Grievances, (2) Demands and Objectives, and (3) Tactics. In each section I will discuss the leader and base level student's cultural repertoire.

(1) Grievances

(a) Leaders

From the earliest days of the winter 2011 mobilizations, the leaders have identified their efforts as *el movimiento estudiantil* (the student movement). I interpret the use of the word movement to imply the leaders' sense of continuity with both past movements and with aspirations for future mobilizations. For many leaders their connection to the past began during their participation in the *Revolución de los Pingüinos* in 2006, the first major instance of student political activism since the dictatorship. For many this was the re-claiming of the revolutionary cultural identity of Chilean students that had been dissolved during the dictatorship. According to an English professor, "The leaders know what they're talking about. They're enraged with what happened in 2006 [and are] not willing to accept that again." (Interview with English Pedagogy Professor July 2011) The students involved in 2006, now in their final years of university, have since matured and developed more complex understandings. Today they are mobilizing again as a means to build a long-term movement. A sociology student from a private university, who was active in 2006 said "that to get free education

is going to be a struggle that lasts for a long time.”(Interview with Private University Student, July 2011) The primary objective of the movement is free education. It would restore celebrated characteristics of the higher education system from before the dictatorship, and can be deemed as a revolution from the current neoliberal system that seeks to further privatize education.

One respondent is doubtful of their claims to be a revolutionary movement, and instead suggests that students have recognized that it is currently an ideal current political conditions for mobilizations.

I don't think this is a revolution. It is just that people are fed up with what is happening. We had a loyalty to the *Concertación* (the center-leftist party), [and so] we couldn't protest. But now that its not the *Concertación* and [they] haven't done anything to improve [the conditions, and] all Piñera's promises have gone down the drain. [His promises] had *letra chica* (small print). People are fed up [with] 20 years of expecting important changes. It has led to impatience; people are not willing [to wait any longer. This is] coming from everyone. That's why *Hidroaysen*⁹ and all things have become hug issues. People want to participate and so people are marching. (Interview with English Pedagogy Professor, July 2011)

Hidroaysen raise the same criticism the student movement raises regarding the government favoring private interest over public interests. This shows how multiple politically informed social sectors, including the university students, are mobilizing against the same sort of neoliberal policies.

The leaders express particular grievances about the structural level effects of the 1980 reforms. In the student newspaper *Bello Público* June/July 2011 Issue,

⁹ *Hidroaysen* is an effort to build a series of dams along the rivers in Patagonia region of southern Chile. Many claim it would environmentally and socially devastate the region. In this quote she refers to the multiple marches that took place in May 2011 against its construction.

President of the FECH, Camila Vallejo, explicitly describes the grievances of the leaders' movement in her column:

“We have condemned the crisis of higher education, expressed in the terrible quality of many institutions, the limited access to the system for the most vulnerable sectors, the debt of families, the weakened role of the state and its institutions, the generation of profit (outside the law) by many private institutions and the explicit prohibition of the university community in the development of the institutions.” (Vallejo 2011)

These grievances represent those of the CONFECH, the organization most commonly recognized by the media and government as the leaders of the movement. Other informants and sources echo the CONFECH's grievances, and are equally enraged by the neoliberal model that is destroying the higher education system. For example, at a *convocatorio* with students from universities from around the country, one student commented:

“It's a systemic problem therefore we have to keep doing this for the long term, opening space for discussion, making steps to achieve something so we can keep moving forwarding. Therefore we are thinking in the short term and in the long term...[in order to] expand the public and decrease the amount of private.” (Participant Observations June 2011)

Another student from a private university who attended the *convocatorio* said, “We are fighting against the same thing...the system. [We are] looking at the structural problems...This isn't the fight of only the students.” (Participant Observations June 2011) These examples demonstrate leaders direct use of the language that shows their connection to a continued student movement, that address structural issues.

As mentioned above, another reason some leaders decided to participate is because they are political militants, or involved in some other political organization. A student from the architecture *Facultad* of the *Universidad de*

Chile and member of the *colectivo*¹⁰ (collective) *CEPE*, described his political background: “I never was a militant [of a political party], but I started reading, and I always liked Communism. But I never became a militant,..[it] didn’t interest me...I [just] like ideas of a critical society and to think freely.” While he was not a political militant, he was a Scout leader and the son of a teacher. He attributes these two parts of his life and his extensive reading as the main cause for his active participation in the movement. Furthermore, he explained that the reason the *facultad* decided to enter *toma* is because they want to make the campus an “*espació popular...* (a public space), developing a public model for making connections and teaching oneself,..[and to] return to the Chilean values before the dictatorship.” He continued by discussing the need to “re-nationalize Chile’s natural resources,” (Interview with Architectural Student, July 2011) a historical demand from Allendes’ era. This student expressed a profound knowledge of the history of student movements in Chile and how it has shaped current policies and practices in Chile.

(b) Base

Like the leaders, the base level students recognize that their education system is in crisis. They typically come to understand that through their own educational experiences. One student said, “[I want to see] the regulations of the university [change], how we enroll [with] the PSU, and with the money – credit.” The student then continued to explain how he would be paying back his loans for

¹⁰ A political interest group that develops around a few topics, and eventually either dissolves once those topics are addressed, or takes on a new relevant topic. They are used as an alternative to the formal political party system.

the next 20 years. In comparison to the leaders, base level students rarely referenced events in the past or events outside of Chile that have influenced the current state of student politics and education in Chile.

At the same time, base level students do have some understanding about the “marketization of education”. While they do not necessarily name it as such, base level students are motivated to reclaim education as a public good for all people. One example of this implied understanding of the marketization of education comes from a pamphlet distributed by private school students at one of the marches. It reads:

- 60 of every 80 students do not enroll in higher education in Chile
- The rate of interest of the *fondo solidario* (solidarity fund) for public universities is 2% and they start to pay two years after graduation, with a maximum period of 12 years to finish payments and 15 years if it is larger than 200 Monthly Credit Units (after it ends)
- **While the “*Crédito con aval del estado*” (Credit with state support) for (private education) is 5.8% for 10 years, and 6.4% annual interest for 15 to 20 years (according to the *carera* (the cost of this); equivalent to the purchase of an car or a house)...**
- Finally 70% of students that achieve enrollment into traditional universities, are students that live in the wealthiest sectors of the country (Los Leones Pamphlet Collected in June 2011)

In addition, many base level students mention the repression inflicted on Chilean society during the dictatorship as a reason for not participating. For example, one student said, “Going to the street is dangerous...I was always afraid.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) Another student talked about his parents’ fear: “My parents said I couldn’t go. My dad went back in the day. They used to make a lot of trouble...people would ask them to stop but they’d go crazy.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) Other

base level students claim to be disinterested: “[We’re] not interested in these things, it’s the same every year, I’m ready to do other things...I think the best to have classes. It’s not necessary to go to the streets and shout.” Base levels students disinterest in political participation by the influence of is also exacerbated by post-dictatorship cultural repertoires influenced by neoliberal ideologies, and its implied individual rights. In multiple interviews students remarked that “democratization of education is about education for everyone, [that] for all [people it be the] same quality and quantity.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

Together, these factors contributes to many base level students declining interest in and understanding of the importance of social protest in Chilean society. They are disconnected from the historical roots of student protest, and see it as something outside of Chile’s cultural repertoire, even though student political activism has been an integral tradition in higher education since its beginning.

(2) Demands and Objectives

(a) Leaders

The leaders’ objectives for the movement for are summarized in the CONFECH *petitorio*. The CONFECH *petitorio*, in theory, is a complete integration of *petitorios* produced in the *Centro de estudiantes* and university assemblies throughout the nation. Student leaders from the nation’s student organizations work together at the *convocatorio* to decide upon on the most effective and viable proposals for education. The CONFECH *petitorio* is then be

used by the highest level leaders of the movement, the CONFECH, in their negotiations with the government.

The CONFECH's *petitorio* (2011) clearly identifies and separates the objectives of the movement into the long-term primary objectives and immediate objectives. They first describe the movement's primary objective:

“to construct an education project that constitutionally guarantees education as a universal social right in all levels [of society], is based on a public, democratic, pluralist, free and quality education system, [and] is oriented toward the production of knowledge for an integral and egalitarian development and the satisfaction of the needs of Chile and its *pueblos*.”

Such an objective requires an overhaul and total transformation of the existing system, which realistically cannot be achieved in the period of one mobilization.

Therefore, directly after their primary objective they describe their short term, or immediate, aims, which include:

- To stop the government's privatization reforms on educational matters
- To position transversal demands of free education, end of profit, democratization, end of indebtedness and self-financing and equal access. (Petitorio CONFECH 2011)

These immediate objectives address the most pressing matters that are causing the more widespread issues.

Not all leaders of the movement agree with the CONFECH *petitorio*'s demands and strategy. For example, one political collective, CEPE, had as its one object achieving free education. They claimed they would not demobilize until that objective was achieved. They criticized the CONFECH for manipulating the front of the movement, and agreeing to accept anything less than free education. (Participant Observation, May 2011) As one member of CEPE, an architecture

student at the *Universidad de Chile*, expressed it, “[In my *facultad* we will] not stop the movement until the changes come – of free education. Our political line is to not accept the patchwork fixes.” (Interview with Architectural Student, July 2011)

I will now discuss the specific demands laid out in their *petitorio*. The resemblance of these demands to those of the Córdoba Student Movement is undeniable.

The first main axis to the CONFECH *Petitorio* is “democratization...of our higher education system.” (Petitorio CONFECH 2011) meaning the guarantee of triestamental (i.e. student, faculty, and staff) participation in the decision making process of all the institutions of higher education and the freedom of expression and association for students, teachers, and workers in all institutions. Also included in this axis are proposal for regulation that include the creation of superintendent of Education, a new accreditation system that all higher education institutions would be required to go through, and a modification of the LOCE and the LGE. (Petitorio CONFECH 2011)

The primary long-term demand is to create a free education system, accompanied by a series of short term demands, include ending profit from education by placing controls on spending by private institutions, increasing spending on public education by increasing fundamental supports to create the conditions for free education, and end self-financing of education, expanding the credit system, and prevent private banks from participating in the loan process,

and renationalizing of natural resources (specifically copper) with enough to make education free of charge. (Resumen Reunión 29 de Junio en UTEM)

The third axis of the CONFECH *petitorio* is access and equality, which includes access with equity, quality, integration and social heterogeneity in the enrollment. This ends would be met by creating a complementary mechanics of access that considers ranking, support, (academic and economic) and qualifications so that equality in opportunity exists for all to quality education, not only those with money. This speaks specifically to abolishing the PSU, the Chilean college entrance exam that according to students “only socio-economic class,” (convocatorio) “[is a] socio-economic filter, that reproduces inequalities.” (Participant Observation in June 2011) and that “demonstrate[s] the inequities between social classes, where the poor (municipal education) always receives worse results.” (Pedagogía de Ingles Pamphlet Collected in June 2011)

The final axis is, “*Proyecto Educativo/Calidad*” (Education Project and Quality). It includes demands for a common initial formation for teachers (with required texts and a minimal content), and for primary and secondary formation, a minimum required curriculum that contains a percent of regional content, a percent of local content (that confirms their socio-cultural tradition), a secular reformulation of sexual health education; civic education, and philosophy, and a vision for a multicultural, integrated, interdisciplinary education.” (Resumen Reunión 29 de Junio en UTEM)

In addition to the more structural, reform-based changes the leaders’ also demanded a revitalization of the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire. Throughout

the *petitorio* and in their actions, the leaders interest in reclaiming the pre-dictatorship culture can be seen. For example, the leaders preoccupation with democratization suggests their interest in reviving practices used prior to the dictatorship that embraced more communitarian cultural repertoires. Additionally, the skepticism of the market demand for higher education, which challenges the notion that higher education is necessary even if it costs them their livelihoods and economic stability, also suggests an embrace of pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire. Finally, students specifically demand that education change from the current standardized, rote learning that occurs in all levels of education, and instead be intended to promote integrated, multicultural, interdisciplinary education that will develop socially conscious citizens. Ultimately, leader are rebelling against the cultural repertoires inscribed by a neoliberal system, as they believe it causes more harm to Chilean society than it does to improve and strengthen it.

(b) Base

Similar to the leaders, students at the base levels recognize that demanding free, public education of quality will likely be a long-term struggle. Therefore, like the leaders, base level students agree that both short-term and long-terms objectives are needed. Unlike the leaders, however, base level students differentiate less between these two forms of objectives. Furthermore, short term and long term, and their wariness of the more long-term demands leads them to identify more with the immediate objectives.

In a dialogue I led with fourth year English pedagogy students, I had them draw their interpretation of Chile's higher education system. Their final illustrations were of segmented pyramids with broken ladders between the different levels, a factory that produced identical subjects, and a grand institution of higher education with escalators for wealth students and rickety ladders weighed down by debt for poorer students. Through these illustrations, the students expressed the changes they saw as necessary at the structural level, particularly in terms of financing, access and equality, and quality, in order to stop the reproduction of social inequalities. Like the leaders, they identified the education system's foundation as the most important issue to address and to transform through the movement. For example, base level said "Our constitution is difficult to change – but that's what must change, it's the root of all evil," (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) and "This is a topic of society, no only of education. It's much larger than just education." (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) Yet, these base level students tend to be the exception.

In most cases, when asked about the movement, base level students would offer an array of answers disconnected from structural matters, typically interpreted from the individual level. For example, one student said, "We're all worried it's not working. [But] personally, I want for it to not make profit." (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) Another student said, "[I want to change] how one enrolls in university with the PSU and with money, credit. I'm paying two times the cost of the *carrera* [with my loans...I [will] end

up being poorer than before.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

Also, while some base level students support the movement’s more revolutionary objectives, many base level actors strongly oppose them. Base level students generally agree with the objective of improving education, but anything potentially extreme generates skepticism and doubt. For example, one group of students agreed with the movement’s general demands, but thought the students would most likely not achieve their aims because they are too ambitious. Another student she criticizes the immediacy of some of the leaders demands: ”Solutions are not immediate – since 2006 it’s only gotten worse.“ (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) Other actors were doubtful of naming the movement as revolutionary in general. One teacher said, “I don’t think it’s a revolution – it’s just people are fed up.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Professor, June 2011) Another student said, “The revolution is in the classroom.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Students, June 2011)

As a result of their skepticism, base level students tend to be highly realistic about the future of the movement. “I think its radical now what we are asking for...if [the movement] continues, it will come in waves.” (Interview with Public University Student, June 2011) Other student echoed this sentiment, “[The fight for] free education will last for many years,” (Interview with Private University Student, July 2011) and “The future generation we’re going to change it because were so immersed, and we’re going to win what we want – one day, but

it will be after a long time.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

In contrast to the leaders systematic presentation of demands, base level students tended to formulate demands based on personal experiences. Those experiences are the result of intersections of the four axis (democratization, financing, access and equality, and quality education) of the leaders’ demands. I will discuss the objectives of students in two larger, and very much overlapping, categories of finance and access to quality education. These examples demonstrate the base level students’ forms of understanding.

In many of the pamphlets distributed by private school students, the only issue mentioned was of finance. A phrase commonly used is “*La educación en Chile no se vende*” (Education in Chile is not be sold). Another pamphlet stated that “In Chile they designate only 0.3% of the GDP to higher education, while other countries it more than 1%...we fight for an equal form of state, quality education.” (Pamphlet collected in June 2011) Another pamphlet from the private university *Los Leones*, wrote out examples of what students spend and the debt inquired as a result, ending with the statement “We manifest and support the mobilizations that go against the education of the market, that only bring us to eternal debt and to consolidate the capitalist imperialism.” (Los Leones Pamphlet collected in June 2011) At the same time, as mentioned before, the long-term demand for free education seems overly ambitious and extravagant to base level students. As one student put it: “That it be free – that is very radical, ideologically

its radical – it goes to the root” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

Beyond the base levels student preoccupation with debt and interest rates, their literature often generally spoke to the need to end the marketization of education or “*fin al lucro*” (end profit-making). I realized after talking with a few English Pedagogy students that they misunderstood the conditions of profit for certain private schools. For example, *Universiad Alberto Hurtado* is a non-profit private university, meaning that any revenue earned by the university is reinvested into the university, and is not taken as profit by private firms. Students’ misunderstanding of non-profit demonstrates the disconnect between the rhetoric used by base level students that comes from the leaders, and their simplified understanding of it.

The other major objectives the base levels students propose is to improve access to quality education for all students. While they echo much of what the leaders demand for access and equality, they formulate these demands from their own life struggles. For example, a group of women from a private university explained:

“I didn’t have enough points [on the PSU] to go to any public [university]. I think that most people who go to a private university is because of their marks, because you don’t get the points that you need [to enter public universities]. Just people with really good marks go to the public university. [Here] it is like a second option and here is cheaper and it has a good teaching *carrera*.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Students, June 2011)

Another base level student interpreted the historical idea of “democratization” to mean “permitting that all [people] have access to higher

education and that all people who need food support receive it.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) Another, one student interpreted it to mean “education for everyone for all of the same quality.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

Base levels students, who often are of the middle or lower classes, also tend to be highly influenced by market demand that makes higher education studies a requirement for participation in the labor market. One student said,

“I will end up paying more, coming out poorer after going to university than before...but I continue studying because it open more doors, [it is a] cost-benefit [analysis]...before [you could get a job] more by merit, [but] now they demand a degree...[Studying in university] gives you the possibility to have more money.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

This economic pressure to participate has also evolved into a social requirement, as a indication of status. This same student said, [I continued studying] because I want to be recognized more by society.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

Connected to demands for access is the demand for quality education for students of all socio-economic backgrounds:

“The problem is not access, because the truth is, that has increased considerably, but the conflict is that access is limited to the economic situation of your family. That is, a person of middle class or lower class does have access to education, but the quality will depend on the money you can afford.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

Additionally, base level students’ access to higher education is almost exclusively limited to private universities, which as I discussed earlier are more expensive from the higher interests on loans, and are considered to be of a lower

quality that traditional/public institutions. This then negatively affects their post-graduation opportunities. As one student from a private university explained,

“We do have access to higher education (university) after many years, but the way in is through credit (loans). So, there are some people who can pay their *carrera* because they have money and after graduation, they will have better jobs because they went to a better university. But the ones who studies with a credit, study in less prestigious universities because they were at a school of poor quality, so they will have a job with less pay and also have a huge debt. (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

The base level students’ final area of demands is for improving the quality of education. For example, when asked about the current education system and how it relates to the current movement one student said: “[the reason for the movement is] because [the education] is bad, it’s not focused on learning.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) Another student said: “Education today is [too focused on math and language, [teaching] for the test. The measure learning with higher scores... [students] are only worried about the mark on the SIMCE...they don’t know how to solve problems.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Students, June 2011) One student who attended secondary school outside of Santiago said that “in *colegio* they had activities related to patriotism, a religious orientation...history was taught as historiography, to remember dates...for multiple choice...[The activities] never made you think.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, July 2011) Base level students complain that education is stagnant and rote, plagued and inhibited by its lack of critical thinking and effective learning. This is true for both secondary and tertiary institutions. For example, when asked about their transition to university, one first year English Pedagogy student said, “when I arrived I didn’t have opinions, but

now I have a base to give an opinion, I'm more critical, I don't trust anything" (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) On a similar note, another student said that "Before the university I wouldn't have been able to do this interview," (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) implying that his secondary education provided him with limited knowledge about what the movement is against, and as he identified, developed a limited ability for him to formulate opinions and to think critically. The idea of limited reflective learning was echoed by another student who said, "In secondary school we were always thinking about the future-what we are going to do next. It's good to think in future, but it's important to think in the now. When something happens we don't think about if something will come up next." (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, May 2011) The experiences of these students echo the crisis of learning in primary and secondary education described by leaders in their *petitorio*.

Another difference between the two levels is the leaders demand for integrated education, (meaning emotional education, civic education and autonomous thinking) and the base level students general disinterest in it. I argue that the reason base level students do not demand an integrated education is because they think their family provides those forms of education for them already. One student said: "Yes education has influenced me, but [my education] comes mostly from my parents and family". (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) Another student echoed this idea: "My emotional intelligence came from my family...my mom always told to think for myself, to take care of myself." (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) One student, who

self-identifies as being more traditional and conservative than her *compañeros*, said “I always had critical thinking...my education came from the family...we always talk about the problems of the moment, and they want me to be able to know what I want, to make my decisions, to not accept *Machista* attitudes.”

(Interview with English Pedagogy Student, July 2011)

Finally, like the leaders, many base level students also expressed an interest in transforming the current cultural repertoire. This demand was frequently seen on flyers and pamphlets, with statements such as, “for a better education for the future generations GET INFORMED, MOBILIZE,” (Pamphlet collected in June 2011) and “get informed, mobilize, and participate; so that your education, mine and everyone else’s is a right and not a privilege.” (Los Leones Pamphlet collected in June 2011) I imagine that the intended audience for these statements is other base level students who are not yet participating in the movement. Yet, based on my observations, particularly those from the digital storytelling project mentioned earlier, the demand to get informed and to mobilize for students at the base level, is actually a relatively difficult task. Additionally, base level students have only limited experience with political participation. Therefore, if a change in the current cultural repertoires is to occur, it will take much informative and preparatory work. Yet, as will be discussed, this is the work being done.

(3) *Tactics*

(a) *Leaders*

Leaders' connection to the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire has been particularly informative of the tactics they employ. The leaders' set of strategic actions includes *petitorios*, assemblies, *convocatorios*, marches, *tomas*, *paros*, and *Universidades Populares*.

The pyramidal structure of representations is the foundation of their organizing efforts. In theory, this structure is meant to facilitate the practice of direct democracy, in which all voices at every level have the opportunity to be heard. At the base of the leaders' pyramid of representation are the *Centro de Estudiantes* (Student Center) of each *carrera* this is part of each *facultad* of the university. The *facultades* are comprised of the *carreras* of related disciplines. The next level up from the *Centro de Estudiantes* of the *facultades* is the *Federacion de Estudiantes* (student federation), a body comprised of student representatives from the various *carreras* in the university. The consensus made by the *Federación de Estudiantes* are brought to the next level of the pyramid, the national *convocatorios* (large assemblies) Actors from all institutions are invited to participate in these assemblies, and the consensus formed at of the *convocatorios* are then reported to CONFECH, which some consider to be the highest body of leadership in the movement. The intermediary between all of the levels is an appointed *vocero*.

Here is an example from the structure from English Pedagogy department I worked with that may help clarify the structure of the leaders' pyramid of representation. The English Pedagogy department's *Centro de Estudiantes* is called *Centro de Estudiantes de Pedagogía de Ingles* (CEPIN). This body

consistently exists and is active, even when larger mobilizations are not occurring. CEPIN is part of the *Facultad de Educación*, which also includes the *Centro de Estudiantes* from elementary education and nursery school education. During the mobilizations, CEPIN coordinated various activities, but a main activity was holding assemblies for making decisions as a *carrera*. One first year student was appointed as the CEPIN *vocera*, and she constantly reported between CEPIN assemblies and the university's general assembly. Other appointed members from CEPIN sat on other smaller committees organized by the *Federación de Estudiantes* of the university. Furthermore, students from CEPIN, particularly its elected officers, attended *convocatorios* where they would go to learn about the activities of other student groups, and to add their perspectives to the larger conversation beyond the confines of our university. CEPIN's officers would bring the CEPIN and the universities' *petitorios* with them to the *convocatorio* in hopes of having their specific demands incorporated in the national *petitorio*. At the *convocatorios*, members from CEPIN and any other *Centro de Estudiantes* participated in assemblies led by the main leaders of the FECH and other major universities. Finally the results of these assemblies would then be sent to the CONFECH, with the hope that they would be incorporated into their final *petitorio*.

Leaders used various other repertoire from before the dictatorship in their organizing efforts, such as *toma*¹¹ and *paro*. During the Winter 2011 The leaders

¹¹ *Toma* stem from the verb *tomar*, which translates as 'to take' or 'to seize. It is similar to occupying a space, but implies a strategic redefinition of the use of the space by those involved in the *toma*. (Orlansky 2008)

of the FECH mobilizations entered *toma* in the *casa central*, an historically central place, it became the central headquarters, with many students living there and guarding the main entrance of the building at all hours. The less extreme version of the *toma* that also effectively stopped the daily functioning of the institutions are *paros* (strikes). While only a few institutions entered *toma*, multiple institutions were in indefinite *paros*. For example, CEPIN in the early weeks of the movement entered an indefinite *paro* (meaning it would not end until students voted to end it), and after a little over a week decided to only be in *paro* on the day before and the day of the national marches. During the days of *paro* students would participate in different commissions to help prepare CEPIN for the upcoming marches and activities, to work on the internal *petitorio*, and to attend the general assemblies for the entire university.

While the movement intends to be democratic, many students criticize the leaders for not including the voices of all students. Criticisms are focused on two main tensions: 1) Between public institutions and private institutions, and 2) between political militants and students. Camila Vallejo, FECH president and communist militant, has received the majority of these criticisms. The media has, against the liking of many students, portrayed her as the primary leader of the movement, rather than as its *vocera*. This has generated much tension among students. For example, one woman from a private university reactively spoke out against Camilla Vallejo's approach to working with students from private institutions:

“She [Camila] shouldn't have asked for our forgiveness She doesn't have to incorporate us. We do not need these distinctions [of public and private]

from Pinochet's times. We construct [the movement] together, without separating us... CONFECH is making its own *petitorio*, they make unilateral decisions but they do not represent us. They generate the view that the leaders are against all of us. It seems like they make decisions for all [of us]." (Interview with Private University Student, June 2011)

Frustrations with public/traditional versus private institutions were also expressed by students at the *convocatorio*: "We are not responsible to divide us by the division of the market. We can meet with whomever. These separations are creations of the market." (Participant Observation, June 2011)

One private school student criticized the CONFECH for its exclusionary practices: "The CONFECH doesn't equal students. They have their own *petitorio*, but it doesn't talk about private [institutions]." (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011)

This criticism was further elaborated in an article in *El Ciudadano*, "*El movimiento estudiantil más allá de la Confech*" (The student movement beyond the Confech)", leaders from private universities criticized the Confech, and "pleaded for a more representative and democratic body that successfully channels the voices of all." (Vargas Rojas 2011) Specifically, Fabián Rodríguez, president of the Federación de *Estudiantes de la Universidad Santo Tomás*, a private university, said "they [Confech] do not have to represent the private universities, but is another thing to plea for the unity of the movement... [when] they exclude the world of private universities." (Vargas Rojas 2011) In response, the private institutions have created their own body called the *Coordinadora Metropolitana de Estudiantes de Universidades Privadas* (Metropolitan Coordination of Private University Students) (Comesup), which is functioning in

parallel to Confech, and is intended to create a space for private students to voice their own concerns and organize themselves accordingly. Furthermore, these students have , have declared that they “are willing to work with them [Confech], given that they respect a few basic conditions – including ‘voice and vote within the Confech, that the *petitorio* is re-made, and that the political parties disappear from the student movement.” (El Ciudadano)

Camila Vallejo is also criticized for representing the interest of her party over those of her fellow students. One student from Camila’s *facultad* said, “She doesn’t come here [to the campus, even though] she is of this *facultad*. She speaks for the *Universidad de Chile* but what she says is mandated by the Communist Party. She speaks more for the party [than for the students].” (Interview with Architectural Student, July 2011) Another professor said “Camila is a spokesperson for the Communists, therefore Lavín says all are communist if they agree with her.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Professor, June 2011) Other political militants are equally as criticized because as one student said, “[in the party] you stop thinking for yourself, you accept a doctrine.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Students, June 2011) As a different student said, “The movement is not partisan – we aren’t with any party.” (Interview with Architectural Student, July 2011) Party politics can also have dividing effects on the movement, as students are more focused on their parties demands than the collective points of the movement. Trying to defend his militancy, one student, a militant of *Las Armas of the Critica*, said, “I am militant, but I am also a student.” (Participant Observation, June 2011)

(b) Base

While the leaders dominate the landscape of the movement with a pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire, base level students are typically not culturally comfortable with participating in them. Consequently, most base level students were either participated by learning process through the mobilizations, or remained almost completely disengaged. For example, one private university student did not support her *carrera's paro* because she “thinks the best is to do classes, [it’s] not necessary to go to the street and shout.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Students, June 2011) Another private school student similarly said, “[Our *paro*] has not been as effective as they wished it would be...*Paro* and *toma* is useful...but people don’t care, they don’t participate.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, May 2011, Santiago)

For many base level students involved in the movement their participation depends first on learning how to participate in the leaders’ repertoire of political activism. For example, CEPIN began to hold a number of assemblies for the *carrera* soon after the first impulses to mobilize firmly take hold. The assemblies were open to all students and professors, and classes were frequently canceled to allow students to attend the meetings. Nevertheless, from the very beginning, many students would choose not to attend the assemblies, and instead sat in the cafeteria or returned home. In the early meetings, much time was spent informing younger students about the issues addressed by the movement, and deliberating over whether or not the *carrera* would to call a *paro*. These meetings were intended to be democratic and horizontal, to enable the representation of all

students in the *carrera*. Decisions were made through a written voting process, in which only the people present were able to vote. Votes were held to make decisions like who would be the *vocero* of the *carrera*, if the *carrera* would call a *paro*, and whether the *carrera* would attend marches. Prior to the voting, the floor was open for anyone to express their thoughts and concerns.

An additional outlet for students to express their particular thoughts were in the various CEPIN commissions established for the mobilizations, such as *petitorio*, Art Attack, and diffusion. The *petitorio* commission worked specifically on developing the CEPIN list of demands, which would later be brought to the general assembly to be incorporated in some way into the CONFECH *petitorio*. Commissions Art Attack and diffusion primarily worked in coalition building activities, with projects such as making pamphlets to handout on the streets and at the marches, walking through the streets to raise money for their mobilizations, mounting buses to spark debates about education among bus riders, designing banners and paper machete sculptures for marches, and organizing flash mobs to take place in the streets surrounding the university. By the end of the nearly two weeks that CEPIN was in *paro*, only a handful of students continued to participate everyday. Through their involvement these few participating students learned a great deal about student political activism and the purpose of the movement. The vast majority of the students of the *carrera*, however, were nowhere to be seen.

What caused the massive decline in participation among the students of CEPIN after the first week of the mobilizations? Many base level students have never participated in activities like these, and therefore were uncomfortable with

participating in them. For example, one student who almost never spoke out during assemblies claimed, “in the assembly they persecute you from thinking differently.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, May 2011) Another student referred to the phenomenon as “*monopolia de la palabra*” (monopoly of word) (Participant Observation, June 2011), which seeks to describe the dominant presence of certain individuals voices over other students during assemblies. These voices include many of the leaders - those of officers, political militants, *colectivo* members, older students, and in general, students with more political experience. This generates a sense of hesitation of speaking up among base level students, in fear of being criticized for their less developed and dissenting opinions. When base-level students do not participate than the movement is unable to act democratically, as critical students voices are absent from the political process.

A resurgence of residual fears from the dictatorship also dissuaded many students from participating. A few incidents of violence in the early weeks of the movements, coordinated by a select group of rebellious students, resembled the violence of the dictatorship. Also, while the violent repertoire of *toma* and post-march policemen-student battles raise important issues of representation and vandalism in the movement, they will be used here to demonstrate the provocation of the resurgence of historically inscribed fear among base level students.

One example of violence is the *toma* of a few smaller, more-left leaning universities. One university’s *toma*, according to their blog, began peacefully with

around 180 students. (Blog TomaUAH 2011) Within a few hours the policemen had arrived, and all students there were evacuated, with a few students being arrested. One professor I spoke to, who went to claim the arrested students, told me in reality there were only 20 people. She continued “it’s not a representative number, and because we’re a private university that had a only a negative impact...*toma* is of the past, from the dictatorship.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Professor, June 2011) Two other private universities entered *toma* suffered from the same limited representativeness. The difference with these two *tomas*, however, is the extensive destruction of the universities’ building with much of the electronic equipment either stolen or broken.

The end of marches also provoked a resurgence of fear among base level students. The playful and peaceful marches were threateningly monitored by soldier-like policemen lining the streets and the infamous *guanaco*¹², the colloquial name for the military water cannons that spray water to disperse groups of protesters. This repressive environment resembled those from the dictatorship. At the end of the marches the repression quickly escalated into a violent war-like environment as the *guanaco* chased after the students, and the police dropped tear gas bombs to disperse the crowds. The battle between the policemen and the few rebellious students would continue for a few minutes, until someone was either hurt or people could no longer tolerate the tear gas. It always lasted long enough,

¹² Literally is the name of the Andean camel related to the llama that spit when they’re annoyed. (Cachando Chile)

however, for the media to capture enough photos to plaster across the news headlines later that evening.

Violence at the end of the marches has been a major constraint for the progression of the movement, because it paints the movement as being reckless, rather than the organized and intelligible. The fear generated by the media influences base-level student and their parents' willingness to attend marches and participate more generally. One student said, "Going to the street is dangerous...some people go just to destroy things. Through TV they show only the bad." (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) Another student said, "my parents said that I couldn't [attend the marches]. My dad went back in the day, and all they did was act like fools. [They] didn't get anything done...What I don't like is that people go to provoke. People ask them to stop but they go crazy when asked. My mom's worried that I go." (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) The leaders have tried to stop the violence by condemning these few students' actions. For example, one night in August, Camila Vallejo made a public statement "rejecting the violent acts that have been provoked after the peaceful and successful marches they had." (El Mostrador 2011) Nevertheless, the damage has already been inflicted on base level students, perpetuating the fears from the post-dictatorship cultural repertoire.

Some base level students proposed a dramatically different repertoire that utilized their vocations as a tool of resistance. Their main objective was to enhance the abilities of individual students and teachers in ways that revolutionize individual classrooms, rather than trying to change the whole structure. As a

group of English Pedagogy student said “The revolution is in the classroom. We feel like our fight is in the classroom.” Another student said, “I don’t got to march. I see it in the classroom. I am able to make changes in the secondary school where I do my student teaching. It’s more than marching, and it’s why I decided to be a teacher.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, July 2011, Santiago)

The Emergence of a New Cultural Repertoire

My informants unanimously agreed that the all actors were, as one student said, “together at the core...the base points is how we identify ourselves [as a movement]...we’re all against the same thing – the system.” (Interview with Private University Student, June 2011) Another student said, “It’s only about improving education. [Against] the large problem...we are united for this reality.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Student, June 2011) The *Colegio de Profesores* frequently uses the language, of “Chile unites to recover public education!” (Colegio de Profesores pamphlet, June 2011) In spite of this rhetoric of unity there exists the stark separation between these two levels. Yet while students discussed the need “to have a common [political] line. [and] trying to be coherent and united [in our organizing efforts],” (Participant Observation, June 2011) they recognized this separation prevents the unity necessary for the progression for the movement.

The major barrier in unifying the movement comes from the separation between the leaders and base level students. As one student said, “We need a program with all actors. We need to go beyond the universities, we need to *transcend the barriers.*” (Interview with English Private University Student, June

2011) An article in *El Ciudadano, El movimiento estudiantil más allá de la Confech* (The student movement beyond the Confech), spoke against the lack of base-level opinions in the Confech, and that “a prevailing need to ‘listen to the base’ [It’s] one of the most reiterated phrases.” (Vargas Rojas 2011) This concern led student groups such as the Engineering *carrera* from the *Universidad de Chile*, thus far had been particularly united in opinion and in action, to preoccupy themselves with creating strategies to expand the *carrera*’s participation and improve representation, because they were concerned it represented too limited of a scope of their *carrera*.

The Negotiators: Leaders of a New Cultural Repertoire

As the movement progressed forward, a third level of actors emerged that I call the negotiators. This is a unique group of students who exist somewhere in between the leaders of the movement and the newly engaged and non-engaged base level students. Argue they are capable of bridging the separation of the cultural repertoires of the leaders and the base level. Negotiators may be leaders from private institutions, non-elected leaders at public institutions, participants of non-university student political organizations, ex-political militants, and students with other formative political experiences. Their efforts to bring the movement together worked in unprecedented ways. I will now review the same three key areas of motivations for mobilizations, objectives in mobilizing, and approach to mobilizing that I discussed for the leaders and base level students, then discuss the new cultural repertoire formed by the efforts of negotiators.

It's important to discuss how the emergence of a shift in cultural repertoire fits into the national context of political activism at the time of the Winter 2011 mobilizations. Leading up to the start of the students' mobilizations there were many other political activities taking place, such as the Hydroaysen marches mentioned earlier and the LGBT rights march with a record breaking 20,000 people in attendance. People throughout Chile are mobilizing not only for education, but for various social issues. One student said, "now [the mobilizations] are based on *malestar* (discontent)...the foundations [of the issue] is what we identify with." (Interview with Private University Student, June 2011) Another student said, "People are starting to lose fear [from the dictatorship]. On the television they're seeing different things, they're seeing families." (Interview with English Pedagogy Students, June 2011, Santiago)

What then is the role of students in this political climate, particularly the negotiators? Student negotiators are taking the lead in the student mobilizations by creating a new cultural repertoire intended to subside the fears of base level students, and at the same time, challenge the arguably passive post-dictatorship cultural repertoire. The practical role of negotiators tends to be broad reaching and situational. For example, negotiators may translate the leaders' understanding of marketization of education to base level students, explaining how larger structural issues contribute to their personal issues of student debt and the need for scholarships and a lower interest rate. Frequently it involves providing base level students with the civic education needed to participate, and to helping them overcome the inhibitions, yet doing so in highly accessible ways.

One group of negotiators that engaged in civic education efforts were the lower level leaders from the Engineering *carrera* at the *Universidad de Chile*. During the planning commission, they discussed at length how to mobilize a politically uninformed student body.

“Many people have never been even to an assembly. They are not informed on how to do it. They do not know what an assembly is, nor how to formulate opinions... Knowledge and consciousness [is what] we lack in engineering. Maybe it would be different in humanities... we should have had at least a minimal civic education, but we did not have it. By doing an assembly we’re going to open a space to teach them how to participate in the assembly” (Participant Observation, July 2011, Santiago)

Their commitment to democratic representation led them to carefully design an accessible voting process for their particular *carrera*, in hopes that by teaching their peers throughout the movement, they will be able to break cycle of civic withdrawal.

The leaders at private institutions are undertaking similar efforts of civic education. An English Pedagogy professor remarked that he is proud of his students and their efforts to mobilize because “they see other students reflecting and voicing an important message... [which begins the process of them] realizing their civic participation is much more important.” (Interview with English Pedagogy Professor, July 2011) Students recognize that this learning only happens with students who are willing to attend assemblies and other activities in the first place. During a *Centro de Estudiantes* meeting, students raised the issue that other schools, mainly private institutions, have been asking for help to mobilize themselves, and therefore that the students who were there needed to work harder to keep getting new faces to participate. (Participant Observation, May

2011) Additionally, university students from various institutions took it upon themselves to go to the secondary schools to teach civic education classes, and to help these younger students learn about civic participation and the process of mobilizing.

A professor studying student political participation in private schools expands on this idea of civic learning that is occurring among base level students:

“[I] propose [that] first we need to have students understand it is politics, not political parties. Secondary education has to change...it needs civic education because that will lead to increased political participation...students [are] realizing now what is political – discussion, dialogue...they’re realizing they need to persuade, be informed, read opinion different than yours and that it is important to discuss.” (Interview with English Pedagogy professor, July 2011)

Another student I identify as a negotiator, an architectural student at the *Universidad de Chile*, strongly suggested that inhibitions for political participation are by no means limited to the student population. Therefore, he suggests that it is the duty of students to bring this civic learning to other sectors of society.

“To awaken. [That is] our role as students. When we are awakened then comes unity. The political interest in Chile with this role is very low. There is a phenomenon in Chile where everything comes here [from abroad] and it becomes fashionable. I don’t see interpretation – we only adapt.” (Interview with architectural student, July 2011)

For the aspirations and reasons listed above, this student and his *facultad* have focused their efforts on bringing information to the peripheries of Santiago, and on opening their campus as a public space, so that people can teach themselves about what is going on.

In my final day of fieldwork, I came across an article, in the popular newspaper *El Ciudadano*, titled “*La alegría ya llegó: el carnaval político estudiantil*” (The joy has arrived: the student political carnival). In this article Benavente Morales (2011) celebrates that Chileans are now remembering that democracy is theirs to create, and that today, they are creating democracy, but in a carnivalistic manner. Morales discusses how “politics was an activity for serious people,” (Benavente Morales, 2011) elaborating on technocratic and calculated politics, led by men in suits and bowties who from behind their microphones would speak to the people with incomprehensible political jargon. Morales suggests that politics have since taken a carnivalistic turn. I, along with many of my respondents, agree with her claim.

Where is this carnivalistic sentiment coming from? As Tucker explains, this phenomenon of celebratory, carnivalistic and symbolic forms of political expression that is occurring in Chile is actually part of a global trend of the aestheticization of politics that constructs a more “democratic, playful, and participatory vision of society...[because it] appeals to emotion, visual styles, and images.” (Tucker 2010: 6) Tucker argues that the aestheticization of politics is an “alternative strategy for movements, [that it] recruits new members by satirizing the situation.” (Tucker 2010: 11) Tucker’s theory of aestheticization of politics helps to explain the changing form of repertoire in the Winter 2011 mobilizations. In this section, I argue the new cultural repertoire has taken a turn toward popular aestheticism.

Facilitated primarily by the negotiators, the new popular aesthetic cultural repertoire has successfully attracted the participation of students who previously had not participated in student politics. All these activities were intended to increase the accessibility of participation for the base level actors and I claim they were successful in doing so. The negotiators coordinated most of these activities. I identify three main categories of popular aesthetic cultural repertoire include: (1) References to pop culture, (2) symbolic acts that connect to the popular conscious, and (3) carnivalistic protest marches. I will discuss a few of the examples that demonstrate the range of the emerging popular aesthetic cultural repertoire of the Winter 2011 mobilizations.

One of the most widely recognized and celebrated examples of connection to popular culture was the massive Thriller dance flashmob in front of the *Moneda*, the main government building. Over 2000 students from the *Universidad de Chile* dressed up as zombies, and in nearly perfect coordination danced to Michael Jackson's Thriller, in a symbolic effort to demonstrate the 'death of education' in Chile. Clips of the dance were shown on many news networks, and were posted all over YouTube and various social networking sites. The extravagancy and creativity of the dance flashmob drew the participation, attention, and curiosity of students and non-students alike.

Another well-known example of a symbolic act of the popular aesthetic cultural repertoire was "*1.800 Horas por la Educación Pública*" (1,800 hours for public education), a continuous (day and night) marathon event around the *Palacio de la Moneda* (the promenade in front of the main government building).

1,800 hours is symbolic of the 1,800 millions Chilean pesos the government has declared are necessary to finance free education in Chile. In an effort to call to action sectors of society beyond the student sector, all people were invited to run in solidarity with students. One participant, a 62-year-old administrative worker chose to participate because he was, “motivated by the students’ spirit to fight. It is something historical.” (Interview with runner, July 2011) Another symbolic effort was the *Besatón*, a 30 minute (1,800 second) kissing marathon in Plaza de Armas, the main plaza of central Santiago. Like “*1.800 Horas por la Educación Pública*”, there was a highly symbolic element to the activity, but more importantly it captured the imagination and interests of young people. Single students and couples alike crowded into the plaza with signs that said “*Estoy enamorado, pero también estoy endeudado*” (I’m in love, but I’m also in debt), “*Defendemos la educación con pasión*” (We defend education with passion), and my own sign “*Por el amor de la educación*” (For the love of education).

Finally, there is the shift toward the carnivalistic protest marches. These occurred approximately every other Thursday in Santiago, with the largest march including over 200,000 people walking down the main avenue of central Santiago. Students would march by institution, with each *carrera* carrying its own banners, signs and handmade paper-machete sculptures of different satirical interpretations political characters and symbols. The overwhelming emotion of the environment was that of celebration, which much dancing, singing, cheering, bouncing, and music playing. Popular cheers included “*El que no salta es paco (policeman), Lavín, Pinera*” [That who doesn’t jump is (insert name of repressive

individuals)], “*Educación primero al hijo del obrero. Educación después al hijo de burgués*” (Education first to the children of the worker. Education after to the children of the bourgeois), and the slightly more explicit and slang-filled singing cheer, “*Laaaaaaavin – conche tú madre, saca guea, y como la wea*” (Lavin, Motherf*cker, idiot, terrible man). People would dress up in costumes, and some *carreras* would organize coordinated dance movements. Marches would conclude with a concert in a smaller plaza, with a few speeches by student leaders and the *colegio de profesores*. One student who as a fourth year student attended her first march ever during the mobilizations said, “My first march was great...with everyone laughing and singing. I was always afraid [to attend] before.”

(Interview with English Pedagogy Students, June 2011)

The development of this popular aesthetic cultural repertoire has greatly contributed to the increased participation of base level students and other sectors of society. Students who previously felt disenfranchised by the leaders’ cultural repertoire could for the first time relate to and feel capable of effectively participating in organized activities. These changes mark a critical turn in how students will mobilize themselves from here and into the future.

“Students [are] realizing...[that] if they want to be heard they can’t speak with violence. They can’t fight, [but instead] must discuss. They’re realizing they need to be persuaded, be informed, read opinions different than yours, and that it’s important to discuss...Besatón and Thriller – that’s the new way to protest.” (Interview with English Pedagogy professor, July 2011)

Unlike the traditional forms of organizing, the new cultural repertoire is less intimidating and changes the perception of what political participation can look like. There is also the added benefit that these activities inspire joy and

community in a society increasingly characterized by individualism and competition.

Two other important changes have occurred from the shift in cultural repertoire. First, some negotiators have moved the activities beyond the center of Santiago. One such example of these efforts is the collaborative project between the Architecture and Medicine students of the *Universidad de Chile*. Together, they have created a mobile *consultorio popular* (popular medial office), which will be complete the dual mission of bringing basic health care to communities on the peripheries of Santiago, as well as educating them about the movement with small classes. The purpose of *consultorio popular* is to awaken all sectors of society to the social realities, even those beyond education. In many ways, this project takes the pre-dictatorship ideas of the Popular University and the public role of universities, and transform in a way that engages base level actors with the movement.¹³

¹³ One final dimension of repertoire I would like to discuss is the use of the internet and social media by the movement. This topic is particularly in style at the moment because of the role it played in the Arab Spring. Social media does open a new outlet for organizing activities and mobilizing people. Of course, social media was widely used by student group to inform students about activities, disperse information, and to develop a citizen based news circuit. With that said, however, I think I would greatly be reducing students' effort if I were to argue that social media played the same role with the Winter 2011 mobilizations as it did for the Arab Spring. In an article from *Bello Público*, Salazar suggests "[Social media] would be only a complement to the association networks. 'It's possible that the citizen associativity, of the actual networks, also use Internet and cell phones, but we shouldn't reduce it only to that.'" (Escárte and Reyes 2011) They continue that "*convocatorios* occur from mouth to mouth or through pamphlets that include the details for the meeting" (Escárte and Reyes 2011) The article concludes that while there are many things are completely new about the movement, there are other things, like communication, that continue as they did from over 20 years ago. Based on my experience, I would say there is truth to

Second, there has been a growing presence of new form of political bodies known as *colectivos*. The emergence of collectives is due to the negative perceptions of political parties discussed earlier. According to a professor studying student participation in collectives in private universities, they're "more like interest groups. They have one to three topics that are relevant, but once they achieve those goals they disappear." (Interview with professor, July 2011) They tend to be less hierarchical and more organic, and therefore, more attractive and accessible to students, enabling the participation of both leaders and base level students alike.

I had the opportunity to attend one collective meeting with a collective called CEPE (the collective I have mentioned above). CEPE formed a few months earlier when the Ministry of Education proposed reducing the number of hours designated to studying history in public schools. The students in CEPE disagreed with the proposal, and thus formed CEPE to combat it. In terms of its participation and representation, CEPE brings together students from various institutions and political parties to discuss specific topics, and to coordinate political action beyond the confines of the university. While I would argue that CEPE was less organized than the *convocatorio* I attended, in terms of facilitating their meetings and generating consensus and action plans, it did seem to be an open space for new voices, which in this particular case meant inviting workers to

both sides, but the outcome I want to avoid is reducing the cause of the extension of the movement to the increased prevalence of the Internet and social media. There are too many other efforts, like those I have already discussed, that suggest the effectiveness and utility far beyond what can be achieved by online social networks.

join CEPE. In response to the movement, CEPE had created a new branch to their collective, called “*Asamblea para la Educación Gratuita*” (Assembly for Free Education). During the CEPE meeting, its members considered dissolving CEPE and absorbing itself into the *Asamblea para la Educación Gratuita*, to build a stronger coalition against a more time relevant issue. The ability to organically dissolve and absorb the collective is one of the benefits of the collective structures have over political parties. At the same time, one of the constraints is that it is difficult to discern the common identity group, and therefore, it can be a struggle to determine how best to expend their efforts. An additional constraint is that because *colectivos* are not connected to any formal education or political institution, it is difficult to discern how their proposals can be materialized.

Like the other political forms led by the negotiators I discussed earlier, that collectives are successful in engaging base-level students in the same way that they break away from the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire that intimidate base level students, and instead create new opportunities for participation that are more accessible, informal, and comfortable for students.

CONCLUSION

Shifting Cultural Repertoire

Due to the neoliberal policies and practices implemented during Pinochet's military regime from 1973-1990, Chile's higher education structure and cultural repertoires have undergone dramatic transformations since 1980. In terms of its structure, Chile's once public, free, and relatively elitist university system has and continues to expand its enrollment, to diversify, to be increasingly privatized and is experiencing a divestment from public institutions. Since the 1980 reforms, the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire of revolutionary student activism has been suppressed, being preserved only within select political party networks. Furthermore, because of the pervasive neoliberal practices, there has been a shift from communitarian conceptions of citizenship to a more classical liberal conception of citizenship, which reduces civic participation to voting rather than promoting communal participatory processes. These explain the differences between the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire of the leaders and the post-dictatorship cultural repertoire of base level students, which has inhibited these two levels from being able to work together in the Winter 2011 mobilizations.

With the crisis of Chilean higher education only getting worse, and a new government from the right in office, students and Chileans in general have arrived at a point where they are no longer willing or able to tolerate the social and economic conditions under which they are living. It is this core belief that Chilean

higher education is in crisis that keeps the movement unified. Yet, beyond these core beliefs, there are significant differences between these two groups.

Leaders tend to be officers of the students federations at public institutions of higher education, political militants, or students with past experiences of political participation. These students can be characterized by their understanding of both the current structure of higher education based on neoliberal models that benefit the few over the majority, and their understanding and connection to the history of student political activism in Chile since the early 1900s that previously prescribed the university students' revolutionary political role in Chilean society. These understandings and awareness can be seen in their grievances that are comprehended at the structural levels of inequality, in their demands that draw upon historical themes and structural solutions that challenge neoliberal models, and their organizational models that are based on traditional repertoires, as well as in their strategic approaches to broadening and unifying the movement.

Base level students are more resistant to engage in revolutionary practices and reforms than leaders. This is due to their fear of revolutionary politics informed by the historical memory of the dictatorship's repression, and to their perception that civic participation does not require this sort of action. Additionally, these students tend to be of the lower and middle classes, meaning that they are the first in their family to enter university, and are not from backgrounds that provided them with opportunities for civic engagement. Therefore, while they arguably experience more of the education crisis than public school students, they struggle to mobilize themselves against these issues

on their own. Their understandings of the crisis of education are typically limited to their individual experiences and the experiences of their peers, and thus their grievances and solutions address only this immediate level, rather than the structural levels that the leaders address. Furthermore, these students are less likely to participate in the mobilizations because they are unsure of how to participate and/or do not feel comfortable participating in the leaders' repertoire.

This disconnect between the leaders and the base level students has become the major obstacle for the movement in moving forward, as they struggle to establish unity and their legitimacy as a democratic process. A third group of students I call the negotiators are constructing a new cultural repertoire that is based on a popular aesthetic. This new cultural repertoire cooperates with both the pre-dictatorship and post-dictatorship cultural repertoire, satisfying the interests, needs, and comforts of both levels of students, while simultaneously suggesting a new civic and political culture. Examples of this new cultural repertoire include the carnivalistic marches and political activity and civic education initiatives. Additionally, it suggests the interest in changing the approach to government, by moving away from bureaucratic and rigid political parties, and toward arguably more organic and inclusive collectives. Ultimately, through the development of a new cultural repertoire, the movement will be able to progress in achieving the dual objective of improving the higher education system in Chile in the short and long terms, and of prescribing a new cultural repertoire for political and civic engagement.

Outline of the Argument

In order to make sense of the Winter 2011 mobilizations in terms of its historical and cultural dimensions, I first discussed two historical narratives: higher education reform, student political activism.

In the historical narrative of higher education, I discussed the original foundations of the higher education system in Chile that were used to preserve the colonial system. I then traced the reforms that expanded the system, yet maintained the public character of the university. I discussed how the universities were centralized under a single system and received public funding, yet remained autonomous from the state. Then, I discussed the rise of Pinochet's military regime and the reforms for higher education his regime implemented in the 1980s based on neoliberal models of privatization and marketization. These reforms included policies regarding deregulation, diversification, decentralization, loss of institutional autonomy, the mixed-funding system and the creation of a private sector of higher education.

The following chapter provided a chronological progression of Chilean student politics. To begin, I traced the history of the *Federación Estudiantil de Chile* (Student Federation of Chile) (FECH), the main student political body under Chile's centralized university system. I considered the FECH's shifts between being internationally engaged, particularly with Córdoba Reform Movement, and being nationally focused. And within the nationally focused periods, I considered its shifting focus between national political matter and internal student political matters. Through the discussion of the history of the FECH, I characterized student politics prior to the military dictatorship in 1973. In

the second part of the chapter I discussed the dissolution of student political activism with the arrival of the dictatorship and the efforts both university students and secondary students in the 1980s and secondary students in 2006 that challenged Pinochet's neoliberal reforms, and the difficulties encountered during those mobilizations.

The next chapter provides the theoretical framework of cultural repertoires, based on Tarrow's ideas of culturally inscribed repertoire of contention. It then describes the pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire of the Winter 2011 mobilization's leaders, which is based on the idea of the revolutionary "historical vocation" of students in Latin America since the Córdoba Reform Movement, and how that corresponded to more communitarian concepts of citizenship. Then I discuss the post-dictatorship cultural repertoire of the base level students that is informed by the residual fear of revolutionary politics left over from era of Pinochet's rule, and the move towards a liberal conception of citizenship with the rise of neoliberals in Chile since the dictatorship that emphasizes individual rights and voting.

In the final chapter, I use the theoretical frameworks from the previous chapter to interpret and analyze the participation and effects of the Winter 2011 mobilizations. Using examples from my field research, I consider the grievances, demands, and tactics of students at both the leader and base levels. I attempt to demonstrate that leaders embrace a pre-dictatorship cultural repertoire and interpret the movement through structural and historical understandings of the higher education system and student political activism. Furthermore, I attempt to

demonstrate that the base level students embrace a post-dictatorship cultural understanding and interpret the movement through individual experiences, as opposed to the leaders' structural and historical interpretations. I intend to demonstrate the disconnect between the leaders and the base level students as a result of these different cultural repertoires and forms of understanding, and how that has complicated the process of establishing unity and democratic functioning of the movement that is needed for them to continue forward in the struggle to improve Chilean education. This disconnect is the central problem the movement must overcome, and my argument is that a third level of students I refer to as the negotiators is leading the movement towards overcoming the problem by developing a new cultural repertoire. I demonstrate how this new cultural repertoire is based on a popular aesthetic, while additionally incorporating elements from both the pre-dictatorship and post-dictatorship cultural repertoires of the leaders and the base level students. This has ultimately contributed to creating a more inclusive, unified, and effective movement that not only will improve Chile's education in the short and long term, but also redefine citizenship for and cultural values of the *hijos de la democracia*.

Recommendations for the Future

Based on my research, I would like to offer a few suggestions regarding the future of the Chilean student movement and of education in Chile, as well as some theoretical insights.

In regards to the movement, I first recommend that the movement continue to make an effort to accommodate the knowledge, interest, and abilities

of base level students, particularly through the use of performative repertoires and creative political forms that connects to the popular conscious. This will have the two-fold effect of creating a more inclusive and unified, and thus, effective movement, and of reclaiming political participation for the base level students who since the dictatorship have been inhibited from participating in politics and from having a voice in political matters. Second, I recommend that the organizational structure of the CONFECH be reconsidered to include more negotiators, who are more connected to the base level students. In its current form, the CONFECH has been a major source of conflict because of its exclusive structure. Yet, because a central body like the CONFECH is a necessary for the organizational strength of the movement. I recommend that the CONFECH dissolve, and create a new body be created that is more inclusive for non-public/traditional universities interests, and more open to the interests beyond those political parties.

Regarding education, I think the government should attend to the demands of the students, taking into account their immediate and long-term aims. While free, public education may be too much of a demand for the time being, in the short-term issues of debt, access, profit from education and quality must be addressed. Additionally, I would recommend that civic education be taught in all primary and secondary schools, as it can promote more informed and active civic participation. Furthermore, I recommend that teacher training be transformed so that quality educators capable of challenging problematic currents within education today.

With the threat of further privatization of higher education systems in other parts of Latin America emerging, I also envision Chilean students having the opportunity to involve themselves in, or possibly even lead, what could be a 21st century Latin American higher education reform movement. Signs of this can already be seen, as the FECH president at the time of the mobilizations, Camila Vallejo is, according to the New York Times, “the new face of global activism” (Wilson, 2012) In the article she is quoted to have said, “the student movement here is permanently connected to other student movements, principally in Latin America, but also in the world...there is a global demand for the recovery and defense of the right to education.” (Wilson 2012) Already she has traveled to Brazil and Germany to share her political insights. Vallejo recognizes the inherent connection of the Chilean struggle to the struggles for the right to education in other nations. In light of all the popular movements that happened in 2011 (Arab Spring, London Riots, Occupy Wall Street, etc.), I can imagine a global movement for quality education for all developing, with Chilean students at the forefront.

In terms of the theoretical implications of this study, I argue that what is happening with students in Chile supports Tucker’s claim of the aestheticization of politics. While in this study I focus on the function of the popular aesthetic cultural tradition, in future studies it may be worthwhile to trace the history of its development in Chile with an approach similar to Tucker’s, in Workers of the World, Enjoy!.

Finally, I recommend that foreign students continue to conduct research on the mobilizations and movements in Chile, as I strongly believe the winter 2011 mobilizations are only the first wave of what will be many waves of mobilizations. It is imperative that *foreign students* in particular are studying these matters, first because of the opportunities as a student to access the highest levels of student authority in ways that non-student researchers are unable to, and secondly, because foreign students have a critical comparative lens by which they can interpret, criticize, and learn from the movement in ways that Chilean (and even Latin American students in general) cannot.

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