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The Institutional Process of an Education Decentralization Policy: The Case of
the Rural Networks of Schools in Peru in 2002

by

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The Institutional Process of an Education Decentralization Policy: The Case of
the Rural Networks of Schools in Peru in 2002

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Dedication

To my parents Rebeca and Guillermo with love and gratitude

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2004

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Using the notion of *institutionalization process* as a way to assess the success or failure of an education decentralization initiative like the formation of Rural Networks of Schools in Peru in 2002, the objective of this study has been to identify the conditions or factors that would most likely lead to one or other outcome (success or failure). This is a case study. A comparative method was used, consequently two versions or models of Rural Networks of Schools were compared and two geographical spaces were selected, this were the cases of the Rural Network of Schools of Patacancha in the department of Cusco and the Rural Network of Schools of Cullhuas in the department of Junín. The fieldwork was conducted between May 30 and August 16 of 2002.

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CHAPTER I: Introduction

Research Problem: The Institutionalization Process of a Policy of Education Decentralization

In the last decade decentralization has been a major template for social policy around the world. Decentralization applied to different sectors but mainly to Health and Education was considered indispensable as part of the reform of the state which on the other hand was considered an unavoidable reform since the 1990s. Reforming the state according to this view involved assuring its efficiency by adapting its functions to its actual capacities by the means of increasing these capacities, specifically increasing its accountability and in general, making state close to society (World Bank 1997, Burki, Perry and Dillinger 1999, World Bank 1999). These reforms were mainly promoted by the multilateral organizations, which have been the most important actors in producing the discussing on these topics and elaborating their core ideas, thus patterning the major practices in social policy in the developing countries.

As part of these patterns, education reforms were also launched in several countries around the world. In these reforms, the decentralization component was a prominent part. Some countries tended to decentralize to the level of federal states, some others to the level of municipalities and a very important trend followed by different Latin American, Asian and African countries was to

decentralize to the level of the schools. Although with different emphases, the latter trend is characterized by conferring more important political and administrative functions on school headmasters (Chapman 1998, Chapman et al, 2002). This was also the type of education decentralization that occurred in Peru.

Education decentralization in Peru emerged gradually and faced various obstacles after the education reform started in 1993. However, its formal although not really publicized start was in 1996. Gradually, the actions toward decentralizing Peruvian Education involved the countryside, and it was for this part of Peru where the most ambitious plans of decentralization started to be designed and applied. Fundamental component of these plans for decentralizing education in the countryside have been the rural networks of schools (RNS).

According to the Rural Education and Teaching Training Special Program (*Programa Especial Educación Rural y Desarrollo Magisterial*) of the Ministry of Education, the mandatory generalization of the RNS would start in 2006, and in the previous years the objective is the gradual and systematic increase in the pilot projects. Moreover, in 2006, the RNS would receive almost complete autonomy, receiving direct transference of budget from the Ministry of Economy and the powers to “decide about the pedagogical, administrative, institutional and monetary resources that the state and the civil society confer on the group of

schools that participate of the RNS”¹. Definitively, these years are vital for the constitution of the stage that needs to be achieved in 2006, before the networks become generalized. Hence, there is a necessity to examine the actual functioning of the RNS with the purpose of identifying the conditions of their sustainability or institutionalization.

The rural education networks organized and monitored since 1999 by three different policy making bodies of the Ministry of Education were an effort to pilot a “management model for rural schools”. These three policy making bodies, the Technical Secretary of Rural Education (Secretaría Técnica de Educación Rural - STER)², the Unit of Decentralization of Schools (Unidad de Decentralización de Centros - UDECE) and the Unit of National Defense (Unidad de Defensa Nacional - UDENA) in charge of the schools located in the frontiers, designed three models of RNS. Each one of these models evidenced a specific style according to the emphasis put on the managerial or pedagogical sides of decentralization³.

¹ Programa Especial Educación Rural y Desarrollo Magisterial, page 9. Ministry of Education of Peru, 2001.

² In 2002, the name of this unit was changed to Office of Coordination for the Rural Education Development (Oficina de Coordinación para el Desarrollo Educativo Rural).

³ Documents with basic information about the three models of rural networks of schools produced by these three policy-making bodies of the Ministry: (1) *Propuesta Modelo de Gestión de la Escuela Rural*. Documento Borrador (STER). (2) *Hacia un modelo de Gestión de Educación Rural en el Perú*. Enero 2001 (UDECE). (3) *Proyecto de Redes Educativas Piloto en Distritos de Frontera de Perú*. Abril 2001 (PECEF- UDENA).

The basic preoccupation guiding the design and experimental application of these three types of “management models for rural schools” was the necessity to improve quality of education in the countryside. There, isolated elementary schools⁴ with only one teacher for the six grades (*escuela unidocente*) or two or three teachers for the six grades (*escuela multigrado*), usually receive extremely unequal attention from the central level of the Ministry as well as from the regional and local level. The rationale for the creation of RNS was that the pedagogical and administrative unification of “culturally and geographically nearby schools”⁵ with the same or complementary necessities could be shaped as an organization in which school headmasters and the communities would solve different problems at aggregate level (something like a “scale organization”) at the appropriate time.

However, rural education, irrespective of the objectives, successes and limitations of the reform, specifically of the RNS, is a complex topic. The patterns and trends that characterize rural education are intertwined with complex societal processes that sometimes seem to be far beyond the possibilities of control and reform occasionally performed by the Peruvian state. These societal processes contribute in different ways and weights to limit the alternatives to provide quality education received to the children and adolescents living in rural areas in

⁴ Secondary schools are not common in the countryside but in the district’s capitals

⁵ STER document.

contemporary Peru. That is a reality that has not changed too much over the years. In fact, the various unsuccessful state policies applied since the 1970s that had as their objective the improvement of rural education⁶ are compelling and make necessary to question *why is it so difficult to implement education policies in rural Peru? And what are the conditions that make them so frequently ineffective?* The strong pressure toward decentralizing the administration of social services in which Peru like other developing countries is involved, makes even more necessary the consideration of these questions. In other words, now that decentralization seems imminent, *what would be the possible outcomes of reforms with this guideline in contemporary rural Peru?*

This study is an attempt to provide some information to answer the preceding questions by the means of analyzing the *processes of institutionalization* of the rural networks of schools (RNS), which are part of the plan that most probably is the more ambitious effort of the Peruvian state for improving education in rural areas.

Any type of social policy, in this case a reform, when implemented could or could not generate *institutionalization processes*. I define ***institutionalization process*** as the *process by the means of which a planned ideal version of a social*

⁶ In Iguñiz and Muñoz (2000) “Diagnostico de Descentralización y Educación Rural en el Perú”, are described the several reforms designed for the education provided in rural areas, including some that already attempted the unification of several schools in nuclei (*nucleos*).

policy is (1) implemented, (2) endures, (3) overcomes challenges and (4) can find a projection toward the future; at all times considering the intervention of all the actors involved during the entire process or during temporal segments of it. These four sub-processes or levels are considered as interconnected conditions. One is seen as the cause and premise of the other, and so on. Thus, it is indirectly stated that the institutionalization process of a social policy would be complete only at the end, with the accomplishment of the fourth level: the projection toward the future. Evidently, the use of a concept like this is pertinent only in the case of social policies that are planned to last (i.e. be institutionalized) as in fact are the education policies. In addition, each one of the four sub-processes of institutionalization are variables ranging from a low to a higher level.

It is likely that in different environments, localities or communities the same social policy or more specifically, the same education policy could have different outcomes. In some cases it will attain some levels of institutionalization and in others it will not. At this point, two types of factors could explain the variations observed in the outcomes of the policy. A group of variations is connected primarily with factors created by the two first sub-processes, *implementation* and *sustainability*, and a second group of variations are connected with factors created by the sub-process of *sustainability* and the two last sub-processes of institutionalization *overcoming challenges* and *projection toward the future*. The first group of variations depends on factors such as the design or

planning of the policy (in other words in the model) and the type of application thought for this design. The second group of variations would be explained by the specific environment or context where the policy is implemented. In this sense, the use of *institutionalization process* as defined in this study has been useful for distinguishing and organizing these two groups of factors involved in the success of the organization of rural networks of schools (RNS): roughly said the planning or design conditions (first group of factors) and the social conditions (second group of factors).

The use of institutionalization processes as a guiding concept in this study was also useful because it allowed me to organize information regarding the participation of different types of actors involved in the rural school network. Thus, the actions of policy makers of the Ministry of Education (MED); and the national consultants hired to organize the RNS, who usually work at the headquarters and travel constantly, are more important and visible in the case of the sub-processes of *implementation* and *sustainability*. Also, the actions of the pedagogical advisers of the regional and provincial agencies of the Ministry, more commonly known as “specialists” (*especialistas*) seem to be more important and visible in the sub-processes or levels of *sustainability* and *overcoming of challenges*. At the end of the chain, in the case of *overcoming challenges* and *projection toward the future* the actions of principals, schoolteachers, parents, community authorities, and local promoters of NGOs are substantively more

important determinants and certainly more visible. In fact, although the action of the policy makers, consultants and pedagogical advisers can affect any of the four sub- processes it is most likely that their effect will be less significant in the two last ones. The inverse direction of influence is more difficult to find. Regardless of the participatory intentions in the design of policies in general, education policy is mainly designed and planned only in the headquarters of the MED. However, according to the MED plans, starting at 2006, parents, teachers and other authorities of the RNS will assume completely the management of the schools that are members of a RNS. This will be discussed later in this study.

After having presented (1) information about the current education reform in Peru, (2) some issues in the future of rural education when decentralization is imminent, and (3) the concept of *institutionalization process*, it is possible to more easily explain the research problem. Using *institutionalization process* as a way to assess the *success* or *failure* of an education decentralization initiative like the formation of RNS, the objective of this study has been to *identify the conditions or factors that would most likely lead to one or other outcome* (success or failure), remembering that the length of time of that we have been able to observe (after two or three years of application) is probably not long enough to definitively affirm if success or failure has occurred. Among those conditions or factors I want to focus on the *social conditions* that helped or limited the process of institutionalization of a RNS, rather than the factors associated with the

advantages of disadvantages of the design and type of implementation. However, I found that these latter are also important factors to consider and that important interactions are produced between these two sets of factors. Still, the focus of interest remains *what is the effect of the pre-existent social conditions of the localities where the pilot of RNS was applied, on the process of institutionalization of the Rural Networks of Schools (RNS)?*

Thus, this research problem is important in policy and sociological terms. In policy terms it is the study of the 2002 situation of the most important program of the education decentralization process designed for the Peruvian countryside; and in sociological terms, this study provided data to reflect on the possibilities of improvement of rural education in contemporary times.

A comparative method was used, consequently two versions or models of RNS were compared and two geographical spaces were selected. Regarding the models, I have compared the two most important versions of RNS of the three applied by the MED, the model applied by the Technical Secretary of Rural Education (STER) which for the effect of this thesis will be called MODEL 1, and the model applied by the Unit of Decentralization of Schools (UDECE) which will be called MODEL 2. Regarding the cases, I selected two districts where a RNS was functioning for at least two years. These were districts of two Andean *departamentos*, Cullhuas in the department of Junín and Ollantaytambo in Cusco.

State of Knowledge

This research problem is connected with two main themes: (1) the theoretical developments regarding institutionalization by a community of scholars interested in organizational sociology and administration; and (2) the empirical and evaluative studies regarding education decentralization in Latin America and other countries of the world.

(1) Institutionalization

The thinking about the conditions that create institutions has been present since the origins of sociology and although Durkheim and Weber did not develop a systematic definition of *institution* or *institutionalization* as sociological categories, a modern idea of *institution* appears in the works of both. In the case of Durkheim his notion of *social facts* have elements that contemporary theorists like Berger and Luckmann have used to build the notion of *institutionalization*. In addition, in “The Division of Labor in Society” the idea of social institution is strongly associated with a social function (Durkheim 1893). In the case of Weber, the notion of institution is connected to his category of social action.

Later, Berger and Luckmann (1967) using these theoretical foundations and their own symbolic interactionist (Smelser 1988:125) and phenomenologist perspective (Nohria and Gulati 1994:540) stated that *institutionalization* “occurs

whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors”, that “any such typification is an institution” and that “institutions further imply historicity and control (1967:54).” Other important element to address here about these authors conceptualization of institutions is that these are objective and exterior (p.60), very much resembling the characteristics of *social facts* identified by Durkheim. According to Smelser (1988: 125), Berger and Luckmann are the responsible for the introduction of “what proves to be the key postulate in their analysis”, the idea that there is a need for simplification, routinization (habituation) of interactions “that is prior to institutionalization but becomes the basis of institutionalization (Smelser 1988:125).”

Although the subject of institutionalization for Berger and Luckmann is broadly categorized as any “segment of human activity” (p. 55), in various passages of their work it is evident that they are mainly referring to behavior, to actions performed in specific situations of daily interaction between individuals: “the institution posit that actions of type X will be performed by actors of type X (p.54).”

In addition, their emphasis is on social control, or the control of human activity that institutions materialize when they set up “pre-defined patterns of conduct, which channel it (human activity) in one direction as against the many other directions that would be theoretically possible (p. 54).” This social control

and also legitimation are entailed in the possibility of the transmission of institutions through generations, who transform them in this process of transmission: “all transmissions of institutional meanings obviously implies control and legitimation procedures (p. 71).”

Berger and Luckmann conceptualizations of *institutions* and *institutionalization* have set the field for theorization and research on many areas of contemporary sociology. Among them, definitely, is the important branch of sociology dedicated to an institutional approach to organizations.

Within the sociology of organizations, as part of a specific group of theories called by Nohria and Gulati “Open Systems theories” is Institutional Theory (1994: 537-540). Institutional Theory is considered as an “Open Systems theory” because unlike other theories within the sociology of organizations, it considers as fundamental the role or effect of environment on organizations. According to these theories organizations are seen “both as systems of internal relationships and as part of larger systems encompassing the environment in which they operate (Nohria and Gulati citing Lawrence, Paul 1983).”

This branch started to be important around the end of the 1970s and continued growing in the 1980s and 1990s (Meyer, J.W. & Rowan, B. 1977, Scott, W. R. 1987, Zucker, L.G.1977). Among their main ideas is the understanding that actions of organizations (in the case studied by Nohria and

Gulati, firms) are “affected by a broader institutional context” that includes their technological, economic and cultural environments.

Furthermore, some of the institutional theorists have specifically focused on one of the components of the mentioned environments: the complex of “practices and procedures” that being highly institutionalized and created in their origin by “prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work” greatly affect organizations, because they are driven to adopt these practices and procedures to increase “their legitimacy and their survival” (Meyer and Rowan 1977:340). According to these authors, these “practices and procedures” can become “myths” embedded in the institutional environment that will be adopted even if they do not really serve the real necessities (and activities) of the organizations which adopt them (Meyer and Rowan 1977:341).

In addition, other members of this branch of sociology have focused on studying the processes by which an organizational activity can become institutionalized, this means stable, valuable and taken for granted (Nohria and Gulati 1994: 539). The work of Lynne Zucker (1977) is especially interesting for this study. This author working on the explanations produced by Berger and Luckmann focused on describing the process by which an act becomes *objective* and *exterior* i.e. institutionalized (Zucker 1977: 728). An important element of this work is that since this process is seen as gradual, there is a specific

identification and description of three different stages of institutionalization: a stage of *transmission*, a stage of *maintenance* and a stage of *resistance to change*. However, this author was still focused on individual acts rather than organization acts.

Institutional theory (the ideas summarized here) is interesting for this study for three reasons: (a) it allows the change of perspective from a micro-social to a macro-social perspective since the subjects of institutionalization are organizational activities and not individual acts (b) some of its theorists have developed an interesting and informative way of explaining the gradual nature of institutionalization processes and (c) it makes possible to reflect on the importance and role of the economic, cultural, and institutional (technological) environments on the characteristics that an organization takes on. These elements, evidently serve the objectives of this research problem that aims to understand the social and design-planning conditions (we can read them as part of the environments in which an organization operates) that make possible the institutionalization of an organizational activity (an education policy).

Although the concept of the institutionalization process of an education policy such as the organization of RNS was created as result of the fieldwork and was not originally linked to the literature provided by institutional theory, this study seeks to apply and develop the literature on institutionalization to a state

policy in the area of education. In the case of this study, the interest is examining the process by which an artificial “segment of human activity” this means a pre-designed model of actions and interactions between principals, schoolteachers, parents, and other actors of a locality could become habitualized, legitimized and stable with the objective of administering the education service and achieve quality. Thus, this work may contribute to present a way in which the sociology of organizations in general and institutional theory specifically, can provide useful explanations on the extensively applied education and decentralization reforms of the recent years in the developing world.

(2) Education Decentralization

Education decentralization has been increasingly studied since the beginnings of the 1980s. The literature about the topic is vast and it is also diverse. However, it is possible to identify common features among the best known works and to distinguish some groups and trends. In different periods of time, common tones and preoccupations have been present among those interested in education decentralization. Broadly speaking, and for the case of the Latin American experience, there are four types of works.

In the first group of works, predominantly authored by researchers affiliated to the multilateral organizations and around the 1990s (Fiske 1996, Wrinkler and Gershberg 1999) the common characteristic is a technical argument

with regard to the advantages of engaging in decentralization in general and in education decentralization specifically. Advantages like “improvement of education quality”, “administrative efficiency”, “finance efficiency” (Fiske 1996) and the possibility that the decisions of “voters-consumers” could more effectively shape the education service that they will receive are the main arguments mentioned for decentralizing education (Wrinkler and Gershberg 1999:204). In these works, education decentralization is directly connected to an ideal of an efficient state. Different examples of successful programs applied in different countries of the developing world and specifically in Latin America are examined and suggested as templates. Warnings regarding programs that proved to be deficient are also present in these works.

In the second group of works which are generally authored by researchers affiliated to research institutes or organizations such as ECLAC (Rondinelli 1981, di Gropello and Cominetti 1988), or who are part of some multilateral organization but publish outside of it (Prawda 1993), a somewhat more critical or neutral tone can be identified. These works are predominantly done with a technical-evaluative approach and characterized by an interest in classifying the wide range of experiences of education decentralization applied in different countries according to different typologies. For example, Rodinelli (1981), describes four approaches to decentralization: deconcentration, delegation, devolution, and privatization. Di Gropello and Cominetti, following a similar

pattern, describe the models of education decentralization applied until 1998 in Latin America, using three different types of criteria: by the levels of autonomy in the service provision, by the territorial level and institutions put in charge of the service provision and by the level of participation reached in the education process (di Gropello and Cominetti 1998). There also several works that focus on the technical evaluation of the model of education decentralization applied in a single country (see Cuéllar- Marchelli 2003 for El Salvador, Rounds Parry 1997 for Chile, Espínola and Moura 1999 also for Chile, Ortiz de Zevallos et al 1999 for the case of Peru, and Hanson 1991 who does a comparison of Spain, Venezuela and Colombia). The tone of these works is more cautious and somewhat neutral with respect to the advantages of education decentralization. Apart from the interest in organizing the wide range of experiences in typologies, interest is concentrated around some limitations of the decentralization plans such as how the financing of decentralization is working (privatization, sub-national political units), and how the political and administrative systems are or are not prepared to handle decentralization.

There is a third group of works that are more politically opinionated and present clear criticism or defense of the initial experiences of decentralization. These works typically focus on one country, most commonly the country of origin of the author (s). An important proportion of these works describe the obstacles to decentralization present in the societies where these policies were planned to be

applied or were actually applied, and the general idea is that education decentralization is not applicable in these societies. Studies on Latin America works with this view are common (see for example McGinn and Street 1986 for Mexico and Chile, Munín 1994 for Argentina, Girardi 1994 for Brazil). A less critically oriented branch also exists, and is characterized by examining obstacles and limitations of education decentralization but at the same time suggesting corrections toward more democratic participation of parents, social organizations, communities and municipalities (Senén Gonzalez 1986, Morales 1995, Iguñiz 2000). Some of the latter types of works are policy oriented (Palma 1995). The common feature between both subgroups is that they are basically political reflections on education decentralization.

A common pattern in these three first groups of studies on education decentralization is that the units of analysis are the individual experiences of different countries that applied education decentralization. Another common element is the macro level view used to compare across countries. Maybe because of the disciplinary background of many of the researchers interested in education decentralization, who are commonly policy analysts, educators and economists, the interest has been mainly to identify of the advantages and disadvantages of different types or “models” or versions of the decentralization plans. In the same vein the identification of the problems that a partial or mistaken application of the decentralization policies have generated in practice also predominates (Rounds

Parry, 1997, for example focuses exclusively on the requirements of a “successful implementation”). Finally, in many of these works a historical accounting of the implementation of decentralization policies is common. In these accounts, the objective is to indicate positive and negative consequences and interconnect the findings with the political facts and types of government in charge of the reform implementation.

In the last years, the research of education decentralization around the world has started to be more empirically oriented and small but detailed studies on different components of this reform are increasing. This is the fourth group of works. David Chapman and his colleagues studying the experiences of education reform and education decentralization in Asian and African countries are good representatives of this trend (Chapman et al 1993, Fuller et al 1994, Perry et al 1995; Chapman 1998; Rivarola and Fuller 1998, Chapman et al. 2002; Schuh and Chapman 2003). These works have been especially informative for this study and are based on a combination of educational; socio- psychological and policy planning approaches, which seems to be effective and have led the authors to interesting findings and recommendations. I value the perspective present in these works because the units of analysis are not anymore the ideal plans or the generally analyzed decentralization experience of a country but the actual outcomes of the reforms and there is a crucial interest in the actors assuming, transforming or opposing the stipulations of the ideal version of the

decentralization reforms. Thus, among these types of studies the units of analysis are frequently the actors (communities, consultants, school head masters and teachers) and their empirical orientation is characteristic. The present study is closer to this fourth group of works since it empirical research on the actual outcomes of the decentralization of education plans applied until 2002 in rural Peru and because it pays attention to the role of different types of actors involved in this application. However, this study mainly uses a sociological perspective, concentrating on the processes of institutionalization of the reform with the aim of relating these processes to the present and future challenges of education in the rural areas.

Summarizing, the studies of educational decentralization have placed too much attention in the design of the policies, and that although this is a useful perspective it is necessary to examine how, and what outcomes are generated when these ideal versions of education decentralization policies materialize and “arrive” in different types of contexts which are mobilized and organized by an specific set of social determinants.

Study Methodology

Since the trajectory of a RNS and its *process of institutionalization* need to be observed, described and analyzed mainly at local and regional level, an ethnographic approach was used in this study. The methodology used was

actually a combination of two paradigms of qualitative research: grounded theory and case study. In addition, I utilized a comparative method to contrast two selected cases.

A grounded theory approach (Strauss 1998:12) was used because *institutionalization process* the main concept used in this study, was defined only after the fieldwork was completed. I collected the data according to a plan that was meant to provide us with information regarding the “processes of institutionalization of the RNS” but at that time “processes of institutionalization” was only a focus for looking at the RNS. It could be turned into a theoretical concept only after data were analyzed. The concept created in this way was explained before and can be understood as a “middle-range theoretical framework that explains the collected data” (Charmaz 2000: 509).

This study used a case study approach since the attention was focused on two RNS organized in two different geographic areas of Peru. Each RNS involves a group of nearby schools (and consequently a group of nearby communities) which are located in Junín and Cusco, two departments of Peru located in the central and south Andes, respectively.

The use of a comparative method was crucial for this research. It guaranteed the possibility of making visible and identifying the factors involved in the institutionalization process of a RNS by means of comparing their two

different experiences of formation and functioning. Thus the selection of the cases to compare was also crucial and had two specific requirements.

Case Selection

The most important requirement was that the two socio-geographic areas where the two RNS were formed should have very similar characteristics in terms of poverty levels and socio-demographic features. In that fashion, the variations in the outcomes of the application of this policy of education decentralization (i.e. the formation of RNS) would not be related to the basic social conformation of each one of these two geographic areas or localities but would be related to institutional factors, in other words, to their particular processes of institutionalization. It is evident that there are limits to selecting very similar localities, finding two completely similar cases is impossible. For that reason, the level of similarity aspired to in this selection was only restricted to elements like: poverty indexes, malnutrition, and illiteracy rates (indicators that measure poverty and living standards); and percentage of rural population and population density.

The other requirement for the case selection was the existence in those areas or localities of a RNS with at least two years of functioning.

Following these two requirements, the selection of the two areas and two RNS was guided by (1) the 1995 Poverty Map of the public investment Fund of

Peru FONCODES (*Fondo Nacional de Cooperación y Desarrollo*) from which two types of indexes calculated to the district level were used; (2) the Poverty Map elaborated by the Ministry of Economy and Finances in 2001, where the poverty index was also calculated at the district level⁷; and by (3) the technical information provided in the Ministry of Education for the case of the RNS operating in these districts.

In the offices of the Technical Secretary of Rural Education STER (*Secretaría Técnica de Educación Rural*)⁸ and the Unit of Decentralization of Schools UDECE (*Unidad de Decentralización de Centros*) located at the headquarters of the MED, I collected data regarding the most interesting cases of RNS currently functioning at that time and for at least two years. STER and UDECE were both the policy-making bodies in charge of the application of the two most important versions or models of RNS. The third policy-making body in the MED applying a program of RNS was UDENA (*Unidad de Defensa Nacional*). However, the objective of this program was the formation of RNS

⁷ Poverty indexes and poverty maps had been calculated since 1992 in Peru aiming to target social investment and social programs to the most poor populations, considering the levels of department, provinces, districts and even the smallest settlements (*centros poblados*). Besides FONCODES, poverty maps have been elaborated by other public institutions such as the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (*INEI-Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática*), the Ministry of Economy and Finances (MEF) and the Ministry of Presidency (MIPRE) (*Mapas de Pobreza como Instrumento de Focalización para la Lucha contra la Pobreza*, FONCODES, 2002).

⁸ The name of STER was changed to Office of Coordination for Development of Rural Education (*Oficina de Coordinación para el Desarrollo Educativo Rural*), in the months before the fieldwork started.

only in frontier territories, and this particularity would probably affect the nature of the comparison given the particular characteristics a frontier territory can have. For those reasons, I decided to focus on the programs of RNS applied in STER and UDECE. The comparison of the two cases of RNS, specifically of their institutionalization processes, is the comparison of two models of RNS. I will label the model applied by STER as “MODEL 1” and the one applied by UDECE as “MODEL 2”. Both models will be described in detail in the next chapter.

The information was collected by interviewing former and current consultants in charge of both programs at the national level, who suggested that both the RNS of Patacancha and the RNS of Cullhuas were interesting cases of study. In the offices of UDECE, the experience of the RNS of Patacancha in the department of Cusco at the highlands, appeared as one of the favorites. It was described as a very successful organization facing at that moment some challenges due to the change of the authorities in charge of it. However other cases in departments of the jungle and in the northern rural areas of the department of Piura were also mentioned.

In the case of STER, the consultants mentioned the experience of the RNS of Cullhuas located in the department of Junín, also in the highlands; and the cases of other RNS located in departments such as Cusco and Apurímac. Cullhuas appeared to be as interesting as the others. However, Cullhuas was identified as

probably the most important RNS in Junín and it had a particularly interesting feature: it was part of a number of RNS which were directly monitored by STER since its formation but that due to funding problems with the program applied by STER named PMCER (*Programa de Mejoramiento de la Calidad de la Educación Rural*) became monitored only by the officials of the MED at the regional level in Junín. Maybe for that reason, the consultants interviewed became interested in having more information about this RNS by the means of my research, since their direct involvement was obligatorily truncated. This case seemed interesting because it would be possible to observe how the organization of the RNS responded to the recent changes of monitors and to observe more clearly the role of the officials at the regional level.

As mentioned before, two criteria guided the selection: (a) it was necessary to select two geographic areas with similar poverty rates and similar demographic characteristics and (b) where a RNS had an existence of at least two years. The generally referred “geographic areas” were finally defined as districts because the minimum level of aggregation used for the calculation of the poverty indexes was the district level, and those were key instruments for the selection.. It was difficult to obtain a perfect intersection of both criteria. For that reason it was necessary to somewhat balance the first criteria in order to study an area where the RNS with the characteristics needed was in existence.

The poverty maps made possible the identification of the two similar districts (see table 1). According to their information and according to the information provided in the MED, I selected the *district of Cullhuas in the province of Huancayo, department of Junín* where the **Rural Network of Cullhuas** was operating according to MODEL 1, and the *district of Ollantaytambo in the province of Urubamba, department of Cusco* where the **Rural Network of Patacancha** was organized according to MODEL 2.

Table 1: Selected Districts by Poverty Indexes and Other Demographic Characteristics

Variables	Districts	
	<i>Ollantaytambo</i> (Province Urubamba, Department Cusco)	<i>Cullhuas</i> (Province Huancayo, Department Junín)
FGT2*	0.1082	0.1348
Poverty Map FONCODES 1995	25.17	20.64
Poverty Map MEF 2001	Quintile 2	Quintile 2
Illiteracy 1993	37.5	24.7
Malnutrition 1993	60.6	68.6
Rural Population (%) **	79.9	85
Population Density **	14.4	31.1
Population Size (projection 2002)**	9,055	3,295

Source: Office of Statistics of FONCODES.

*FONCODES. “Relación de Distritos del PESP Rural, según Oficina Zonal”-2002)

** INEI Banco de información distrital.

In the first row of table 1 is the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke (FGT) index, which is calculated using variables such as population size, number of poor people, the Poverty Line and the *per capita* household expenditure. This index varies between 0 and 1, with 0= “No Poverty”, and 1= “Maximum Level of

Poverty” (FONCODES, 2002). As observed, the FGT2 indexes for both districts are similar (.1082 for Ollantaytambo and .1348 for Cullhuas). In the next row, the other type of index used by FONCODES shows the same trend; Ollantaytambo has a poverty index of 25.7, while Cullhuas poverty index is only 4.63 units less. The poverty index calculated by the Ministry of Economy and Finances (MEF) confirms the similarity between both districts, locating both districts in the “Quintile 2”. The Poverty Map of the Ministry of Economy and Finances (MEF) distinguishes five quintiles, with the fifth quintile representative of the not poor and the first quintile representative of the poorest. In the next rows, the measures of illiteracy and malnutrition present an important degree of similarity. However, in the case of Ollantaytambo the proportion of illiterate people is 12.8 % larger than Cullhuas, and the measure of malnutrition in 1993 was 8% higher in Cullhuas. The percentage of rural population is similar being larger in the case of Cullhuas⁹. There are greater differences between the two districts with regard to size of population (9,188 in Ollantaytambo and 3,424 in Cullhuas) and population density (14.4 for Ollantaytambo and 31.1 for Cullhuas). However, it is important to note that those measures were calculated for the whole districts and that the geographic areas where the RNS were organized were actually much smaller. If

⁹ Cullhuas is closer to the capital of the department of Junín (the large city of Huancayo) than Ollantaytambo is to the capital city of Cusco (Cusco city) Ollantaytambo has a lower percentage of rural population because in Cullhuas there is no important town in the district. On the contrary, in the district of Ollantaytambo is located the town of Ollantaytambo which surrounds the pre Hispanic settlements of Ollantaytambo which is 30 to 90 minutes away from the area studied.

only the areas of the RNS are considered the differences regarding population density for the district are less since the settlement patterns were similar for both areas: scarce and concentrated in the communities centers.

Data

The fieldwork was conducted between May 30 and August 16 of 2002. This period was characterized by political instability in Peru. Regional movements of protest against the privatization of the electricity services in the departments of Arequipa, Tacna and Junín and against other economic and sectoral policies implemented by Alejandro Toledo's government produced important political crises that led to the resignation of two of his most important ministers, and with it a serious fall in Toledo's popularity. Other regional movements of protest arose. This was the case of the transportation stoppages that occurred in almost all the departments. The motive of these protests was the obligatory insurance of vehicles of public transportation ordered by the Ministry of Transports and Communications. Maybe motivated by the environment of protests in different regions, protests against the ministries of Education and Agriculture also arose, and contributed to regional stoppages (*paros regionales*). The heads of the Ministry of Education were changed, and a sensation of instability could be perceived in the different offices of the MED, at the headquarters, at the regional and at the provincial levels. This coincided with the

implementation of the first pilots of the new Program of Rural Education in Cusco, Piura, and San Martin. The Ministry of Agriculture went through the same volatility of changes. In the cities of Cusco and Huancayo, the changes of regional heads of those ministries and other political authorities contributed to create a climate of instability. In the same months the Law of Decentralization and some amendments to the Peruvian Constitution were being discussed in the Parliament.

In this context, information was collected at the national (headquarters of the Ministry of Education), regional (regional and provincial agencies of the Ministry), and local levels (all the communities that were part of each RNS and also NGOs). Official documentation was collected at the three levels but mostly at the first two. These included Ministerial Laws and Decrees, National Plans, official monitoring documents and internal documents of discussion. Twenty-seven structured interviews were conducted. These included at the national level, interviews with actual and former national consultants in charge of policy design and its implementation strategy. At the regional level these included interviews with pedagogical advisers currently and formerly in charge of these RNS. At the local level these included interviews with members of NGOs currently working in areas where the RNS are located, with authorities and parents of the communities and with schoolteachers. In addition, I observed different events and activities of both RNS (*see Appendix 1 with the listing of documentation and interviews*). In *table 2* the plan of data collection is described.

Box 1: Data collection by levels

National level (Ministry of Education Headquarters)

1. Collection of official documentation at the Ministry of Education from the two policy making bodies that applied the two most important programs of rural educational networks (RNS), the Technical Secretary of Rural Education STER and the Unit of Decentralization of Schools UDECE (*Unidad de Decentralización de Centros*).

- Ministerial Laws and Decrees
- National Plans
- Monitoring official documents
- Internal documents of discussion

2. Structured interviews with actual and previous national consultants in charge of policy design, the implementation strategy of this design, and the monitoring of the implementation process at national level.

Regional level (departments, provinces and districts)

3. Collection of official documentation from the Regional Office of Education- Junín (*Dirección Regional de Educación- Junín*) and from the Regional Office of Education- Cusco (*Dirección Regional de Educación-Cusco*).

- The Institutional Development Project PDI (*Proyecto de Desarrollo Institucional*) of each rural educational network.
- The Institutional Education Project PEI (*Proyecto Educativo Institucional*) of each rural network.
- Official monitoring documents.

4. Structured interviews with current and former pedagogical advisers (*especialistas*) who were in charge of the program in departmental agencies of the Ministry of Education in preceding years.

5. Structured interviews with members of NGOs currently working in areas where the RNS were located.

6. Structured interviews with members of the local governments in which the rural educational networks were located.

Community level

7. Observation of events illustrating the functioning of both RNS (meetings, monitoring conversations between pedagogical advisers and schoolteachers, conversations between parents and schoolteachers, and parents and pedagogical advisers, class sessions).

8. Structured and semi-structured interviews with the authorities and parents of the communities in which a school member of a rural network is located.

9. Structured interviews with schoolteachers of both rural networks.

The plan of data collection was realized with the exception of the structured interviews with the members of local governments, due to difficulties to contact them in the district of Ollantaytambo in Cusco (where the rural education network of Patacancha is located) and because that in the case of Junín (rural educational network of Cullhuas), local government participation did not exist. The objective of this plan of data collection at the moment was to obtain a general understanding of the “processes of institutionalization of the RNS”. As mentioned before, this concept was not fully delineated, and the four levels of it were not clearly identified, for that reason the indicators selected to give account of these processes are somewhat general ones. These are the indicators I used in the elaboration of the instruments of data collection (guides for the structured and semi-structured interview and plans of observation):

- a. Characteristics of the model of the rural education network RNS (the model in itself, the strategy of implementation and the monitoring system).
- b. Elements of the history of the implementation of the model in each RNS (the type of organizations and persons involved in the workings of the rural education network, type, importance and intensity of their actions).
- c. Basic achievements and difficulties of each RNS.

- d. Characteristics of the communities in which the networks were organized (recent history, type and quality of organization, economic activities, public investment of them).

Guiding Assumptions

The assumptions that guided this study are the following:

- 1) Any type of social policy, in this case a reform, when implemented could or could not generate institutionalization processes around it. In other words, the policy could or could not institutionalize. The application of a program or set of guidelines *per se* does not guarantee the generation of an *institutionalization process*.
- 2) Success and attainment of the objectives stated in the ideal version of the policy depend on the attainment of *institutionalization* of the policy.
- 3) Institutionalization processes do not depend only on the good or bad political decisions taken by the policy makers and “policy appliers” or “implementers” but depend also on the pre-existent social conditions functioning in the area, community and region where the policy is applied.
- 4) In the case of a policy such as the formation of a RNS, part of the Education reform, the pre-existent social conditions that are most crucial are the existence and type of social capital, the place that education plays in the plans of

reproduction and social mobility of the households and the expected future of the zone.

CHAPTER II: Access to Education in Peru (1961-2002)

In this chapter, the main characteristics of the evolution of education in Peru between 1961 and 2002 are presented in order to illustrate the scenario in which the education decentralization is occurring. It will be evident that despite the remarkable increases in educational attainment in Peru has experienced, internal regional differences have put predominantly rural departments at a clear disadvantage. However, it is also evident that in the last years those departments have attained significant advances at least in terms of school attendance, particularly at the primary level.

It is commonly known that access to education has greatly increased in developing countries since the 1970s. Prawda (1993: 256,258) mentions this fact as the financial rationale for education decentralization, given that developing countries face “severe financial constraints (...) to cope with the continued expansion of educational opportunities.” According to Prawda, shifting the “financial burden” to sub-national governments, community and voluntary organizations, and to the private sector is seen as an alternative.

Latin America is part of this process and since the 1970s it has experienced a steep increase in the levels of educational attainment, with increased access to higher education being particularly marked. *Table 2* presents

the percentage distribution of the population 25 and older by educational attainment for a sample of nine Latin American countries, of which three are commonly mentioned as important cases of improvement in education levels (Mexico, Chile, and Argentina). In the table, the percentage of population 25 and older with “no schooling” tends to decrease while the percentage of population 25 and older with “post secondary” education shows sharp increases. The increases for the latter component range from 1.8 to 5.6 % during the transition from the 1970s to the 1980s; and from 2 to 10.4 % during the transition from the 1980s to the 1990s¹⁰. Peru was also part of this trend, and has an extraordinary expansion in education.

Comparing the education access figures of Peru to the ones of other countries in Latin America in the same years usually surprises researchers. In the table, the figures show an important decline of the percentage of population with no schooling throughout three decades. In 1972, 35% of the population older than 25 had no schooling, this percentage dropped first to 20.1% in 1981 and then to 16% in 1993. More striking is the evolution of the percentage for the population older than 25 that have some kind of “post secondary education” and that attained a “lower secondary” level.

¹⁰ Ranges are valid only for the nine selected countries.

The cases of “primary incomplete” and “primary complete” do not show the magnitude of the increases of the “lower secondary” and “post secondary” levels but are also significant. This is actually a positive sign of education attainment because these figures are referring to the population 25 and older, and it is expected that at that age a person should have completed at least the secondary level. In 1971, the percentage of population older than 25 with “primary incomplete” was 16.1%, in 1981, this percentage of population increases to 17.2%, and there is no information for 1993. In 1971, the percentage of population older than 25 with “primary complete” was 31%, in 1981, this percentage of population decreases to 27.3% and in 1993 increases to 34.7%.

The increases in the case of “lower secondary” from 1981 to 1993 are the sharpest experienced in Peru in this period. The population 25 and older that attained a “lower secondary” level increases from 10.7% in 1981 to 27.2% in 1993.

The increases in the case of “post secondary education” are also high important and remarkable in comparison to the other nine countries. In 1993, the percentage of Peruvian population older than 25, with post-secondary education is 20.5 %, which is the highest number in the 1990s among the nine countries. In the 1980s the pattern is similar and Peru has also the highest percentage of population older than 25 with post-secondary education.

Table 2: Percentage distribution of population by Educational attainment for population older than 25 in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s for nine Latin American countries ¹¹

			No Schooling	Primary Incomplete	Primary Complete	Lower Secondary	Upper Secondary	Post- Secondary
1971	25+	Peru	35	31	16.1	6.3	7.1	4.5
1970	25+	Argentina	8.3	41.8	30.6	15.3	-->	4
1970	25+	Brazil	42.5	26.6	19.4	5.9	3.7	2
1970	20+	Mexico	35	39.4	15.3	4.1	3.7	2.6
1970	25+	Chile	12.4	57.2	-->	26.6	-->	3.8
1975	25+	Uruguay	9.9	36.7	29.6	17.4	-->	6.3
1976	25+	Bolivia	48.6	28.5	-->	10.8	7.1	5
1973	20+	Colombia	22.4	55.9	-->	18.4	-->	3.3
1970	25+	Ecuador	31.9	53.7	-->	5.9	5.3	3.2
1981	25+	Peru	20.1	27.3	17.2	10.7	10.7	10.1
1980	25+	Argentina	7.1	33.4	33	20.4	-->	6.1
1980	25+	Brazil	32.9	50.4	4.9	6.9	-->	5
1980	25+	Mexico	34.2	31.4	17.2	11.8	-->	5.3
1982	25+	Chile	9.4	56.6	-->	26.9	-->	7.2
1985	25+	Uruguay	4.7	58	-->	29.2	-->	8.1
1980s		Bolivia	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
1980s		Colombia	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
1990	25+	Ecuador	25.4	17	34.1	8.1	7.9	7.6
1993	25+	Peru	16.4	34.7	-->	27.2	-->	20.5
1991	25+	Argentina	5.7	22.3	34.6	25.3	-->	12
1990s		Brazil	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
1990	25+	Mexico	18.8	28.6	19.9	12.7	10.7	9.2
1992	25+	Chile	5.8	48	-->	33.9	-->	12.3
1996	25+	Uruguay	3.4	53.6	-->	31.7	-->	10.1
1992	25+	Bolivia	23.5	20.4	6.6	15.2	15.7	9.9
1993	25+	Colombia	11.9	27.3	18.3	13.3	16.7	10.4
1990	25+	Ecuador	1.7	43.7	-->	22.6	-->	12.7

Source: UNESCO Statistics about Education

However, educational expansion in Peru has also presented some disparities in internal regional terms. In *Table 3* that shows illiteracy rates by

¹¹ The different years used for each one of the countries correspond to the Census data available for that country around those years. In the case of Peru 1972, and Brazil 1970, data did not include jungle population. In the case of Argentina 1970 and in the case of Uruguay 1975 and 1985, data was based on a sample of census returns.

department, we can observe how illiteracy was distributed geographically among departments in the period 1961-1993. In 1961, the departments with the highest illiteracy rates are departments located in the highlands of Peru. These are Apurímac with an illiteracy rate of 76, Ayacucho with a rate of 71, Huancavelica with 70.3, and Puno with 64.3. These departments are characterized by being mostly rural and by having the highest poverty indexes in Peru¹². The departments with the lowest illiteracy rates in the same year are departments located on the coast of Peru, mostly urban and with the lowest poverty indexes¹³. The department with the lowest illiteracy rate is where the capital city is located (9.9), including also Callao located in Lima with a rate of 5.9, then follows Ica (15), Tacna (25) and Arequipa (25.2). In 1993, after 30 years, the illiteracy rates for the first group of departments (with highest illiteracy rates) decrease on average by 30 to 40 units. The departments with the highest illiteracy rates in 1993 are the same departments as in 1961 only with lower rates and with the inclusion in the list of Cajamarca. The departments and their illiteracy rates in 1993 are: Apurímac (36.9), Huancavelica (34.1), Ayacucho (32.7), Cajamarca (27.2) and Puno (22.2). The pattern for the departments with the lowest illiteracy rates is exactly the same as in 1961.

¹² The poverty indexes for 2001 (Ministry of Economy and Finances of Peru 2001) for these departments are: Apurímac 7.2, Ayacucho 8.3, Huancavelica 10.1 and Puno 10.7.

¹³ The poverty indexes for 2001 (Ministry of Economy and Finances of Peru 2001) for these departments are: Lima 2.6, Tacna 0.2, Ica 1.1 and Arequipa 2.5.

Table 3: Illiteracy rates for Peruvian population older than 15 by departments in 1961, 1972, 1981, and 1993

	<i>1961</i>	<i>1972</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1993</i>
TOTAL	38.9	27.5	18.1	12.8
Amazonas	41	33.1	26.8	19.9
Ancash	50.7	40.2	28.4	21.1
Apurimac	76	66.6	52.3	36.9
Arequipa	25.2	17.2	10.8	7.6
Ayacucho	71.1	60.8	45.1	32.7
Cajamarca	53.7	45.8	35.4	27.2
Callao	5.9	4	2.9	3
Cusco	65.8	53	37.2	25.4
Huancavelica	70.2	59.7	44.2	34.1
Huánuco	55.4	44.7	32.4	24.7
Ica	15	10.3	6.8	5.8
Junín	37.2	27.8	18.6	13.4
La Libertad	35.6	26	17.7	13
Lambayeque	28.5	20	13.4	11
Lima	9.9	6.8	4.5	4.2
Loreto	31.9	22.1	15	10.8
Madre de Dios	27.2	22.5	10.7	8
Moquegua	34.7	22.2	12.4	8.8
Pasco	46.8	34.9	22.4	15.3
Piura	43.4	33.5	22	16.3
Puno	64.3	49.5	32.7	22.2
San Martín	29.8	22.9	16.4	12.5
Tacna	25	15.7	8.9	7.4
Tumbes	21.5	14.9	8.5	6.6
Ucayali	0	0	11.4	9.6

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática del Perú (INEI)

Despite the internal disparities, the most disadvantaged departments with regard to educational access are currently achieving are notable. This trend can be observed in *table 4* that shows the net rates of school attendance for the three basic levels of education pre-school, primary and secondary by department in 2002.

Table 4: Net Rates of School Attendance for the three basic levels of education by departments in 2002

Departments	Education Levels	Net Rate of school attendance	Departments	Education Levels	Net Rate of school attendance
Amazonas	Pre-school	46	Lambayeque	Pre-school	55
Amazonas	Primary	79.7	Lambayeque	Primary	94.2
Amazonas	Secondary	55.1	Lambayeque	Secondary	72.6
Áncash	Pre-school	55.5	Lima y Callao	Pre-school	58.5
Áncash	Primary	87.7	Lima y Callao	Primary	89.4
Áncash	Secondary	59.4	Lima y Callao	Secondary	78.6
Apurímac	Pre-school	45.3	Loreto	Pre-school	45.2
Apurímac	Primary	88.8	Loreto	Primary	91.8
Apurímac	Secondary	63.8	Loreto	Secondary	52.6
Arequipa	Pre-school	44.8	Madre de Dios	Pre-school	40.3
Arequipa	Primary	94.5	Madre de Dios	Primary	95.5
Arequipa	Secondary	81.3	Madre de Dios	Secondary	76.1
Ayacucho	Pre-school	39.6	Moquegua	Pre-school	59.6
Ayacucho	Primary	89.9	Moquegua	Primary	94.1
Ayacucho	Secondary	57.7	Moquegua	Secondary	86.5
Cajamarca	Pre-school	41.6	Pasco	Pre-school	50.8
Cajamarca	Primary	90	Pasco	Primary	89.6
Cajamarca	Secondary	50	Pasco	Secondary	62.5
Cusco	Pre-school	57.2	Piura	Pre-school	41.5
Cusco	Primary	84.2	Piura	Primary	90.4
Cusco	Secondary	61.5	Piura	Secondary	65.3
Huancavelica	Pre-school	28.6	Puno	Pre-school	50.4
Huancavelica	Primary	90.7	Puno	Primary	93.4
Huancavelica	Secondary	50.1	Puno	Secondary	69.3
Huánuco	Pre-school	24.9	San Martín	Pre-school	40.5
Huánuco	Primary	89	San Martín	Primary	92.8
Huánuco	Secondary	48.6	San Martín	Secondary	57.9
Ica	Pre-school	63.2	Tacna	Pre-school	63.2
Ica	Primary	93.1	Tacna	Primary	94.7
Ica	Secondary	81.8	Tacna	Secondary	77.3
Junín	Pre-school	37.3	Tumbes	Pre-school	76
Junín	Primary	89.3	Tumbes	Primary	89.8
Junín	Secondary	73.3	Tumbes	Secondary	76.5
La Libertad	Pre-school	43.2	Ucayali	Pre-school	56.4
La Libertad	Primary	87.1	Ucayali	Primary	91.4
La Libertad	Secondary	58.7	Ucayali	Secondary	67.9

Source: INEI-Encuesta Nacional de Hogares-IV Trimestre 1997-2002

The net rate of attendance measures the degree of attendance at the specific level of education (pre-school, primary and secondary) for the population with the appropriate age to be attending the corresponding level of education (3 to 5 years of age for pre-school, 6 to 11 for primary and 12 to 16 for secondary). In the table, the departments as Apurímac, Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Puno with the highest illiteracy rates in 1961 and 1993 (*table 3*) show high net rates of attendance, especially for the primary level. Thus, Apurímac shows a net rate of attendance to primary of 88.8 %, Ayacucho a rate of 89.9%, Huancavelica a rate of 90.7% and Puno a rate of 93.4%. It is notable that these rates approximate and sometimes are higher than the departments with lower illiteracy rates in 1993, i.e. Lima with a net rate of attendance to primary of 89.4%, Ica with a rate of 93.1%, Tacna with a rate of 94.7% and Arequipa with a rate of 94.5%.

Who have taken the necessary steps for these advances to take place? Undeniably, the Peruvian state's efforts for extending education to rural areas have had an important role. However, it is also clear that rural households's aspirations for a better education for their younger members have had an extraordinary influence function, being a constant registered by different studies. What is the significance of these advances for the future reforms aiming to improve the quality of education in rural areas and to decentralize education? In the next chapter, the current efforts of the state in improving and decentralizing education in rural areas of Peru will be described.

CHAPTER III: Decentralizing Education in Peru and the Case of the Rural Networks of Schools

In this chapter the Peruvian model of education decentralization that has been applied since 1996 is described, as are the influences of similar experiences in other countries as well as that of previous Peruvian. The focus is the proposal of education decentralization designed for the rural areas, and its main component the formation of Rural Networks of Schools (RNS). The two models of RNS that are compared in this research will be described in detail making clear how extensive are the plans that the Peruvian state is pursuing.

The Education Reform of the 1990s and the Plans of Education Decentralization

The Peruvian education reform initiated in 1993, involved a significant although not clearly perceptible move towards a decentralized functioning of the education system. The objective to decentralize education involved efforts that started to obtain shape from individual components that at first were not associated, but that since 1996 started to be officially connected with the enactment of the R.M. 016 (a Ministry of Education level law). The stipulations of that decree were after improved in 2001 with the enactment of a higher level decree: the D.S. 007 (a Supreme Decree given by the President of the Republic).

A new Ministry level decree complemented the D.S.007 of 2001 in April of 2002. This was the R.M 0168-2002-ED.

The first decree of all, enacted in 1996, was promoted by a group of progressive consultants and by the head of the Ministry of Education, paradoxically in Alberto Fujimori's self-imposed second government. The second decree was enacted as a decree in the Transitory Government of Valentín Paniagua in 2001. Its objective was to assure the implementation of education decentralization and protect it against the serious anti-decentralization tendencies of the education system that made the first decree very easy to avoid. Finally, the third decree of 2002 was as mentioned in its official description, "supplementary to the D.S. 007." This last decree, current at the time of the research, introduces some changes and adds legal provisions securing a more important role for the intermediate level agencies of the Ministry of Education is secured¹⁴.

The initial step in decentralization occurred in the pedagogical field. The reform of the primary level that started around 1994 involved a curricular reform that decentralized the administration of the curriculum. The same tendency was present in the reform of the secondary level. Thus, the curricular reform of the

¹⁴This is the complete description of the three laws mentioned: (1) Resolución Ministerial 016-96-ED "Normas para la Gestión y Desarrollo de las Actividades en los Centros y Programas Educativos" (2) Decreto Supremo 007-2001 "Normas para la Gestión y Desarrollo de las Actividades en los Centros y Programas Educativos" and (3) Resolución Ministerial 168-2002-ED "Educación por una Escuela Democrática. Normas para la Gestión y Desarrollo de las Actividades en los Centros y Programas Educativos".

most important levels of the Peruvian public education, elementary and secondary school, advocated something called *diversificación curricular* or curricular diversification¹⁵.

Curricular diversification is one of the main features of the new curricula which are according to this new characteristic understood as “semi-open” or “flexible”. In rough terms, this means that the composition of these types of curricula allows adaptation to the characteristics of specific regional and local environments.

As a matter of fact, the push to “diversify” the curriculum both in elementary and secondary school was stronger than just a possibility to choose. It was a rule, and teachers, some of them trained in this procedure, some of them not, were supposed to perform curricular diversification, both individually in their classes and collectively in the level of the schools. The latter procedure entailed the design of a distinctive curriculum adapted to the educational necessities and social context of the students in a particular school. This adapted curriculum was named Curricular Project of the School PCC (*Proyecto Curricular de Centro*) and each school is supposed to have one. When a school offers elementary and secondary education each level should have its own PCC.

¹⁵ *Bachillerato*, designed to be the final stage of secondary school that anteceded higher education, was created by the education reform in 2000. After three years of work, and paradoxically successful results this level was eliminated. The experimental curriculum for this level was also guided by the principle of curricular diversification.

Curricular adaptation to local and regional contexts is a principle of decentralization. Prawda (1993:253) described this type of education decentralization policy as supported by the rationale of “quality”, by which it is understood that “decentralization can provide greater sensitivity to local variations and is a means of matching student’s and school’s specific learning environments with national learning agendas or curriculum.” This trend to design semi-open curricula as part of the Latin American education reforms of the 1990s is also supported by the preoccupation to guarantee “culturally pertinent curricula.” The cultural pertinence of a curriculum is defined as a main component in the attainment of “quality in the education service” (Peralta 1991 develops this discussion for the case of the Chilean education reform). It entails considering the student’s particular experience of socialization as a priority in curriculum elaboration the student’s closer areas of socialization (Pinto, Bello and Trapnell 1992).

The Ministerial Resolution RM 016 (1997) officially enacted the decentralization reforms in the curricular-pedagogical field and added other elements. The added elements were related to school management, and this addition created the other side or component of the proposal for education decentralization in Peru. The new stipulations referring to school management strongly empowered the role of the school headmaster and advanced the notion of school autonomy. The promotion of school autonomy is a very common and

controversial element of decentralization reforms (Rivarola and Fuller 1998, Antunez 1994, Girardi 1994). The Peruvian model of education decentralization promotes it in conjunction with the new role given to school headmasters as managers.

Since that time, school headmasters have been given the power to select the personnel working in their schools, to create financial funds, to administer them and to engage in agreements with institutions such as NGOs, local governments or any institution able to help the performance of the school.

In connection with these stipulations, a new instrument of planning was created for the individual administration of the school: the Institutional Development Project PDI (*Proyecto de Desarrollo Institucional*). Each school was supposed to elaborate one under the direction of its principal, but with the participation of parents and local authorities. This project had as one of its main objectives “the establishment of objectives of betterment of the school for the short, medium and large term”, it also wanted to promote “the participation and commitment of teachers in its elaboration and application and the participation of parents and students in the enrichment of the proposal of PDI” (MED 1998).

The Ministerial level law (R.M.) 016 of 1996, described in the preceding paragraph, was a basic outline of the model of education decentralization. After five years, the Supreme Decree 007 of 2001 that replaced the R.M 016

represented a significant advance. Additional elements were added and the problems and limitations of the former law were corrected. The vague and optional stipulations regarding rural schools and the formation of rural networks of schools that had been present in R.M 016, became detailed and mandatory in the D.S. 007. The model of education decentralization implemented in Peru gained more shape, one step at a time. One year later, the R.M 168 of 2002 appeared and as mentioned before, only supplemented the D.S. 007, introducing some changes in the balance between the authority of the school headmasters and the administrative officials of the regional and provincial agencies of the MED.

The Peruvian model of education decentralization assembles together different components of the experiences of reform and decentralization of other countries. It follows the templates of multilateral organization regarding education decentralization. However, at the same time it includes some elements that come from past socio-democratic experiences of reformist governments interested in improving rural education, and is combined with the body of ideas and beliefs about rural development of an important group of policy makers and officials in charge of the programs.

As part of the external influences, this model promotes the managerial role of school headmasters as almost all the countries in Asia do (Chapman 1998: 611) probably following the templates of the British educational decentralization of the

1980s (Rivarola and Fuller). It utilizes curricular planning instruments like the Curricular Project of the School (PCC) as created in the Spanish education reform (Olmos 2002). It utilizes a much known instrument of institutional planning such as the Project of Institutional Development (PDI), which as part of a trend in administrative reform, has been widely used in recent years among Latin American institutions. Finally, it employs the experience of rural networks of schools developed in countries like Ecuador (Iguñiz and Muñoz 2000).

In addition, the case of the RNS is singular in terms of showing how the long and interesting story of past experiences of rural education has influenced the current models. The most important experience seems to be that of the Peasant Education Nuclei (Núcleos Educativos Campesinos) applied with successful results in different rural departments of Peru in 1945. Other important elements taken into account in the model of 2002 were the Communal Education Nuclei (Núcleos Educativos Comunales) that were part of the major education reforms of the 1970s (UDECE 2002a). There are also more contemporary experiences like the program of Rural Networks of Schools funded and monitored by UNICEF since 1983 (Iguñiz and Muñoz 2000) and the *Fe y Alegría* Rural Networks of Schools of Cusco, a program created by a consortium of catholic religious orders. The following section expands on the main features of the RNS and on the two models compared in this research.

The Two Models of Rural Networks of Schools: STER and UDECE

Although not numerous, the subsections related to rural education in the various laws (R.M.016, D.S. 007 and the R.M. 168) introduced a fundamental component of the reform toward educational decentralization for the Peruvian countryside: the rural networks of schools.

According to our interviews with several consultants of the Ministry of Education, rural education was not the main priority when the reform started in 1993. It became to be an important preoccupation in the final years of the 1990s, when a group of consultants who had worked on NGO development programs were hired to work in the Ministry. Bettering the quality of education in rural areas became part of the recommendations of one of the most important offices of the Ministry in those years, the Office of Strategic Planning. More consultants with valuable experience in the field of rural development were hired. Some of them started the work of the Technical Secretary of Rural education (STER) and others started the work in the Rural Networks of Schools program created by the Unit of Decentralization of Schools (UDECE). A component of this trend was the creation of the program of Bilingual Education, which is not part of the present research. In general, since 1999, a committed and increasingly large group of consultants usually trained in the social sciences occupied key roles in the design of programs related to education in rural areas. I argue that the feature of this

group of policy makers goes a long way to explaining the characteristics of the models of RNS, their implementation and some of their important outcomes.

Since approximately 1998, three different models of rural networks of schools have been applied by three different policy bodies of the MED: 1) The model applied in the Project of Pilot Rural Networks of Schools in Frontier Districts of Peru (*Proyecto de Redes Educativas Rurales Piloto en Distritos de Frontera del Perú*) by the Unit of National Defense UDENA (Unidad de Defensa Nacional). 2) The model applied by the Technical Secretary of Rural Education STER (Secretaría Técnica de Educación Rural) and 3). The model applied by the Unit of Decentralization of Schools UDECE (*Unidad de Decentralización de Centros*). From them, this study is comparing the latter two.

At present and since July of 2002, the Rural Education and Teaching Training Special Program (*Programa Especial Educación Rural y Desarrollo Magisterial*) of the Ministry of Education began to conduct four large pilots which included not only geographical areas but complete rural provinces organized in RNS. The model being implemented in those pilots, i.e. the one that will be generalized at national level from 2006, intends to use the lessons and experiences drawn from the application of the three models in the period 1999-2002.¹⁶

¹⁶ These large pilots, included provinces and large zones in four departments (now called

In the next two sections, the conception of RNS, the organization structure and the strategy of implementation of each model are presented.

The STER Model: Focus on Pedagogical Aspects

Although in different documents of STER the management functions of an RNS are emphasized, and although the definition of a RNS given in these documents alludes basically to an “organizational model”, the real focus of this model is mainly pedagogical. The formation of Functional Groups of Inter-learning or GFIA (*Grupo Funcionales de Inter Aprendizaje*) was central in this model. A GFIA is the bringing together of all the teachers from the different schools that form the RNS in groups of study with the aim of sharing the experiences in the classroom according to the new methodologies thus promoting learning processes for all (STERa). In each GFIA a “demonstrator teacher” selected as one of the most efficient in the classroom acted as an agent of training for the rest of the group.

In terms of the organizational structure (*see box 2*), this model gave an important role to the Network Director but at the same time it balanced this importance with the role assigned to the Network Board, which is the most important decision-making body. Components like the itinerant and

“regions”): Suyo and Frías in the region of Piura, Canas in the region of Cusco and El Dorado in the region of San Martín. The pilots are extending to the 24 regions of Peru. This information was obtained in the interview with the Responsible of the RNS program of UDECE (INT3, see

administrative teams were also designed to support the work of the network as it developed in the near future, with funds to administer (accounting), statistical work to do and the need to deal with information technology (most of the areas in which the RNS are formed do not have access to electricity, or computers to work with). Documentation from the initial years of application of this program do not include these two last components of support (itinerant team, administrative team). Apparently they were added around the middle of 2001 when the coordination between STER and UDECE began to be important in terms of designing a common model of RNS.

The participation of parents and community self-organization were also considered but mostly in an auxiliary way. According to the plans in STER, parents would have the function of “making sure that students attend class, organize groups of support for the school, collaborate in the elaboration of the regional diagnostic and of the PDI, and participate in the information and discussion meetings called by the Network Board and the GFIA”(STERa).

In terms of the strategy of implementation of the model, STER had a complex sequence that can be summarized in the following phases: I. Identification of the spaces where a RNS could be formed according to set conditions; II. Sensitize teachers, principals and parents about the proposal; III.

Appendix 2).

Formation of the RNS; IV. Implementation of the Multi-service Modules (MMS), which were planned to be at the center of the RNS and where facilities such as a computer lab, a virtual library, dining room, small medical service and a lodge would be built; V. The RNS starts to be active; VI The RNS starts the management of the financial resources directly received from the Ministry of Economy and Finances; and VII. The RNS starts the management of the human resources.

One of the particularities of the implementation strategy of STER was its very intense and close monitoring system. The monitors, called “technical coordinators” (*coordinadores técnicos*) were carefully selected among the best and experienced teachers of the different departments where the program of RNS was applied. They could have been teaching in pedagogical institutes or NGOs, or in elementary and high schools. In addition to professional efficiency, a specific profile needed to be fulfilled: the profile of a professional who is really interested in rural education, with the capacity of connecting with rural teachers and communities in a democratic manner and necessarily bilingual (proficient in the language of the area). This group of monitors were not part of the MED personnel but were hired by the Project of Betterment of the Quality of Rural Education, PMCER (*Proyecto de Mejoramiento de la Calidad de la Educación Rural*)¹⁷. The

¹⁷ The big project conducted by STER between approximately 1999 and 2002 to which the RNS program was of great importance.

monitors coordinated closely with the official pedagogical advisers of the MED in the regional and provincial agencies, who were administratively the personnel in charge of monitoring schools at the departmental and provincial level. They also evaluated their work in the field with technical coordinators of higher rank that were assigned to two or three nearby departments where the RNS of the program were functioning (INT11)¹⁸. The main objectives of this complex monitoring system were related to the work of each one of the GFIA's, and the training in methodological skills was central and constant (INT5). In fact, the technical coordinators undertook trips to the isolated areas where the RNS were formed several times in the month. Evidence of this rigorous monitoring system are the detailed plans of trips (and tasks for each trip) elaborated in the offices in STER's national program of RNS. I examined the "plan of trips of the month" of two "technical coordinators" of Cusco (TEC1)¹⁹ and observed the fulfillment of these tasks for these technical coordinators in 2001. It was clear that this truly was a very systematic and intense labor. This constancy and interest in the monitoring of the work and training of rural teachers represented a completely unusual experience for rural teachers.

¹⁸ This is the code for the interviews realized (see appendix 2). From this point forward, these

codes will be used to indicate the specific interview that was the source of data.

¹⁹ See appendix 2 (list of official documentation)

Box 2: Network organization structure, Model STER

Office of Coordination for Development of Rural Education (ex STER)

Network Director (*Director de la Red*): Is selected by the Network Board from the group of school headmasters and teachers who are members of the network of schools and his/her main duties are to coordinate the elaboration of the Institutional Development Project (*Proyecto de Desarrollo Institucional-PDI*) and apply it. Also, reporting to the regional agencies of the MED about the administration of the RNS; and the hiring and supervision of schoolteachers and administrative employees in coordination with the Network Board. Does not have classes to teach in order to be completely in charge of the school management.

Network Board (*Consejo de Red*): Since teachers are organized in groups of teachers that meet to study and talk about their problems in class (GFIA), the Network Board is formed by two teacher representatives of each GFIA and two parents representative of the area where each GFIA works. This board selects the Network Director, supervises his/her job, or fire him/her. It has the same powers with regard to schoolteachers and administrative employees. Participates in the elaboration and execution of the Institutional Development Project (*Proyecto de Desarrollo Institucional-PDI*).

Itinerant Team (*Equipo Itinerante*): Two teachers who are in charge of giving pedagogical and methodological advice to all the teachers in the network. They visit each school of the network (that is why the term itinerant is used). These teachers do not have classes to teach in order to dedicate their time to consulting over pedagogy, and do not participate in the Network Board.

Team of Administrative Support (*Equipo de Apoyo Administrativo*): Two administrative assistants that help in the accounting, statistical and information technology tasks.

Body of schoolteachers (*Personal docente*): Participate of GFIA (besides their class duties).

Parents: Participate in the elaboration of the Institutional Development Project (*Proyecto de Desarrollo Institucional-PDI*) and contribute to the functioning of the RNS (Source: STERa).

The UDECE Model: Focus on Political Organization

In the plans (and then in reality), the focus of the UDECE model of RNS seemed to be the organizational structure, in other terms, the sustainability of the organization of the RNS in internal political terms. Not much attention seemed to be given to the pedagogical aspects in the plans, but there is a great interest in involving the participation of the communities where the schools of the RNS were located. The interest in the participation of other actors such as NGOs and local governments was also very important. In fact, the UDECE conception of a RNS was “a model of education management that involves the participation of diverse agents linked to the schools” (UDECEa).

In terms of the organizational structure designed for this model (*see box 3*), as in the model of STER there is the same interest in having a Network Directory Board as the most important decision-making body. Then is the figure of the Network Coordinator with the same characteristics as in the model of STER and the participation of an “Itinerant team”, a body planned to be in charge of giving pedagogical advice in the network. This team visits each one of the schools of the RNS to examine and help in the solution of any problem related to the activities of the teachers in the classroom. The participation of the parents and local authorities is also mandated. Different to the model of STER, the UDECE model of RNS includes the participation of the “Team from the MED regional

and provincial agencies” (*Equipo Red del Organo Intermedio*), which is formed by one pedagogical adviser and one administrative adviser from the regional and (or) provincial Ministry of Education Agency. The inclusion of this component in the organization was probably related to two things: (1) in the program implementation strategy, there was no significant group of technical coordinators as in the strategy of STER and (2) UDECE is a sub-organism of the Office of Support to Decentralization of the MED, which is also in charge of designing the administrative processes of all the organizations of the MED to a whole would work in a decentralized way. Of course, among those organization are included the intermediate level agencies of the MED at department, provincial and district levels. It was thus normal and necessary to consider as part of the implementation strategy of the UDECE program of RNS the participation of these employees of the MED (UDECEa).

The implementation strategy of the program was complex and several efforts to correct it occurred in the process of application. It can be summarized in the following phases: I. Study and characterization of the possible zones for the formation of RNS. II. Consultation with parents, community authorities, teachers, students and principals about the possibility of forming a RNS in the selected area. III. Sensitization workshop for parents, community authorities, teachers, students and principals about the importance of forming the RNS. Sensitization workshop for members of the MED regional, provincial, and district level

agencies. IV. Official installation of the RNS. V. Training of all the agents involved in the most important aspects of forming the RNS such as the elaboration of the Institutional Development Project (PDI) and Curricular Project of the Network (PCN) and working out the information strategy to be used about the RNS. VI. Transfer of resources and equipment by the RNS “after the PDI is established”. VII. Monitoring and evaluation according to a set of indicators (UDECEa).

The formation of RNS and the monitoring system were carried out by the “national consultants” of UDECE (consultants hired specially for the program working at the headquarters) who visited the RNS constantly and by the pedagogical advisers (“*especialistas*”), employers of the MED agencies at the department, provincial and district levels (INT4, INT3).

Box 3: : Network organization structure, Model UDECE

Unit of Decentralization of Schools

Network Directory Board (*Consejo Directivo de la Red*): Is formed by the Network coordinator, the Network manager and representatives of principals, schoolteachers, students, ex-students, APAFA (Parents Association), local and community authorities. It is the top level of authority and responsible for the management of the financial resources.

Network Coordinator (*Coordinador de la Red*): is elected by the assembly of principals and teachers and he/she is the legal representative of the network. Works exclusively for the network and does not have class duties. Is responsible for network management in all its aspects. Supervises the work of the Itinerant Team.

Team from the MED regional and provincial agencies (*Equipo Red del Organo Intermedio*): Formed by one pedagogical adviser and one administrative adviser from the regional and (or) provincial Ministry of Education Agency. They have to participate in the constitution and planning of the Rural Educational Network, and obtain resources for it. They also organize different tasks with the Network coordinator and the Itinerant Team.

Itinerant Team (*Equipo Itinerante*): Formed by a teacher of Elementary education and another of Secondary education. They are “democratically” elected by and among the schoolteacher’s members of the network. Their main task is to give pedagogical and administrative advice, visiting each one of the school members of the network (1 week as the maximum and 3 days as a minimum). They also promote community participation.

Community Participation Team (*Equipo de Participación Comunal*): Formed by the representatives of the community. They participate in the elaboration of the Institutional Development Project (*Proyecto de Desarrollo Institucional-PDI*) and in the implementation of the community projects (Source: UDECEa).

Something that should be noted here is that both models of organizational structures for a RNS introduced an element that completely revolutionized the role of the teachers, as classroom teachers or as school headmasters: they formally became part of a body of authorities. Any teacher or school headmaster could be selected as the director of the RNS, or be member of the Network Body (STER) or Network Directory Board (UDECE) with the power of administering resources, deciding on the selection and dismissal of personnel, engaging in agreements with other institutions, and most importantly deciding on the type of education received by the children in the RNS. How do these new attributes work in the context of contemporary rural Peru? Chapters five, six, seven and eight will offer some answers to this question.

Future Plans

According to the Rural Education and Teaching Training Special Program (*Programa Especial Educación Rural y Desarrollo Magisterial*) of the Ministry of Education, the mandatory generalization of the RNS will start in 2006, and in the prior years the aim is to gradually and systematically increase of the pilots. Moreover, in 2006 the RNS will receive almost complete autonomy, receiving a direct transfer of budget from the Ministry of Economy and the powers to decide about pedagogical, administrative, institutional and monetary resources. The plans also envisaged a national accreditation system for teachers which does not exist.

At present, after obtaining appointment (*nombramiento*) a teacher is not evaluated anymore and the Teachers Law protects their job even in the case of negligence. Thus with the new system of accreditation will be possible to identify the teachers with the appropriate level of training and skills to practice their profession, consequently improving the quality of these professionals and ensuring that the most skilled teachers in terms of accreditation will be hired by the RNS when administering their financial resources. These plans if applied and not disturbed by the constant changes in education policy, are represent the most ambitious plans the Peruvian state has designed for improving the quality of education in the rural areas.

CHAPTER IV: Patacancha, Cullhuas, and their Schools

In this chapter I will describe the basic characteristics of the areas in which the two RNS are located and the schools that are a part of them. Cullhuas, due to its proximity to Huancayo city, is highly accessible; nonetheless, social isolation and stagnation affect the area. The other area, Patacancha, shows dramatically different characteristics. In spite of its limited accessibility, Patacancha enjoys a thriving social network, including the local government high degree of activity in the basin, the presence of two active NGO's, and tourists who frequent a group of nearby settlements. With regard to the schools' characteristics, in 1999 and 2002 the RNS of Patacancha had a larger number of students (661) than the RNS of Cullhuas (417). However, the distribution of children across grades was more homogeneous in Cullhuas, and this RNS had a high proportion of six graders. In the case of Patacancha, the distribution of children across grades was not homogeneous with the highest proportions concentrated in the first two grades. The number of six graders was small in this RNS. In both cases about half the schools have one teacher in charge of the six grades (*unidocentes*) and another half have been two to five teachers in charge of the six grades (*olidocente multigrado*).

Rural Network of Schools of Cullhuas (District of Cullhuas, Province of Huancayo. Department of Junín)

The Cullhuas area: Accessible but Neglected

The capital of this district, the town of Cullhuas, is located at 12,017.72 feet above sea level (3,663 meters). Other settlements of this relatively new district²⁰ including the ones important for this research are located at similar or much higher altitudes. The landscape is irregular with settlements situated in both lower areas between the mountains and on plains high in the mountains. The town of Cullhuas is one of the settlements located at lower altitudes; however its altitude gives us an idea of the rest of the area.

At least until 1993²¹, the district of Cullhuas was basically an agricultural district with 96% of its Economically Active Population older than 15 years dedicated to Agriculture and 1.9% dedicated to services. In addition, wage workers made up 62.5% of wageworkers²² of the employed population. Its population of 3,424²³ is distributed in sixteen small settlements (*centros poblados*). The majority of these small settlements surround the highway from Huancayo city to Huancavelica city, the capital of the department with the same

²⁰ Cullhuas was officially founded as district in 1957.

²¹ 1993 is the more recent year with this type of information.

²² Indexes of Work and Employment. Census 1993. Institute of National Statistics and Information (INEI).

²³ Population projections for 2002. Institute of National Statistics and Information (INEI).

name. The more distant settlements are about one or two hours by foot from the highway. There is constant transportation along this highway. Small informal and formal buses run from Huancayo city to the different localities on their way to Huancavelica every 30 minutes or less. Huancayo city is located about 45 minutes to an hour north of Cullhuas (a town that flanks the highway). However, this accessibility was coupled with isolation and stagnation in the majority of the settlements, especially the ones located in the mountains. There were no local NGOs working in the area. The local government was inactive with no projects. In fact, the building of the municipality was always closed during my visits since the mayor (*alcalde*) and personnel came from Huancayo for only a few hours each week. Similarly, the state, aside from a few small health facilities and elementary schools dispersed in the district and a small program of PRONAMACH (the Ministry of Agriculture Program for Soils Conservation) had no important development projects.

The area where the RNS of Cullhuas is located is an aggregation of nine nearby settlements. These settlements differ in organizational-political status: some are legally recognized as main settlements, while smaller communities are referred to as appendixes or “*anexos*”. Even smaller are “*caseríos*”, characterized by independence and few houses (around 30). The nine settlements housing the schools of the RNS of Cullhuas are: Santa Rosa de Potaca (40 households), San Pedro de Pihuas (70 households), Azacruz (60 households), Pampacruz (119

households), Chacapampa (32 households), Paccha (62 households), Dos de Mayo (80 households) and Chucos (85 households). Almost all have the status of “*anexo*” with the exception of Chacapampa which is considered a “*caserío*”. Most are close to the capital of the district Cullhuas. Cullhuas is catalogued as a town (“*pueblo*”), but is not part of the RNS because its primary and secondary schools share the same facilities, thus falling outside of the desired profile for the network.

There was great confusion with regard to the geographic borders of the communities and districts. In fact, in interviews with some of the authorities of Azacruz, the settlements of Dos de Mayo and Chucos were catalogued as from “another district”, implying that no joint organization should exist, specifically with regard to schools. Parents and authorities of Azacruz claimed, “*they are from another place, from another district (Pucara). They should have their own schools and organizations; we don’t want to mix with them.*” Paradoxically, Chucos is only 20 to 30 meters from Azacruz on the other side of the highway. This information was stated so emphatically that I truly believed both settlements Chucos and Dos de Mayo were part of the district of Pucara. However, after consulting two types of official sources provided by INEI, including geo-referenced data, I realized this information was erroneous and that both of the settlements pertain to the district of Cullhuas, as *map 1* reveals. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Education Office of statistics at the headquarters cataloged both

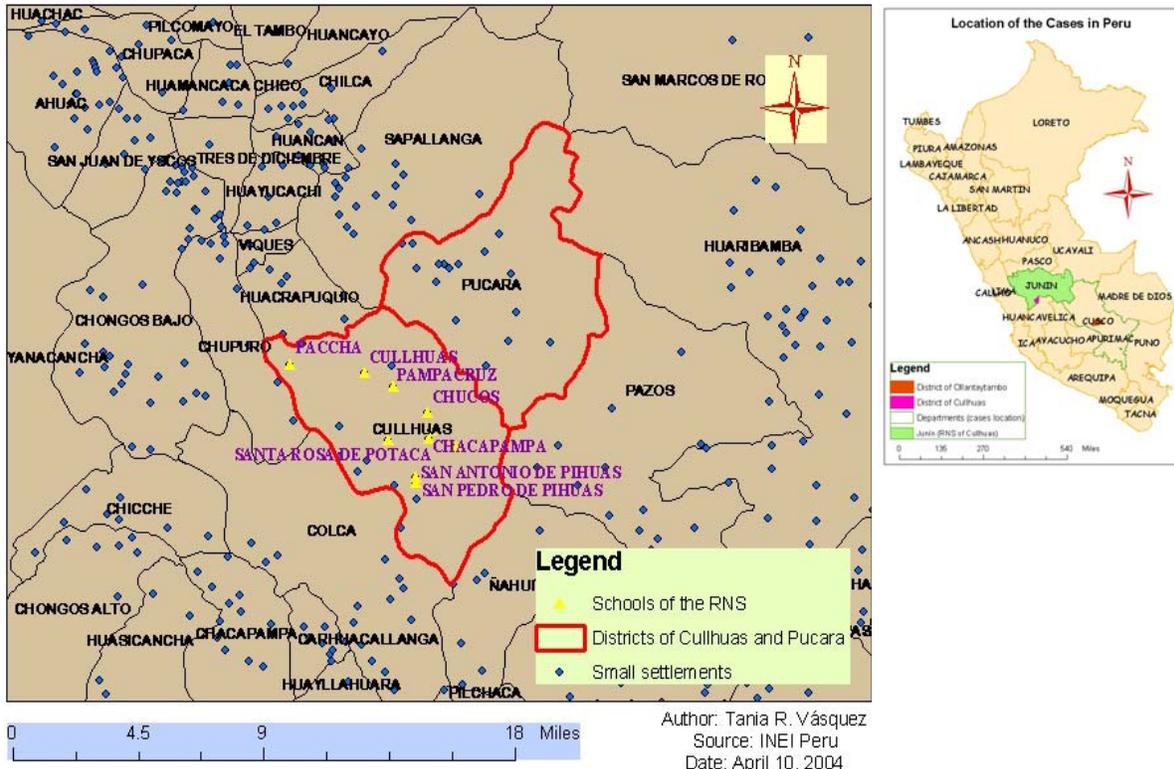
schools as part of Pucara.

The map shows settlements commonly located around the highway²⁴ with a succession of settlements descending from north to south after the town of Cullhuas. Examples are Pampacruz, Chucos, and Azacruz. Less common are the settlements which are parallel to the highway but high in the mountains, such as Santa Rosa de Potaca, San Pedro de Pihuas and Dos de Mayo. The town of Cullhuas' proximity to Huancayo city is also evident. Though it is actually only 13.5 miles from the city, Cullhuas is much farther when measuring the distance by the road.

²⁴ Which is not visible in the map as well as the labels of Azacruz and Dos de Mayo (this last labels' problem was due to technical difficulties with the labeling format of ArcGIS in this case).

Map1

Rural Network of Schools Cullhuas, 2002



The Schools of Cullhuas

The eight schools that formed the RNS of Cullhuas in 1999 had a total population of 471 students (see table 5). Some schools had a higher than average student population, including those of Chucos (78), Dos de Mayo (78) and Pihuas (76). This tendency corresponds to the settlements with more households. These three settlements have 85, 80 and 76 households respectively. However, Pampacruz, the settlement with the most households of the RNS (119), does not

have a proportionate number of students. This is perhaps due to its proximity to the town of Cullhuas, where there is a large school with both elementary and secondary levels. The distribution of children across the six grades of elementary school is basically homogeneous tending to slightly decrease in the last two grades, but conserving significant numbers in both final grades. This is interesting, because it seems to indicate that the experience of parents sending their children to school is already institutionalized in the area. However, it could be also be explained by a specific (homogeneous) age structure in the first intervals of age from 6 to 12.

In the available data for 2002 (see the last two columns of *table 5*), a small reduction in the number of students in many of the schools may suggest movement to schools outside the area—possibly even to Huancayo. In the interviews, many parents described changing schools regularly based upon the perceived quality of their children’s teachers. If the teacher(s) in charge of a school received negative evaluations in terms of skills or attitude, parents commonly removed their children. This often happens in schools with only one professor for several grades, called “only-one-teacher” schools (*unidocentes*). This type of school is prevalent in the Cullhuas area.

According to the data collected for 2002, only fifteen teachers were part of the network, four of the schools in the RNS were *unidocentes* and four were

polidocente multigrado. The latter refers to schools that have more than one teacher but less teachers than the number of grades (six), necessitating the distribution of six grades among two to five teachers. The balancing act required of these teachers is complex. Teachers always complain about the number of students (and grades) that they have to teach in the same classroom and at the same time. The school in Azacruz with only one teacher for 45 students in six different grades exemplifies the difficulties the area's rural schools face, a reality throughout the rural areas of Peru. In fact, considering the entire primary level for minors throughout Peru, schools with "only-one-teacher" (*unidocente*) number 9,091, with two to five teachers for six grades (*polidocente multigrado*) number 14,743, while schools with the complete number of teachers for the six grades are 10,200. These figures represent 27%, 43% and 30% respectively²⁵.

²⁵ Information for 2003 retrieved from ESCALE (Estadística de la Calidad Educativa) 04/10/04<http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/portal/esbas/manto1.jsp>

Table 5: Number of students and teachers of the RNS of Cullhuas in 1999 and 2002, by school

Name (settlement)	1999 Registration*							2002 SCPCE**	
	Total registered	1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade	4th Grade	5th Grade	6th Grade	Total registered	Number Teachers
Chucos	78	14	15	14	12	10	13	No data	No data
Dos de Mayo	78	11	17	12	15	11	12	No data	No data
Paccha	31	6	4	3	6	7	5	26	1
S. P.de Pihuas	76	19	10	12	12	6	17	76	3
Pampacruz	50	5	13	6	10	8	8	43	2
Azacruz	40	6	13	7	5	7	2	45	1
Chacapampa	20	7	4	4	5	0	0	19	1
S.R. de Potaca	44	5	9	5	9	7	9	24	1
Total	417	73	85	63	74	56	66		

* Source: Ministry of Education of Peru, (Unidad de Medición de la Calidad -UMC)

** Source: Ministry of Education of Peru, (Sistema de Consulta del Padrón de Centros Educativos)

Rural Network of Schools of Patacancha (Districts of Ollantaytambo and Urubamba, province of Urubamba, Department of Cusco)

The Patacancha Basin: Ethnically and Politically Dense

The capital of the old district of Ollantaytambo²⁶, the town of Ollantaytambo, is 9,337 feet above sea level (2,846 meters) and is either ninety-eight or seventy-five kilometers²⁷ by car from the departmental capital, Cusco city. However, all the settlements of the Patacancha basin are located at much higher altitudes than the town of Ollantaytambo. This town is situated at the intersection of three different canyons before the Vilcanota enters the jungle

²⁶ Its Republican foundation was around 1821 (year of the Peruvian Independence), but its capital city is built upon an Inka pre-hispanic city.

²⁷ This depends on the selection of one of the two existing roads to go from Cusco city to Ollantaytambo.

where “it has lived and lives from the waters of the Patacancha sacred stream” (Glave and Remy 1983). Access is difficult. One day a week an itinerant market is installed in one of the communities of the basin (*día de feria*) and several pick ups and trucks are accessible to the people in the town. On other days, it is necessary to rent a car and drive into the mountains to reach some of the first settlements of the basin. Another way to visit some of these communities is to take one of the guided tours of 20 to 30 people that agencies from Cusco city organize.

The RNS of Patacancha is formally organized around an area of nine settlements. All of them are legally recognized peasant communities. Six are part of the Ollantaytambo district while three are part of the Urubamba district (see *map 2*). The settlements in Ollantaytambo are situated along the side of the irregular un-paved road that goes from the town of Ollantaytambo up to the community of Yanamayo in the highlands.

In the district of Ollantaytambo, families are primarily involved in the agricultural economy. The Economically Active Population older than 15 years is mainly dedicated to agriculture (80,8 %); however, a significant 32% of waged workers are involved with tourism activities (most likely developed around the Inca Trail) and 15% are dedicated to services²⁸. Its population of 9,188²⁹ is distributed in 55 small settlements. The small settlements where the schools of the

²⁸ Indexes of Work and Employment. Census 1993. Institute of National Statistics and Information (INEI).

network are situated include (in order of proximity to the town of Ollantaytambo): Pallata (65 households), Huilloq (120 households), Patacancha (24 households), Qelqanka (80 households), Yanamayo (37 households), Tastayoq (30 households) which is far away from the road; and in the district of Urubamba are the communities of Kunkani (30 households), Waca Wasi or Huacahausi (60 households), and Chupani (20). These last three communities are not accessible by the road in the basin and it is necessary to go by foot from the city of Calca in another province to reach them.

In contrast to Cullhuas, Ollantaytambo is ethnically dense. The peasants descending from the basin to work in Ollantaytambo or on their way to Urubamba or Cusco, always wear their ethnic customs. The vast majority are Quechua monolingual and although this ethnic diversity is somewhat exploited by the agencies and by themselves for tourism, it persists. It can be observed in the everyday life of the communities of the basin especially in the ones after Pallata, which is a more mixed (*meztizo*) community.

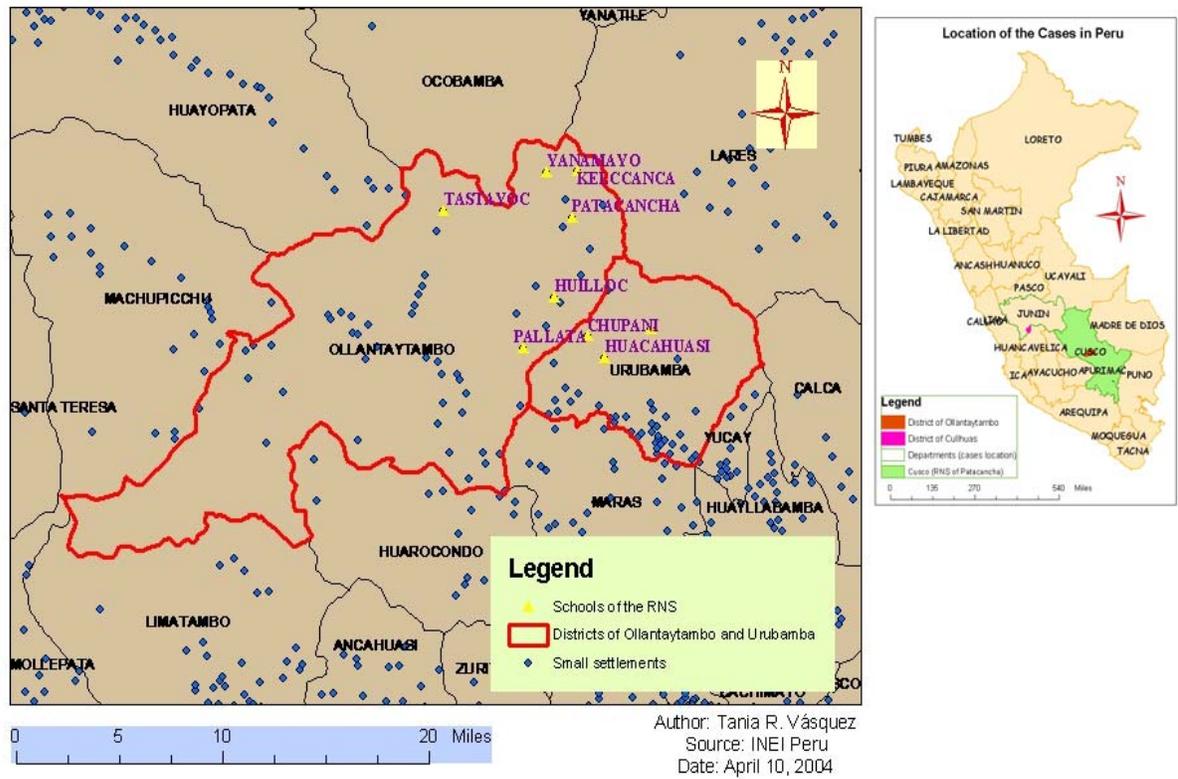
The presence of two NGOs is notable, especially the work of “Arariwa”, an NGO working in the Urubamba province since 1986 and especially in the Patacancha basin. The municipality is apparently a dynamic organization. There is evidence of its supporting the RNS of Patacancha. Beyond that, it has encouraged

²⁹ Population projection for 2002. Institute of National Statistics and Information (INEI).

participation of the basin communities in the strategic plan for the district.

Map 2

Rural Network of Schools of Patacancha, 2002



The Schools of Patacancha

The nine schools of the RNS of Patacancha in 1999 had a total population of 657 students (see *table 6*). The schools with most students are those in Huilloc (163) and Patacancha (92), the center of the RNS according to the model of UDECE. Additionally, Waca Wasi in the district of Urubamba has a significant

number of students. In Huilloq (120) and Waca Wasi (6), the school population is proportional to the size of its total population. This is not really the case in Patacancha since it only has 24 households. The likelihood is that the children from Qelkanka walk to Patacancha where a very charismatic teacher is working. There are schools with a small number of children enrolled such as Tastayoq (19) and Yanamayo (20), which are more isolated and in the highlands but active. The distribution of children across the six grades of elementary school for the entire group of schools of the RNS is not homogeneous and tends to be concentrated in the first two grades with a notable decrease in the last three grades. This tendency could be explained by two factors: the persistent custom of interpreting school attendance as a non good investment for the peasant household, and on the other hand the practice of sending the oldest children to study in the town of Ollantaytambo under the care of a richer relative or a godfather with whom special relationships are established (this was discovered in conversations in Ollantaytambo). There is actually a third explanation—that many students walk from their communities to the town of Ollantaytambo. This could be an acceptable option for communities like Pallata (which significantly has only first and second graders in 2002 – see *table 7*), but not for the remote ones. However I have been told that this also happens frequently.

In the two types of available data (see the last two columns of *table 6* and *table 7*), there is a tendency for the number of students to increase between

1999 and 2002.

Table 6: Number of students and teachers of the RNS of Patacancha in 1999 and 2002, by school

Name (settlement)	1999 Registration*							2002 SCPCE**	
	Total registered	1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade	4th Grade	5th Grade	6th Grade	Total registered	Number Teachers
Huilloq	163	23	59	36	20	15	10	161	4
Patacancha	92	33	27	23	9	0	0	107	2
Tastayoc	19	8	3	8	0	0	0	19	1
Pallata	32	23	5	4	0	0	0	25	1
Yanamayo	18	7	6	5	0	0	0	26	1
Qelqanka	48	32	10	6	0	0	0	58	1
Chupani	48	27	12	9	0	0	0	No data	No data
Waca wasi	90	40	33	10	7	0	0	No data	No data
Kunkani	147	28	33	31	29	20	6	No data	No data
TOTAL	657	221	188	132	65	35	16		

* Source: Ministry of Education of Peru, (Unidad de Medición de la Calidad -UMC)

** Source: Ministry of Education of Peru, (Sistema de Consulta del Padrón de Centros Educativos)

According to the data collected for 2002, there were 19 teachers participating in the organization of the RNS. Five of the schools were “only-one-teacher schools” (*unidocentes*) and the other four were *polidocente multigrado*. In table 7, the distribution of sections in a school with less teachers than grades (*multigrado*) can be observed.

Table 7: Number of students and teachers of the RNS of Patacancha in 2002, by school

Name (settlement)	2002 Registration*							Number Teachers
	Total registered	1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade	4th Grade	5 th Grade	6th Grade	
Huilloq	196	39	56	43	28	30		5
Patacancha	133	37	31	39		26		4
Tastayoq	24	24				0	0	1
Pallata	25	25		0	0	0	0	1
Yanamayo	25	25				0	0	1
Qelqanka	60	60			0	0	0	1
Chupani	34	34				0	0	1
Waca wasi	108	25	33	50			0	3
Kunkani	56	26		30			0	2
TOTAL	661						TOTAL	19

*Source: USE Urubamba (“Relación de Centros y Programas Educativos de la Red Patacancha”)

CHAPTER V: Implementation

In the following paragraphs I will give a more detailed description of the process of implementation of the two models of RNS compared in this research. According to what is generally done in the Ministry of Education of Peru, specifically in the recent years of the education reform, a policy is designed first, implemented experimentally second, evaluated and corrected third, and then finally implemented at the national level. The cases studied showed that despite the continuity in the officials in charge of both programs of RNS in STER and UDECE, the frequent changes in the heads of the Ministry and consequent changes in the directors of both policy bodies have negative impact on the implementation of these reforms. Variations from the original pattern of implementation prejudiced implementation in both models, more seriously in the case of STER and limited nation-wide implementation. In addition, the differences between the two models *per se* lead to different outcomes that promoted institutionalization in the case of UDECE and limited it in the case of STER.

The Formation of the RNS of Cullhuas: Model 1 (STER)

The RNS of Cullhuas was formed in 2000, after a study of the area by the pedagogical advisers and school principals of the Regional Direction of Education of Junín (*Dirección Regional de Educación de Junín*). This study involved several

visits to rural schools following geographical charts that had in some cases to be completed with new information, showing the poor contact with the schools on the part of the Regional agency of the MED in Huancayo (INT8, INT9). The process of organization of the network followed the criteria of grouping together nearby Elementary schools that had no Secondary school around.

This network was at first formed by 14 schools and after sometime was divided into two groups which were actually two groups of schoolteachers participating in weekly meeting as GFIA's (*Grupos Focales de Inter Aprendizaje-GIAs*). These two groups were the rural network of Retama, and the rural network of Cullhuas, which is the case interesting to this study.

In the case of the STER model of implementation, several employees were contracted. These were, in the majority, experienced teachers of the departments where the networks were to be organized (two for each department of Peru). These technical coordinators were the main agents of the formation of the RNS but they also had the help of two pedagogical advisers of the Regional Agency of Education in Huancayo city. After two years of work, the contracts of this new body of employees were not renewed leaving the networks without monitoring advice from the part of the initial promoters. This resulted from key changes in the heads of the Ministry in Lima. The work was left to the pedagogical advisers of Huancayo who had to write reports for the offices of

STER in Lima. However, after a period, they were replaced by others, and part of the energy necessary for this RNS institutionalize disappeared, even when the new pedagogical advisers tried to play their role effectively. Thus, the new pedagogical adviser in charge of the RNS of Cullhuas and several others complains: “*there is this uncertainty... ‘for what do I plan? if I’ll be working here just until the end of the month?’*”³⁰

As a second part of the formation of rural educational networks formation there was a campaign to inform parents and community in order to gain their collaboration. However, the parents and community leaders had little information about the networks. Parents knew that one-day in the week schoolteachers had a meeting and on those days their children did not have class. Yet, they did not know what these meetings were for only or only had vague ideas about them.³¹

In fact, these meetings were organized to design the Curricular Project of the Network (*Proyecto Curricular de Red*). However, this process apparently had little importance for the work and opinions of the majority of teachers, who did not understand why the project was necessary and did not use it in their job. The Network coordinator himself showed poor knowledge of the pedagogical reforms and of how the network should function³².

³⁰Pedagogical adviser of Rural Education in the Regional Direction of Education of Junín (INT9)

³¹ Interviews with parents of Santa Rosa de Potaca, Asacruz, Chacapampa, Pihuas and Chucos (INT22, INT 23, INT 24, INT25 and INT 26).

³² Interviews with Adrian Network Coordinator and the schoolteachers of Pampacruz (INT 16,

Regardless of its official design that considered the participation of the community and administration functions for the RNS, the real version of MODEL 1 applied in Cullhuas, emphasized only the pedagogical side of the RNS formation, this means that he actually paid attention to the formation and functioning of the GFIA's. The formation of a Rural Network of Schools was seen as mainly serving to assure the continuous training of the teachers in the rural schools thus improving quality. This was perceived by the teachers who when asked about the definition of a RNS answered as did this teacher from the school of Pampacruz: "*A RNS is the exchanges between all the teachers according to our work.*"³³ Thus anything about the Project of Institutional Development was mentioned as well as any administration function.

Although the RNS of Cullhuas is not a good example of MODEL 1, and there are successful experiences of application of this model in other departments, the model *per se* shows an important weakness. It emphasized the integration of these schools as almost exclusively an integration of schoolteachers who meet to learn from each other's good and bad experiences in the classroom, thus tending to leave the administration side of the model neglected. This is an interesting objective and worked for some time. But when the Ministry of Education's technical coordinators left the RNS under the supervision of the pedagogical

INT 18).

³³ Rosario school headmaster of Pampacruz school

advisers and one of the schoolteachers was put in charge, serious conflicts emerged among the teachers. The RNS became perceived to be unnecessary. Since parents and leaders of the communities in Cullhuas did not even know about the existence of a RNS in their schools, the weakness grew and the teachers did not feel any external pressure to continue seriously with the work. They naturally wanted to avoid conflict. Under these conditions, the formal supervision of the pedagogical advisers coming from Huancayo did not work enough. It only worked for the day when they were there and the distance between the formal existence and real existence of the RNS became clear.

The Formation of the RNS of Patacancha (MODEL 2)

The organization of the rural network in Patacancha was influenced by the previous existence of an Intercultural Bilingual Education (EBI) group of study in the area. This group of teachers was successfully receiving training from the Program of Intercultural Bilingual Education that the Pedagogical Institute La Salle located in Urubamba had been developing since 1995. The EBI program of La Salle, an educational NGO connected to the religious order of La Salle became the basis of the network as part of its methodology of training³⁴.

There was already another experience of network formation that carried

³⁴ Interview with Emma Yep, responsible of the design of the UDECE model of networks since 2000 (INT4). Interview with the first Network Coordinator of Patacancha, Matilde Huamantico, schoolteacher and current principal of the school of Patacancha.

out in Urubamba by the Program of Improvement of Rural Education since 1999. That experience was singularly used to inform about the location of the schools and their distances³⁵.

This network was formed in 2000 and at first was formed by just six nearby schools, located in the different communities located in the Patacancha basin. The process of selection and formation of this RNS was carried out by the national consultants of the UDECE office at the headquarters in Lima and with the help of the pedagogical advisers of Urubamba. There was also some coordination between UDECE and the EBI La Salle program.

In the first months of 2002, the teachers of the schools of Chupani, Waca Wasi, and Kunkani, located in the province of Urubamba, far from Patacancha basin but at the same closer to it than to other schools, asked to become members of the network. Although this did not seem to be a good idea (they are located very far away from the basin) and was still being discussed, these schools officially started being part of the network. The visits of the Network coordinator, the Visiting Team and the regional and provincial pedagogical advisers to these schools are infrequent and the teachers of these schools themselves did not regularly participate in the network meetings because of the remoteness. However, the decision to accept them within the network seemed to be based on

³⁵ Interview with Amelia (former pedagogical adviser of the Unit of Educative Services of Urubamba) (INT11).

the principle that it would be worse to leave these poor and forgotten schools outside the network.

At the end of 2001, political-administrative changes also affected UDECE and one of their main consultants left her position. At the provincial level (Urubamba), the pedagogical adviser was also changed, but this was balanced by the continuation of the pedagogical adviser at the regional level and the inclusion of a new pedagogical adviser with the same training and interest at the provincial level. However, these changes were still a perceived source of instability. One of the most stable of the promoters of the formation of the RNS commented on this case: *“one of the most serious problems is that the plan could gain stability but our directors are changing all the time...after each change everything changes”*³⁶

The model of UDECE, MODEL 2 applied in Patacancha, emphasized the constitution of the political structure of the RNS seeking to involve parents and organized rural communities in this organization. This approach had advantages in relation to MODEL 1. Since the emphasis of the model was community participation and the political structuring of the RNS, parents were very involved in all the activities of the RNS of Patacancha. Although conflict and competition among schoolteachers also appeared, this did not prejudice the viability of the RNS.

³⁶ Carmen, pedagogical .adviser Regional Direction of Education of Cusco.(INT10)

Summarizing, three factors played a significant role in the process of implementation: the context at the moment of the formation of the RNS; the discontinuity in the process of implementation; and the focus of the model applied. It is evident how the contexts in which the RNS were formed differed. In the case of Cullhuas, it was even necessary to add unknown areas and schools to the geographical chart used to select the schools to form the RNS. The area where the RNS of Patacancha was formed was already influenced by a successful program of EBI. The continuous changes of the persons in charge of the project were more serious limitations to the RNS of Cullhuas implementation. Finally, a model (Model 1) which gives priority to the pedagogical side and does not involve the participation of parents, who in addition are unfamiliar with the pedagogical issues, has more severe weaknesses when there is no previous experience of organization among teachers.

CHAPTER VI: Duration or Sustainability

In this chapter the elements identified as influencing the duration/sustainability sub-process of institutionalization will be described for both cases. In the case of the RNS of Cullhuas (MODEL 1), the conflicts between teachers and, more indirectly, the social and territorial fragmentation of large communities into individual settlements are two limiting factors of institutionalization. In the case of MODEL 2 (Patacancha), a combination of the type of model used and the resources and characteristics of the actors participating in the RNS generated significant bases of sustainability.

Cullhuas: Separated Efforts to Urbanize and Teachers in Conflicts

For various reasons, including the economic disarticulation of rural areas surrounding a city such as Huancayo, the different small settlements that formed the area where the RNS of Cullhuas was formed showed divided and separated efforts to attain better services and facilities. Settlements did see any advantages to being part of one the two different groups of appendixes (*anexos*) of the two large communities of the district, Pihuas and Cullhuas. Each settlement wanted to be if not the capital of a Minor Urban Center (*Centro Poblado Menor*) in the future, at least a small settlement with its own facilities. A Minor Urban Center is the simplest type of municipality allowed under the Peruvian territorial-political system.

This separatist position was clear in interviews with an assembly of male members of Azacruz with respect to the schools and the possibility of sharing school facilities with other nearby small settlements. These parents wanted to have their own school facilities and material resources for the school of their community. Describing to them the model of RNS applied in Cullhuas, especially the possible implementation of a Multi-service Modules (MMS) generated negative reactions and the following request:

“I think that this network that would be installed, I think it would be something bad. For example if the MMS is put in Cullhuas (town) how many kilometers are from here to there? If a student wants to learn more about audiovisuals, he will not go to Retama no? [Retama is a settlement not considered in the RNS] I think that the education must be for each one of our schools, for each one” (INT 23).

Since in Azacruz experienced the closing of a recently opened secondary school due to insufficient number of students, this topic was introduced into the discussion to obtain opinions regarding the possible solutions to this frequent problem in rural areas³⁷. A member of the assembly responded

“What we see in our future is adapting, the whole population in general, at least trying to be a Minor Urban Center (Centro Poblado Menor). Because our location is good, on the highway to Ayacucho and Huancavelica....we see for the future, we are here fighting for having these facilities, electricity, water, a school with good education, have again our secondary we can help Chucos, Dos de Mayo, Chacapampa...because we need a center, a center that could use our zone, Azacruz as a bus stop”

It is interesting to note that Chucos and Dos de Mayo were defined at the

³⁷ Frequently the MED opens a secondary after much efforts and paperwork by the parents; after a year if the number of students does not correspond to the number of teachers assigned there, the

beginning of the interview as part of another district, the district of Pucara, and that those interviewed were clearly opposed to sharing a school facility with them. In the context of the needing more population and being the center or capital, that opposition was relaxed.

This was not only the case of Azacruz. The president of the parents association of San Pedro de Pihuas (INT25), also described to me his efforts to negotiate with other settlements over the possibility of being the center or capital of a Minor Urban Center (*Centro Poblado Menor*). Some parents of Santa Rosa de Potaca revealed the same plans (INT26). In addition, a father interviewed in Chacapampa (the smallest settlement in the zone) complained about the weak organization and inaction of all the appendixes of the large community of Pihuas to which Chacapampa formally belonged, including San Pedro de Pihuas. In a resigned manner this father gave his opinion that “*this community* [the large community of Pihuas] *will not ever reunite again.*”

How does fragmentation influence the sustainability sub-process of institutionalization? The tendency to territorial fragmentation did not really act as a negative factor on the duration or sustainability of the RNS of Cullhuas since the RNS was actually poorly implemented and did not involve the participation of parents. In other circumstances however, this factor would have been a great

school is closed.

limitation.

Another factor did have an observable effect in limiting duration/sustainability in the case of the RNS Cullhuas. It is related to the type of model implemented (MODEL1) but is important in itself. This is the conflict relationships in which the teachers of the RNS were involved. These were not necessarily serious but reduced the importance of the weekly meeting in the eyes of the teachers in the area. A first sign of these problems was the change in the teacher who was originally put in charge as a network coordinator by the first group of pedagogical advisers, the ones who promoted the most successful period of the RNS of Cullhuas. The first coordinator was changed almost immediately by the other teachers who elected a new coordinator who did not have a good evaluation (INT8). The original network coordinator was described by the former pedagogical adviser (INT8) as a very young woman who had learned effectively the methodologies offered by the pedagogical advisers and national consultant of the offices of STER. I also interviewed the new network coordinator (INT16) in his job location in San Pedro de Pihuas and it was clear that he did not really have a clear idea of the RNS program of STER and even of the components of the education reform in general. Moreover, I found him not teaching in a classroom at class time. The level of the conflict or non acceptance by the others was also perceived in the teachers of Pampacruz who claimed that both of the teachers, the former and new coordinator were not well prepared as teachers (INT17).

Patacancha: Benefits of the Model Applied and the Type of Actors Participating

The model of UDECE (MODEL2) made it possible for teachers, parents and representatives of a local NGO to have new types of continuous interaction. This interaction led to a basic set of norms and social protocols. The continuous existence of a specific way of working through time makes possible continuous practices. This factor along with others that I shall describe made possible the duration and sustainability of the RNS of Patacancha. The continuous assemblies with parents, the frequent visits of the networks coordinator to the rest of schools, visits of the pedagogical advisers, and even of the national consultants of UDECE to the basin generated a sense of continuity and trained the main participants of the RNS in ways of interacting that were not present before. These new and continuous interactions led to the establishment of a basic set of norms and social protocols. Norms and social protocols are key elements in an institutionalization process. As an illustration of a more formal way of introducing norms and protocols, I will examine in detail the observation of an event in which the aim of the meeting of the assembly was to correct the Code of the RNS created by UDECE at the headquarters, in order to regulate the activities of the network.

Design of norms and protocols in Patacancha: The observation of the “validation” of the UDECE Code for RNS

The “validation” of the UDECE Code for RNS is proposing corrections and changes by the actors who were going to be directly affected by the code. It was planned for a day-long session in the community of Patacancha. All the members were distributed into different groups and a MED consultant, especially hired for this job lead the work and discussion:

The first noticeable thing was the satisfaction that many of the members took when talking to the public about formal things such as the corrections to the Code. Gestures, words, ways of expressing themselves changed and became really formal. Despite the efforts for presenting and using a participatory methodology, hierarchy was present.

However, in contrast to hierarchy, there was also a constant preoccupation for balancing authority and power. This preoccupation could be observed (1) in the comments and requirements for limiting or expanding the number of members with the most important functions and power; (2) in the requirements to have a representative for all and each group that could possibly be represented; (3) in the suggestions for establishing very clearly the duties in all the types of positions and (4) in the requirements to avoid declaring too clearly a strong line of power or hierarchy among teachers who prefer and like to think that they are all in the same

position (and defend it intensively).

(1) There was a clear emphasis on the necessity for guaranteeing that power will be distributed among many different agents. In the discussion, a group asked for a correction in the Code of the RNS in the following fashion: “[regarding the functions of the board of directors] *to receive reports from the network coordinator*” *This must be changed, the reports should be not only received by the board of directors but also by the complete network*”. In this case it seems that the allusion to the network (the RNS) is like an allusion to “the community”, the reference to a benign collective figure that helps to neutralize any possible internal differentiation.

(2) The petition to share the power between many participants was also connected to that of having representatives for all and each one of the possible groups to be represented. For example: “ *according to the code, the Network Board must be formed by 3 principals, 3 teachers, 3 representatives of APAFA (the Parents Association), two students one of the elementary and other from secondary level.... We think this last thing must be changed to have one representative of the parents (APAFA) for each one of the schools....and the same for the case of the students, in each school there is a student that stands out.*”

(3) It was evident that an interest to establish very clearly the functions in each position is normal for this type of discussion.

(4) The emphasis on avoiding the use of what was interpreted as inadequate terminology was present also. Maybe guided by guilt, fear of authoritarianism or by not offending or causing resistance in the other teachers, another group of teachers suggested: “*what if we use other name for the ‘board of directors’ as for example ‘technical team?’*” The members of other groups agreed: “*it will be better*”. Worries about installing an much hierarchical structure seemed to be connected with both formal and practical dimensions. In formal terms, talking about the ones that have the “technical knowledge” (technical in Spanish is a notion related to knowledge and professional skills) is better than taking about the “Directors”.

Types of Actors Participating: NGOs, Parents, Teachers and Pedagogical Advisers

NGOs: Arariwa and HOPE

The basin of Patacancha has a long and important history of NGOs intervention. And the most important influence was already 20 old. This is that of Arariwa, a rural development NGO that worked in the area carrying out production projects, working on community leadership and since 1995, the *Casa Taller Arariwa*³⁸, a postsecondary institute where alternative plans for technical higher education are developed (Asociacion Arariwa 2001: 4-7). The influence of

³⁸ Interview with Bernardo Fulcrand Academic Coordinator of Casa Taller Arariwa and founder of

this NGO can be identified almost immediately in the interviews with any peasant, woman or man, of any of the communities of the basin of Patacancha. Arariwa participates in the rural network of Patacancha as the possible responsible for the network's production projects, but its main role seems to be that of supporting community organization and its political influence by training institution of community leaderships.

In the last years, another important NGO appeared in the basin. This is HOPE (Holanda-Peru), a Dutch private institution that supported the work of the network in a very effective manner. This institution provided financial help targeted to specific needs in the school of the community of Patacancha. In the 2002, it was supporting almost all the financial needs of each one of the schools, providing pedagogical materials, building classrooms and also paying the wages of key schoolteachers, especially those needed to replace the Network coordinator's classroom duties.

This institution is unusual in that it brings tourists of almost all ages, but especially young ones, to voluntary practical physical jobs in the area. It also connects the school with European families who want to help with the necessities of the school. The director of this NGO, a Dutch middle aged man is close to the children of the area and travels almost daily from Cusco city to the basin in his

Asociación Arariwa. Interview with Adolfo Estrada T. Casa Taller Arariwa Principal.

own transportation, to check the constructions or facilities being built. He even checks if the teachers are working. He is helped in this task by Rita a special teacher whose role is described in the next paragraphs.

Teachers

The group of teachers in Patacancha was internally diverse, in ages, gender and experiences. According to the interviews with the most stable teachers in the area, many teachers have been changed during the functioning of the RNS of Patacancha. A common trend among rural teachers is their continuous request for changing their job location to more urban locations or close to their families. The RNS Patacancha was affected by this trend, but there was also a factor that made encouraged. This factor was the presence of two or three individuals whose friendship made it possible to neutralize the tendencies to instability and with it to de-institutionalization. Nohria and Gulati (1994:534) examining the different weaknesses of the early theorists of organizations mention that those authors neglected the incorporation in their perspectives of “the ‘identity’ of the participants of the organization”, consequently depersonalizing organizations, stripping “them from real life people” and reducing organizations to formal roles, jobs and positions “that could be filled by anyone.” According to these authors this is a weakness because human agency in fact “mattered.” In the cases of the teachers and pedagogical advisers who participated in the experiences

of formation of both rural networks of schools, crucial individuals contributed significantly to the processes of institutionalization.

In the case of the RNS of Patacancha, and among the teachers, the main individual is the teacher Rita. Who, as Durston (2004) describes in the case of individuals in the Mapuche communities of Chile, used her own individual social capital to help the formation of the RNS and solve many different and urgent problems of each one of the schools.

The former director of the program of RNS of UDECE, Emma Yep, narrating the origins and current activity of the RNS of Patacancha mentioned several times the specific role of this assertive teacher who until at least 2002, was the most active and most legitimate promoter of the RNS. Rita is a forceful woman of 40 years of age or more, native of Urubamba, who decided to be involved in the improvement of the quality of education in the school of Patacancha first, and then in the improvement of all the basin:

“Patacancha was the center of the RNS because of the boost Rita [who was the principal and teacher of the school of Patacancha at that time] gave to the network, she used to go and move, decide everything in the network, supporting all the settlements but she had too much leadership... She connects with people and institutions at the individual level, before being the Network Coordinator she connected with NGOs, with a Dutch one HOPE (Holanda-Peru), then she obtained financial support”(INT4)

The degree of involvement of this teacher can be noticed also in the other type of roles she started to play in Patacancha, since she was not only the principal and teacher (INT14), and then the first network coordinator, but also the

mediator or judge in cases such as husbands maltreating their wives.

The role of Carmen (INT10), one of the pedagogical advisers of the Regional Direction of Education of Cusco is similar. Her great interest in the RNS of Patacancha and her permanence in that position helped the efforts of all the other actors in maintaining the RNS. Using a combination of authority and hierarchy, she solved some of the problems created by belligerent teachers who aimed to weaken the authority of Rita.

Nonetheless, the importance of individual agency for an institutionalization process should not be overestimated. In fact it also constitutes a weakness. Zucker (1977:728) examining the role of institutionalization in cultural persistence evidences to this weakness: “personal influence is dependent on the particular unique actor. There is no rationale under which such an actor can be replaced without changing many of the expectations for the behavior (...) Acts performed by actors exercising personal influence are low in objectification and exteriority, hence low in institutionalization.”

Parents and authorities

The fact that the communities of the area were basically homogeneous in ethnicity terms was of real importance for the duration/sustainability of the RNS. The formation of the RNS was greatly supported by the parents and authorities of all the communities. They accepted the preponderance of Patacancha where the

copy machine and the computer were installed and where the center of the network was installed even though Huilloq was larger in size. This acceptance was not completely easy after, when the Rita the first network coordinator was replaced by a teacher working in the school of Huilloq. However, the ones who started to claim the change of the RNS center to Huilloq (including the moving of the copy machine and computer there) were some teachers, not the parents. The parents of Huilloq saw Patacancha as a sister community. They all had the same culture.

The role of parents and community leaders was also important in the sense that their own organizations as communities were sources of institutionalization (duration/sustainability), since they were themselves highly institutionalized organizations in terms of community activities, such as *faenas*, *fiestas* and other ritual and practical activities. These organizations helped to neutralize the negative influences of the changes in the RNS personnel by means of renovating continuously the interest in the existence of the RNS. In almost all the interviews with the parents in the basin (with the exception of maybe the older parents) they showed great enthusiasm for the RNS. Zucker (1977: 729) suggests that agents with great amount of objectification and exteriority increase the transmission processes of cultural understandings.

Regional Histories of Education and Promotion of Development

Cusco is an unusual department, and Urubamba an especial case in terms of the education project. The accumulated influence of hundreds of development projects carried out during decades and the action of many institutions engaged in development planning and cultural and political promotion seems to have also left an also particular set of resources, both human and institutional.

In terms of human resources, all the actors involved in the process of formation and in the existence of the RNS of Patacancha were clear representatives of this story of promotion of development and education.

For example the two pedagogical advisers (regional and provincial) were friends because they met and were trained as teachers in a Pedagogical Institute that was characterized not only as offering a technically efficient education in Pedagogy but also for transmitting to the students a particular ideology regarding education, rural education and development.

Urubamba, was the center of the Pedagogical Institute of La Salle, which is an very important institution of the province not only because the best Quechua EBI program in Peru (according to the MED consultants) was designed and applied by their researchers and teachers but also because the majority of the young population of Urubamba has studied there.

CHAPTER VII: The Overcoming of Challenges

This is the third sub-process of institutionalization. In this case it is possible to distinguish between the problems perceived by the members of the RNS and the problems that could be identified from outside. Both types of problems are important but the problems as perceived by the actors and the solutions offered by them, gave a much closer idea of how a process of institutionalization works. In the case of Cullhuas, the problems were basically identified by external observers (pedagogical advisers and national consultants that had participated in monitoring the RNS before). In the case of the RNS of Patacancha, internal political problems and the election (and acceptance) of the new network coordinator represented a serious problem. In both cases the opposition or passive negligence of teachers working in the schools that were part of the RNS, the scarcity of economic resources, and the frequent changes in policy implementation were frequent challenges for the RSN.

The RNS of Cullhuas

The model of RNS applied in the area of Cullhuas (MODEL1, STER) emphasized the necessity of a continuous professional and technical exchange between teachers about their experiences in the classroom using the new teaching methodologies introduced with the education reform. In this way, the GFIA or Focal Groups of Inter-Learning (*Grupos Focales de Aprendizaje*) had weekly

meetings in which the central theme of discussion was technical. STER planned carefully the way in which these GFIA would work in all its pilots and after several experiences and corrections to problems, the figure of a “demonstrator teacher” (*maestro demostrador*) was introduced as the main agent of training and pedagogical advice “in the practice” for their colleagues in a GFIA. These teachers were selected according to evaluations from the group of teachers in a district by the STER monitors. After this selection these teachers were specially trained. It was necessary that the “demonstrator teacher” would be the best teacher in the area and that she/he had abilities to explain the new methodologies “in the practice” and “not in theory”.

This explanation is necessary to describe the most clear source of conflict between the teachers in the RNS of Cullhuas. As the former technical coordinator of STER in Junín describes it the figure of the “demonstrator teacher” was not easily accepted by the other teachers: “*some schools did not believe in this type of teacher...because they used to say ‘if he was here among us what is he going to teach us’?*” (INT17).

The teachers of Pampacruz expressed their criticisms regarding the role of the demonstrator teacher and indirectly criticized the work of the pedagogical advisers and the program:

***“Do you guys feel support as part of the RNS?
Very little***

What is missing?

Training. We need model classes³⁹, but from them [the pedagogical advisers] not from ourselves! (INT18)

In line with this criticism is the distrust and low appreciation of the demonstrator teacher:

“When you say that the work of the demonstrator teacher was more or less, what things you do have in mind, what was missing? Why that occurred?”

Look, the teacher was not clear in the topics of her specialization, also about the elaboration of PCC she was not clear, and nothing happened...”(INT18)

The same teachers said about the other teachers in the network that they do not communicate very well (talk) with them because *“there is always selfishness, if you ask them...they do not even answer.”*

Undoubtedly, since a RNS is a small group, and the RNS of Cullhuas had approximately only 15 teachers these types of conflict dynamics could be expected (although a group with strong solidarity might be expected too). In this case part of the conflict between teachers seems to be driven by the non acceptance of the roles assigned and the hierarchies organized by the GFIA formal planning. Nohria and Gulati, discussing the insights of the branch of the organizational theory that focuses on natural systems affirm that it would be limited to understanding organizations as social systems and not also as “informal

³⁹ “Model classes” are classes in which a more experienced teacher demonstrates in a real classroom all the supposed good practices and efficient techniques of a teacher. The request for “model classes” to the pedagogical advisers and any person from the MED who monitors a class has been in the last years a way of protesting and complaining in a somewhat belligerent way about the “easy job of the supervisors” who “only criticize” but do not know themselves how to

systems” or “informal structures” which are the expression of the “spontaneous logic of human sentiments and needs” (Nohria and Gulati 1994: 535).

These conflicts were not intense enough to disarticulate the plan of weekly meetings but at the same since they were not solved, they surely limited the process of institutionalization. The regional pedagogical adviser does not consider these problems important and from her perspective, everything was working fine in the RNS of Cullhuas. A somewhat formal- legalist approach to her role as adviser, led her to the opinion that since everything was clear in the reports and plans presented by the network coordinator, the “personal problems” were not important.

The RNS of Patacancha

A conflictive internal dynamic between teachers was also present in the trajectory of the RNS of Patacancha. This group of teachers was heterogeneous. Some of the teachers were young starting to work in their first job locations (*plaza docente*) and some others older and with many years of work in rural schools. The majority was enthusiastic about the RNS because in the eyes of everybody, it seemed to be attracting the interest of many people, included many outsiders and it brought resources uncommon to schools such as those in the basin. These resources, the copying machine and the computer both installed in the school of

teach.

Patacancha, which was the center of the RNS, were brought by UDECE as part of the resources granted to each pilot RNS of the program. Overall, a RNS seemed to be an interesting project in which “to work seriously”, and it was completely different than working in an isolated school.

A group of three or four professors however, saw the RNS as a source of more work which “was not paid” or according to the other teachers a serious way of “control and evaluation over their actions and work” (INT15).

Regardless of these differences, all the teachers seemed to share a common focus of attention, which was the political side of the workings of the RNS. This occurred because all of them were potential candidates for these positions, because their other colleagues had that potentiality too and not all of them were trustful of the others. The ones sincerely interested in the progress of the RNS worried about having the right people in charge, the ones interested in not having any type of control worried about having a friend in charge who would attend to their necessities. The world of the teachers working together in isolated rural schools is complex and most of the times conflict-ridden mainly because of the need to live and work together for almost a week when private issues could arise. Introducing a political element such as the new role designed for the teachers in the model of RNS, certainly stimulated potential conflicts.

However, the conflicts were more or less resolved by actors such as the

regional pedagogical adviser and sometimes by the national consultant of UDECE in Lima. Both used a political approach of negotiating individually with the teachers in conflict, preparing elections and neutralizing disturbance in the assemblies. This was, especially apparent in the case of the regional pedagogical adviser who used the resources of the political culture she could have gained in previous experiences.

Not only internal conflicts challenged the institutionalization process of the RNS of Patacancha. The continuous changes of job locations of the teachers participating for some time in the RNS were a constant source of instability. These changes occurred despite the wishes of the teachers who moved. Sometimes, the regional pedagogical adviser tried to influence in the Personnel Offices of the Regional Direction of Education (her work center) to maintain the same group of teachers who were already motivated and trained for the work in the RND. Even in such cases, the changes occurred anyway since completely different administrative processes decide these changes. On the other hand, the Patacancha basin is an isolated area. Many teachers working in the network, including the teacher Rita who already worked (and lived) in Patacancha for 15 years wanted to leave that location. Ex Network Coordinator (Mario) talking about the difficulties of the RNS of Patacancha says:

“Among the difficulties...according to the Teachers Law, always a teacher will wish to get out from the rural area and head on down to the populated areas... the re-allocations (reassegnaciones) the exchanges of job locations

(permutas), the temporary promotions (destaques) all the time, all the time, then other teachers come and don't know the philosophy of the network.... On the other hand, at the level of teachers we have always this envy; selfishness... one of the factors is that everyone wants to have a position" (INT15).

To face the several internal conflicts caused in the previous year by the arrival of new schoolteachers not yet identified with the network, the teacher Rita used a strategy of incorporating and convincing the new teacher. However, this did not always work, and ineffective teachers could be found in RNS. In these cases, the pressure of parents and the other teacher members of the networks would lead them to be moved to other schools⁴⁰. The remoteness of the schools of the network are a problem in this respect, as are the difficult procedures (formal and informal) that the members of the network, including the pedagogical advisers, have to follow to provide the network with adequate schoolteachers.

It is very difficult to provide rural schools with teachers, and with teachers really interested in their work in that area. In fact, the great majority of teachers usually start their career at "interior" rural schools and after more or less a year, sometimes less, start asking for the change of their job location (*plaza docente*) to an urban area. It is difficult to go against the tendency of continuous movement of teachers from the "interior" schools to "exterior" urban ones. With time, this tendency has become stronger. Although there is no quantitative data on this issue my interviews with many teachers since 1998 indicate that the time spent by

⁴⁰ Classroom observations in Patacancha, Pallata, Yanamayo and Willoq.

teachers in rural areas measured both in years and in daily hours of work is constantly decreasing. Since this is a generalized trend, intermediate regional level agencies of the Ministry of Education face an overwhelming pressure each year when it is the formal time in the year to assign job locations to teachers. These regional organizations fix the different individual and collective problems temporarily, creating an artificial balance that, at some point is likely to generate violent demands and generalized discontent.

CHAPTER VIII: Projection Towards the Future

One of the fundamental features of a policy with the potential to become institutionalized is its projection toward the future. In simple terms, this is that the actors develop plans for using the policy beneficially in the near future. In the case of the formation of RNS, adverse situations like poverty and urgent tasks often complicate the planning of the future. When this happens, the management decisions regarding education that the decentralizing reforms confer on local actors as parents, community leaders and teachers become narrow and basic. Understandably, pessimistic interpretations of the current and future economic development of the community and the region undermine the establishment of the objectives and activities of the RNS for the next years. This was the case of Cullhuas (MODEL 1) where parents and leaders seemed to be disconnected from education and also had vague ideas on the objectives that should guide education plans for their schools. In the RNS of Patacancha (MODEL 2), although it had a better organization and a less pessimistic view, a similar difficulty was experienced. Although parents were strongly convinced of the necessity of improving education in their schools, there was little information about what would be an appropriate measure of improvement and confusion regarding future plans existed.

New types of decision-making processes

As described in the first chapters, the specific plans of education decentralization proposed for the rural schools in Peru have more complex and ambitious objectives with respect the devolution of the school's management to the rural communities than is the case of the type of education decentralization proposed for urban schools. According to the two models of RNS examined in this study, parents, local leaders and school teachers, would be the most important actors in the new type of decision-making processes entailed in the formation of RNS. Therefore, the processes of institutionalization of a policy in the last stage of implementation relies on the local actors being able to decide future objectives or plans of action with respect the education service in their areas.

This possibility is problematic since one of the main necessary conditions to make effective these powers of decision-making is not present yet and is not included in the plans. This is the technical information regarding the education process that parents, local leaders and school teachers, would need to support their decisions.

David Chapman and colleagues (2002) studying the case of the Ghana educational decentralization experience, tested the main premise of this reform: this is that "those close to the schools e.g. community members, have a better understanding of local conditions and are in the best position to make decisions

about education processes”(Chapman et al 2002:181). Their findings are show that for local actors “if there are not obvious problems and complaints, the community members are willing to assume that quality [of education] is high.” In addition, the authors find that respondents appeared “to not judge the school on the basis of its level of resources, instructional process, or on issues of access or enrolment” and that in general, there was a “lack of dimensionality” in their evaluation of the activities of their local school. Regarding the meaning of the “lack of dimensionality” in the answers, Chapman explains that this means that subjects are being questioned about something “to which they have not given too much thought” (Chapman et al 2002:186).

The findings of our study although not specifically focused on the type of evaluations that local actors make about their local schools, also throw light on these issues.

When asking to parents, teachers, community leaders, and even pedagogical advisers of Cullhuas and Patacancha about the main criteria to be used as guidelines for the future functioning of the RNS, the answers obtained tended to be vague, and the utilization of *leitmotivs* as “promoting production projects” or “prepare them to work better in agriculture” to organize them, indicated uncertainty: the future guidelines, wishes and objectives useful to decide plans for the activity of RNS do not exist yet, and need to be thought out.

Since one of the most common ways of reflecting on education for rural schools is connecting it to production (especially to agriculture and cattle raising), I explored this relationship and in the interviews I asked about how education could serve the possibilities of development of the zone. In addition, I also asked parents about their wishes regarding the future occupations of the children and their future places of residence, and about the benefits or limitations of the EBI (Bilingual Education) program.

Plans for Cullhuas: Wishes of Betterment

Answers tended to be very short and general. The parents of Cullhuas expressed their interest in having a “better education” in general, a better school in infrastructural terms, “with more students” and especially their wish of having a secondary school in their own communities. The most common opinion was that these schools should be agricultural-technical, although parents of Azacruz mentioned that they would prefer a regular secondary school such as those in Huancayo city.

The type of education provided in the area, according to their opinions should be useful for occupations related to agriculture and cattle raising, automobile mechanics, bicycle repair, working in a windmill, and construction.

For the teachers of Pampacruz it was clear that the formation of technical skills would be advantageous in short term. The regional pedagogical adviser did

not need to think about it and was very sure about the advantages of promoting “productive projects”. A “productive project” is the name used to describe any small-scale economic activity associated primarily with horticulture, breeding of minor farm animals, or trout breeding. It is thought to produce some income but not an important quantity. Since these types of projects need the participation of various people, they are usually group projects. Very frequently, when the improvement of rural education is discussed, the plans of creating “productive projects” in the schools seem to convince everyone. However, most of the time these projects are not designed to have beneficial pedagogical effects on the students, but are designed for the creation of a small income useful to the school’s activities and also useful for the students, among whom the production is distributed: they do the work and obtain products. In my opinion the wide and immediate acceptance of this type of projects as the solution *per se* for the education offered in rural schools indicates little reflection on the topic and a very unilateral way of understanding production in rural areas.

On EBI education the members of the small settlements of Cullhuas expressed different opinions. Nonetheless the most frequent answer was that teaching in Quechua was acceptable but that the main language taught should be Spanish: “ *a bilingual school is not that useful for us, we dominate Quechua, the Wanka dialect we speak well so that, it is not useful for a student.*” (INT23)

Plans for Patacancha: Ethnicity the Attraction for Tourism and Novel

Occupations

As in Cullhuas, the parents of Patacancha expressed very general ideas about the needed type of education for the children of the basin. Nevertheless, these general ideas were framed in a very optimistic evaluation of the actual situation of the basin in contrast with a past situation of “backwardness”. The three community authorities interviewed (Yanamayo, Willoq and Patacancha), remarked several times on the actual good situation of the basin. As the young president of Yanamayo stated:

“In the future what types of economic activities are going to be important here at the basin of Patacancha?”

President: Well according to the passing of the time we also think different. It seems like that. Before there was not road, now there is road. The road has already left benefits to the community, other element would be electricity....The community has said... they have said that will work on agriculture and cattle raising.

Do you think that tourism will develop the area?

Translator: Tourists will arrive here to Patacancha [basin] would you receive them?

President: Well of course if the community organizes well, they can come, the community members, we will do works, we will do crafts, textiles, and we could prepare houses for them to rest....

Translator: You guys would like that these tourists come?

President: For sure they will come...

Translator: But for that, you guys will need to dress the same [referring to the colorful ethnic clothes the peasants from Patacancha use]

President: Yes our clothes are important...

Translator: That is what you need to say comrade [compañero] as a president....

President: for tourism...

Translator: In that way you could talk, you guys can maintain [your existence as a culture]

President: Yes we can maintain [us].”(INT27)

The translator at the moment of the interview was the regional

pedagogical adviser. At different moments she talks to the president of Yanamayo directly, correcting or making strong recommendations. This is important because it shows the degree in which external actors with a clear political position also influence the views on development and ethnicity of the members of the basin.

For the parents of the basin of Patacancha, the schools of the RNS should promote the training of the children in some type of occupation. The occupations mentioned as preferable for their children are a combination of professional careers (engineer), technical skills (builder) and even traditional gender activities such as “weaving for the girls” and “agriculture for the boys.” The most common request is simply a better education and some agricultural skills to increase production.

Tourism appears as an important factor in the future plans of development of the basin. The possible plans of the community regarding this activity, seen as on the rise include the idea of selling textiles (which are famous for their quality and style in Cusco) and crafts; and creating lodging for tourists. Overall, tourism is interpreted as a convenient form of obtaining monetary income. Of course the appearance of these ideas was most probably influenced by the experience of the male members of the communities as *cargadores* (bearers of equipment and luggage for the visitors) of the Inka Trail, a common seasonal occupation for decades. However, the importance given to and the favorable attitude towards this

activity is new and influenced by the construction of the road and the evaluations and advised of the members of the NGOs of the area and other professionals.

In that context the NGO Arariwa gives the impression of being forward – looking. It started an interesting program of post secondary education in Urubamba in 1999 where many young members of the communities and towns of the Ollantaytambo, Calca and Urubamba could obtain titles in professions⁴¹ like: Rural Administration Technician (*Técnico en Administración Rural*), and Rural Tourism (*Turismo Rural*).

In both cases, in Cullhuas and Patacancha, the component of institutionalization that is the projection toward the future shows weaknesses. However in the case of Patacancha, the role played by actors like the NGOs could help to overcome this limitation.

⁴¹ Professions is the term used in Arariwa's publications and advertising (Arariwa:2001).

Conclusions

1. The performance of an institution is evidently shaped by the social and cultural framework where this institution has been originated and had obtained the crystallization of practices and legitimization of an institution as such. All the organisms and the procedures created by the education reform in its way to decentralization are in fact institutions and have been affected for these elements hidden in the context that we wanted to identify in this study. Among the elements identified are formal, political and socio-spatial factors (*see box 3*):

Formal Factors

Although a properly designed model of RNS could help the successful initial implementation and duration of a RNS, many of the possibilities of its success in terms of institutionalization and thus its effectiveness are connected to the specific environments in which these models are applied. Following Nohriah and Gulati (1994: 533) reflections on the effect of environments on firms it can be said that “there might not be one best way to organize, but several that depended on the environment in which the firm was embedded.” In the cases examined in this study, each model presented tendencies to affect in a distinct way the processes of institutionalization, being the more efficient MODEL 2 (UDECE) that since the initial stage of the application promoted the participation of parents and other actors besides the teachers, neutralizing in that way the frequent tendencies to

conflict and fragmentation existent in the labor environments created by rural school teachers. However, other factors like the individual agency of crucial actors were also beneficial to neutralize these tendencies to fragmentation and conflict.

Political Factors

The recurrent de-institutionalization or failure of institutionalization is one of the most problematic characteristics of education reforms designed for rural areas. The most clear and frequent element mentioned to explain these failures is the discontinuity in the applications of the education policies produced when a new government, and even a new minister is in office. It is part of the common sense, repeated by teachers, officials of the Ministry, and scholars studying these reforms. Regardless of its obvious nature this seems to be almost a structural feature of the Peruvian state functioning. In this study was not difficult to identify the effect of this factor since beginnings of the research. What needs to be emphasized is the low trust in any reform that this destructive factor is creating among teachers, practicing in the classroom or as pedagogical advisers in the regional and provincial agencies of the Ministry. The idea that any intended reform “is only a matter of time” is connected with the discontinuity of the education policies but is a different factor.

Socio-spatial Factors

These factors included the type of accessibility and the effect of the distance between important urban centers and the particular area of study; the type of connection of this area with these urban centers; and elements that could be understood as the crystallizations of particular experiences and social relationships in a geographic region. The regional history of education and the regional history of promotion of development are factors with the characteristics just mentioned. The history of education of a smaller area as a settlement or community is important also because it is connected to the types of strategies of social mobility that included education as a main element and which were experienced with certain consequences. These consequences would probably frame in the future the decisions regarding education of the new households.

All the factors mentioned before, influence (and interact with) the characteristics of the set of actors more likely to be present in a specific location. Actors, educated in specific education styles, influenced by particular political ideologies, trained in specific styles of practicing a career, would participate in different manners in a process of institutionalization like this education decentralization policy.

Recuperating the way of conceptualizing dependent development by the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano at the end of the 1970s it might be useful to use the terms hetero-centered development (*hetero-centrado*) and self-centered

development (*auto-centrado*) to define the set of factors present in Cullhuas and Patacancha respectively. In that case, Quijano catalogued as “hetero-centered” the situation of countries like Peru and other Latin American countries for which their main sources of influences came equally from their exterior and from their own center, in a way that depending on the grade tended to produce a complicated, distorted and disorganized trajectory of development. On the other hand, an “auto-centered” way of development would be the case in which a country’s constitution and developments is mainly defined by the tendencies present in itself.

In the case of the RNS of Cullhuas, almost all the mentioned factors played a negative role to generate the institutionalization of the RNS formed in that area, or at least were not important enough to be visible in the data. In the case of the basin of Patacancha the factors mentioned seemed to be facilitating a process of institutionalization of the RNS. However, a critical element to guarantee institutionalization in the stage of the projection toward the future (the fourth and final sub-process of institutionalization) was not present yet in the RNS Patacancha and was not present in the models of RNS piloted. This is the technical information about education quality needed by parents, local leaders and school teachers, who are the most important actors in the new type of decision-making processes implicated in the reforms toward decentralization.

2. The impacts of these factors in the processes of institutionalization of a education decentralization policy as the formation of Rural Networks of Schools follow several ways, and their effects are present in all the four stages or sub-processes of institutionalization. Some tendencies are clear: formal and political factors seem to be more important for the processes of implementation and duration/sustainability and socio-spatial factors seem to be important for all the sub-processes but are more evident in the cases of overcoming challenges and projection toward the future.

Box 3: Formal, Political and Social-Spatial Factors Affecting Institutionalization

RNS CULLHUAS	RNS PATACANCHA
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Ministry of Education</u></p> <p>Frequent changes in personnel affected adequate implementation</p> <p><u>STER Model of RNS:</u> <i>Focus:</i> Pedagogical/Only teachers involved</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Ministry of Education</u></p> <p>Frequent changes in personnel affected adequate implementation</p> <p><u>UDECE Model of RNS:</u> <i>Focus:</i> Organization/Parents involved</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Regional and provincial level</u></p> <p><u>Pedagogical advisers</u> Interest Importance of Education</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Regional and provincial level</u></p> <p><u>Pedagogical advisers</u> Political ideology Particular regional history of Education Particular regional history of development Promotion</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>In the district</u></p> <p>Distance and accessibility:</p> <p>Frequent mobility of teachers</p> <p>Connection with larger urban centers: Main Directions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) From Huancayo to Huancavelica. (2) From Huancayo city to the district of Cullhuas to work (3) From the district of Cullhuas to Huancayo city to work. <p>Type of actors</p> <p><u>Parents</u> <i>Campesino</i> identity History of education of the area: Parents: first years of elementary school/Children: first years of secondary</p> <p><u>Teachers, pedagogical advisers</u> Pragmatic practice of their careers</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[Hetero-centered]</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>In the Basin</u></p> <p>Distance and accessibility:</p> <p>Teachers stay at their job locations</p> <p>Connection with larger urban centers: Main Direction:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) From Cusco city to the basin of Patacancha (2) From Urubamba town to the basin of Patacancha <p>Type of actors</p> <p><u>Parents</u> Ethnic identity History of education of the area: Parents: first years of elementary school/Children: predominantly not secondary yet.</p> <p><u>Teachers, NGO promoters</u> Individual social capital and agency. Political ideology Particular regional history of Education Particular regional history of development Promotion --→NGOs (socio-ideological support, financial support)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[Self-centered]</p>

Appendix 1: Official Documentation collected

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Office of Coordination for the Rural Educative Development</i></p> <p>(a) “Propuesta Modelo de Gestión de la Escuela Rural (2001). Documento borrador”. (Model proposed for the management of rural schools).</p> <p>(b) “Normas para la Gestión y Desarrollo de las Actividades en los Centros y Programas Educativos (RM.168-2002-ED)”. (Schools and Education Programs Management Procedures)</p> <p>(c) “Lineamientos de Política Educativa 2001-2006”.(Education Plan 2001-2006)</p> <p>(d) “Informe de la Coordinación Técnica PMCER” (several monthly monitoring informs)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>CODE</u></p> <p>STERa</p> <p>STERb</p> <p>STERc</p> <p>STERd</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Unit of Decentralization of Schools</i></p> <p>(a) “Hacia un modelo de Gestión de Educación Rural en el Perú. (2001)”. (Toward a model of management of Rural Education).</p> <p>(b) “Evaluación de las Redes Rurales Educativas (2002)”. (Rural Networks National Monitoring Inform)</p> <p>(c) “La Red Educativa” (about the model of the rural networks and past experiences).</p> <p>(d) “La Gestión Educativa en Redes para Areas Rurales” (about the model of management of a rural network)</p> <p>(e) “Red Patacancha. Taller de Gestión Institucional y Pedagógica en la Red Urubamba” (March 15-17 2001). (Red Patacancha, Workshop inform)</p> <p>(f) “Memoria del Taller de Capacitación para Fortalecer el Proceso de Democratización y Decentralización de las Redes Rurales Educativas”. (National Workshop Report).</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>CODE</u></p> <p>UDECEa</p> <p>UDECEb</p> <p>UDECEc</p> <p>UDECEd</p> <p>UDECEe</p> <p>UDECEf</p>
<p>(a) “Programa Especial Educación Rural y Desarrollo Magisterial”. Ministry of Education of Peru, 2001.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CODE</p> <p>MEDa</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Personal Archive of Ex- Technical Coordinator of STER</u></p> <p>a) “Plan of Trips July” (STER)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CODE</p> <p>TECI</p>

Appendix 2: List of interviews*

FONCODES

- Francisco Dumler. General Manager of FONCODES **(INT1)**
- Juvenal Díaz. Chief of the Statistics Office of FONCODES **(INT2)**

At the level of the Ministry of Education Headquarters.

- Joel Troncos Castro. National Consultant. Responsible of Rural Educative Networks. Unit of Decentralization of Schools (Unidad de Decentralización de Centros Educativos-UDECE) **(INT3)**
- Emma Yep. Former national consultant of UDECE (Ministry of Education) Responsible for the design and implementation of the Rural Educational Networks of UDECE **(INT4)**
- Aroma De la Cadena. Current national consultant of the Office of Coordination for Development of Rural Education (former STER) **(INT5)**
- Jose Aparcana. Consultant hired to review with the members of the rural networks the changes in the general procedures law of functioning of the rural educative networks **(INT6)**
- Cesar Torres. National consultant of the Office of Coordination for Rural Education Development. Former technical coordinator or STER in Junín **(INT7)**

At the level of the department and provincial agencies of the Ministry of Education

- Rosa. Former pedagogical adviser of the Regional Direction of Education of Junin **(INT8)**
- Teresa. Current pedagogical adviser of Rural Education in the Regional Direction of Education of Junín **(INT9)**
- Carmen. Current pedagogical adviser of Rural Education in the Regional Direction of Education of Cusco **(INT10)**

At the level of the provincial agency of the Ministry of Education

- Amelia. Ex Pedagogical adviser of the Unit of Educative Services of Urubamba, Cusco **(INT11)**
- Bernardo Fulcrand Terrise. Casa Taller Arariwa Academic Coordinator, Cusco **(INT12)**
- Adolfo Estrada Tamayo. Casa Taller Arariwa Principal. Cusco **(INT13)**

At the level of the rural educative network

- Rita. Ex Network Coordinator and current principal of the Patacancha school. Strongest leader of the network **(INT14)**

- Mario. Current Network Coordinator of the Rural Network of Patacancha. Cusco **(INT15)**
- Adrian. Network coordinator of the Rural Network of Cullhuas. Junin **(INT16)**
- Rosario. Principal of the school of Pampacruz **(INT17)**
- Lorenzo. President of the Community of Yanamayo (Ollantaytambo-Urubamba) **(INT18)**
- Maria. Mother of the Community of Pallata. (Ollantaytambo-Urubamba) **(INT19)**
- Miguel (not clear last name in the tape recorded). President of APAFA of the Community of Patacancha **(INT20)**
- Vice President of the community of Huilloq (not clear name and last name in the tape recorded). (Ollantaytambo-Urubamba) **(INT21)**
- Carlos. Father of the Community of Chacapampa. (Cullhuas-Huancayo) **(INT22)**
- Communal Assembly of the Community of Asacruz. (Cullhuas-Huancayo) **(INT23)**
- Mother of the Community of Chucos. (Pucara-Huancayo) **(INT24)**
- Raul. President of APAFA of the community of San Pedro de Pihuas. (Cullhuas-Huancayo) **(INT25)**
- Parents of the community of Santa Rosa de Potaca **(INT26)**

*All the names are pseudonyms excepting the persons with public positions who agreed to use their real names

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