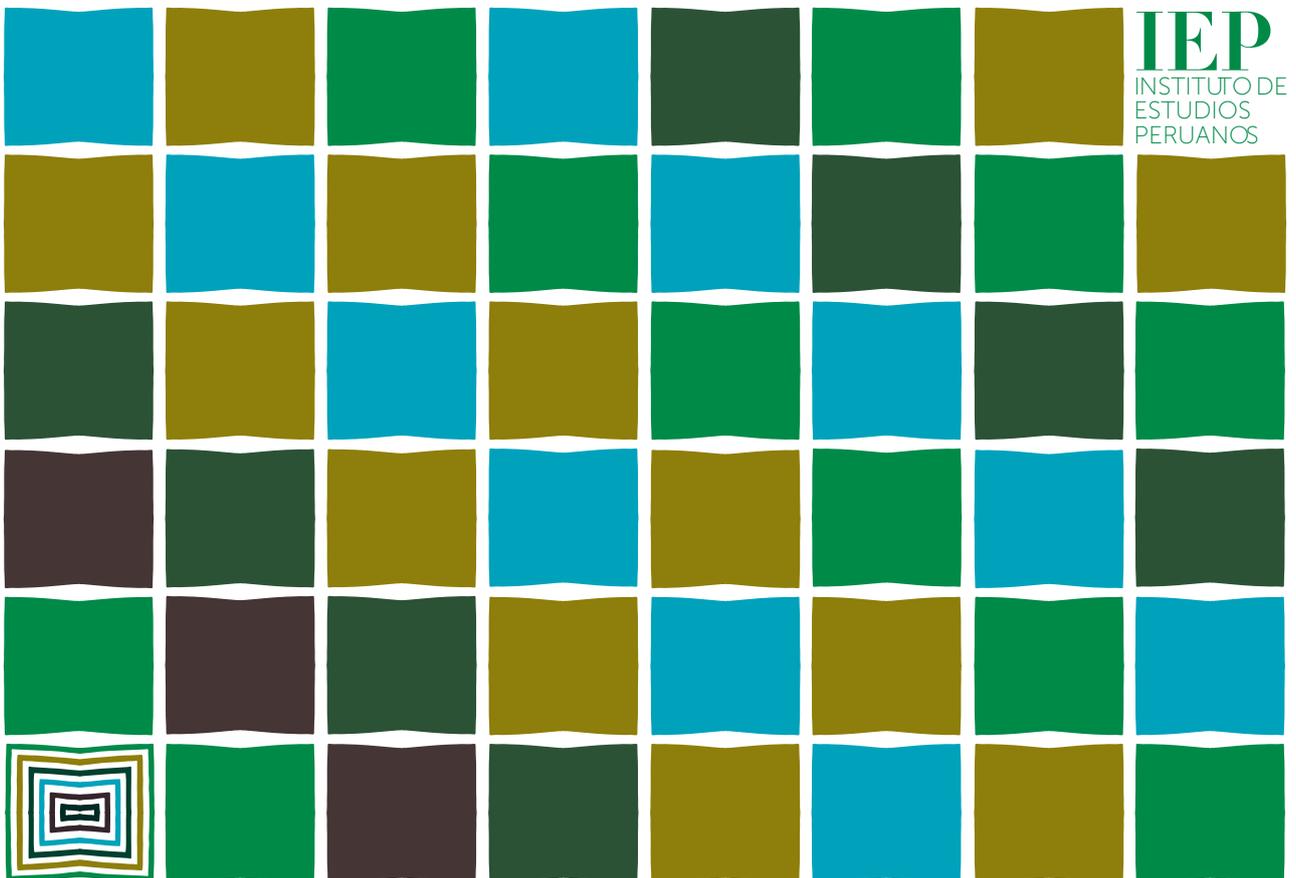


MOVING TOWARD PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT THE TEACHER REFORM IN PERU (2012-2016)



MOVING TOWARD PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE TEACHER REFORM IN PERU
(2012-2016)

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Introducción

The history of Peru's teacher reform dates back to 2001. With the return to democracy, interest in educational issues increased significantly. The agenda developed by civil society in previous years took centre stage in new education policies, a situation that the educational community recognized as an opportunity (Cuenca 2013; Oliart 2011).

The first reports assessing the education reforms and policies of the 1990s were published during that period (Gajardo 1999; Krawczyk 2002; Navarro, Carnoy and de Moura 2000; Orealc-Unesco 2007; Schwartzman and Cox 2009). Among the most important aspects were outcomes related to the teaching profession. In both Latin America and Peru, reforms related to the teaching profession considered teachers to be inputs into the educational system, at the same level as the curriculum, textbooks, equipment and infrastructure. The fact that they were individuals with different teaching styles, cultural traditions, political approaches to the curriculum and expectations about their work remained "hidden" behind massive training programs that sought to create technicians rather than professionals. In response, emphasis began to shift from training to concern about professional development (Cox, Beca and Cerri 2017; Orealc-Unesco 2013; Robalino 2005).

Discussion and early development of proposals for teaching policies grew out of a Ministry of Education initiative toward the end of the Transition Government (2000-2001), and the initial phase ended 11 July 2007 with the approval of the Public Education Career Law. This law was the first step in the establishment of a merit-based career in the Peruvian educational system (Cuenca and Stojnic 2007; Paiba 2007).

During that period, until 2012, discussion of the teacher reform and implementation of the policies was complicated. Collaboration among the government, the teachers' union, academia, civil society and the teachers dwindled as the reform advanced. The teachers' union stopped participating in discussions and launched a long strike when the law was approved in 2007. Academia and civil society did not see their contributions reflected in the new law, the government did not manage to convince teachers to enter the new merit-based system, and teacher training continued to follow the old models. The efforts of two government administrations failed to bring about a true teacher reform. At that time, just one out of each four teacher were involved in the Merit-based teaching system.

Until 2012, the process was marked by political and technical tensions, and although the initial approach to the reform was technical, the end of this phase was marked by disagreements among various political interests.

This paper discusses the current teacher reform and analyses its main outcomes, difficulties and challenges. It is a descriptive analysis based on official documents. The essay is organized in four sections. The first presents a general overview of the Peruvian educational system. The second and third sections discuss the situation of teachers, both their characteristics and a description of the reform. The last section contains some conclusions and comments about the reform process.



Peruvian Education in Perspective

The Peruvian educational system is organized in two major blocks. The first, basic education consists of 12 years of mandatory education for children and young people ages 5 to 17. It is organized in one year of early childhood education, six years of primary education and five years of secondary education. The second block is higher education, which includes institutes and universities, with courses of study of between three and five years.

In both cases, the public and private sectors offer education. In basic education, the majority of students are enrolled in public schools (73.9%), except in Lima (50.5%). The opposite is true of higher education, where most are enrolled in private institutions (69.8%).

Table 1
ENROLMENT RATE, NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS, 2015*

Education Stage	Education Level	Enrolment rate	Number of teachers	Number of Institutions
Basic Education	Early childhood	83.7	86,678	52,120
	Primary	92.9	198,907	38,068
	Secondary	83.9	185,050	13,972
Higher Education	Institutes	13.6	-----	1,008
	University	40.1	-----	142

* Includes public and private sector. Does not include alternative and Special Basic Education

Source: 2015 Escala database of the Ministry of Education | University Superintendent

Peru's high coverage rate places it among the Latin American countries with the best educational system efficiency indicators. As Table 1 shows, primary education is practically universal and higher education is widespread. Nevertheless, there are indicators of inequality.

In second grade tests in the poorest districts in Lima, students in private schools understand less of what they read than their peers in public schools, and urban children score twice as high as rural students do in mathematics. Eighty percent of Shipibo children in fourth grade are at the lowest level of skill in Spanish as a second language, while 50% of Quechua children are at a satisfactory level.

The illiterate indigenous population has a female face: three out of every four illiterate indigenous people are women, while there are no data about illiterate non-indigenous women.

As students advance in the educational system, however, the inequalities become more obvious. Secondary schools in urban areas have a significantly higher coverage of services than those in rural areas (75% and 12%, respectively), and while eight out of every 10 private schools have water, electricity and sanitation services, in the state system that figure is only three in 10.

Analysis of the performance of students in the second year of secondary school shows large gaps by geographic area (urban-rural), management of the educational institution (public-private) and poverty in the two areas, with the most economically and socially vulnerable areas always at a disadvantage. For example, in reading comprehension, slightly more than half of students in rural areas are at a beginner level and only 2% are at a satisfactory level (compared to 15% of students in urban areas). Similarly, two out of every five students in public high schools fall short in basic skills, while 24% of students in private schools show satisfactory performance in reading comprehension.

The inequalities are not corrected in higher education. While only one out of every 10 poor young people goes to the university, five of every 10 wealthy students do so. This is reflected in entry into the formal labour market. Although they have spent a similar time in school, young people who are female, indigenous, rural and poor will have fewer job opportunities than their urban, non-indigenous peers and far fewer than urban men.

1.1 Access to and Coverage of Basic Education

In the past 15 years, there have been improvements in coverage of and access to education. Indicators of coverage (rates of enrolment, completion, dropout, repetition and being behind grade for age) have shown significant progress at all levels (early childhood, primary, secondary and higher education), reflecting efforts to achieve universal education in Peru. However, although progress has been made at all levels, it has been heterogeneous. For example, despite significant changes in secondary education, one of every five young people still is not enrolled in secondary school, and one in four does not finish basic education. Rates for dropout, repetition and being behind grade for age also show significant change, but less than those registered in primary education.

The increase in enrolment rates between 2002 and 2015 was considerable and differentiated. The greatest increase came in early childhood education, at 57%, bringing to 83.8% the proportion of children enrolled at an appropriate age. Primary enrolment rates, which were highest at the beginning of that period (90.6%), increased to 92.9% among children ages 6 to 11. Further efforts are needed at the secondary level, as noted above. Although the secondary education enrolment rate showed an average increase of 1.1% annually, rising from 70.8% in 2002 to 83.9% in 2015, it is still considerably lower than the rates for primary school. In the case of higher education, enrolment rates for young people ages 17 to 21 increased by as much as 70%, from 22.2% in 2002 to 37.9% in 2015.

Table 2
EFFICIENCY INDICATORS, 2000 – 2015

Educational level	Years			
	2000	2005	2010	2015
Enrolment				
Early childhood	53.07	56.51	68.01	83.77
Primary	89.71	91.95	93.22	92.92
Secondary	67.81	71.52	78.69	83.98
Tertiary	20.53	22.31	30.38	37.9
Graduation	2000	2005	2010	2015
Primary	61.85	71.88	79.22	82.11
Secondary	42.45	53.27	60.84	71.42
Tertiary (22 y/o)	13.63	14.46	16.30	18.45
Tertiary (25-34 y/o)	20.01	21.71	25.64	25.48

Source: Ministry of Education's 2015 Escale database and National Household Surveys 2000 – 2014

Like the enrolment rate, the completion rate¹ shows a progressively lower starting point by educational level. For primary school, there was a 33% increase in this indicator between 2000 and 2015, showing that 82.1% of children between ages 12 and 13 finish primary education. During the same period, there was a 68% increase in the completion rate for secondary school, from 42.5% to 71.4% for adolescents between ages 17 and 18—more than twice the rate of increase for primary school.

1. Proportion of the population of a certain age group that has completed a level of education, compared to the total population of that age group.

In other words, the gap between primary and secondary education decreased significantly, mainly in the past five years, when there was a significant increase in the completion rate for secondary school (increase of 10.7%).

For higher education, the completion rate for groups between ages 22 and 24 and ages 25 and 34 were used, as shown in Table 2. Both cohorts show a gradual, but differentiated, increase, with the larger percentage in the group between ages 25 and 34. In both cases, however, the rate is well below those for secondary and primary education.

1.2 Financing of Public Education

The education sector budget has increased in recent years. This is partly because of a significant increase in Peru's gross domestic product (GDP) since 2000, which has led to an overall increase in the public budget. Public expenditure on education began to become a priority. Although the percentage allocated to education is still low, there has been an increase of 1% since 2000, from 2.6% in 2000 to 3.6% in 2015.

Table 3

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION AS PERCENTAGE OF GDP, 2000 – 2015

Peru	2000	2005	2010	2015
	2.6	2.8	2.9	3.6

Source: Ministry of Economy and Finance's Integrated System of Financial Public Administration (SIAF-SP)

Public expenditure per student has also been increasing. For early childhood and primary education, the per-student budget has increased nearly six times, from US\$152.64 to US\$887.28 for early childhood education and from US\$160.47 to US\$917.60 for primary education. The secondary education budget quintupled, from US\$215.23 per student in 2000 to US\$1,073.34 in 2014.

Table 4

PER-STUDENT PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION, 2000 – 2014

Educational level	2000	2005	2010	2014
Early childhood	152.64	216.08	480.01	887.28
Primary	160.47	252.52	558.25	917.60
Secondary	215.23	362.57	657.79	1,073.34
Vocational	159.51	243.26	445.13	636.54
University	545.30	892.99	1,790.60	2,778.33

Source: Ministry of Economy and Finance's Integrated System of Financial Public Administration (SIAF-SP) and Ministry of Education's Educational Census

The administration of Pedro Pablo Kuczynski has kept the promise made by the preceding administration of Ollanta Humala to increase investment in education steadily by 15% annually until it reaches 6% of GDP in 2021.

1.3 Quality of Student Learning

Increasing the quality of education is still a pending task; despite progress in recent years, the main quality indicators remain low. Results of the Census National Assessment of students, which has gathered information since 2007 about the level of students in second grade of primary school nationwide, are discouraging. As the following table shows, in 2015, 26.6% of the students showed satisfactory outcomes in mathematics, and 49.8% in reading comprehension. In other words, the percentage did not exceed 50% in either area.

Table 5

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WITH SATISFACTORY OUTCOMES IN NATIONAL ASSESSMENTS, 2007 – 2015

Area	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Mathematics	6.27	9.39	13.52	13.81	13.21	12.78	16.85	25.92	26.6
Reading	15.87	16.92	23.09	28.73	29.77	30.9	32.96	43.48	49.8

Source: Student Census National Evaluation of the Ministry of Education

Greater progress is seen in reading comprehension, with a 33.9% increase in satisfactory outcomes between 2007 and 2015. The percentage for mathematics is more discouraging. As the table shows, in 2013, the percentage of students at a satisfactory level was no greater than 20%. Between 2013 and 2014, however, there was a considerable increase, of nearly 10%, in both reading comprehension and mathematics.

Table 6

COUNTRY'S MEAN SCORE IN PISA, 2000 - 2015

Area	2000	2009	2012	2015
Science	---	369	373	397
Mathematics	---	365	368	387
Reading	327	370	384	398

Source: OECD 2016

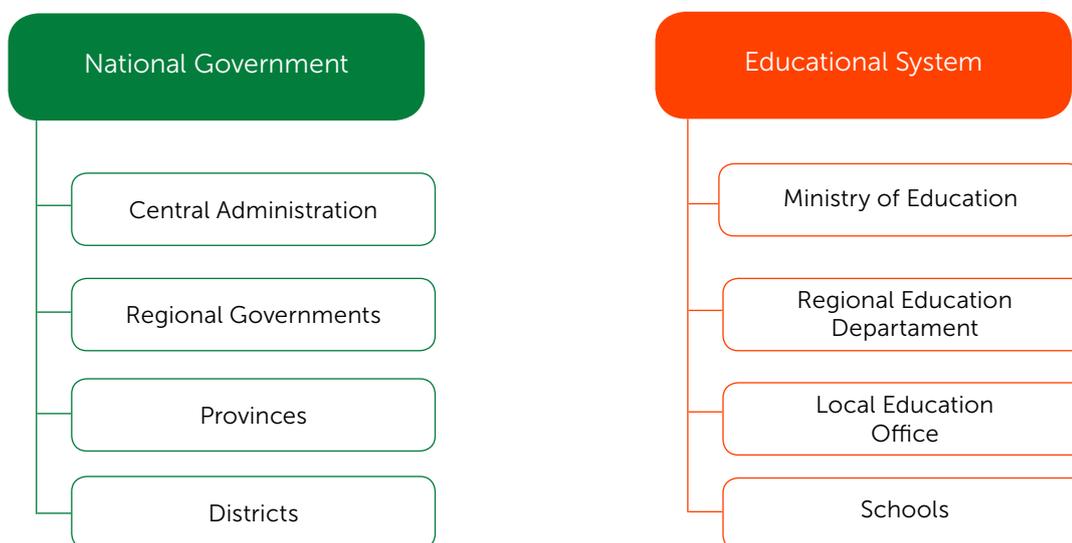
The PISA test, in which Peru has participated since 2000, also shows unfavourable results. In 2015, Peru was the Latin America country that showed the greatest progress in outcomes. Despite significant improvement in science, mathematics and reading comprehension, however, the outcomes are still below global and regional averages.

1.4 Management of the Education System

Peru's regulatory framework establishes that management of the education system is decentralized and is therefore organized through four educational management bodies: the school, the Local Education Office (*Unidad de Gestión Educativa Local*, UGEL), the Regional Education Department (*Dirección Regional de Educación*,

DRE) and the Ministry of Education.² In the decentralized system, these bodies correspond to political-administrative levels of the Peruvian state, as the following chart shows.

Figure 1
CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE EDUCATION SYSTEM



Source: Valdivia, N. and Díaz, H. (2008: 280)

The Ministry of Education is responsible for establishing national policy, and the regional and local offices are charged with adapting ministry guidelines to the characteristics of their jurisdictions. The DRE is a specialized office of the regional government, and is responsible for education services at the regional level. Its purpose is to promote education, culture, sports, recreation, science and technology, and ensure the provision of educational services and integral assistance programs (LGE Art. 76°).

The UGEL is an implementing body in the regional government with autonomy in the area of education. Its territorial jurisdiction is the province. That jurisdiction can be modified based on criteria related to social dynamics, geography, culture or economics, in accordance with national policies for decentralization and modernization of public management (LGE Art. 73°).

Schools are the first and main point of management of the education system, as they are responsible for providing the service. They can be public or private. Their purpose is learning and the integral formation of their students (LGE Art. 66°). Classified by type of management, schools are: (a) public, directly managed by education authorities of the education sector or other government institutions; (b) public, with private management, by agreement with non-profit entities that provide free education services; or (c) privately managed, in accordance with Article 72 (LGE Art. 71°).

2. See General Education Law N°28044 (Ley General de Educación, LGE) and its enabling legislation (Reglamento de LGE), approved by DS N°011-2012-ED.



The basic education teacher in Peru has an average age of 44, is female and has tertiary studies (in a university or institute). In 2014, there were 493,284 Regular Basic Education teachers, of whom 42.8% taught at the primary level, 38.6% in secondary school and 18.6% in early childhood education. In addition, 64.3% worked in public schools and 35.7% in private schools.

The average monthly income of Peruvian teachers is 1,390 soles (approx. USD 415). In public schools, considering all salary scales included in the new Teaching Reform Law (2012), the average income of teachers with permanent appointments is 1,574 soles (approx. USD 470). In contrast, in private schools, the average monthly teacher salary is 1,330 soles (approx. USD 388).

For that same year, the percentage of female teachers was nearly twice that of male teachers (64.7% women 35.3% men). The largest percentage of female teachers is in early childhood education, representing 96.3% of the total, while the largest percentage of men is concentrated in secondary education (52.4%). The proportion is about the same in both public and private schools, although private schools have a higher percentage of female teachers in primary education (79.6%) than public schools.

Table 7
NUMBER OF TEACHERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND GENDER, 2014*

Educational level	Sector	Gender	
		Male	Female
National	Total	35.3	64.7
	Public	38.2	61.8
	Private	28.6	71.4
Early childhood	Total	3.7	96.3
	Public	5.1	94.9
	Private	1.9	98.1
Primary	Total	32.5	67.5
	Public	37.0	63.0
	Private	20.4	79.6
Secondary	Total	52.4	47.6
	Public	50.8	49.2
	Private	56.6	43.4

* Percentages are estimations. Standard error and margin of error are not considered. For more information, see www.cne.gob.pe.
Source: National Education Council's 2014 National Teacher Survey

As the following table shows, the largest percentage of basic education teachers (36%) is in the age range between 36 and 45 years. Of these, 36.5% work in public schools and 34.8% in private schools. The largest percentage of teachers under age 35 is found in private schools (44.9%), compared to 16.8% of teachers in that age range who work in public schools. Among teachers ages 46 to 55, 35.6% work in public schools and 15.5% in private schools.

Table 8
NUMBER OF TEACHERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND AGE RANGE, 2014*

Educational level	Sector	Age Range			
		Under 35	36 to 45	46 to 55	Over 56
National	Total	25.2	36.0	29.6	9.2
	Public	16.8	36.5	35.6	11.1
	Private	44.9	34.8	15.5	4.8
Early childhood	Total	33.8	39.8	20.9	5.6
	Public	24.8	39.3	28.8	7.2
	Private	45.7	40.4	10.5	3.4
Primary	Total	21.3	35.0	33.7	10.0
	Public	12.6	34.5	40.6	12.3
	Private	44.8	36.2	15.1	3.9
Secondary	Total	25.8	35.5	28.7	10.0
	Public	18.8	37.8	32.2	11.2
	Private	44.6	29.2	19.4	6.9

* Percentages are estimations. Standard error and margin of error are not considered. For more information, see: www.cne.gob.pe
Source: National Education Council's 2014 National Teacher Survey

Teachers in Peru are trained in pedagogical institutes or universities. In 2011, there were 337 pedagogical institutes, and currently there are 274 university programs in education.³ In 2014, 44.1% of all teachers had a university education, while 43.4% came from pedagogical institutes.

Table 9

NUMBER OF TEACHERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND DEGREE OBTAINED, 2014*

Educational level	Sector	Degree achieved			
		Secondary	Pedagogical Institute	University	Post-graduate
National	Total	1.1	43.4	44.1	11.5
	Public	0.2	47.1	39.9	12.8
	Private	3.2	34.5	53.9	8.4
Early childhood	Total	3.0	46.2	42.5	8.4
	Public	0.3	51.7	37.4	10.6
	Private	6.5	39.0	49.1	5.4
Primary	Total	0.5	50.1	40.1	9.3
	Public	0.2	54.2	36.0	9.7
	Private	1.3	39.3	51.3	8.1
Secondary	Total	0.9	34.4	49.4	15.4
	Public	0.1	37.5	45.3	17.2
	Private	2.9	26.0	60.4	10.8

* Percentages are estimations. Standard error and margin of error are not considered. For more information, see: www.cne.gob.pe
Source: National Education Council's 2014 National Teacher Survey

A larger percentage of teachers who graduate from universities works in private schools (53.9%), while 47.1% of teachers working in public schools come from pedagogical institutes. Finally, as the previous table shows, 11.5% of teachers have post-graduate studies and 1.1% have only a secondary education. The latter are mainly concentrated in private schools.

3. For more information, see: Website "Ponte en Carrera": <http://www.ponteencarrera.pe/>



The teacher reform began in 2012 with approval of the new teaching career law. It originally was called “Peru Teacher Plan” and had four components: the teaching career, implementation of an in-service training program, a system of incentives and stimuli, and development of strategies for teacher participation in the design and evaluation of education policies.

In October 2013, there was a change of minister, and some aspects of the reform were subsequently modified. It was given a new name, the “Integral Policy for Teacher Development,” and reduced to three components. The teaching career component was kept, while the participation component was eliminated and the other two were expanded. Teacher training included in-service training and initial education of teachers. The package of incentives was reorganized in more comprehensive teacher-welfare schemes.

The objectives were not changed substantively. The overall sense was maintained, and the main objective of the reform is to promote innovation and the development of pedagogical knowledge, as well as to encourage teachers to commit to their own professional development.

Legal and technical instruments support the reform’s implementation. The legal instruments are the Teaching Reform Law (Ley de Reforma Magisterial), the Pedagogical Institutes Law (Ley de Institutos Superiores Pedagógicos), the enabling legislation for the organization and functions of the Ministry of Education, and the Good Teacher-Performance Framework (Marco de Buen Desempeño Docente). The technical instruments are the teacher assessment system and professional welfare strategies.

1.1 Components of the Reform

The components of the reform reflect the three most important elements of an approach that focuses on professional development: regulation of the teacher's work life, specialized training and worker welfare.

Teaching Career

The new teaching career belongs to the second generation of Latin American teaching careers (Cuenca 2015). Its main characteristic is that it is merit based. In other words, moving from level to level in the career, as well as job stability or leaving a job, depends on the teacher's professional merits.

This new type of career is outcome oriented and recognizes public employment based on positions; in other words, a position is held by the person who is most capable, according to a series of previously established indicators (OECD 2005).

Horizontal labour promotion (better working conditions in the same category), high-impact performance assessment processes (which determine whether a person stays in a job) and implementation of incentive schemes (monetary and non-monetary) are the three most important differences in comparison to traditional teaching careers.

Teacher Training

This component of the reform includes two types of significant changes. First, initial changes are being made in curricula for teacher training, including the design of curriculum guidelines and the development of professional profiles for graduates. Under the new law, changes are also being made in management of pedagogical institutes, offering them greater autonomy accompanied by stricter standards.

Training now includes policies and standards that allow consistency in all teacher-training programs. In-service training and e-learning programs have also been developed. One new element is accompaniment of new teachers, as part of a job orientation program.

Professional Welfare

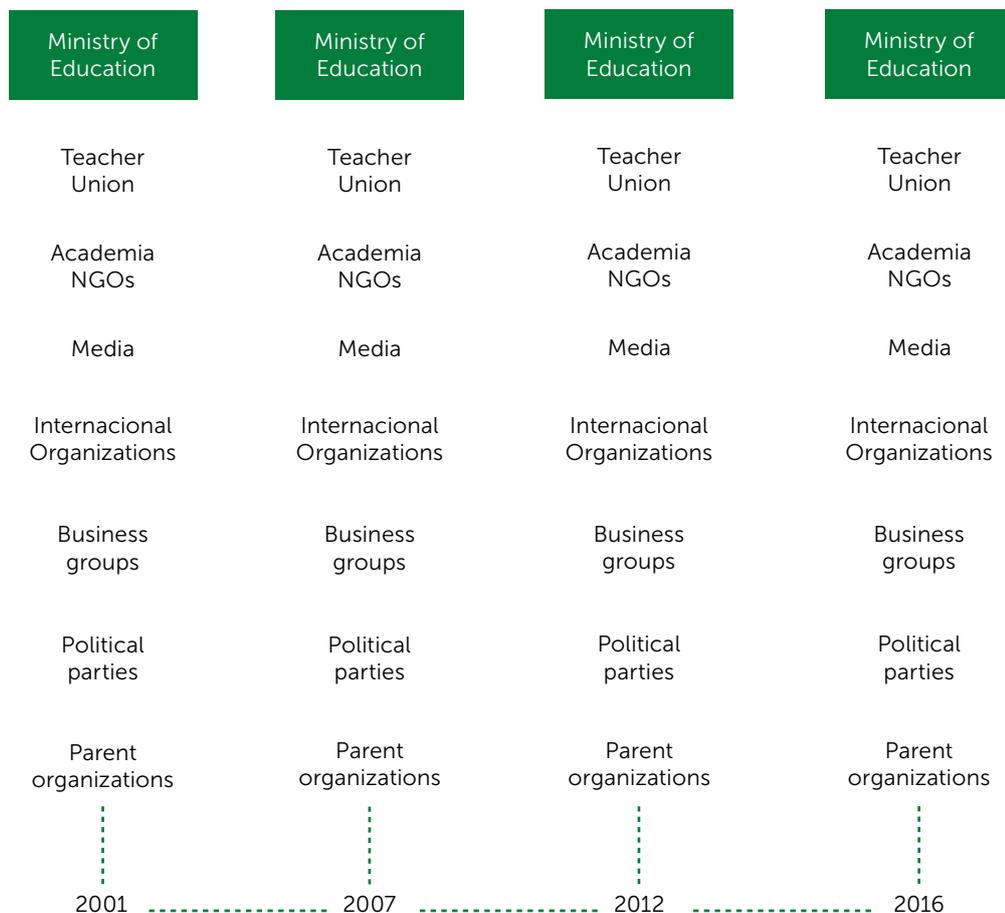
The reform includes activities aimed at fostering job satisfaction among teachers. Decisions have been made to improve performance by improving personal, social and material conditions. One key element is the implementation of monetary and non-monetary incentives that contribute to teacher welfare, as well as public recognition of the importance of their work.

Scholarships have been created in an effort to attract top secondary school students to study to be teachers, as well as scholarships for Master's studies in education-related areas and a special scholarship program for teachers' children. Incentives also include benefits for attending cultural activities and national contests that reward classroom innovations. A communication program has also been created to connect the Ministry of Education with all teachers using text messaging.

1.2 Implementation Strategies and the Role of Key Actors

Like most initiatives in the country, the reform was designed and implemented from the top down. The markedly technocratic nature of its management has left little room for discussion. In addition, the decentralization of education has focused more on the deconcentration of administrative functions and less on the distribution of decision-making power between sub-national governments and schools. Even when opportunities have existed for teachers, principals and families to participate, they have consisted of consultations on general topics.

Figure 2
MAIN ACTORS' POSITION AND STRATEGIES*



*The font size represents the intensity of participation. Own elaboration.

Despite this characteristic, the legitimacy of the reform was largely due to the active and efficient leadership of Minister Jaime Saavedra. His communication style and his significant investment in promoting the reform in the media have been effective.

The technical soundness of the proposals prepared by outside consultants under the supervision of ministry staff and with support from international cooperation agencies, especially UNESCO and the Canadian International Development

Agency (CIDA), not only were communicated well, but also attracted important allies, including businesspeople and some political parties.

Overall, businesspeople, the media, parents' associations, international cooperation agencies, NGOs and academia have provided positive accompaniment to the teacher reform. Even the teachers' union is an ally for the time being. The union was critical and took action to oppose the new career law, but that was during the term of Patricia Salas, when the merit-based law was approved, leaving teachers without job security. Academia has some doubts about decisions made by the Ministry of Education, but that has not kept the government from going ahead with the reform.



Despite initial opposition from the teachers' union and political forces opposed to the Ollanta Humala Administration,⁴ the teacher reform in Peru has been successful. The actions implemented have been consistent and have had the desired impacts. The reform has addressed two issues that are crucial for improving the work of teachers. First, the design was based on the conviction that teaching is a profession that must be valued socially, and second, it brought together various issues related to a new, merit-based teaching career.

Some of the most important indicators of success are related to the implementation of the career, investment and the development of assessment processes.

With the 2012 teaching career law, all teachers fall under a single labour regime. This allows better management of policies aimed at strengthening the teaching profession. Until this was done, teachers fell under two labour regimes. One, which covered 75% of teachers, was not merit based.

Investment in the reform was significant. Between 2013 and 2016, the teacher payroll increased by about 1 billion soles (approx. USD 299 million). This was mainly allocated to wage increases after teachers were placed on the new salary scales. The reform also resulted in the allocation of slightly more than 500 million soles (approx. USD 149 million) for training, and an investment of 161 million soles (approx. USD 48 million) is planned for initial teacher education.

Perhaps one of the main challenges of the reform is the development of teacher assessment processes that satisfy both the government and the teachers. As part of the reform, twelve assessments have been conducted; these have overcome all obstacles and have re-established the evaluations' credibility with both teach-

4. For more information, see. <http://revistaargumentos.iep.org.pe/articulos/veinte-dias-de-furia-una-cronica-sobre-la-ley-de-reforma-magisterial/>

ers and wider society. More than 624,000 teachers have been evaluated in various ways, with an investment of 157 million soles (approx. USD 47 million).

There is still a need to give greater impetus to the reform, which requires further consolidation. Although society has begun to value the teaching profession a little more, the idea must be reinforced with more public campaigns that promote recognition of its value and a considerable improvement in teachers' salaries, which remain low compared to other professions. The formation of teachers in institutes and universities must be a priority in the coming years. The reforms still have not become consolidated in centres for teacher formation, and standards for their education remain low in both universities and institutes. One example of this is that the entrance exam score that students must have in order to study education is lower than the score required for other fields.

Overall, the education system has won with the implementation of this reform. In addition, although it is difficult directly attribute small gains to improve teacher performance, the situation of the teachers is better. As Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) note, their professional capital could increase because of a comprehensive policy package that strengthens their profession. The teaching profession in Peru is still not healthy, but it is better.

A Brief Policy Note as Epilogue

The context of neglect of teachers offered an opportunity for specific public policies. For 30 years, teachers were targeted with massive training efforts that had little impact. Even when efforts were made to change that in 2007, they were blocked by confrontation between the administration of Alan García and teachers. All teachers were affected by the García Administration's battle with the union, which was the only organized leftist force at the time.

Teachers became an important issue on the public agenda. The media had significant influence in this regard. Supported by a non-formal alliance with the Ollanta Humala Administration, researchers and activists from NGOs publicly discussed the importance of teachers for educational success and the need to strengthen the profession.

The institutional weakness of the teachers' union. The teachers' union in Peru has been weakened institutionally in recent years. It never regained its leadership among teachers after the decade of the Fujimori Administration. Teachers also were unable to update their rhetoric, and they had organizational problems, suffered direct attacks (especially during the García Administration) and had to control radical groups of teachers associated with the Shining Path.

The precarious situation of political parties allowed the emergence of individual leaders. Viewed from a negative standpoint, political battles became "battles for recognition" among party representatives. Seen in a positive light, technically strong, independent voices were protagonists in the discussion.

The combination of specialization in policy issues and policy management was successful. The reform designed by former Minister Patricia Salas and her team,

which was highly specialized in education issues, was implemented very well by former Minister Jaime Saavedra and his team, which had extensive experience in public management.

Finally, to summarize, the teacher reform in Peru is a good case study for politics. The decision to develop this reform at the beginning of the Ollanta Humala government meant that the State had regained leadership on public issues in education and, particularly, in teaching subjects. The previous administrations had different characteristics. During the Toledo government, the political relationship with education was more clientelistic; and during the García administration –in the name of the defence of education quality– a strategy was designed to confront teachers and the union. The result was, in addition to a fracture between teachers and society, the reaffirmation that the State could not conduct education.

It is interesting that in a context in which the boom of the economic cycle was over and the pressures of power groups pushed for more public deregulation, the State had assumed the leadership and proposed to work to show its effectiveness in such a structural theme as education. This situation created trust in the State among society, teachers and social actors and helped to mend the fractures between teachers and the State.



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