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ABSTRACT

For over 20 years, Peruvian education policy has been aimed at providing equitable and universal access to education by emphasizing accessibility and infrastructure. To entice potential teachers other than through pay, the national government has traditionally provided high levels of job security for teachers. Financial bonuses for teachers to work in rural, remote, and often isolated regions of the country are often used as incentives. Such strategies for enticing teachers to the profession have been highly effective at filling teaching positions in schools around the country. Coupled with investment in schoolhouse construction, these efforts have allowed even the most rural and remote students to attend public school. Indeed, Peru had achieved nearly universal school enrollment, regardless of a students’ gender, socio-economic status, or place of residence by the early 2000s. However, providing access to schooling for Peru’s children has not translated into improved student learning outcomes. Despite high enrollment, student examinations reveal stark inequalities in student achievement, particularly between rural and urban areas. To improve education quality, the Peruvian government passed the Teacher Career Law in 2012, aiming to improve student learning outcomes by targeting teacher performance. However, this law effectively curtails teachers’ employment stability by substituting job security with a compensation scheme based on performance evaluations that foster competition among teachers. While academic studies have focused on the shortcomings of teacher training, teachers’ motivations for entering the career, and teachers’ school placement policies, little is known about teacher perceptions associated with the changes introduced by this law. It is important to understand teacher perceptions because their compliance and understanding of the law will determine its ability to affect student learning outcomes. This study fills this gap by shedding light on how teachers in urban and rural areas perceive this law, how it might shape their roles as teachers, whether there are differences between urban and rural teacher perceptions, and the factors that motivate teachers. Identifying the factors that motivate teachers is important for understanding whether the 2012 Career Law offers incentives that teachers themselves identify as effectively increasing educational quality and student learning outcomes. Based on qualitative fieldwork conducted with 70 teachers in Cajamarca, the findings of this study show that few teachers perceive that the 2012 Teacher Career Law will increase educational quality or improve learning outcomes for students. Furthermore, the study identifies how teachers perceive their roles as teachers, their motivations for entering the profession, and finds variation in rural and urban teachers’ perceptions of the law. From a policy perspective, this study provides insights into how to better evaluate and incentivize teachers to improve their performance in the classroom.
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Introduction

Education reform has played an increasingly predominant role in international development agendas since the end of the Second World War (Meyer & Ramirez, 1992). With the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), education reform was once more at the forefront of the development agendas of national governments and international organizations. Universal primary school enrollment was second on the list of eight of the most important social and economic development goals. In the MDG framework, the benchmark of education was primary school enrollment and completion, with an emphasis on gender parity. The MDG framework assumed that improvements in school enrollment would increase human capital and create a pathway for the alleviation of poverty (Bonal, 2004). The aim was to build human capital at the individual level by providing the tools for individuals to perform new activities based on acquired skills and competencies (Coleman, 1988). Improved access to education and new skills was intended to prepare young people for full participation in society. Indeed, since the 1990s, the mantra of educational ‘access for all’ has been a driving force in developing country agendas and justified on the grounds the need to enter the global economy as means to reduce poverty (Filmer, Hasan and Pritchett, 2006; Gvirtz & Beech, 2008; Bonal, 2001). While developing countries have implemented policies to expand universal educational access, evidence suggests that school enrollment does not necessarily equate to improved learning outcomes and poverty alleviation. This has encouraged a shift in education policy reforms led by international institutions including the Organization for Economic Development (OECD) and the World Bank.

Alongside the implementation of the second MDG goal, which emphasized universal primary school access, was an emergence of strategies for measuring and evaluating education
quality. While educational access often entails investment in infrastructure, educational quality demands the setting of standards and the provision of tools for measuring student educational outcomes without “necessarily investing more resources in education systems” (van de Tuin & Verger, 2013, p. 3). Beginning in the mid-1990s, the OECD’s education research and evaluation tool known as PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) was developed, allowing for cross-national comparison of student learning beginning in the year 2000 (Sellar & Lingard, 2013). Transitioning from access to education to educational quality allowed policy makers to decrease public spending on infrastructure, while targeting student learning outcomes via PISA standardized testing. The shift to the education quality paradigm placed the onus of student learning outcomes on individual teacher performance (van der Tuin and Verger, 2013). In addition to placing responsibility of student learning outcomes on teachers, the shift to student learning outcomes as evaluated by PISA effectively omits the socioeconomic realities that shape educational quality and student learning outcomes. In line with neoliberal principles, educational reforms led by international institutions justify the use of performance evaluations to assess teachers as well as an incentive system that encourages competition, and compensation based on merit.

Educational reform in Peru has closely followed this neoliberal paradigm. Mirroring the educational access for all agenda, in the 1990s, the Peruvian national government made significant investments on infrastructure, building schools in remote rural regions of the country. These efforts paid off and by 2013, Peru had achieved nearly universal, primary school enrollment, and secondary school enrollment at over 90% (SEDLAC, 2015). As will be discussed in detail below, such success resulted from government investment on infrastructure in the form of school houses, private teacher training institutes that made teaching a viable and
accessible career for many, and the high level of job stability afforded to teachers that attracted them to the field. Yet, despite progress in providing access to education to even the most remote populations, student test scores in reading and math comprehension exams were low when compared to other countries in South America. The paradox of high enrollment and low student outcomes in Peru drew attention from the international development community. Publications citing Peru’s educational paradox placed teacher quality at the crux of the educational shortcomings of the country justifying a global educational policy paradigm increasingly concentrated on teacher quality and data driven policy (OECD, 2005; van der Tuin & Verger, 2013; World Bank, 2007). With pressure from international entities like the OECD and the World Bank, the Peruvian government actively worked to revamp the education system to improve student testing outcomes through the 2012 Reformed Teacher Career Law.

Education reforms that emphasize teacher quality have corresponded with an increasingly neoliberal economic agenda in South America more broadly, and Peru more specifically, particularly in the past 10 years. In educational reform, the neoliberal paradigm encourages the privatization, decentralization, and deregulation of educational systems (Antonio, 2009; Bonanno, 1998; Harvey, 2005; Portes and Hoffman, 2003). Indeed, a growing body of literature has identified advances of neoliberal ideology within educational policy around the world (Ball, 2006; Sellar & Lingard, 2013; Henry et al., 2001). Notably, neoliberal educational reform may not entail a complete withdrawal of the state but rather a shift in state functions, “the state should become thinner, but simultaneously more powerful by focusing on ‘steering’ rather than on ‘rowing’ educational services” (van der Tuin & Verger, 2013, p. 4). In other words, state control of education may not rescind entirely in a neoliberal state, but will broadly reflect associated neoliberal ideals such as efficiency, quality, standardization, and quantitative measures.
Within the global context, Latin American countries have increasingly adopted education policy that is reflective of neoliberal values, such as increasing competitiveness, trade liberalization, deregulation, decentralization and consumer choice (Bonal, 2004; Corzo et al., 2011; Oliart, 2007; Portes & Hoffman, 2003; van der Tuin and Verger, 2013). For example, Chile and Mexico are two countries that have undergone large-scale education restructuring since the 1970s, emphasizing privatization, deregulation and decentralization (Contreras & Rice, 2009; Matear, 2007). In Chile, the long-term result has been widening socioeconomic inequalities, as consumer choice in school selection is limited for low-income families, resulting in a situation in which the poor are restricted to the increasingly scarce state-funded schools with reducing operating budgets (Matear, 2007). As with their regional neighbors, the Peruvian governments of the past 10 years have been the most eager to embrace a neoliberal political agenda directed at public education. As will be explained in more detail below, the Peruvian government has reduced state funding for education while implementing policy that targets teacher meritocracy and competition.

Given global trends of neoliberal educational reform, the purpose of this study is three-fold. First, I explore neoliberal educational reform in Peru since the 1980s by posing the following research question: Within the context of international education reform and the 2012 Teacher Career Law in particular, how do public school teachers in rural and urban areas perceive their role? To gain insight into teacher perceptions of national education reform differentiated by their location in rural or urban schools, this study poses the question: In what ways, if any, do rural and urban teacher perceptions of education reform differ? And, why? Finally, to identify factors that motivate rural public school teachers in Peru to pursue, and remain in, the teaching career, this study asks: How do the career incentives associated with the
2012 Teacher Career Law compare with what teachers express as their motivations for being in the field? The structure of this thesis will be as follows; chapter one will contextualize the problem this study seeks to address, providing an overview of the Peruvian national context, noting its unique geographic challenges that complicate even policy implementation and the socio-political climate leading up to the 2012 Teacher career law. The first section of this chapter situates the teaching profession in its historical context in Peru, with particular attention to the influence of international organizations and neoliberal ideology. As suggested by Ball (2006), sociological studies of education policy cannot neglect to account for national context and history, as each add nuance and complexity to the understanding expressed by educators. The chapter will conclude by addressing the current realities of education and the teaching profession in Peru. Chapter two will provide a literature review in the pertinent fields of education sociology, development, and motivational theory used to develop the theoretical framework of this study. Chapter three will detail the methodological approach employed in this study, data collection strategy, and analysis of data gathered. Chapter four will provide an analysis of findings gleamed from six weeks of field work in Cajamarca, Peru, culminating in 70 teacher participant interviews. Finally, chapter five will offer a summary of the study’s implications, concluding remarks, and policy recommendations.
Chapter 1: Background

Demographics, Socio-Political Climate, Geography

Peru is a large country, divided down the middle by the Andean mountain range, with an expansive coastline to the West and tropical rainforest to the East. The coastal side of the Andes is considered a desert and is the smallest in terms of territorial surface area. Despite being the smallest landmass, the coast is home to the largest percent of the population, over 52% (INEI, 2014). The high population in the desert region is partially explained by the expanding capital city of Lima, home to nearly a third of the country’s population (Talleri et al., 2013). The largest area geographically is the jungle on the East side of the Andean mountain range, making up 60.3% of the nation’s territory and around 10% of the population. The Andes themselves make up 28% of the country’s territory and 38% of the total population (INEI, 2014). The geographic and demographic makeup of Peru is significant because it makes for unique policy challenges.

Divided into 24 departments, and subdivided into regions and then districts, Peru has been subjected to increasing urbanization; 76% of the population lived in cities in 2009 (Talleri et al., 2013, 61). More specifically, of the country’s 24 departments, 7 are home to more than half of the population, and four of those are in the Andes, including Cajamarca, where the fieldwork for this study was conducted. The remaining 24% of the population, considered rural, have a disproportionate level of poverty (Talleri et al., 2013).
Peruvian Education Reform: Background and Context

Educational reform is tightly linked with the nation-building efforts of governments, state ideologies, and in the case of Peru and Latin America, colonial history. This section will provide the historical backdrop through which to understand Peru’s more recent education reform, spanning from the early 1900s through the present. Attention will be paid to instances in which the World Bank or the OECD has an influential role in Peruvian politics related to education. It can be argued that external actors have influenced Peru’s educational policies since the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores (Bizot, 1975). The schooling model established during Spanish rule reflected Spanish ideals, language, and culture with little regard for Peruvian cultural realities. After independence, the first form of education regiment was established in 1850, dividing the education system into public and private (MINEDU, 1994). Since 1901, Peru has passed a number of laws incorporating a principle of free and compulsory education.

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1 Image obtained from: http://www.worldmapsonline.com/academia/academia_peru_physical_map.htm
provided by the state (Bizot, 1975). In 1905 under José Pardo’s government, a law was passed that extended free, compulsory education to the entire primary level, and put all public schools under the control of the state (MINEDU, 1994). However, through the mid-nineteenth century, most educational institutions were still privately owned (Hudson 1992). Thus, while the ideal of public education was legally established early in the history of the Republic of Peru, it’s reach to the majority of citizens was still out of reach.

1950s-1970s: Expansion, Debt, and Military Rule

In the 1950s and 1960s, a trend of education expansion began in the urban centers of each department of Peru, increasing the demand for teachers (Bizot, 1975). Salary increases and training colleges led to a “mushrooming” (Oliart, 2007, 65) of the teacher supply that was not matched by student enrollment, even though it was on the rise. Additionally, secondary education was still a long way from becoming mandatory, and most students that enrolled in school did not complete their secondary education (MINEDU, 1994). In 1968, a military coup took place under the leadership of General Velasco Alvarado. The military government emphasized the need to reduce dependency on the United States, calling for a shift away from an export-based and diversified economy (Hudson, 1992). Velasco’s education agenda was driven by this diversified-economy ideal, forming decentralized, regional education offices charged with reaching the poorest, most remote regions of Peru with regionally relevant curriculum (Bizot, 1975).

The educational reforms under General Velasco’s regime laid a heavy burden on the teaching staff, who were expected to give up traditional teaching methods of lecture and textbook use for discussions and free expression (Bizot, 1975). While Velasco’s government pushed for educational reform that was locally relevant, holistic and inclusive, it was heavily reliant on
teachers who were not trained to teach in this discussion and expression-based style. Hence, a growing discontent combined with a large teacher labor force that had ballooned under the Belaúnde government gave rise to the national teachers union, known as SUTEP (Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de la Educación Peruana) (Angell, 1982). SUTEP opposed General Velasco’s reforms, and mounting dissatisfaction led to a number of teacher strikes beginning in 1971. Teachers during this time period felt that their petitions for better salaries were falling upon deaf ears of the government. In response, SUTEP leaders were frequently detained, deported or jailed by Military Regime leaders (Angell, 1982). In summary, the Military regime under Velasco can be described as attempting to force a new educational ideology of discussion, free exchange of ideas, and localized contextual learning with implementation policies that burdened poorly trained and underpaid teachers, leading growing discontent and the formation of the national teachers union known as SUTEP. SUTEP would become one of the largest public-sector labor unions in the country, and a pertinent actor in the formation of future education policy (Zegarra & Ravina, 2003).

While Peru was under military rule, the Prime Minister of England, Margaret Thatcher and President Reagan in the United States initiated economic reforms to pave the way for neoliberalism to take hold in the form of free markets and the decreased role of the state in social matters, core tenants of the neoliberal paradigm (Corzo et al., 2001). While the World Bank was established in the mid-1940s, the OECD was officially established in 1961 (Henry et al., 2001). An organization based on economic cooperation and committed to a market economy and democracy, Henry et al. describe the OECD as,

“simultaneously, a geographic entity, an organizational structure, a policy-making forum, a network of policy makers, researchers and consultants, and a sphere of influence.” (2001, p. 7).
The original members were wealthy, European nations, only to be joined over 20 years later by states such as Mexico, Korea, and Poland. In the original structuring of the OECD’s research agenda and policy influence, education played only a minor role. Education played a more predominant role in the organization in the 1970s, after the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) was created in 1968 (Henry et al., 2001). The creation of CERI accompanied the organization’s adopted view that economic growth would lead to a reduction in poverty. Based on human capital theory, education was understood as a gateway to economic growth, and the creation of CERI reflected this mission. Meanwhile, the World Policies toward education during this period can be typified as needing justification on the basis of training future “manpower” (Heyneman, 2003, p. 317). Manpower, as described by Heyneman (2003), has an engineering focus, training future engineers to continue to build infrastructure. In other words, the World Bank had yet to turn its attention heavily on education policy, concerned instead with educational content (engineering). To summarize, this time period can be contextualized as one in which emerging international entities had yet to direct their attention in a direct and forcible manner on education policy. Meanwhile, the Peruvian military dictatorship placed a heavy burden of social change on teachers, causing mass teacher exodus from the profession and giving rise to the teachers union, SUTEP.

1980s: A Return to Democratic Rule

An end to the military regime came in 1978, when Velasco’s predecessor opened presidential elections. The 1980’s can be typified by a policy trend emphasizing ‘education-for-all’, and a return to private-business investment and expansion. In 1980, Belaúnde was elected again to the presidency, bringing important reforms to the Peruvian state (Hudson, 1992). While social reforms such as literacy and education were high on Belaúnde’s list of priorities, this new
regime was much more market-oriented and focused on small private ownership (Saba, 1987). Belaúnde was plagued throughout his regime from 1980 to 1985 by high inflation, natural disasters wrought by the El Niño phenomenon of 1982-1983, and a rising guerrilla terrorist movement called Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), limiting his ability to comply with policy objectives (Saba, 1987). Despite these challenges, Belaúnde made a number of significant changes with respect to education policy. First, the new government re-opened teacher training programs and re-hired 3,000 teachers that had been fired during the previous regime (Oliart, 2007). In 1982, the Ley General de Educación (General Education Law) 23384 was passed, extending basic education levels to nine years (Cubas, 2011). Two years later, the Ley de Profesorado, or the Teacher Career Law, was passed under this government (Saavedra & Diaz, 2000). The Teacher Career Law was particularly important because it provides for generous benefits and tenure for public school teachers, classifying them as state employees (Gastañadui, 2013). This law created five salary grades based primarily on years of service, and some evaluation criteria such as attendance, participation in community work and responsibility (Gastañadui, 2013). No specific teacher supervision system or incentives for higher teacher performance were put in place under this law. Such teacher quality control policies were to be incorporated into the Teacher Career Law of 2012 (Gastañadui, 2013 p.10). The 1984 Teacher Law also began the process of decentralizing the education system by establishing Local Education Management Units (UGELs) to oversee teacher placement and educational institution monitoring (Saavedra & Diaz, 2000).

In 1985, Alan Garcia was elected as the new Peruvian president, inheriting a nation riddled with debt, threats of terrorism from the Shining Path, and a Teacher Law passed by his predecessor. Partially due to this economic crisis and a terrorist movement gripping the Andes,
Garcia faced a situation in which many teachers had quit and were continuing to do so, particularly in rural areas (Oliart, 2007). Challenged with a shortage of teachers, Garcia implemented a system of TTIs to streamline the teacher certification process that allowed scarcely qualified teachers labeled as contratados or contract teachers to be placed in schools to fill vacant positions (Van der Tuin & Verger, 2013). Contratado teachers were not offered the same benefits as nombrado or tenured teachers, permitting a system in which there was a massive entry of poorly trained, easily disposable teachers into the education system. In order to deal with a poor economy, García also allowed for massive cuts in public spending, resulting in the reduction of teacher salaries (Glewwe & Hall, 1994; Coltear, 2006). While Garcia made large public expenditure budget cuts and streamlined teacher education, he also did not accept pressures from the World Bank during his presidency in the 80s to accept Structural Adjustment programs, and refused outright to pay international debts incurred by his predecessors (Glewwe & Hall, 1994). In essence, the late 1980s are generally referred to in the development literature as an “economic disaster” (Gvirtz & Beech, 2008 p.289) characterized by declining spending on education, the rise of the Shining Path, and an influx of poorly trained contratado teachers. The 1980’s also gave rise to bifurcated policies towards education in terms of their alignment with the growing international neoliberal agenda of the time period. On the one hand, policies to afford teachers a great deal of job security are counter to what Harvey (2005) describes as typical to a theoretical neoliberal state. On the other hand, policies under Garcia streamlined teacher education to fill a growing demand for teachers, indicating a market-oriented approach that would be extended during Garcia’s second presidency in 2006.

1990’s – 2000: Liberalization and Decentralization
The García government had refused to pay international loans, and therefore was not subjected to Structural Adjustment packages that were typically attached to IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank lending of the 1980s (Gvirtz and Beech, 2008). Structural Adjustments offered by the World Bank in the 1980s diverged from their typical, 5-year lending strategy in order to deal with a financial crisis gripping Latin America (Heyneman, 2003). Reflecting an underlying belief in human capital development as a requisite for economic growth, these short-term adjustment packages typically involved mandated, rapid policy changes that protected public, primary education, but inclined for increasingly privatized education at the secondary and tertiary levels (Heyneman, 2003). Beginning in 1991, Alberto Fujimori was elected president, and Peru was given renewed permission to apply for international loans from the IMF and the World Bank. Simultaneously, a great debate about the role of the state in providing education had begun within the Peruvian government (Zevallos, 1999). Due to a more open-door policy towards Structural Adjustment packages offered by the World Bank, the influence of this institution in Peru grew during this time period, a relationship that, as will be elaborated below, Gvirtz and Beech described as being of “neoliberal nature” (p.289).

A number of educational policy changes under the Fujimori government attempted to liberalize the education system. One ultimately unsuccessful example was in 1991, when the Legislative Decree 699 was passed with the purpose of offering more local control over schools by creating municipal education centers as opposed to the national education ministry (Zevallos, 1999). Barriga and Espinosa (2001) have claimed that this type of policy, using local control as a selling point, has a hidden agenda of cutting government funding to education. The Fujimori government touted that the new decree would hand over more control to teachers, parents associations and local municipalities. However, it was highly criticized by SUTEP, the teachers
union, and many education specialists as an attempt to privatize the education system (Zevallos, 1999). In fact, discussions leading up to the formation of Legislative Decree 699 were held with the Ministry Council and did not consult any other public and private interest groups, education specialists or SUTEP leaders. The opposition of SUTEP to these policies led to widespread teacher strikes in the early 1990s that regularly disrupted classes and teaching schedules (Hall & Peters, 2002). Public trust in the public school system had been weakened during the Military Regime of the 70s, and these strikes added to the erosion of public confidence in teachers and education (Brent Hall & Peters, 2003). By 1993, the decree was put up to a public vote that led to its rejection (Zevallos, 1999). Barriga and Espinosa (2001) attribute this particular education policy failure to the fact that schools would have received limited funding, and did not account for people in lower socioeconomic regions of the country. While ultimately a failed policy, the emphasis on decentralization and lack of consultation with SUTEP can be understood as underpinnings of a neoliberal ideology reflected in education policy goals of the state.

In 1996, the Fujimori government passed another law, Legislative Decree 882, which allowed education institutions to "operate as for-profit businesses" (Gvirtz & Beech, 2008 p.290), resonating with the World Bank’s emphasis on education reform and faith in liberalization of the time. The law led to a "proliferation of schools" (Gvirtz & Beech, 2008, p.290) under an Education for All policy agenda that was being trumpeted in the current international discourse (Crivello, 2011). Peru had recently begun to participate in international meetings around education, a marked shift after the closed policies of García in the late 80s (Gvirtz & Beech, 2008). Coupled with this new legislation was an increased investment in public spending in education (Figure 2). While teachers salaries remained low, the Fujimori government invested in infrastructure in the form of building school houses, and training principals and regional
authorities to be more active in school management and data collection (Zegarra & Ravina, 2003). The result of such policies has profound results for primary school enrollment. By 1999, 84% of matriculated students were in public schools in Peru (Zevallos, 1999). In fact, today almost all educational institutions in rural areas are publicly funded. These policies under the Fujimori regime contributed to the rise in access to education infrastructure in Peru, reflecting an international push for access to education as a social equalizer and a strategy to end poverty.

**Figure 2: Peruvian Government Expenditure on Primary Education, 1998-2014**

![Graph showing government expenditure on primary education as a percentage of GDP from 1998 to 2014.](http://data.uis.unesco.org/)


Figure 2 above displays a peak of spending on primary education in 1999, corresponding with the end of Fujimori’s presidential term (data before 1998 is not available). Another significant change to come about during the Fujimori government was the growth in the number of Teacher Training Institutes (TTI) (Oliart, 2007). Between 1991 and 2001, the number of TTIs quadrupled (Alcázar & Balcázar, 2001). The amplification of TTIs corresponded with more flexibility in teacher training, allowing for "the massive entry of poorly training teachers into the system" (Van der Tuin & Verger, 2013 p.127). The ideal of a quicker turnover in teacher training
was a reflection of a larger neoliberal plan, based on recommendations by the World Bank (Oliart, 2007). Corresponding with the growth of TTIs was an attempt by the Fujimori government to combine primary and initial (kindergarten) education with secondary education to reduce the number of years of basic education required for students (Cubas, 2011). This reduction in basic education was to be paired with an optional two year post-secondary school offered by the state. However, at the end of Fujimori’s government in 2001, the unpopularity of this legislation, along with many of his other reforms, led to them being quickly disbanded (Cubas, 2011).

Overall, the 1990s under the Fujimori government could be characterized as an experimental phase of educational policy that greatly expanded educational access, while repeatedly attempting to minimize the state’s role through decentralization and attempted privatization. The emphasis on primary school enrollment and education access corresponds with the World Bank’s agenda in the 1990s, which drew heavily on an economic rate of return methodology (Heyneman, 2003). World Bank research at the time emphasized policies that provided the greatest rate of return in terms of a reduction of poverty. Their research, in consultation with organizations such as the OECD, indicated that an investment in primary education offered the best returns, and that fewer returns were gleamed from secondary and tertiary education; thus driving the subsequent education for all mandate that would become predominant in the early 2000s. Therefore, Peru’s education policy, emphasizing universal primary education access, corresponds to this international focus on universal primary schooling. In addition, the 1990s also marked as a time period of significant growth in education research by the OECD. In particular, the OECD was working tirelessly throughout this time period to identify indicators that would effectively measure education to facilitate international
comparison, resulting in the development of PISA in the late 1990s (Henry et al., 2001; Sellar & Lingard, 2013).


At the onset of the 21st century, Peru elected a new President, Alejandro Toledo, who immediately went about discontinuing many of his predecessor’s educational policies. By the time Toledo’s government took office, opinions of the teaching profession had already drastically declined. President Toledo spearheaded an evaluation of the education system in order to determine appropriate political actions. First, in conjunction with the National Education Council, the government began what was to be a five-year analysis of the education system, called the National Education Project (NEP) from 2000 to 2006. The NEP was participatory, including SUTEP leaders, MINEDU officials, education specialists, and stakeholders (Van der Tuin & Verger, 2013). By 2006, a design was completed that included recommendations such as improving the qualifications and incentives for teachers (Van der Tuin & Verger, 2013). Less than a year later, the World Bank published its own comprehensive analysis of the Peruvian Education system, emphasizing the need for quality measures based on measurable learning and performance standards and accountability (World Bank, 2007). Corzo et al. (2011) suggests that the World Bank’s suggestion took precedence when creating policy recommendations throughout this internal review process, as is evidenced in a later law passed in 2007, the Public Magisterial Career Law, or CPM for its acronym in Spanish. In 2003, previous to the passage of the CPM, the Toledo government renewed the 1984 Ley General de Educación (General Education Law), with emphasis on evaluation and supervision, as well as extended coverage (Corzo, 2011). Extended coverage refers to the extension of compulsory education from initial to secondary level for a total of eleven years. This discontinued the previous governments cut in the
number of years of compulsory school, including secondary education for the first time (Cubas, 2011).

In addition to a change in the General Education Law, the Toledo government was responsible for further decentralizing the education system and shifting focus to results of systematic exams that would serve to evaluate schools and teachers (Rivero, 2007). The World Bank had been working with the Ministry of Education since the late 1990s, integrating a National Teacher Training Plan, known as PLANCAD, that concentrated on teacher evaluations as a predictor of future student outcomes (Gastañadui, 2013). Evaluative exams for each student grade level were introduced as one form of evaluating a school’s performance, reflecting an international agenda rich in neoliberal principles such as standardization, efficiency, and quality control. Positions in the UGEL offices and school director positions were also changed to be determined through public examination competitions, rather than by appointment, indicating a preference for meritocracy as insurance of quality.

Finally, Toledo launched a campaign to offer a transitory path for contratado teachers to become nombrado teachers, which would have offered them the possibility of being state employees capable of receiving tenure (Gastañadui, 2013). However, this particular campaign was fiercely opposed by the teacher’s union, and eventually ended due to teacher strikes. Union opposition was based in the fact that status changes would be based on standardized exams of pedagogical knowledge. Both contratado and nombrado teachers would be evaluated together and status’ would be awarded based on exam results rather than previous training and years in service. This proposal reflected what Harvey (2005) describes as an aspect of the neoliberal agenda through its focus on individual successes and failures. Furthermore, the emphasis on meritocratic measures of teacher knowledge reflects an expanding emerging rhetoric by the
OECD that teacher evaluation would improve student learning outcomes (OECD, 2005; Van der Tuin & Verger, 2013).

Alan Garcia was re-elected for a second term in 2006, at the culmination of the NEP’s internal evaluation of the education system. This time around, García’s government took an approach that varied significantly from the nationalist policies that excluded international aid and input in the late 1980s (Gvirtz & Beech, 2008). García began his term by spearheading a new *Carrera Pública Magisterial* or Public Magisterial Career Law (CPM) policy in 2007, focused on teacher evaluations through nationally administered tests (Van der Tuin & Verger, 2013). The CPM allowed teachers to opt-in to this alternative career ladder, offering higher salaries per pay scale than its predecessor, the 1984 Teacher Career Law. The CPM linked teachers’ salaries and promotions to exams that tested teachers’ content and theoretical knowledge. Passed after the National Education Program’s (NEP) collaborative efforts to evaluate the education system, the new law faced much opposition from the teacher’s union and education stakeholders that felt their interests were being ignored. For example, while the NEP did call for periodic evaluation, it did not suggest punitive sanctions for teachers. Notably, the NEP recommendations called for the promotion of the “social value of the teaching profession” (2006, p. 82), of which President Garcia appeared to do the exact opposite. Saba (1987) described García as a “master of political rhetoric and symbolism” in the 1980s (p.77). This sentiment was echoed during his second presidential reign when, in response to the visceral reactions to teacher exams, García referred to teachers as “lazy” and “ignorant” for not wanting to be evaluated (Van der Tuin & Verger, 2013 p.129). García’s rhetoric in 2007 was a stark juxtaposition to his policies in the late 1980s that had facilitated quick teacher turn around by creating *contrado* status, while rejecting international aid. Coinciding with the CPM, the World Bank sponsored a large-scale,
independent study of the Peruvian education system 2007 that recommended an overhaul of teacher training and evaluation (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, PISA had been in full effect since the late 1990s, and Peruvian students had participated in the 2002 and 2012 exams, with discouragingly poor results (Bos et al., 2014; Metzler & Woessman, 2012).

At the start of the new millennium that international actors begin to take a more active role in shaping Peruvian education policy. Discouraging PISA results have resulted in a political rhetoric around education quality, a marked transition from the early 2000s, when access and enrollment were the strategic focus. Furthermore, early teacher exam results in the early CPM, which measured teachers’ content knowledge, led to a widespread skepticism about the quality of the nation’s teachers. Despite SUTEP’s continued resistance to teacher evaluation and an increasing frequency of teacher strikes (Gastañadui, 2013), the stage was set for the incoming president to charge ahead with educational policies that allegedly would improve Peru’s education quality by targeting teacher merit.

The 2012 Teacher Career Law
Elected in 2011 President Ollanta Humala reworked the CPM and passed the Reformed Teacher Career Law 29944 in December of 2012. The new law puts all teachers, previously operating under two distinct legal frameworks, under one comprehensive framework (Table 4). The new Teacher Career Law in Peru emphasizes teacher quality, placing the onus of national educational improvement on teachers’ ability to demonstrate competence in relevant content areas. The new, or reformed, Teacher Career Law maintains the link between teacher performance on competitive exams with promotions and salaries, and creates a new, eight-tiered pay scale system in lieu of the previous five (Ley de Reforma Magisterial, 2012). As shown in Table 1, the new law promotes the fact that teachers will receive a higher base pay, which is
particularly important to attract new incoming teachers, as well as higher salaries associated with each pay scale. Additionally, the new law touts that teachers can earn up to 160% of their start pay through a combination of years in service and obtaining satisfactory results of the nationally administered exams (Gastañadui, 2013). In addition to adjusting promotions and the pay scale available to public teachers, the new law requires the curricula of Teacher Training Institutes to follow national government guidelines. This change is in stark contrast to the policies of the 1990s, which privatized education, marketing education as a market-based service rather than a public service (Zevallos, 1999). This oversight of curriculum in Teacher Training Institutes appeared soon after the World Bank’s (2007) suggestion that more quality control is needed in teacher training.

### Table 1: Uniting Legal Frameworks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• High job stability.</td>
<td>• Teachers voluntary subject themselves to periodic evaluation for promotion, based on competitive evaluation of content &amp; theoretical knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Five-scale career ladder.</td>
<td>• Five-scale career ladder.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Promotion based on years in service.</td>
<td>• Higher pay per scale.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Retirement after 25-30 years.</td>
<td>• Mandatory written, competitive evaluation of content &amp; theoretical knowledge for promotion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Few sanctions for dismissal.</td>
<td>• Retirement at age 65.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• 3 successive exam failures will result in dismissal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from the literature - Summary of Peruvian legal frameworks that apply to teachers*
Table 2: Comparison of the Teacher Career Laws in Peru

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Law Level/Grade</th>
<th>Ley del Profesorado (24029)</th>
<th>Ley de la CPM (29062)</th>
<th>Ley de la Reforma Magisterial (29944)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Years per level</td>
<td>% of Level</td>
<td>Years per level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Until retirement</td>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Until retirement</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Until retirement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Promotion between levels is based on education units, university degrees and years of experience. Source: Ministry of Education of Peru, 2012.


Table 1 displays key components of three legal frameworks; the 1984 Teacher Career Law, the 2007 CPM, and the recent 2012 Reformed Teacher Career Law. Key components of the 1984 law are that high level of job stability and promotion based on time in service. The CPM and 2012 law radically transformed this original teacher career law, basing teacher promotion on measures of teachers’ merit, based on knowledge-based examinations. While the 2012 Teacher Career Law combines elements of the 1984 law with the 2007 CPM, it primarily draws from the CPM’s evaluation-based promotion system. The fact that the 2012 law draws heavily from the 2007 CPM is significant; the CPM had been an optional career track for teachers, offering higher salaries if teachers would subject themselves to periodic evaluations. One study in 2011 found that the majority of teachers in their sample resisted voluntarily entering the CPM (Gastañadui, 2013). Despite evident unpopularity of the CPM and continued resistance from SUTEP, the 2012
law was passed and implemented, changing the previous five consecutive pay scales to eight pay scales, through which teachers can ascend every 3-5 years. Under the new legal framework the top three, highest paying scales were only accessible to teachers with higher degrees, such as a Masters or Doctorate degree in education. The 2012 legal framework also outlined a clear route to dismissal, in which teachers who fail the exam-based evaluation on three, subsequent occasions would be removed from the teaching career. Another major difference between the 2012 and 1984 Teacher Career Laws is the amount of time required in service. Teachers under the 1984 legal framework could retire after 25-30 years of teaching (25 years for women, 30 for men). Under the Reformed Teacher Career Law, teachers cannot retire until the age of 65, regardless of their total number of years teaching.

The Reformed Teacher Career Law also provides a clear and legally sound manner to remove teachers that are deemed inadequate; if a teacher fails the evaluative exam three successive times, the teacher is automatically removed from the teaching career (*Ley de Reforma Magisterial*, 2012). The teacher evaluation exams can be understood as mechanisms to remove teachers who do not have sufficient knowledge. However, training for teachers who perform poorly on the exams is stipulated in the new law as well. In accordance with OECD (2005) recommendations, as well as those generated from internal review of the education system (CNE, 2006), teacher accompaniment in the form of training is an integral part of improving overall teacher quality. In other words, the new law attempts to maintain quality teachers in the field, corresponding with the international policy recommendations of the time (OECD, 2005; World Bank, 2007; van der Tuin & Verger, 2013).

Table 2 outlines the percent salary increase a teacher can obtain per pay scale. Under the Reformed Teacher Career Law, the top three pay scales can only be obtained by teachers that
obtain higher degrees, such as a bachelors, masters, or doctorate degrees. This allows for teachers with additional training to earn more in comparison with colleagues that obtain their degrees from a Teacher Training Institute. The Reformed Teacher Career Law also provides additional incentives for teachers working in rural areas. For example, teachers working in rural schools earn a slight percentage more per pay scale compared to their colleagues in urban schools. Finally, teachers must wait 3-5 years within a pay scale before participating in the competitive evaluations to access the subsequent pay scale. Under the new legal framework, teachers working in rural schools wait one year less (2-4 years) per pay scale before qualifying for the competitive evaluation, offering a pathway to increased monthly salaries more quickly than teachers working in urban schools. The competitive evaluation that compares teachers on their merit (measured by knowledge in pedagogy and theory), as well as economic incentives provided by the new law reflect a wider neoliberal ideology. In terms of education, this ideology is rooted in standardized quantitative measures and systems of meritocracy that, presumably, reflect teacher quality.

While the new Teacher Career Law makes some changes to the CPM law passed in 2007, the emphasis on teacher evaluation through examination has already brought forward some issues concerning teacher training and preparation. For example, in the first round of optional teacher evaluation exams in 2007 (in which only 60% of public teachers participated), a full 80% of teachers who took the exam did not “master basic math and reading skills needed to teach” (Oliart, 2007, p. 69). These initial results added fuel to the international argument for more teacher training oversight and demonstrated a need for evaluation to improve teacher quality. Furthermore, it became official policy despite strong resistance from the Peruvian teacher’s union, typically associating external evaluation as a mechanism to fragment the union, increase
competition between teachers, and dismantle labor rights such as tenure and pension guarantees (Gindin & Finger, 2013). Underlying Peru’s current policy agenda is the presumption that targeting teacher effectiveness will have a significant impact on student learning within schools. Indeed, PISA results from around the globe galvanized further inquiry into influences on student learning (Sellar & Lingard, 2013). In 2005, the OECD published a report arguing that teachers play a significant role in the outcomes of student learning. Therefore, they argued, education policy plays a fundamental role by ensuring the quality of teachers in classrooms. They pointed to “key ingredients in a teacher quality agenda” (OECD, 2005, p. 9) as incorporating strong teacher selection criteria, on-going teacher evaluation, and providing recognition and reward to effective teachers. The 2012 Teacher Career Law, with its emphasis on evaluation and meritocracy, can be understood as adopting some of these key principles. Given significant resistance from the teachers union, it is noteworthy that such changes forged ahead, occurring in an environment of external policy evaluations, internationally comparative, data-driven surveillance and evaluation, and recommendations from the OECD and the World Bank to implement such policies.

What has become clear through this historical account of education law in Peru is that this new law is a culmination of mounting evidence and international concern about the lack of education quality. In addition, a growing emphasis on individual testing that focuses on linking evaluation with economic rewards reflects the growing influence of an international neoliberal agenda of development (Harvey, 2005). This agenda assumes a trickle-down strategy to eliminate poverty, evidenced in the implicit assumption that the new law will translate into improved student learning outcomes by subjecting teachers to standardized, nationally administered exams.
Within the context of international neoliberal educational reform, the objective of this study is to gain a more nuanced understanding of the implications of the World Bank and OECD’s education agenda on Peruvian national education policy through teacher perceptions. As Henry et al. (2001) articulate, drawing from policy and education policy sociology will allow us to “draw attention to the sources and distribution of power” (p. 4) and raise questions about “the shaping and timing of policy agendas” (p. 4). Specifically, by critically examining the World Bank and the OECD’s influence, through lending mechanisms and data driven reports such as the PISA exam, the OECD and the World Bank can be shown to have enormous influence on Peru’s education policy over the past 30 year (Bonal, 2004; Oliart, 2007). Similarly, the PISA exam has shaped the Peruvian education policy debate away from a focus on student enrollment and access to on of teacher effectiveness and quality. The historical account above offers insight into the relationship between World Bank and OECD recommendations and Peruvian education policy. I now turn to an overview of these two organizations to provide insight into their involvement in education policy agendas. By revealing the influence that the World Bank and OECD have in shaping Peruvian education policy, I argue that the underlying assumptions of neoliberalism, based on competition and measures of meritocracy, are evident in the creation of the 2012 Teacher Career Law.

In order to evaluate how policy targeting teacher quality, housed within an international emphasis on educational improvement, this study will provide insight into the perceptions of those who enact national policy on a daily bases, namely public school teachers. Through a qualitative study of teacher perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law, in rural and urban school settings, this study elucidates how Peruvian teachers perceive national education policy in their everyday, lived experiences. Understanding teacher perceptions is paramount when
considering how national and international power relations are enacted, contested, and perpetuated in everyday life and action (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984). As teachers are those whose performance is targeted by the most recent education policy in Peru their perceptions and reactions to the law illuminate possible policy pitfalls in implementation and design.

Neoliberalization of Educational Agendas: The Roles of the World Bank and the OECD

The Bretton Woods conference in 1944 culminated in the creation of international organizations that would, and do, yield considerable influence on the world stage. Formed to facilitate economic cooperation between the nations of the world, the World Bank, emphasized neoliberal policy reforms that are “based on narrow, neoliberal assumptions about the role of the state” (Heyneman, 2003, p. 315). While education was not at the forefront of the agenda, it would later gain prominence in international development strategies, corresponding with a modernization theory of development. Modernization theory was based on an understanding that growing, prosperous national economies would result in increasingly stable democracies. The role of education was central to creating “modern” men and establishing functional social and economic systems correlated with democracy, which would result in a more productive population and increased participation in the political process (Balaev, 2014; Blaut, 1993; Lipset, 1959). What was considered modern within development agendas of the time referred to the twin notions democracy and capitalism (Blaut, 1993; Bernstein, 1971). The work of sociologist Seymour Lipset (1959) provides an explicit articulation of the role of education in adopting democratic ideals and values. He argued that education alone was not predictive of a country transitioning into a democracy, but located education within an agglomeration of economic development indicators that included wealth, industrialization, and urbanization. Education,
therefore, can be understood as being broadly incorporated into a development agenda geared at modernization.

Along the same lines, Meyer and Ramirez (1992) conducted a study on the expansion of mass education in countries around the world. They posit that mass education, defined as “the aspiration to achieve universal educational enrollment” (p. 128), sharply increased in the 1950s, following the Bretton Woods convention in 1944. These authors associate the global expansion of mass education with the “spread of the Western system, with its joined principles of national citizenship and state authority” (Meyer & Ramirez, 1992, p. 146). Indeed, the Western social and economic systems were viewed as the ultimate development “destination” (Bernstein, 1971, p. 147) for which developing nations should be oriented. The Western system, in this sense, refers to the twin notions of capitalism and democracy, recently with increasingly neoliberal inclinations. Although a clear transition to overtly neoliberal policies were marked by the Thatcher-Reagan eras of the 1980s, neoliberal ideology of capitalist expansion, characterized by privatization, open and free-market exchange, efficiency, meritocratic measures of quality, and an emphasis on competition and individualism has been prevalent since the 1970s (Bonanno, 1998; Corzo et al., 2011; Harvey, 2005; Patel-Campillo, 2014; Portes & Hoffman; 2003). A neoliberal political agenda would typically consider public spending on social institutions such as health care and education as a drain of the state’s resources. However, while education as an institution has been one of the most affected by neoliberal policies in Latin America, public spending and oversight has not necessarily reduced (Corzo et al., 2011). This is attributable to the social and economic development goals that are closely tied to education. In other words, education can be understood as what Bernstein (1971) described as a “social condition of economic growth” (p. 143). Thus, rather than reducing government spending on education,
neoliberal ideals have shaped education policy in the form of the standardization of measurements, emphasis on quality, competition, and data-driven results.

The rise of neoliberal ideologies has been bolstered by quantitative data to shape policy-making, particularly in the realm of education (Ball, 2006; Henry et al., 2001). The OECD has adopted an increasingly expansive role in global education governance since the 1970s, capitalizing on the concepts of human capital measured by an individual’s economic capabilities (Sellar & Lingard, 2013). The OECD’s reliance on data collection to inform education policy has been widely adopted by member and non-member nations, evidenced by the ‘opt-in’ nature of the international comparative PISA exams. Henry et al. (2001) point out that keeping the exam optional for member states creates a form of international peer pressure, stimulating competition and comparison. The PISA exams emphasize student learning outcomes in comparison with other nations. Indeed, as I will examine below, Peruvian student performance on PISA galvanized political rhetoric about the shortcomings of Peru’s education system, generating internal and external political pressure on the government for change.

The OECD, human capital, and the influence of the PISA exam

Designed by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), was a pivotal international mechanism exerting pressure on the Peruvian government for educational policy reform. Sellar and Lingard (2013) argue that, by designing the PISA exam, OECD has effectively created a rational, data collection tool with which to compare countries. A measurement mechanism, PISA is a student-knowledge measurement tool, which compares students in terms of their readiness to enter the world economy based on their performance on a standardized exam on math, problem solving, and financial literacy. Sellar and Lingard (2013) refer to the “soft power” (p. 919) of
mechanisms such as PISA, exerted by the OECD in the form of international peer pressure, in which data collection is paramount in demonstrating difference.

Such soft power enacted by these international organizations is housed within what can be understood as a larger neoliberal agenda (Bonal, 2004; Corzo et al., 2011; Oliart, 2007; Portes & Hoffman, 2003; van der Tuin and Verger, 2013). Regionally and within the broader context of neoliberal restructuring, Latin American countries have increasingly adopted education policy that is reflective of neoliberal values, such as increasing competitiveness, trade liberalization, deregulation, decentralization, and consumer choice. For example, Chile and Mexico are two countries that have undergone large scale education restructuring since the 1970s, emphasizing privatization, deregulation, and decentralization (Contreras & Rice, 2009; Jensen, Yang and Muñoz, 2012; Matear, 2007). In Chile, the long-term result has been widening socioeconomic inequalities, as consumer choice in school selection is limited for low-income families, resulting in a situation in which the poor are restricted to the increasingly scarce state-funded schools with reducing operating budgets (Matear, 2007). As with their regional neighbors, the Peruvian governments of the past 10 years have been the most eager to embrace a neoliberal political agenda directed at public education, as evidenced in decreased state funding for education while implementing policy that targets teacher meritocracy and competition.

As discussed above, policies since the 1980s in Peru have improved access to education in the country, but international pressure to improve student performance resulted in recent national education policy changes. Such pressure is partially explained by a phenomenon in which Peruvian student test scores on international exams have consistently been some of the lowest among participating countries, most notably the lowest in the South American region.
(Bos et al., 2014). PISA is a cross-national, comparative exam that tests the reading and math comprehension of 15 year old students. The OECD website claims:

“PISA is unique because it develops tests which are not directly linked to the school curriculum. The tests are designed to assess to what extent students at the end of compulsory education, can apply their knowledge to real-life situations and be equipped for full participation in society.” (‘About PISA’, 2016)

The emphasis on preparing students for real life indicates the prominence of human capital. Human capital, as defined by Coleman (1988), refers to changes in individuals that allow them to perform new activities based on acquired skills and competencies. Human capital is therefore hyper-focused on individual capabilities that best prepare them for full participation in a market-based economy, allowing the social and cultural context of the individual to be sidelined. In addition, the OECD’s focus on evaluating students’ readiness to fully participate in society begs the question, whose society? The presumption, as argued by Henry et al. (2001) and Sellar and Lingard (2013), is that the focus on human capital by the OECD is preparing individuals to enter a global, capitalist economy. Therefore, the consistently poor outcomes of Peruvian students on the PISA exam called the Peruvian government’s, the World Bank’s, and the OECD’s attention to the shortcomings of the Peruvian education system. As discussed above, student-learning shortcomings have increasingly been attributed to teacher quality, generating a shift in policy direction to more accountability and evaluation of teacher capabilities and outcomes.

The 2012 Teacher Career Law can be understood as the Peruvian government’s most recent strategy to improve educational quality in Peru (El Peruano Diario Oficial, 2012). On the heels of a decade of education policy changes that restructured the curriculum and teacher compensation options, this law emphasizes teacher performance by evaluating teachers through written knowledge and content-based competitive exams. Emphasis on competition within
national governance structures lends legitimacy to increasingly neoliberal state practices (Patel-Campillo, 2014). In the case of Peruvian education policy, competition in the form of the PISA exams and teacher knowledge exams legitimizes replacing 1984 Teacher Career Law, a law that afforded teachers a high amount of job stability, with the proclaimed end goal to improve education quality for students. Indeed, as the following section will elucidate, circumstances leading up to the policy change have diminished public respect for teachers, and largely neglected contextual realities that put strain on student learning, particularly in rural communities. The following section will shed light on Peru’s perceived education paradox of high enrollment and low student test scores. This perceived paradox has served as justification for education legislation that targets teacher quality, resulting in the 2012 Teacher Career Law.

Paradox of high enrollment and poor student learning outcomes

Since the 1980s, Peru has engaged in practices of privatization and rapid infrastructure expansion of the education sector, resulting in many schools being built even in the most remote areas in order to provide access to schooling for all (Brent Hall & Peters, 2003; Oliart, 2007). As shown in Table 3, these practices have been associated with high enrollment and school attendance, a goal that the World Bank associates with higher achievement rates (World Bank, 2007). The impressive level of enrollment did not translate into improved student competency, however, as Peruvian students have consistently scored the most poorly in South America, and among the lowest in the world among participating countries. Below, Figure 3 displays mean Peruvian student PISA test scores from 2000 to 2012 compared to countries in their regional cohort, Chile, Brazil and Argentina. Peruvian students have consistently scored the lowest in the region, but even more starkly, the lowest of all 70 countries participating in the PISA exam (Bos et al., 2013). Such dismal performance has been attributed to a lack of adequate teaching
materials, teacher absenteeism, infrastructure, socio-economic contexts, family characteristics, and poor student nutrition (Angell, 1982; Alcazar et al., 2006; Cueto, 2004; Cueto et al., 2009; Brent Hall & Peters, 2003; World Bank, 2007; van der Tuin & Verger, 2013)

**Table 3: Enrollment Rates by Year, Gender and Area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Schooling</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1997</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary (6-12)</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (13-17)</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2008</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2013</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table created using data from the Socio-Economic Database for Latin America and the Caribbean (SEDLAS and The World Bank). December, 2015.*
Table 3 displays primary and secondary school enrollment in 1997, 2008, and 2013 for girls and boys, and for rural and urban areas, displaying nearly universal enrollment levels across the board at the primary level by 2013. Figure 3 displays mean student PISA test scores for Peru, Chile, Brazil and Argentina from 2000 to 2012. The crux of Peru’s education paradox is evident in Table 3 and Figure 3. The underlying assumption of the second MDG, encapsulating the dominant developmental paradigm emphasizing education for all, was that universal primary student enrollment with gender parity would result in a more educated population that would reduce poverty and generate economic growth. As articulated by the United Nations Children’s Emergency Fund in reference to the importance of reaching the second MDG, “Educating children gives the next generation the tools to fight poverty and prevent disease” (UNICEF,
However, the educational failings and inequities associated with student outcomes on PISA fueled political debates around the quality of education provided to students.

In addition to abysmal overall student performance on the PISA example, students from rural areas consistently score more poorly than their urban colleagues. Indeed, rural-urban stratification in Peru manifests itself in many socioeconomic patterns. In general, rural inhabitants are more likely to be in poverty, have lower average years of education, and higher illiteracy rates (Rivero, 2007; Talleri et al., 2013). For example, in 2013, rural inhabitants in the Andes had the highest poverty level in the country at 14.3%, well above the overall national statistic of 3.7% (SELAC, 2015). While the Socio-Economic Database for Latin America and the Caribbean (SELAC) statistical database reveals a trend of declining rural poverty in Peru, it remains disproportionately higher than in urban areas. For the purpose of this study, one of the more striking indicators is between rural and urban educational attainment. In 2013, the rural population of Peru had a little over half as many average years of education (4.9 years) as the urban population (8.4 years). This stratification of educational attainment, despite recent gender parity in enrollment at the primary and secondary levels, has gone relatively unchanged since 1997, the earliest available data collected by SELAC.

Educationally, a further indication of the rural-urban education divide can be revealed by internal competency student exams that indicate a wide gap in learning between students in rural areas compared to those in urban areas. The Peruvian National Student Evaluation exams (ECE)², reveal a troubling snapshot of primary student progress; only 20% of students reached the desired academic level in 2007 (World Bank, 2007). As shown in Figures 4 and 5, over 50% of students in both rural and urban areas were in the initial phases or in process of learning.

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² Evaluación Censal de Estudiantes (ECE)
reading and math competencies for their grade level in 2014. Perhaps more alarming is the gap in satisfactory learning levels (indicated in green) between students from rural and urban areas. Among 2nd grade students in rural areas, only 13% reached satisfactory learning levels in math comprehension in 2014, and nearly 17% in reading comprehension. Comparatively, their urban cohort reached nearly 29% and 50% in math and reading comprehension (respectively).
Color Designation according to the National Student Evaluation Census (ECE) 2014 run by the Office of Learning Quality Measurement (UMC):

**Red** = In initial phase. “The student didn't achieve the desired learning outcomes for their grade and is currently in the early development of their learning.” (National ECE, 2014, p. 1)

**Yellow** = In Process. “The student didn’t achieve the desired learning outcomes for their grade, they are on the path to achieving it, but are still having difficulty.” (National ECE, 2014, p. 1)

**Green** = Satisfactory. “The student achieved desired learning outcomes for their grade and is ready to continue learning.” (National ECE, 2014, p. 1)

Results are from the Office of Learning Quality Measurement (Oficina de Medición de la Calidad de los Aprendizajes) at [http://umc.minedu.gob.pe/](http://umc.minedu.gob.pe/), December, 2016.
In 2014, the Inter-American Development Bank pointed out that the “breach between rural and urban students in Peru is the second largest, after Hungary” (Bos et al., 2014, 2) based on PISA exam scores. PISA scores divulged that the average rural student in Peru was two academic years behind their urban colleagues in terms of reading and math comprehension. The finding that rural students are attaining lower academic outcomes than their urban cohort indicates a gap in the enrollment goals established in the MDGs. In 2013, primary school enrollment of children between the ages of 6 and 12 was 98% in rural and 99% in urban areas, and secondary enrollment was 75% in rural areas and 92% in urban areas (SEDLAC, 2015). Therefore, on the one hand, Peru has done exceptionally well at expanding school access to all citizens. However, PISA and internal evaluation exams (ECE) indicate that there are wide gaps in Peruvian student’s educational attainment, and that the country overall lags behind their regional and international cohorts (Bos et al., 2014; World Bank, 2007).

Thus, Peru’s current education policy attempts to deal with rural-urban disparities by shifting the emphasis from student enrollment to learning within schools. As chapter 2 will elucidate, it was the World Bank in 2007 that attributed the enrollment and low student outcome paradox to a “quality problem” (xiii). In fact, such a paradox is not unique to Peru. Since the 1990’s, the international discourse around education has shifted from getting kids into schools to ensuring that they are actually learning something while at school. This transition perpetuates the notion that improved teacher performance will result in better student outcomes, implying that students are not learning enough in school due to inadequate or impartial teaching by teachers (Schulmeyer, 2002). This new legal framework places the onus of student learning on teacher quality, or what Bonal (2007) refers to as a “short educational policy menu” (98) that ignores the “effects of poverty on education” (98). The emphasis on teacher quality is housed within an
emerging paradigm of education effectiveness, in which schools are seen as functional entities that can generate improvements in student competencies, irrespective of the student’s social, familiar, or economic situation (Ball, 2006; Ellet & Teddlie, 2003; van der Verger & Tuin, 2013). Teachers within a school efficiency paradigm are regarded as “ensembles of skills and competences – depersonalized and stripped of commitments, passions and desires” (Ball, 2006, p. 61). Teacher quality, measured by level of training, educational attainment, and knowledge-based competency are therefore increasingly regarded as strategic points of intervention to improve student outcomes (OECD, 2005; van der Tuin & Verger, 2013).

The emphasis on improved teacher performance has had dramatic implications for teachers, placing the onus of student success on their shoulders. While the majority of policies around the world have used student test scores to evaluate teacher quality (Baker et al., 2010), Peru has instead concentrated on testing teachers’ content and theoretical knowledge as indicators of quality in the 2012 Teacher Career Law (Ley de Reforma Magisterial, 2012). The Peruvian government’s emphasis on teacher evaluation can be understood within in the context of an increasingly neoliberal political strategy. For example, the national government had tried, and failed, to incorporate a number of policies that would ultimately undermine the strength of the teachers union. The 2012 Teacher Career Law can be seen as the most recent policy directive to this agenda, and has been effective at weakening and dividing the teachers union by promoting competition and meritocracy between teachers. Under the semblance of improved educational quality in the country, the 2012 Teacher Career Law can be understood as an example of the national government concentrating their education agenda on learning within schools, accompanying new challenges and changing attitudes about teachers and their role in education.
In light of the fact that the 2012 Teacher Career Law targets teacher competency, the following section provides an overview of current realities of the teaching career in Peru.

Being a teacher in Peru: reduced job stability and increasing government oversight

In Peru, teachers are trained in education programs at public or private universities, or in Teacher Training Institutes (TTI). Since the mid-1980s, Teacher Training Institutes have proliferated around the country. The outgrowth of TTIs corresponds with a growing demand for teachers, which had mounted after a military dictatorship through the 1970s as teachers increasingly left the field. As teachers left, demand for free, public education increased around the country, particularly in rural areas, where education was seen as a path out of poverty (Oliart, 2007). The growing demand for teachers was matched by an augmentation of Teacher Training Institutes. Until the 2012 Teacher Career Law, TTIs were privately run, with no government oversight of the curriculum or training. Despite a lack of government oversight, TTIs have been required to follow the state mandated curriculum, designed by the Ministry of Education. In the 1990s, Oliart (2007) notes that interest in the “dropping quality” (p. 101) of TTIs led to a national program (PROFORMA) whose purpose was to create more state run teacher training institutes and more oversight of curriculum taught within institutes. Despite such reforms, Oliart noted that the TTIs in her study seemed unconcerned with the fact that most of their graduates would end up teaching in rural areas; the implications of which includes having no curriculum or classes available to education students about cultural or linguistic difference among students, or how to manage a multi-grade classroom. TTIs overall are the most accessible form of obtaining a teaching degree, perceived as being easier to enter than established public and private universities (Alcázar & Balcázar, 2001). Upon graduating from a TTI or University education

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3 In 2015, 25% of schools are considered multi-grade, meaning one teacher for multiple grades. Thirty-four percent of schools have one teacher for all grades. Source: MINEDU – ESCALE - [http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/inicio](http://escale.minedu.gob.pe/inicio)
program, teachers in Peru are assigned to particular public school positions within their region by Local Education Management Units, (UGEL)\textsuperscript{4}. Their placement is based primarily on position vacancies in schools and teacher scores on a competency exam administered annually at the national level (Van de Tuin & Verger, 2013). In practice, the highest scoring teachers are placed in the better-off schools in urban settings, and the lowest scoring, least qualified teachers are placed in rural, impoverished village schools (Baanante, 2005). Because teacher placements are determined based on competitive exams and position vacancies, UGELs are primarily responsible for overseeing teacher placement assignments. This leaves principals in public schools with very little input about which teachers are placed in schools (Baanante, 2005; Alcazar et al., 2006). Additionally, principals have traditionally had little power at their disposal to reward or reprimand teachers for their work, having to solicit the UGEL for official permission to remove a teacher from their posts. Therefore, principals have typically played administrative roles, overseeing student enrollment, teacher attendance, and accountability for nationally distributed learning aids such as textbooks or computers.

Teachers in Peru are either tenured (nombrado) or contracted (contratado). Tenure status for teachers, previous to the 2012 teacher career law, refers to those functioning under the 1984 Teacher Career Law, meaning they were considered career-track, state employees with a number of associated benefits, such as high level of job security, enjoying benefits such as “vacation, leaves of absence, and pension” (Alcazar et al., 2006, p. 121) and consistent pay raises every 3-5 years. Contracted teachers, on the other hand, compete with one another for vacant teaching positions on an annual basis and do not have the same degree of job security as tenured teachers. Contract teacher status was originally created in the 1980s to fill vacant teaching positions, predominantly in rural areas.

\textsuperscript{4} Unidades de Gestión Educativa Locales
Tenured teachers make up the majority (83%) of the public school teacher workforce in the country (Alcazar et al., 2006). Tenured teachers must have a pedagogical degree from a TTI or a University, and reach a sufficiently high score on the national competitive placement exam for their original school placement (Saavedra & Diaz, 2001). Once offered a position in a school, tenured teachers will not be reassigned without “his or her explicit consent” (Alcazar et al., 2006, p. 121) and by participating in a placement competition, consisting of another evaluative examination. As Baanante (2005) points out, in an analysis of regional teacher labor markets, teachers very infrequently change schools. Additionally, Baanante found a strong correlation between place of birth and one’s first teaching position placement, finding that those born further from urban centers were more likely to be placed in rural areas. Being placed near one’s birthplace contributes to how teachers interact with the communities within which they work, noted by Alcazar et al. (2006) in their study of teacher absenteeism. These researchers found that tenure in a community school does not necessarily decrease absenteeism. However, they encountered a highly significant relationship between lower absenteeism among public school teachers who had ties to the local area and/or school. In light of the current political emphasis on teacher quality, such findings indicate broader social value as a driver of teacher motivation.

Teacher placement, relocation, and absenteeism are regarded as important contributors to teacher motivation. Traditionally, teachers occupied leadership roles in rural communities, such as serving on community committees, being consulted about community decisions, and generally respected and valued as knowledgeable members of the communities within which they worked (Saavedra & Diaz, 2000). As will be elaborated in Chapter 2, teachers commonly express social value as a motivation for entering and remaining in the career (Pidello, Rossi and Sagastizabal, 2013). This respect for teachers has been on the decline, particularly since the 1980s,
corresponding with the propagation of TTIs without governmental curricular oversight and political rhetoric propagated during Alan Garcia’s second term as president in the early 2000s.

To summarize, the teaching profession in Peru can be conceived, previous to the 2012 Teacher Career Law, as being an accessible career option that has lost much prestige in the past two decades. Previously providing a low-paid but stable career, with guaranteed retirement and pension benefits after 25-30 years of service, the new law has drastically changed the stability of the teaching career. Linking pay to measures of merit, established through competitive examination is a cornerstone of neoliberal policies that emphasize competition and merit. As such, teacher perceptions of the new law will serve to illuminate how the new law influences teachers’ motivation for remaining in the field.

Focus and Goals

The paradox of high enrollment in schools and low academic achievement has been the topic of much education policy research in Peru, with recommendations including improving teacher training and preparation, raising teacher salaries, improving school infrastructure, creating locally relevant curriculums, and providing teachers with better teaching supplies (Richardson, 2014; Brent Hall and Peters, 2003; Barriga and Espinosa, 2001). The World Bank and the OECD have emphasized political strategies that will improve teacher quality, including clear standards for regular evaluation (OECD, 2005; Rivero, 2007; World Bank 2007). Few studies have addressed how teachers themselves perceive and situate themselves within these policies (Gastañadui, 2013; van der Tuin & Verger, 2013). As the implementers of national education policy within schools, teacher perceptions are pertinent to successful or failed implementation of education laws. This study fills this gap by providing insight into teacher
perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. This study will address the following three research questions:

**Research Question 1**: Within the context of international education reform and the 2012 Teacher Career Law in particular, how do public school teachers in rural and urban areas perceive their role?

**Research Question 2**: In what ways, if any, do rural and urban teacher perceptions of education reform differ? And, why?

**Research Question 3**: How do the career incentives associated with the 2012 Teacher Career Law compare with what teachers express as their motivations for being in the field?

These questions are designed for inductive analysis of empirical qualitative data to understand how teachers adjust and adapt to education change mandated by the national government, in their everyday, lived experiences. As the targets of the new policy’s intervention, this will provide insight into how teachers themselves understand, contest, and adopt national education reform in the context of international, neoliberal education change. As advocated by Ball (2006), education policy research must incorporate the voices of those who enact policy on a daily basis. In doing so, patterns of power, ideology, and resistance can be observed and incorporated into analysis.

As will be further elaborated in Chapter 2, the 2012 Teacher Career Law is situated within a larger international paradigm of education reform that focuses on quality and targeting teacher performance, spearheaded by the OECD and the World Bank based on quantitative measures such as the PISA exam. This study focuses on teacher understandings of their role within this larger education paradigm, and opinions of the new law. By focusing on teachers, this study seeks to explore how power and knowledge are shaped, rationalized, and absorbed by
those charged with disseminating such knowledge (Ball, 2013). Using Foucault’s work on power-knowledge as a lens, this study seeks to reveal channels of power that are both enacted by and enacted upon teachers, and how their contexts and experiences may influence their understanding, contestation, and acceptance. Specifically, I will seek to examine teachers’ understanding as one that both accepts and contests the hegemonic neoliberal discourse of education which is based on numerical measures, quality, standards, efficiency and equality.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Education policy has been a topic of academic inquiry in the development, sociological, and education literatures. Within the field of international education a growing body of literature suggests that education policy is no longer solely a local or national matter, but is increasingly becoming globalized and influenced by a neoliberal agenda. Sociological literature about education developed from a primarily functionalist standpoint, which frames education and schooling as socializing mechanisms that prepare young people to function in the wider society outside of their own families. Encapsulated in the works of Bourdieu and Foucault, sociological work has taken a more critical perspective, associating education with concepts of power, social control, and domination (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Lingard et al., 2005; Foucault & Rabinow, 1984). This perspective is reflected in research around the teachers’ role in schooling and teacher motivation, increasingly subject to a wide range of academic scrutiny. From a functionalist perspective, teachers are presumed to have an innate authority to impart knowledge and prepare children for their social roles in society. In contrast, from a critical perspective, research on the teachers’ role began to concentrate on concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, reflecting a shift in thinking about their innate authority to a consideration of teacher agency and wider power dynamics. As educational reform takes on increasingly neoliberal characteristics, insights from both critical and functionalist theories inform sociological studies of international education policy. Therefore, this chapter will provide an overview of the relevant literature addressing three thematic areas; neoliberalism in international education policy, sociological constructs of
education, and teacher motivation theory. In this chapter, I will engage the aforementioned literature to conceptually inform my analysis of the empirical data collected for this study.

Neoliberalism and the International Education Agenda: An overview of the neoliberal ideology

Neoliberal ideology has been discussed and debated broadly in sociological literature (Antonio, 2009; Bonanno, 1998; Harvey, 2005; Moore et al., 2011; Portes & Hoffman, 2003), and more specifically in terms of education policy in Latin American and Peru (Bonal, 2004; Corzo et al., 2011; Oliart, 2007; Sellar & Lingard, 2013). Within the literature on neoliberalism, incongruity has been noted between ideology and practice in different national contexts (Harvey, 2005; Moore et al., 2011). Bonanno (1998), Antonio (2009), and Portes and Hoffman (2003) point out the underlying principles of neoliberalism that imply certain political applications. For example, principles of economic growth, open and free market exchange, competition, and individualism are facilitated by privatization, reduced government intervention, and decentralization. Another body of literature, within the field of sociology of education policy, investigates the globalization of education more broadly, revealing capitalist and neoliberal undertones within education political agendas (Ball, 2006; Sellar & Lingard, 2013; Henry et al., 2001). Finally, a third line of literature explores indications and implications of a neoliberal ideology in education policy and reform in South American countries. This third line points to the supremacy of market over state intervention, privatization, decentralization, efficiency, and quality (Bonal, 2004; Corzo et al., 2011, Oliart, 2007). These contours of inquiry shed light on an encroaching neoliberal agenda that informs education policy around the globe. Specifically, the literature offers insight into the formation of the 2012 Teacher Career Law in Peru. The
following discussion will provide an overview of each of these three lines of inquiry and research on neoliberalism, followed by an example of the infusion of the neoliberal agenda in the formation of current education policy in Peru. Doing so will contextualize Peruvian education policy within a broader international education reform agenda, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of teacher perceptions of the new law.

As suggested by Ball (2006), sociological studies of education policy cannot be understood as separate from national and historical context. Discussed in chapter 1, Peru’s history and education policy has been subject to a large degree of international influence since the 1990’s. Indeed, international focus on education has intensified since the 1980s, rooting economic growth in the development of human capital in terms of preparing individuals to work in a globalized, capitalist market system (Sellar and Lingard, 2013). As human capital theory and capitalist markets are core components of the neoliberal agenda, further understanding of the neoliberal ideology will clarify and contextualize the ideological undertones of the 2012 Teacher Career Law.

Stephen Ball (2006) has been prolific on the topic of education policy. Guided by sociological insights, his book, *Education Policy and Social Class*, is a conglomeration of his work in which several chapters are dedicated to indicating trends of privatization and market concepts that have influenced education policy. In particular, Ball points to the “neo-liberal guru” (2006, p. 81), Margaret Thatcher, as influential in constructing an ideal of a higher education system that elevates individual choice and school autonomy. Using English education policy change as a case study, Ball suggests that “market strategies” (2006, p. 117) within educational policy have consisted of more privatization and out-sourcing for school provisions, such as supplies, meals, and even teacher contracts. More broadly, in chapter 2 of the book, Ball
explores the “New Right” (p. 26) and free market discourse. Ball identifies “prescriptions of the market” (p. 38) to demonstrate how market freedom has come to be the equivalent of individual freedom from totalitarianism. As will be elaborated below, such prescriptions include what Harvey (2005), Bonanno (1998), Corzo et al. (2011) and Moore (2011) have also indicated as central themes of neoliberalism, such as market competition, inequality as acceptable (even desirable), privatization, efficiency, choice, and individualism.

Bonanno (1998) and Harvey (2005) provide clear articulations of the implications of neoliberal policy and practice on education. Bonanno (1998) describes neoliberalism as embedded in the work of Milton Friedman, who viewed economic freedom as fundamental, to which all other freedoms (political, social) should be secondary. In this original conceptualization of neoliberalism, poverty and marginalization were considered natural, due to inherent differences in individuals. Therefore, education was considered a “wasteful drag on the economy” (Bonanno, 1998, p. 243). On the other hand, Harvey (2005) distinguishes between how a neoliberal state would function in theory, and how they have functioned in practice, identifying a number of inconsistencies and paradoxical relationships. Characteristics of a neoliberal state, according to Harvey, would “favor strong individual private property rights, the rule of law, and the institutions of freely functioning markets and free trade” (2005, p. 64). Furthermore, deregulation and privatization are envisioned as means to improved efficiency and equality (Harvey, 2005). Thus, social services such as education, in a theoretical neoliberal state, should be privatized and avoid state intervention. Harvey points out that developing countries often do the opposite, enhancing state intervention to provide schooling, for example. This is done, ultimately to gain a “competitive advantage in world trade” (Harvey, 2005, p. 72) by educating the populous for future employment in research, development, and labor. However,
over time, as labor market demand does not reach the newly educated work force, nations may adopt more typical neoliberal policies, such as reduced state intervention in social services (such as health and education), emphasizing individual shortcomings in order to account for rising poverty and inequality.

Employing both Harvey and Bonanno’s descriptions of neoliberalism, education within a neoliberal state would be expected to be privatized, efficient, focused on merit-based measures of quality, and emphasize competition and individualism. Moore et al. (2011) contribute additional nuance, noting that manifestations of neoliberalism can take different forms in different countries. Moore et al. (2011) find that indications of neoliberalism in national policy tend to have three areas of similarity: 1) policy that favors market over government intervention, 2) the tendency “to favor trade liberalization over protectionism” (p. 508), 3) and, that personal responsibility is at the root of poverty. In education policy, encouraging competition can be understood as increasingly placing emphasis on individual responsibility, decentralization, and privatization. Indeed, as Corzo et al. (2011) demonstrate, such neoliberal leaning policies have taken precedent in education reforms in Latin America, particularly since the 1980s. The 1980s represent a time period in which Structural Adjustment plans were put in place and many countries accepted conditional aid that drove their political agendas for decades. In their paper, the international education agenda is embodied by the World Bank and the IMF, emphasizing “decentralization… coverage, quality, efficiency, and equality” (Corzo et al., 2011, p. 197). According to Corzo et al. (2011), education is increasingly the victim of neoliberal policies in the form of homogenous and decontextualized examination standards (for students and teachers) and privatization. As was discussed in chapter 1, Peruvian education policy is increasingly reliant on
such decontextualized examinations and standardized measures, indicating of a wider international influence infused with neoliberal inclinations.

A Rising International Education Agenda

The OECD and the World Bank have played influential roles in shaping the education agenda of nations around the globe. As Barriga and Espinosa (2001) point out, the mid- to late-20th century brought about a new paradigm of education. This section provides an overview of literature that elaborates on the political implications of the neoliberal agenda led by international institutions. I will discuss how the globalization of educational reform has been framed more broadly by these disciplines before transitioning into scholarship that explores the globally driven neoliberal agenda in Latin American and Peru, indicating some of the implications thereof. Of particular significance for this project is the conceptualization of ‘politics of blame’ developed by Martin Thrupp (1998), which situates current national policies that place the onus of education change on teachers, ignoring contextual realities that affect learning. The politics of blame framework will be used to frame the current policy initiatives in Peru, housed within a larger international education agenda.

Neoliberal educational reform links education with global (market-based) economic integration. Based on the precepts embodied in the notion of human capital, neoliberal education paradigms rest on the notion that individual skills and abilities are linked to the economic development of the nation (Sellar & Lingard, 2013), thus, are duly justified. Barriga and Espinosa (2001) provide an overview of how the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and UNESCO have played a strong role in determining education agendas in Latin America using reports, loans, and globalizing emphasis on standards and quality measures. The
overarching case made by these authors is that the human capital paradigm integral to development agendas plays a significant role in education reform policy in Latin American countries. Notably, teachers’ perceptions, opinions, and voices are typically not included in the formulation of these reforms. Indeed, the concept of the globalization of education policy controlled by powerful international organizations is taken up widely in both education policy and sociological literature (Barriga & Espinosa, 2001; Bonal, 2004; Henry et al. 2001; Meyer & Ramirez, 1992; Oliart, 2007; Sellar & Lingard, 2013; Thrupp, 1998). Below, the insights these scholars have provided into the emerging international education agenda will be outlined and connected to the recent Peruvian education policy.

In their book, The OECD, Globalisation and Education Policy, Henry et al. (2001) seek to understand the OECD in terms of its role in shaping national education policies. Over three years, these researchers examined education policy in Australia from the lens of political sociology, which “draws attention to the sources and distribution of power” (p. 4). Situating their work as filling a gap in literature about the OECD itself, the authors acknowledge the underlying assumption that the OECD has been “a key articulator of predominantly neo-liberal reading of globalization” (p. 4), and that globalization, in their view, “constitutes an emergent form of Western imperialism” (p. 4). They do not contend that the entire international community of nation-states has become Westernized, but that the standard by which policies and societies are measured is “in relation to the capitalist West” (Waters, 1995, p. 3 in Henry et al., 2001, p. 4). In particular, the authors point out that the OECD constantly attempts to juggle “social and economic priorities” (p. 82). These priorities include reducing unemployment and poverty, as well as a human capital approach to education that prepares youth to contribute to the global economy. With these assumptions in mind, this book provides a useful breakdown of the
OECD’s hierarchical structure, history, and the transition of the education sector from research organization to policy actor.

In their book, Henry et al. (2001) highlight how the OECD exerts influence on nations in terms of their education policies, and further, an emerging question in the face of globalization about the purpose of education. They find, through their research on higher education policy in Australia, that national governments are still the primary shapers of education policy, but that tension exists in response to global pressures. For example, Henry et al. call attention to the destabilizing that occurs within nation-states whose education policy objectives are questioned and critiqued both by the national and international community. In terms of the purpose of education, these authors draw our attention to the indicators, standards, and evaluative measures developed by the OECD to compare nations; a comparison that these authors suggest is converging national education policies based on the OECD’s directive. These authors contend that this convergence has not brought about positive change, offering the following statement by way of conclusion:

“If convergence [in education] ushered in a more peaceful, environmentally responsible, better educated and better-fed world, few would complain. But this has not been the case. Rather, convergence has focused around an ascendant neo-liberal paradigm of policy in which education has largely (though not solely) framed as human capital investment and development” (Henry et al., 2001, p. 175).

In addition to the OECD, the World Bank has been instrumental in changing national education policies. For example, a report 1994 report financed by the World Bank developed frameworks for analysis of education policy (Haddad et al., 1994). This report highlighted the significance of historical context, socio-economic factors, the economy, and geographic barriers to education. However, in an outline of four strategies for generating new education policy, the report conveniently omits the influence of international organizations. The report assumes that power
dynamics are internal to individual nations, negating their own role in policy recommendation and production (Haddad et al., 1994).

Henry et al. (2001) are amongst a growing literature of voices discussing the globalizing, neoliberal education policy. Before their book was written, authors Meyer and Ramirez (1992) were considering what they referred to as the universalizing of mass education. Their study, using different rhetoric to describe a similar phenomenon described by Henry et al., used enrollment data over a period of 90 years, from 1870 to 1980. They describe mass education as having five main characteristics, including preparing individuals for society, extension to all members of society, being secular, “an increasingly standardized curriculum” (p. 131), and one that “putatively links mastery of the curriculum with personal development and the latter with the progress of the nation-state” (p. 131). As mass education, in their definition, emphasizes equality, efficiency, standards, and human capital, it is clear that Meyer and Ramirez are describing a phenomenon of internationally shaped, neo-liberal education under different rhetorical guise. Their data provide depth historically, and they propose that mass education is rooted in the nation-state model that celebrates “unified sovereignty... individual focus... and secularized culture” (Meyer & Ramirez, 1992, p. 131). The significance of their findings, for the purpose of this study, lies in the fact that mass education embodies Western ideals. These authors conclude that the adoption and amplification of mass education was already firmly in place as of 1870, and has increased steadily ever since, with a sharp increase after World War II. Peru’s emphasis on student enrollment since the early 20th century, described in the previous chapter, can be understood in the context of expanding Western ideals that prioritized mass education.

Thrupp (1998a; 1998b) is a prolific writer on the neoliberalization of education on an international scale. Thrupp coined the term “politics of blame” (1998b, p. 196) referring to the
phenomenon of placing the impetus of educational quality improvement on schools and teachers, ignoring larger socio-economic factors that affect student learning. In Thrupp’s own words, the ‘politics of blame’ refers to an

“uncompromising stance on school performance in which the quality of student achievement is seen as the result of school policies and practices and any reference to broader sociopolitical factors is ruled out as an excuse for poor performance.” (Thrupp, 1998b, p. 196).

In his work, Thrupp seeks to examine organizations that evaluate schools, contracted by the national governments of New Zealand and England, using the ‘politics of blame’ framework. Thrupp argues that ignoring social context in school, teacher, and student evaluation is a central tenet of neoliberalism and market ideology that seeks to make social entities, such as schools, “responsible for own prosperity or demise” (1998b, p. 206). Thrupp extends the ‘politics of blame’ framework to teachers and teacher education, arguing that holding teachers accountable for the entirety or majority of student outcomes ignores socio-political factors that contribute to student learning, such as socio-economic status. The substantive take-away from Thrupp’s work is that the ‘politics of blame’ encroaching on policies that effect schools and teachers are the result of neoliberal inclinations of competition and choice that disregard socio-economic status, context, culture and difference in student outcomes.

Thurpp’s work has been taken up by Stephen Ball (2006), who builds upon the politics of blame framework to argue that education policy itself is considered in isolation from its historical context. Ball argues that education policy reform is studied as if previous policy had not existed and as if they will be implemented evenly in all settings. Ball argues that such assumptions inhibit understanding of the complexities of education policy. Specifically, he argues that education policy studies should incorporate the voices of those affected and involved,
including policy makers, teachers, students and parents. The identities of those involved in policy
interact with their individual identities, such as their gender and class. Understanding policy
from their perspective must incorporate “people’s perception and experiences” (Ball, 2006, p. 43) to complement observed “effects of policies upon abstract social collectives” (Ball, 2006, p. 22). Ball, like Thrupp, argues against broad generalizations of education policy induced from contextual realities.

The neoliberalization of education policy that catalyzes politics of blame is increasingly
evident in South America. Research conducted by Bonal (2001), Cabalin (2012) and Oliart (2007) offer critical insight into the manifestations of the international neoliberal education agenda in Latin America and Peru. Bonal’s (2004) work, for example, evaluates the extent to which the World Bank’s expressed purpose of eliminating poverty through education has been successful. Bonal describes the ‘trickle-down effect’ (2001, p. 651) inherent in the World Banks policy recommendations, which justifies reduced state intervention in education based on an assumption that free-market policies would open up new and expanding labor markets for the poor. The author describes approaches to education for poverty eradication that emerged in the 1990s, including an emphasis on access to education for girls, curriculum reforms, and using new technologies in education. The author then examines poverty rates and inequality measures in Latin America in the 1990s to demystify the pro-poor policies of the World Bank in regards to their education agenda in Latin America. By doing so Bonal argues that, “Rather than being a strategy for fighting poverty, education seems to be a sphere in which the ravages of poverty are laid bare and made visible” (Bonal, 2006, p. 658). Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 1, wide achievement and gaps between rural and urban students in Peru despite high enrollment rates are indicative of the critiques levied by Bonal. Therefore, Bonal calls into question the underlying
assumptions of the World Bank’s policies, such as a positive rate of return on investment in education, decentralization, and privatization of schooling, in terms of their ability to alleviate poverty. Stopping short of suggesting that inequality is perpetuated by such neoliberal policies, Bonal (2004) provides valuable insight into the assumptions underlying the World Bank’s influence over education policy in Latin America.

A number of countries in South America have adopted education policy guided by a clear neoliberal agenda. Cabalin (2012) looked at the case of Chile, a country that adopted neoliberal education reforms since the 1980s, fostering an environment of for-profit, privatized schooling and a reduction in state involvement. One of the characteristics of Chile’s education system is the illusion of family choice as to what school their kids attend. This illusion of choice is based on logic that Thrupp (1998b) describes as one that ignores the socioeconomic constraints to family choice. The result in Chile has been widening educational inequality and an education system that values quantity (of students in school) over quality (what students learn in school). In her final dissertation project, Oliart (2007) provides an overview of neoliberal policies evident in Peru’s changing education policies. Specifically, she examines decentralization, equality and gender equity, viewed as pro-democratic ideas and put forward by the World Bank. Her analysis is based on ethnographic fieldwork over a period of 10 years conducted in the southern Andes and the capital city of Lima, Peru. Based on observation and in-depth interviews with students, teachers, teacher trainers and ministry officials, Oliart’s (2007) overarching findings are that the policies promoted by the World Bank, as of 2005, had largely failed in terms of achieving higher student outcomes on comparative exams. Oliart concludes making similar arguments as Thrupp (1998a, b), referring to the importance of context when designing educational reform at the school, local and national level.
Neoliberal principles have infiltrated international educational reform across the globe and more recently, in Peru. To understand how neoliberal educational reform has taken root, Thrupp introduces the concept of politics of blame as policy that blames teachers for student outcomes and focuses policy attention on teacher evaluation, decontextualizing student learning from broader socio-economic realities. Ball (2006) expanded this conceptualization to the study of education policy itself, arguing that education policy studies have focused on broad, de-contextualized effects of policy on society rather than rooting such policies as interacting with policy, place, and individual identity of those affected. The politics of blame are evident in the work of scholars that point to large international organizations, primarily the World Bank, as pushing the agenda of neoliberalism in Latin America (Bonal, 2001; Cabalin, 2012; Oliart, 2007). Based on these insights, it is clear that the implications of the 2012 Peruvian Teacher Career Law have to be analyzed as interaction between international and national contexts. Specifically, Thrupp’s politics of blame framework illuminates the ways in which international influence that perpetuates neoliberal ideology is evident in the 2012 Teacher Career Law’s emphasis on teacher evaluation. Yielding the suggestion made by Ball, this study avoids generalizing about the effects of education policy, and instead incorporates the complexities of macro and micro forces, as well as historical, contextual, and individual realities.

**The Neoliberal Education Agenda in Peru**

The history of education policy in Peru has been infused with the expansion of an international neoliberal agenda since the 1980s. The 2012 Teacher Career Law merges two legislative frameworks under which teachers were working since the CPM law of 2007 (Gastañadui, 2013). Ball (2006) argues that education policy does not exist separately from previous policy, as individuals affected by the law draw from their historical and contextual
realities to understand and respond to new legislation. This section will explore the academic, national, and international discourse surrounding Peru’s education quality shortcomings leading up to the 2012 Teacher Career Law. The aim is to engage the historical shifts in educational reform shaping the role of teachers to reveal the “complex interplay of identities and interests and coalitions and conflicts within processes of enactments of policy” (Ball, 2006, p. 22).

The socio-political process leading up to the 2012 Teacher Career law is an example of the neoliberal turn in national educational reform. The 2012 Peruvian Teacher Career Law came about in Peru in an environment of universal education coverage and low student outcomes. In search of a strategy to address this paradox, both the Ministry of Education and the National Peruvian government organized an education review task force to determine policy changes needed to improve student outcomes. The task force was called the Consejo Nacional de Educación (CNE), or the National Education Council, charged with coming up with a National Education Project Plan for 2021. This plan was to incorporate the participation and input from “thousands of people and hundreds of institutions” (CNE, 2006, p. 9), including the following: educators, scholars, teachers, Ministry of Education officials, industry stakeholders, education interest groups, opinion leaders, young people, and members of the teachers union (SUTEP). Their recommendations, published in 2006, included six specific objectives, the third of which was “well prepared teachers that practice professionally” (CNE, 2006, p. 11). Their plan included special attention to teachers working in impoverished and rural areas, improved teacher salaries, and in-service training that offered teachers regular feedback and evaluation.

Less than a year later, the World Bank published an independent study evaluating Peru’s education paradox of high enrollment and low student outcomes (World Bank, 2007). This report situated itself as an articulation of strategies to improve education that had already been
acknowledged in a wealth of research. The report states that so far, improvements have faced a “lack of willingness to do what the research suggests should be done” (p. 9), primarily due to a lack of understanding of how to implement policies that address those needs. Guided by previous research on Peruvian education, the report finds that poverty has the largest effects on student learning. Similar to the CNE, this report advocated for better teacher preparation and evaluation. In contrast to the CNE, the World Bank report emphasized a need for setting clear standards and accountability, advocating for regional formulas for funding based on enrollment and achievements while discouraging a baseline salary increase for teachers. Salary increases, the World Bank report argued should be linked to individual evaluations, so long as clear achievement standards were set.
Table 4: Two Peruvian Education Reform Reports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report</th>
<th>National Education Project for 2021</th>
<th>Toward High-quality Education in Peru: Standards, Accountability, and Capacity Building</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year Published</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authors</td>
<td>National Education Council (created by the National Government)</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Sources</td>
<td>Based on dialogues with a wide range of education, social, governmental and private stakeholders, and numerous governmental education reports.</td>
<td>Recommendations emerged from a literature review of studies on Peru’s education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report Objectives</td>
<td>To serve as a “strategic decision-making framework and as a reference from which to evaluate the educative action of the State and of society” (p. 10)</td>
<td>“The book offers a diagnostic on the state of basic education in Peru and identifies the principal measures necessary to overcome the current stagnation in quality.” (p. vii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Specific Policy Recommendations</td>
<td>“1. Improve and restructure initial and continuous teacher training. 1.1. Generate clear standards about good teaching practices, and accredit instances of professional development. 1.2. Restructure and strengthen teacher formation in service. 2. Implement a new Public Magisterial Career Law (CPM). 2.1. Evaluate teacher for their entrance into and permanency in the CPM, and their teaching assignment. 2.2. Link promotion and salary increases to teacher performance and work conditions. 2.3. Promote the social value of the teaching profession based on the recognition their good practices. “ (p. 82)</td>
<td>1. “Teachers need much more intensive support and ‘accompaniment’ in how to teach to the learning standards.” (p. 132) 2. “instead of increase in pay, the focus should be on much more rigorous quality control at entry (selection through competition based on skills and knowledge, that is, standards-based selection and training), and selection over the career, including measures to encourage poor teachers to leave the profession.” * (p. 134)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In light of the teacher-specific recommendations these two reports highlight, the 2012 Teacher Career Law reflects a combination of the recommendations from both reports. While these two comprehensive reports covering the Peruvian education system have some overlap in terms of their recommendations for teacher preparation and evaluation, they differ in terms of how such strategies should be implemented. The rhetoric in the World Bank report emphasizes standards, efficiency, accountability, and quantitative measures. The National Education Project (CNE), on the other hand, iterates messages of integration, renovation, diversity, equality, and
democracy. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the creation of these two reports entailed vastly different strategies. The World Bank, an international, external evaluative organization, used investigative research based on published literature from Peru and South America. The World Bank based its recommendations on quantitative studies, and argued that previous official policy recommendations have been “purely qualitative or directional” (World Bank, 2007, p. 21) and have neglected quantitative goals. The aim was to emphasize the importance of setting measurable standards of evaluation. The CNE report took a very different investigative and iterative approach than the World Bank report. Their research takes a more grassroots approach in that it was commissioned nationally and involved stakeholders interested in or involved in education from every department in Peru. The report refers to its vision as being one that was “linked to the education that we want” (CNE, 2006, p. 21), situating itself as a representative voice of the Peruvian pueblo (village/town). Interestingly, as the report progresses it shifts from emphasizing democratic ideals to adopting an increasingly neoliberal rhetoric, emphasizing economic competition, democracy, equality, and justice. The vision is described as one facing a globalizing world economy, for which ‘we’ must prepare ‘our’ youth. They acknowledge the importance of human development, in which every Peruvian man and woman should have space to live and build up their capacities of “liberty, creativity, affection, identity, transcendence and feeling” (CNE, 2006, p. 22).

It is thus noteworthy that, despite vast differences in the data collection strategies of these two reports, both arrive at similar conclusions for education policy reform with respect to teacher evaluation, including linking salary and promotion to measurable indicators of their work. Two main points of departure between these reports with respect to teacher quality are remuneration and teacher evaluation. The World Bank emphasizes that effort should be concentrated in
removing ineffective teachers, and salaries should not be increased, as they will not necessarily improve teacher quality. Further, as seen in Table 5 above, the World Bank report specifies that competitive examination on skills and knowledge should be used to evaluate teachers. The CNE report, on the other hand, agrees that remuneration should be evaluation based, but does not mention a salary freeze for teachers. The CNE report provides a more nuanced strategy for improving teacher quality, mentioning facilitating access to credit and opportunities for professional development, and providing bonuses and housing for teachers in rural and remote areas. In terms of teacher evaluation, the CNE does not mention knowledge-based exams. Instead, they call for a “transparent and equitable mechanism” to be given for salary increases.

Overall, in light of the common characteristics of neoliberal education policy outlined above, the 2012 Teacher Career law can be seen as having selected aspects from both reports, particularly in terms of competition, individual responsibility, and meritocracy with respect to teachers. Furthermore, the elaboration of these reports is demonstrative of the interaction of local, national, and international interests in the process of forming the 2012 Teacher Career Law.

Ball’s (2006) work emphasizes the importance of accounting for micro (internal) and macro (external) influences that inform national educational policy. This entails contextualizing micro influences such as teachers’ unions and cultural norms with macro influences such as the international peer pressure associated with the PISA exam. Ball suggests including the voices of individuals’ perceptions and reactions to new laws based on historical, collective, and contextual understandings. Analysis of the CNE and World Bank reports offer insight into the interactions of local, national and international ideologies and actors that culminated in the 2012 Teacher Career Law. The CNE report took a qualitative, bottom-up approach to understanding the perceived education shortcomings in Peru, including voices of teachers and policy makers. The
suggestions from this report incorporated regular teacher evaluation and measures of merit, but also suggested social changes that would re-establish the value of teachers in society, and provide teachers with regular training. The World Bank, on the other hand, provided quantitative analysis of Peru’s educational outcomes, emphasizing standardization and efficiency among their policy suggestions. Both reports adopt language indicative of Thrupp’s (1998) politics of blame framework, situating teachers as bearing responsibility for national educational improvement. Such policy directives are symptomatic of policy driven by neoliberal ideology, negating larger social influences on student learning and generating laws that are easily implementable based on decontextualized quantitative measures of merit. Armed with a theoretical understanding of neoliberalism and its role in the Teacher Career Law, I now turn to the sociological literature on education and the role of the teacher.

Education Policy From a Sociological Perspective

Sociology as a field has grappled with the notion of education. As Apple, Ball and Gandin (2010) describe, the sociology of education is “a diverse, messy, dynamic, somewhat elusive and invariable disputatious field of work” (p. 1). With functionalist roots in works such as those of John Dewey and Emile Durkheim, the sociology of education is continuously evolving to incorporate broader critiques of education as it is situated within issues of power, domination and hierarchy. The following section traces sociological insights into both education and the role of the teacher, beginning with a discussion of functional theory. Theoretical insights from functionalist scholars provide insight into the rationalization of human capital theory, a pertinent element of the neoliberalization of education reform. To incorporate power dynamics, I will introduce insights in the field of the sociology of education offered by Bourdieu and Foucault. These works provide the conceptual groundwork informing this study.
Ballentine and Spade (2009) describe functional theory as grounded in the works of Durkheim and Parsons, who viewed schools and teachers as playing an important role in the socialization process of children. Functionalists see education as playing a specific role in society, and maintain a notion that merit systems (such as examination) are accurate indicators of a persons’ value. In this line of reason, the meritocracy inherent in capitalism will orient some people for higher positions in society, and others for less-skilled positions. The meritocracy inherent in functionalism made it conducive to the formation of human capital theory, created in the 1960’s. Human capital theory predominated world development in the 1980s and 90s, promoted particularly by the World Bank. Human capital theory “assumes that investment in education will have positive effects on human skills and worker productivity” (Ballentine and Spade, 2009, p. 88), and therefore assumes that society will benefit because every individual will have the opportunity to unlock their talent through education. As discussed in chapter 1, human capital theory interacts with the international neoliberal education in that it rationalizes state investment in education as a pathway to increased economic growth. A functionalist perspective emphasizes meritocracy, as is the case in the 2012 Teacher Career Law.

Saha and Dworkin (2009) explore the research agenda in education since the early 1900s, finding that early education research was influenced by the Scientific Management movement in the 1920s and 1930s, in which psychological and behavioral sciences drove an emphasis on outcome based research. Saha and Dworkin refer to this as inside research, or “research on school systems” (2009, p. 25). The on school research agenda dominated social sciences until the 1980s, when structural issues around education began to be addressed. Research on schools fits the functional theory approach, as schooling is viewed as a mechanism that prepares people to “function” in society as productive workers in a capitalist system. Framing the function of
schooling in this manner suggests a linear relationship of education on society that does not account for potential societal effects on education. Indeed, the later inspired a shift in the sociological analysis of education, incorporating the influences of societal structures on education. For example, Bonal (2004) argued that schooling and learning are two different things, asking why the expansion of schooling has not led to a reduction in poverty as human capital theory would suggest it should do. Bonal’s inquietude into the effect of poverty on education, rather than education on poverty can be understood under the framework of conflict theory. Conflict theorists critique functional theory and human capital theory by posing the question of why some students succeed and others do not. Based on the classical theorists Karl Marx and Marx Weber, conflict theory situates formal schooling as an institution controlled by elites that maintains a “myth” (Saha & Dworkin, 2009, p. 90) that everyone has an equal chance to succeed. Here, schools maintain inequality and “perpetuate the capitalist system” (p. 89). Conflict theory, therefore, shifts the discussion from education’s effect on society to society’s effect on education, incorporating structural constraints into the analysis. Saha and Dworkin (2009) refer to such structural analysis as outside research, or research “in the field of education” (p. 25). Such research in education has since revealed structural inequalities of the teaching workplace, identifying disparities in education previously absent from analysis.

Pinpointing structural issues, however, has not led to adequate political reforms. For example, since the 1980s, Saha and Dworkin (2009) discuss a “philosophy of action” (p. 45) in the political agenda of the United States, which ultimately ignores structural issues revealed in qualitative research, and instead puts the onus of student failure on teacher laziness, a phenomenon understood as politics of blame (Thrupp, 1998b). Policy is then directed to weed-out these so-called lazy teachers in order to improve student achievement. While this movement
originated in the U.S. in the 1980s, and even more markedly since the early 2000s with the No Child Left Behind Act\(^5\), it is relevant to other national contexts because the U.S. education system has either “directly or indirectly” (Saha and Dworkin, 2009, p. 25) influenced the education research agenda in many countries around the world. As was discussed in chapter 1, such influence is wielded in the form of international organizations that are heavily influenced by the United States (Henry et al., 2001).

Research in and on education has addressed the role of teachers in difference ways. Functionalists such as Durkheim (1973) and Dewey (1915, 1938, 1961, 1990) provide insight into early sociological frames through which the role of the teacher was conceptualized. An early functional scholar of education, Dewey (1990) described the role of the teacher as not to form habits in the child, but to “select the influences which shall affect the child and to assist him properly in responding to these influence” (p. 24). In fact, Dewey perceived education as a reflection of the society at large, in which changes and alterations are eminent in order to prepare children to function in society. The school, Dewey argued, should be in constant interaction with all other elements of society, including industry and universities. This interaction would keep school relevant to the roles children will play in society, and flexible in terms of what should be learned. In fact, he argues that it is “impossible to prepare the child for any precise set of conditions” (Dewey, 1990, p. 21), meaning that the ultimate goal is not to give a child a certain set of skills, but to prepare the child to participate in democratic society. Thus, diverging from the functionalist perspective, he did not view examination as a useful measure of student ability, unless it could determine their “fitness for social life” (Dewey, 1990, p.25) and help determine

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\(^5\) The No Child Left Behind Act was an education policy change in the United States. Passed in 2001, it opts for school-level evaluation based on student exam scores, linking student exams to state funding for schools. (Reback, Rockoff & Schwartz, 2011)
where they will be most useful. He opposed competition in schooling, advocated instead for a
culture of sharing and communal activities that would lead to a trusting, harmonious society
(Dewey, 1915).

The role of the teacher, according to Dewey (1938) is as a guide, not an authoritarian.
Dewey’s views on the role of the teacher emphasized context specific education. Dewey
advocated for child-centered learning that was contextually relevant. In fact, Dewey (1938)
viewed the primary role of teachers as being aware of the environmental conditions of their
students and generating teaching experiences based on that reality. He envisioned education as
innately adaptable and child-centered, as opposed to static and top-down imparting of
knowledge. Thus from this perspective, the role of education is to foster citizens ready to engage
in the political, economic, and social life of their respective societies. Much like Dewey,
Durkheim (1956) viewed education as preparing people for their roles in society. However,
Durkheim more specifically viewed education in schools as a kind of intermediary between
family and social life. Unlike Dewey’s child-centered learning, Durkheim envisioned the role of
the teacher within schools as adjusting students to schedules, rules and habits, such as self-
control. Furthermore, education was meant to prepare students for their distinct roles in society,
arguing that we “cannot all be devoted to the same kind of life” (Durkheim, 1956, p. 49). An
early sociological theorist, Durkheim’s functionalist inclinations heavily influenced sociological
studies of education.

In terms of the role of the teacher, in Durkheim’s view, teachers were meant to guide
students’ moral conduct in order for them to be able to socialize with others who were not direct
family members. Within the socializing structure of the school, teachers are given an enormous
amount of authoritative power. All habits of following the rules that students needed to learn in
order to function in society were to be taught by teachers. Therefore, the most desirable qualities in a teacher according to Durkheim (1973) are being decisive, having sufficient will-power to not abuse their authoritative power, and to “feel in himself the authority” (p. 154) while being able to believably communicate said authority. He goes so far as to compare teachers to priests, in that they are ordained with a power to communicate important messages to those that learn from them.

Both Durkheim and Dewey assume functionalist perspectives in the sense that education is meant to prepare students for their roles in society, but the roles that they envision take distinctly different paths. Durkheim envisions a top-down education in which the practical needs of society are infused into the future labor force of children. Dewey, is also concerned with education meeting the needs of society, but envisions society as a democratic, place-based arena for which students should be uniquely prepared. Both scholars have been highly influential in sociological work in education. Absent from their work is the concept of power, a topic taken up more recently in scholarship on the sociology of education.

Modern Sociological Theory on Education – Bourdieu, Foucault, and Ball

Much like some of the earliest sociological conceptualizations of education by Dewey and Durkheim, Bourdieu and Foucault also viewed schooling as a mode of social control, but distinguished themselves from earlier work by incorporating power dynamics into their analysis. In this section, I will provide a brief discussion of some of Bourdieu’s concepts before focusing on concepts developed by Foucault that will inform the theoretical framework used in the analysis of this study. Finally, I will discuss the work of Stephen Ball, who’s focuses on sociological study of education policy and serves as a guiding framework for understanding the 2012 Teacher Career Law.
In Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1977) book, *Reproduction: In Education, Society and Culture*, they maintain that the study of what we consider isolatable properties – studying element separate from their structures, processes, contexts and history’s – is an analytical mistake. They argue that this is how we can escape a “strictly functionalist analysis of the educational system” (p. 90), advocating for the consideration of cultural capital. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) first defined cultural capital in their book as “identifiable by the father’s occupation” (p. 74). A nuanced understanding of cultural capital, then, is an accumulation of knowledge and abilities that allow for upward social mobility, such as higher education and particular, socially valued skills. Pertinent to the understanding of cultural capital, as Bourdieu and Passeron explain it, is that it is transmissible by one’s family, and thus highly subject to socioeconomic status (as evidenced by the authors’ association with a father’s occupation). Further, the authors intricately linked cultural capital with linguistic capital, or, knowledge and practice of language associated with middle and higher class speech. Bourdieu and Passerson’s contribution to sociological literature at this time was to problematize the presumed value-neutral concept of education, arguing that education is infused with social values that represent the dominant class, restricting access to success for children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

In their discussion of teachers and examinations, Bourdieu and Passeron explain that a teacher is instilled with authority by the school and the educational system. This authority is also one of great responsibility in which a teacher not only dispels content, but also the “affirmation of the value of that content” (1977, p. 125). Resonant of Durkheim’s conceptualization of teacher authority, Bourdieu and Passerson add that the values in which teachers inoculate their students are those of the upper class. Therefore, teachers are agents of cultural reproduction of upper-class
values. Furthermore, examinations are understood as the “most efficacious tools for the enterprise of inculcating the dominant culture and value of that culture” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 142). While the authors were referring here to student exams, they envisioned a Weberian future in which examination within modern societies would expand along with hierarchical, bureaucratic organization measured by equalizing, knowledge-specific exams. Their supposition that examination and inoculation of certain values associated with a dominant class would expand beyond the French context they were studying in the 1970s is reminiscent of the current examination culture perpetuated by the neoliberal agenda and embodied by the OECD.

Indeed, Rawolle and Lingard (2008) hypothesized that Bourdieu’s concepts of capital, field, practice, and habitus can be employed as a framework for analyzing education policy influenced by international dynamics. These authors explain Bourdieu’s concepts in relation to education policy analysis. Most significant for the purpose of this study is the conceptualization by Rawolle and Lingard of cross-field effects. Cross-field effects are ways of understanding the interaction between the social fields of agents, such as teachers, with fields of media, policy and governance, all interacting in ways that influence a teachers practice. These authors provide the example of media portrayal of events, such as poor student outcomes on the PISA exams. The media, then, can be understood as influencing policy makers with the language they use to name education problems. Policy is then created incorporating the language used by the media. The rhetoric employed in media and policy fields is then absorbed and interpreted by teachers within their social fields. Rawolle and Lingard then, employing examples of the OECD and the measures and nomenclature developed for global educative evaluation, suggest the global education policy field as a theoretical frame. They explain that the “global education policy field denotes a space of policy practices, in which agents respond to different sets of global policy
pressures” (Rawolle & Lingard, 2008, p. 736). Subsequent research by Sellar and Lingard (2014) that employs the concept of the global education policy field conceptualized the OECD and the expansion of PISA testing around the world as a form of “epistemological governance” (p. 919). They find the PISA exam and its influence on OECD member states’ education policy to be a form of knowledge governance “created through numbers, statistics and data” (p. 931) and influenced by human capital and neoliberal perspectives in which individuals are trained to build up national economies. The global education policy field, therefore, is a useful theoretical tool for understanding the interactions and meaning making that interconnects the individual, local, national, and international contexts.

Foucault wrote extensively about power, knowledge, schooling and examination. As it applies to this study, Foucault conceptualizes examination as making power invisible but omnipresent (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984), correlating with Bourdieu’s proposal that exams are not value neutral, and in fact perpetuate values of the dominant class. As described in The Foucault Reader (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984), Foucault saw the examination as a shift away from power manifested in visible power over the body, such as through building designs that allowed for visible moments, the control over bodies in the army, and physical and visible control wielded through punishment. In contrast, the rise of the examination individualized people to measurable “cases” (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984, p. 204). The exam symbolized a measure of individuals, infused with power over knowledge that is valued. Thus, those creating and administering exams became the diffusers of knowledge. Examination as it pertains to Peruvian education policy is pertinent on two levels: First, the PISA exam can be seen as international power over knowledge production, making countries direct their attention to individual student test scores as they compare to students around the world. Secondly, teachers
subjected to examination to evaluate their level of quality as teachers is indicative of both power diffused from the Peruvian State, and the larger international power of knowledge production embodied in the PISA exam.

For the purpose of this research, Foucault’s work is particularly illuminating by problematizing the system of education, incorporating the role of power relations. Thomas (2008), in a synopsis of the magnitude of work by Foucault on power, explains that Foucault’s conceptualization of power was not physical, but an interconnectedness of many elements, characterized by domination and subordination, both external and internalized. Foucault articulated that power was “best when people did not notice it” (Thomas, 2008, p. 153). Resonant of Durkheim’s functionalist conceptualization of schools and teachers, education for Foucault is the extension of social control over the behavior of students (punctuality, hygiene, socially acceptable behavior and knowledge) that indirectly extends to family, community, and all of society. In this way, Deacon (2006) describes Foucault’s conceptualization of power as being lateral, shaping minds of students, and by extension, exercising control over society by indoctrinating students in the school with knowledge and information that is controlled from above.

The most comprehensive work that utilizes Foucault’s work in education policy analysis, and the sociology of education more broadly, is done by Stephen Ball (2006; 2013). Ball (2006) argues that much of the research done around education – focusing on teachers, schools, student, and communities – ignores policy as an influential power structure. The “moral economy” (Ball, 2006, p. 17) of policy influences the behavior of teachers and headmasters, and therefore, these actors cannot be studied as independent from the influence policy may hold over their actions, such as national curriculum, evaluation and student achievement standards. The influence of
policy on teachers’ actions, as well as the agency of teachers in interpreting policy, are described by Foucault as power-knowledge relations (Ball, 2013). The power-knowledge dynamic is one in which power shapes what knowledge is considered important, and how it should be conveyed. At the same time, a teacher’s power and agency deciphers and reacts to the knowledge they are meant to articulate. As Bell and Ashwood (2016) paraphrase, “[t]he structures of power shape both what we take to be knowledge and what knowledge we seek out.” (p. 109). Power-knowledge interactions, observable through rhetoric and expressed perceptions, are a key analytical tool to analyzing teacher perceptions of education policy.

In the introductory chapter of his 2006 book, *Education Policy and Social Class*, Ball suggests elements of education policy analysis that should not be overlooked. Resonant of the global education policy field, Ball’s first suggestion is to recognize the importance of exploring how policy evolves in terms of text production, implementation and change. The second is the relevance of history as inseparable from policy. An understanding of local, national and global historical relationships are paramount to painting a comprehensive picture of education policy production and implications. Ball characterizes the study of education policy as employing analysis from the macro and micro level in order to “account for agency in a constrained world, and show how agency and structure are implicit in each other, rather than being two poles of a continuum.” (Harker and May, 1997, p. 177 in Ball, 2006, p. 43).

Theoretically, Ball presents two main camps that have developed over time as approaches to studying education policy; one that emphasizes the “school effectiveness movement in general, with its emphasis on performativity” (2006, p. 21), and the other on “critical/social justice research” (p. 21). This division in theoretical framing is drawn from Moore’s (1996) construction of division between research ‘for’ and research ‘of’ policy (Moore, 1996, p. 159 in
Ball, 2006, p. 21). Research for policy, Ball suggests, would lead to research for practical application and would characterize teachers as “‘experts’ whose status must rest on demonstrable competence” (Hargreaves, 1996, p. 7 in Ball, 2006, p. 20). Ball advocates for an integrated theoretical approach, drawing heavily from both Bourdieu’s understanding of agency and structure and Foucault’s work on discourse. Indeed, Ball refers research on school effectiveness as “asociological” (2006, p. 61) for ignoring “context and complexity” (p. 61), making it malleable for politicians to create ‘politics of blame’. This blame, Ball suggests, is placed on implementers of policy rather than the policy itself, such as teacher competency being to blame for student achievement of failure. As ‘politics of blame’ continue to place undue burden on teachers to improve student outcomes, teachers act as receptor and creators of policy and knowledge. Rawolle and Lingard (2008) conceptualization of the global education policy field and Foucault’s concept of power-knowledge provide useful analytical tools for probing teacher perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law.

Sociological work on education has transitioned from its purely functionalist roots to a broader analysis that incorporates structures of power and dominance. The works of Dewey and Durkheim informed education scholars through most of the 20th century. Questions of persisting inequality gave rise to critical theory, reflected later in education scholarship that addressed societal and structural effects on education and learning. Works by Bourdieu and Foucault maintain a functional understanding of the role of schooling, but uncover patterns of power embedded in education as an institution and the practice of teachers. Finally, recent work by Ball provides a comprehensive framework for understanding education policy as it affects education and teaching. Ball suggests that education policy research must acknowledge history, context, and micro and macro influences that are compounded in the enactment of education policy. The
concepts and theoretical tools outlined here both guide and inform the design and analysis used to study teacher perceptions of the 2012 Peruvian Teacher Career Law.

Teacher Motivation and Evaluation

*Teacher Motivation*
   
   Neoliberal principles emphasizing standardization and meritocratic measures of competence have implications for teachers’ everyday lived experience, and thus student learning. Absent from both the CNE and the World Bank report is the analysis of teacher motivation. Rather, the 2012 Teacher Career Law is riddled with assumptions about teacher motivations for entering and staying in the field of teaching. Assumptions about teacher motivations can drive education policy geared at attracting, retaining or deterring teachers from the field. As discussed in chapter 1, the current international policy environment targets teacher quality, presuming a link between a teacher’s content knowledge and student performance. Therefore, this section will provide an overview of scholarship that addresses teacher motivation for entering the field and the current empirical evidence that explores the link between teacher evaluation measures and their impact on student outcomes.

   A widely held assumption is that teachers enter the field for intrinsic or altruistic reasons, including loving children, wanting to shape future generations, and wanting to contribute to society (Richardson et al., 2014). A number of studies have further explored this issue, investigating new education students about their motivations for entering the field (Oliart, 2007; Richardson et al., 2014; Saavedra & Diaz, 2001). Others have sought to out to investigate whether intrinsic or extrinsic incentives are more effective for enhancing teacher performance, and thus, presumably, student outcomes as well (Firestone, 2014; Pidello et al., 2013; Richardson et al., 2014). Beginning with the work of Firestone (2014), which provides functional definitions
of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as ideal types, I will provide an overview of the research around teacher motivation and the implications for this study.

Firestone (2014) presents a useful framework for understanding intrinsic and extrinsic motivation theories as they are applied to teacher evaluation policies. Firestone’s typology suggests that intrinsic and extrinsic motivation theories can be understood as ideal types, offering a number of examples of policies implemented based on one of the two theoretical underpinnings. His purpose in this piece is to “clarify their competing assumptions and recommendations and to identify more clearly their implications” (p. 100). According to Firestone, intrinsic motivation theory is understood as being psychology-based, and “assumes that people reward themselves in response to the feedback they receive from their work” (p. 101). Teachers that are intrinsically motivated would therefore feel good about their work based on student, principal, and community feedback. Firestone elaborates that intrinsic motivation is theoretically fueled by situations in which teachers can demonstrate their competency in an autonomous manner. Thus, policy designs that assume teachers are intrinsically motivated may set achievable goals for teachers to reach autonomously, such as student achievement on local or state tests. Extrinsic motivation, on the other hand, as a theoretical ideal-type, is an economic-based theory that “assumes that people respond to extrinsic incentives, including money” (Firestone, 2014, p. 101). Teachers that are extrinsically motivated would therefore perform best with measurable objectives met with financial rewards. Policy designed for extrinsically motivated teachers would focus on criteria and knowledge measures, such as having higher degrees or obtaining high scores on teacher competency exams, and would reward teachers financially based on meeting these measurable criteria.
Firestone’s (2014) typology is based on a number of studies that challenge policy designed under the assumption that teachers are either extrinsically or intrinsically motivated. For example, studies in New York and Texas found that performance-pay (offering teachers financial rewards for student performance on state exams) had no significant effects on student learning (Firestone, 2014). For the purpose of this study, Firestone’s insight that “evidence is discouraging about the efficacy of incentive programs using performance-based pay” (2014, p. 105), is of value in light of the 2012 Teacher Career Law, which offers salary increases to teachers that reach the required scores on content and theoretical knowledge-based exams. On the other hand, fewer studies have been done on intrinsic incentives for teachers. Firestone suggests that one major difficulty of designing policy for intrinsically motivated teachers is that teachers are likely to have variable and unique motivations for entering and remaining in the career. This creates a difficult conundrum for authorities charged with designing motivating initiatives that will retain highly qualified teachers. To guide education policymakers, Firestone cautions that policy employing incentives that appeal to teachers’ extrinsic motivations should not undermine teachers’ intrinsic motivations for being in the field. In particular, he refers to teacher autonomy and feedback as paramount to maintaining competent, intrinsically motivated teachers. However, the author is optimistic about extrinsic incentives such as offering higher salaries or bonuses to entice teachers to work in “hard-to-staff fields or schools” (p. 105).

Firestone’s study concludes by proposing work that still needs to be done, suggesting that a more encompassing framework is needed for understanding teacher motivation and evaluation.

Richardson et al. (2014) challenge a widely held assumption that teachers are intrinsically motivated by their love of children, arguing that there is little supporting empirical evidence due to a lack of studies on teachers’ motivations for entering the teaching profession. In fact, there is
evidence that in some countries, teachers enter the profession because it is perceived as being easy (Oliart, 2007), or because there is a higher level of job security in the teaching profession (Saavedra & Diaz, 2001). The authors therefore discuss three kinds of motivations for choosing the teaching career, intrinsic, altruistic and extrinsic. This study, therefore, extracts altruistic motivations from the umbrella term of intrinsic, introducing a more nuanced interrogation of teacher motivation. They did this to address previous theoretical inconsistencies in which some motivations (ie. loving children) were simultaneously referred to as altruistic motivation and intrinsic motivation in different literature. Richardson et al. then develop an FIT (Factors Influencing Teaching Choice) framework that incorporates both education and motivation theoretical conceptions of why teachers enter the profession. This framework was employed in survey form to incoming education students in eight different countries. They found that intrinsic reasons were more commonly referenced as motivation for teachers to enter the field, but that variations exist based on each country’s context (Richardson et al., 2014). For example, teachers in Turkey expressed job security as a reason for entering the field, reflecting state policies that provide a high level of job security. Richardson et al. (2014) thus provide a useful analytical tool for considering teacher motivation when entering the workforce. However, a comparative study using the FIT Framework has not been done in South or Central American countries. In fact, in Peru, in an independent study of education policy reform, Oliart (2007) found that the majority of teachers entering the field viewed it as a fallback career. Another study found that the majority of education students decided to study education for vocation (Alcázar and Balcázar, 2001).

In the Peruvian context, academic studies show variation on the factors that influence teachers’ choices for entering the teaching career. Thus, policy that seeks to motivate teachers extrinsically through merit-based economic schemes appears preemptive. Pidello et al. (2013)
conducted a nation specific study of teacher motivation in Argentina, focusing on why teachers choose to become teachers. In their study, they distinguish between motives and motivation, explaining that a motive is an individual trait, while motivation is the “activation of said motive” (Pidello et al., 2013, p. 115). Further, they refer to intrinsic motivation from a psycho-social framework as a form of character building. Extrinsic motivation, on the other hand, is viewed as having an “instrumental character” (p. 115) for the individual. The 150 interviews that these authors conducted with primary and secondary teachers revealed three general categories; a need to feel accomplished, a need for power, and a need for affiliation. The need to feel accomplished may consist of liking teaching, wanting to help kids, or to better themselves as professionals. The need for power, on the other hand, is characterized by more idealistic dreams of shaping future citizens and beliefs in the transformative power of education. Finally, the need for affiliation was described as entering the profession to improve self-esteem, personal satisfaction, or vocation. Pidello et al. conclude that one important factor in whether or not people decide to become teachers has to do with the broad perception of social esteem for teachers. As respect for Peruvian school teachers has been eroded by politicians and the media, outlined in preceding sections, this finding is relevant to the Peruvian context.

Teacher Evaluation

OECD countries have a wide variety of evaluation schemes (Vaillant, 2008). Vaillant suggests that this is due to differential legal frameworks that regulate the teaching profession in a number of developed and Latin American countries. They identify four evaluation strategies based on teacher experience, student learning outcomes, teachers’ classroom performance, and peer-to-peer evaluation between teachers. The 2012 Peruvian Teacher Career Law is unique in that it is characterized by linking individual teacher knowledge to salary and promotion, as
opposed to more common merit-pay schemes that link teacher salaries to student test scores. As was pointed out by Ellet and Teddlie (2003), teacher evaluation has been used primarily around the world to improve accountability, staff development or promotion. These authors note that teacher evaluation has infrequently been employed as a technique for improving school or teacher performance. Furthermore, studies have indicated inadequacies of performance-pay, teacher incentive schemes in improving student outcomes (Mitchell et al., 2001; Yuan et al., 2013). While some studies have sought to pinpoint teacher knowledge and experience that correlates with student achievement (Metzler & Woessman, 2010). Mitchell et al. (2001) postulate that the complexity of a teachers job makes it non-conducive to test based examination.

Nevertheless, merit-based or performance-based schemes have been expanding in a multitude of forms throughout Latin America (Gindin & Finger, 2013).

Mizala and Schneider (2014) point out that as middle-income countries reach education access goals, their attention transitions to improving schooling quality. This has resulted in countries, such as Chile and Peru, implementing performance-pay schemes for teachers to improve student testing outcomes. However, performance-pay policies have been met with resistance led by the teachers’ unions. In a study of teacher union response to performance-pay schemes in Chile, Mizala and Schneider (2014) point out that most of the literature on performance-pay schemes emphasize incentives, ignoring problems of the assessment itself. They found that the majority (67%) of teachers agreed with some form of performance evaluation, but less support was found among public school teachers (just over half). The authors attribute the successful implementation of performance-pay schemes to on-going negotiations with the teachers’ union, contrasting the Chilean case with one in Mexico in which the scheme was much less of a dialogue, and more of an imposition. They argue that improved teacher
salaries and long-term commitment to education reform (including teacher evaluation and performance-pay schemes) are keys to successful implementation. Such insights are pertinent in light of the 2012 Teacher Career Law, which has faced high levels of resistance and protest led by the Peruvian national teachers union (SUTEP).

To enhance performance-pay programs, economists have sought to pinpoint the qualities in a teacher that improve student learning outcomes (Baker et al., 2010; Hanushek & Rivkin, 2011; Metzler & Woessman, 2010). Mezler and Woessman (2010), for example, conducted a study in Peru after the implementation of the CPM law. They found that teacher subject knowledge “exerts a statistically and quantitatively significant impact on student achievement” (p. 1) by comparing student test scores with teacher results on the CPM evaluations. These authors note that a teachers experience and level of education are the most important for student outcomes. Baker et al. (2010) contend that standard-based evaluation of teachers has been shown to improve student test scores, but that such evaluation should be coupled with peer evaluation and assistance. In contrast, in their review of research on education and social stratification, Buchmann and Hannum (2001) argued that few studies have demonstrated causality between teacher quality and student achievement.

Researchers van der Tuin and Verger (2013) conducted a three-month field study in both rural and urban schools to analyze the effects of teacher evaluation in Peru. These authors characterize teacher evaluation as a globalizing phenomenon with a market-oriented model, “usually based on standardized testing and quantitative indicators, applied to individual teachers by an external authority and conducted through the imposition of sanctions and rewards according to results” (van der Tuin & Verger, 2013, p. 129). Conducted soon after the CPM was passed in 2007, van der Tuin and Verger sought to evaluate teacher’s thoughts and concerns...
about the CPM, interviewing 160 teachers between Lima, the capital city, and Cutervo, a rural
district of Cajamarca in northern Peru. These authors found that teachers identified a number of
“deeply problematic” (p. 134) elements of the new policy, many of which have since been
integrated, unchanged, into the 2012 Teacher Career Law. For example, teachers expressed
concern about the lack of support and professional development opportunities for incoming
teachers, the limitations of a written exam in capturing teacher competency and skill, and that the
written exams were not diversified based on the grade or specialty that the teacher instructs.
Teachers also commented that the evaluative exams reflected neither regional diversity nor
differences between rural and urban schools and teachers. Overall, these authors conclude that
teachers distrusted both the premise and the promise of higher pay via exam-based evaluation.

Employing a mixed-methods approach, Gastañadui (2013) used both surveys and in-
depth interviews to identify factors that influence teacher compliance with new laws stipulating
written evaluation for salary increase. Studying teachers in an urban setting of Northern Peru,
Gastañadui evaluated teachers’ motivations for voluntarily participating in the CPM. She found
that teachers’ attitudes toward evaluation were “negative in general” (2013, p. 93). Her study
revealed that, facing the 2012 Teacher Career Law, teachers were mostly dissatisfied with the
evaluation (68%), but that nearly 70% supported the concept of teacher evaluation. While
teachers in Gastañadui’s study did not think exams were adequate for measuring teacher
competency, the majority of teachers in her study felt that the incentives offered under the CPM
law would motivate teachers to enhance knowledge and performance. However, Gastañadui
observed that there was widespread concern about corruption in the implementation of
evaluation, and that losing tenure and benefits were the main reason for resisting.
Research on teacher motivation inform the analysis of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. The new law provides monetary incentives for teachers to improve their content and theoretical knowledge. Inherent in this legislation are three main assumptions; that teachers are extrinsically motivated, that a teacher’s content and theoretical knowledge is linked to teacher quality, and that student performance is linked to said teacher knowledge. The studies of Pidello et al. (2013) Oliart (2007), and Saavedra and Diaz (2001) demonstrate that teacher motivation for entering the field varies from person to person. Similarly, empirical studies evaluating the link between teacher knowledge and quality (as measured by student exams) have provided mixed results. Therefore, the 2012 Teacher Career Law’s explicit targeting of teacher quality through knowledge-based exams can be better understood in the larger international education policy neoliberal agenda detailed above.

In light of the Gastañadui’s (2013) and van der Tuin and Verger’s (2013) studies, this study contributes updated and further nuanced insight as to teacher perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. Passed five years after the CPM, the 2012 Teacher Career Law makes teacher evaluation based on knowledge-based exams mandatory for promotion, rather than optional as under the CPM. This study contributes additional nuance through exploring whether the incentives offered through the 2012 Teacher Career Law match teachers’ motivations for becoming teachers, and by explicitly differentiating between rural and urban teachers’ perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. Finally, by employing Ball’s historical, contextual and micro/macro political analysis as a framework for analysis, this study contextualizes the education reform and teacher perspectives within a larger, international neoliberal agenda in which teachers actions both respond to and are acted upon by policy.
Framing the Analysis of the 2012 Teacher Career Law

The overview of literature on the neoliberalization of education, sociology of education, and teacher motivation and evaluation guide the theoretical framework that will be used in the analysis of this study on teacher perceptions of the Peruvian 2012 Teacher Career Law. The diagram below depicts how interview data will be contextualized, encompassed by individual, state, and international interactions of power and knowledge.
The diagram depicts international, state and local interactions as spaces for power and knowledge to be created, enacted, and disputed. In this framework, international actors, such as the OECD, are understood as having a role in national education policy. This role can be understood as “epistemological governance” (Sellar & Lingard, 2014, p. 919) that favors
quantitative measures of educational quality through the standardization of student learning outcomes. This approach is decidedly neoliberal in that it demands measurable changes based on quality and market-indicators created by international institutions with the goal of developing national economies. The neoliberal values embodied in this evaluation paradigm are then diffused across national boundaries, adopted through national laws governing local places and bodies – schools and teachers – who then become both agents of neoliberal educational reform and subjects to be governed through surveillance mechanisms such as individual evaluations.

Teachers themselves can thus be considered as the agents of change, or what Foucault refers to as participants in the production of power and knowledge as well as subjects of external control through monitoring and evaluative measures (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984). Yet, teachers are not just passive bystanders. They are also active in creating discourses of contestation and power, shaped by their understandings of education as international, national, local, and social. Thus, the purpose of this study is to further understand how teachers perceive and respond to neoliberal educational reform by examining the daily lived experience of rural and urban teachers under the 2012 Teacher Career Law.
Chapter 3: Methods

This study applies qualitative methods to investigate teacher perceptions of the Peruvian 2012 Teacher Career Law. Through personal, in-depth interviews, this study seeks to portray teacher motivations and concerns related to changing education policy in Peru. This study builds upon previous research on teacher perceptions education policy reforms in Peru in two ways. First, it adds nuance and depth of teacher responses by employing qualitative interview techniques that allow for teachers to elaborate on their understanding of the new law. Unlike previous work, it focuses on differences between rural and urban teacher perceptions. The empirical findings are based on qualitative fieldwork conducted in the department of Cajamarca, Peru over a period of six weeks in May and June of 2015. In total, 70 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 40 primary and 30 secondary public school teachers, 46 from schools in rural areas and 24 from schools in urban areas. The qualitative data analysis software package Nvivo was used to code the transcribed interviews into emergent themes related to the three research questions.

Research Questions

Qualitative research is inherently interpretive, attempting to explain social meaning prescribed to the material and social world or a particular phenomenon (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Given the broad scope of qualitative research strategies and definitions in the literature, Ritchie and Lewis (2003) offer six commonly agreed upon characteristics of qualitative research. These include; 1) being directed toward an in-depth understanding of the experiences, perceptions, and histories of research participants, 2) consisting of small sample sizes that are purposefully selected, 3) methods of data collection that typically involve being in close contact with research participants which “allow[s] for emergent issues to be explored” (p. 5), 4) detailed, rich and
extensive data, 5) “analysis which is open to emergent concepts and ideas” (p. 5) and 6) analytical outputs that emphasize participant understanding and interpretation of the social world. For this project, the research questions were designed to be both explanatory and evaluative, requiring questions of *how* and *why* as opposed to the *who, what, and where* questions associated with quantitative research (Ritchi & Lewis, 2003).

Qualitative research that employs in-depth interviews as a data collection strategy aim to gather rich and detailed understanding of social issues, to “understand complex processes” (Ritchi & Lewis, 2003, p. 60), as well as in instances in which participants are involved in power and status dynamics. Qualitative research lends itself to explanatory research goals, aiming to reveal factors, motivations, origins of, and contexts in which experiences and phenomena occur. Evaluative research is commonly associated with policy research, attempting to identify factors that lead to its successful implementation. As the 2012 Peruvian Teacher Career Law is conceptualized as an extension of neoliberal educational paradigms adopted by the national government, teacher perceptions of the new law in this qualitative research will provide insight as to *how* and *if* such neoliberal practices are understood. As agents of education at the local level, teacher perceptions will illuminate possible shortcomings and pitfalls of the new law. Questions were designed to identify teacher perceptions of particular elements of the new law in order to evaluate possible confines that facilitate or inhibit its successful implementation. Given the purpose of this study, the research questions are as follows:

**Research Question 1**: Within the context of international education reform and the 2012 Teacher Career Law in particular, how do public school teachers in rural and urban areas perceive their role?

**Research Question 2**: In what ways, if any, do rural and urban teacher perceptions of education reform differ? And, why?
**Research Question 3**: How do the career incentives associated with the 2012 Teacher Career Law compare with what teachers express as their motivations for being in the field?

As a result of inductive analysis, the research questions for this study have changed over the course of the project. Consistent with the tenets of grounded theory, research questions can and should change as the research project evolves, responsive to recurring themes (Strauss, 1990). Therefore, the research questions above were the result of a both theoretical and reflective practice, ultimately designed to reveal patterns of similarities and difference in understandings of the 2012 Teacher Career Law between and across teachers in both rural and urban areas. I now turn to a detailed discussion of the methodological design used in this study.

Methodological Overview

This study complements previous studies on coastal and urban schools (Gastañadui, 2013; van der Tuin & Verger, 2013⁶), indigenous speaking families, socioeconomic factors influencing children’s educational outcomes (Cueto et al., 2009; Thorp & Paredes, 2010) and teacher absenteeism and placement (Alcázar, 2006; Baanante, 2005) by focusing on teacher perceptions of the most recent education policy, contextualizing teacher experiences within larger national and international agendas. Methodologically, the research design used in this study builds on those of Gastañadui (2013) and van der Tuin and Verger (2013). The first was a research project conducted in 2013 by a graduate student researcher from the University of Texas, who explored teacher resistance to the Public Magisterial Career (CPM) law in Peru, passed in 2007 (Gastañadui, 2013). This study analyzed teachers’ reasons for resisting or

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⁶ Van der Tuin and Verger (2013) incorporated one province of Cajamarca in their research on the effects of in-service teacher evaluations, focusing on a legal framework that has since been absorbed into the more recent new Teacher Career Law.
complying with new legal framework. Using a mixed-method design, Gastañadui combined survey and interview data from a city on the northern coast of Peru. Gastañadui used convenience-sampling techniques to survey 433 teachers from four schools in demographically similar locations around the capital city of a coastal department called La Libertad. Of this sample, 222 were female and 211 were male, and 38 were considered compliant compared to 375 who were resistant. From the survey sample, she interviewed 20 purposefully selected teachers representing her dichotomy of interest, those resistant to the new law, and those who were compliant. In her study, Gastañadui did not include teachers from rural areas, nor did she include primary level teachers, both of which are incorporated into the study presented here.

Given the researcher’s interest in compliance and resistance, Gastañadui asked a number of questions related to teacher motivation for participating in teacher exams and teacher understanding of the new law. Conceptualizing motivations as being affected by both internal and external factors, Gastañadui found that the majority of teachers in her sample expressed distrust in the government to follow through with paying higher salaries they were promised through the CPM. Distrust in the examination itself was also frequently bought up, revealing fears of corruption in the evaluation process. Most teachers in her study agreed that evaluations linked to salary increases would motivate teachers, but they did not think this would improve student test scores. Finally, Gastañadui’s study revealed that teachers overall did not agree with a removal of benefits and tenure, an element of the CPM.

The second study, occurring nearly simultaneously, was that of van de Tuin and Verger (2013). These researchers evaluated the shortcoming of teacher evaluation policy in Peru. Their study is based on research around teacher evaluation policies more broadly, complemented by three-months of fieldwork conducted in 2010 in Lima and Cutervo (district of Cajamarca) that
included interviews with 33 school principals and school administrators, and surveyed 160 teachers. Differentiating from Gastañadui’s (2013) research, they included both rural and urban teacher voices and made pointed observations about rural-urban difference in terms of barriers to rural teacher participation. Absent from their analysis however, are differentiated perceptions between rural and urban teachers. Van der Tuin and Verger instead refer to rural and urban difference in terms of material and contextual difference. Overall, they found that teachers agreed with the intent of the CPM, to improve teacher quality. In addition, the teachers in their study overwhelmingly agreed that teachers should be evaluated. However, this was stipulated by the fact that teachers expressed disagreement with evaluations being linked to punitive measures. Thus, they found that the elements of the CPM that teachers brought up most frequently were those related to its negative elements, such as the possibility of getting fired and limited benefits. Finally, similar to Gastañadui’s findings, van der Tuin and Verger found that teachers did not trust the government to faithfully implement the law.

The research presented here builds upon the work of Gastañadui (2013) and van der Vuin and Verger (2013) by moving beyond the 2007 Public Magisterial Career law (CPM) and providing additional nuance to rural-urban teacher difference. On the one hand, Gastañadui provides insight into teacher motivation and perceptions of the CPM, but excludes rural and primary level teachers from the analysis. Van der Tuin and Verger address rural and urban teacher contextual realities in their analysis, but do not differentiate rural and urban teacher perceptions. Finally, both studies refer to teacher perceptions of the CPM, which has since been incorporated into the Reformed Teacher Career Law of 2012, making merit-based evaluation unavoidable for public school teachers who would like to ascend to a higher pay grade (“Ley de Reforma Magisterial,” 2013). This study will fill this gap in existing literature, illuminating
teacher perceptions to a new, obligatory legal framework in which they are all subsumed, and highlighting rural-urban differences in teacher perceptions. Confronted now with the inevitability of merit-based evaluation, this research explores rural and urban teachers disparities in terms of their perceptions of the new law and expressed workplace incentives.

Peru provides fertile analytical ground for understanding teacher perceptions of education policy changes within the context of a neoliberal national government and international actors. A far cry from the teacher career path established in 1984, the current system encourages competition-based evaluation under the banner of meritocracy. While the previous teaching career was one that afforded stability, guaranteed pay-raises every 3-5 years, and a pension after 25-30 years of service, the current competition-based meritocratic system conditions pay-raises with teacher quality, as measured by their performance on knowledge-based exams. Shedding light on what teachers make of such a change provides insight into the implications of neoliberal reforms on the individuals that interpret and enact education policy in their everyday actions.

The influence of the World Bank and the OECD in shaping Peru’s current education policy provide an arena in which the neoliberal paradigm is enacted in power-knowledge relations in the everyday action of teachers. The qualitative methods employed in this study allow for deep, nuanced understanding of individual teachers’ perceptions of the new law, offering insight into how individuals employ agency in the face of education policy reform by both absorbing and contesting the dominant neoliberal paradigm that affects their everyday, lived experiences. Semi-structured interviews allow teachers to reveal, react to, interpret, and enact education policy in variable ways.
Compared to some of Peru’s regional neighbors, the transition to incorporating neoliberal ideals into education policy is relatively new and still in transition. Indeed, as noted by Corzo et al. (2011), neoliberal policies have greatly influenced education policy in Latin America since the 1970s. For example, education in Chile was “constructed under the neoliberal model” (Matear, 2007, p. 101) since the 1970s. As such, Chile’s education model emphasizes school choice, privatizations, and pay-for-performance compensation. On the other hand, Mexico and Brazil have restructured their education to be largely decentralized, relying on community leadership and management (Conteras & Rice, 2009; da Silva & Abreu, 2010). As discussed in chapter 2, the effects of the education models employed by these countries have been widely analyzed by social researchers, who note growing inequality and stratification of school attendance and learning outcomes (Cabalin, 2012; Jensen et al., 2012; Matear, 2007; Mizala &

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Schneider, 2014). Peru’s 2012 Teacher Career Law can be understood within the context of this neoliberal agenda. The recent adoption of neoliberal ideology into Peru’s education legislation thus provides a unique analytical backdrop through which in-depth interviews with teacher participants are designed to shed light on how Peruvian teachers perceive, adopt and resist policy change in these early stages.

The research questions, site, and interview design developed for this study followed a comprehensive literature review presented in chapter 2. This study was guided by an exploration of the literature on education sociology, neoliberalism in education policy, and teacher motivation, aiming to situate the teachers’ experience within changing national education policy in Peru. Pertinent to this study was understanding changing education policy as a globalizing trend that emphasizes quality in education, placing the onus of change on the shoulders of teachers, who play the role of educators in society. As such, this research project is guided by the tenets of grounded theory in that it is meant to evaluate education policy in Peru inductively (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

To pursue emerging themes, the interviews were designed to provide nuance in terms of teacher perceptions of the new law. Participants were encouraged with follow-up probing questions to elaborate on their perceptions. Furthermore, teachers were asked questions about the different elements of the law (such as the evaluative exam and teacher training) in order to provide an in-depth understanding of teacher perceptions. Subsequent coding of the data was done so as to enable themes to emerge from the data. The data is drawn from 70 semi-structured interviews in Cajamarca, Peru. The following sections discuss site selection, sample selection, data collection strategy, and analysis.
Site Selection

As described above, Peru provides an appropriate backdrop for research on teacher perceptions of education legal changes housed within a neoliberal agenda. Peru is the third-largest country in South America, typically considered to have three geographically distinct regions; the coast, the Andean highland region, and the jungle (Browning, 2002). However, participatory land use policy efforts in Peru have increasingly adopted a model that incorporates indigenous knowledge, identifying eight ecologically distinct regions of the country (Zimmerer and Bell, 2013). The rich ecological variety in the country generates particular challenges to policy implementation, as policy created in the nation’s capital is often communicated and implemented unevenly across the country (Alsop, Ames, Arroyo & Dippo, 2010). In terms of political boundaries, the country is divided into 24 departments, each broken into provinces and further sub-divided into districts. National public schools are managed at the provincial level by a decentralized government agency or Local School Management Board or Unidad de Gestion Educativa Local (UGEL) (World Bank, 2007). My study was conducted in the Cajamarca department, containing thirteen different provinces. The discussion below will outline the rational for selecting Cajamarca both at the departmental and regional level. Cajamarca was selected as the study site for its regional comparability in terms of student outcomes and teacher employment in rural and urban areas.

The department of Cajamarca is divided into 13 provinces and 127 districts as of 2014 (INEI, 2014). At the departmental level, Cajamarca is the ideal location for research on teacher perceptions of the new law for three reasons. First, the Cajamarca department has the largest population of teachers compared to other Andean departments. Overall, the Andean highlands are home to 40% of the Peruvian population (Thorp & Paredes, 2010), and home to 21% of the nation’s public school teachers (Cuenca & Stojnic, 2008). Second, Cajamarca has the largest
percentage of teachers working in rural areas, making up precisely half of all teachers in the department work in rural schools; including 43% of all primary teachers and 59% of all secondary teachers (MINEDU, 2016). Finally, as will be further elaborated below, Peruvian student evaluation exams reveal that Cajamarca student learning outcomes are comparable with other Andean departments. Given Cajamarca’s teacher representativeness and comparable student outcomes in relation to departments in the Andean region, it provides a suitable site for the purpose of this study.

In 2015, Cajamarca was home to 26,816 public school teachers, making it the third largest department in terms of number of public school teachers after Lima and La Libertad (MINEDU, 2016). As shown in Table 5 below, Cajamarca has the second largest number of primary teachers within a department, and the third largest number of secondary teachers. As of 2015, the Cajamarca department had the largest percentage of teachers within a department working in rural schools. Huncavelica and Amazaons closely follow, at 49% and 48% respectively. For comparison, only 20% of Peruvian public school teachers work in rural areas at the national level as of 2015. However, that number increases to 32% of teachers in the Andean region (MINEDU, 2016). The large number of teachers in Cajamarca and the equitable amount of teachers in both rural and urban areas facilitates analytical comparison between urban and rural teacher perspectives. Cajamarca is a relevant and important site in which to study teacher perceptions given the large population of teachers and the distribution of teachers in rural and urban areas.
The Andean region is also one in which educational disparities are particularly acute. In Cajamarca, over 90% of rural, primary students did not reach a satisfactory math comprehension level in 2014, and over 80% did not achieve satisfactory reading levels, according to the annual, internal student evaluation exams referred to as ECE (UMC, 2016). This is comparable with
other Andean departments, such as in Huanuco, where 90% of rural students did not achieve satisfactory learning levels in math, and 88% in reading comprehension. Students in departments that are geographically located entirely or predominantly\(^8\) within the Andean region, such as Huancavelica, La Libertad, and Ancash obtained similar learning outcomes. The 2014 ECE reveals that 16 of 24 departments in which less than 30% of students achieved satisfactory math comprehension levels. Half of these 16 departments are located entirely or mostly in the Andean region (MINEDO, 2016). According to the 2014 ECE student test scores in math comprehension, Cajamarca’s student average satisfactory exam scores were 12 percentage points below the national average\(^9\) (UMC, 2016). The majority of departments (11) within the Andean region were below the national average for math comprehension in 2014, with the exception of Arequipa, Junin and Piura. Faring slightly better in reading comprehension for the same year, Cajamarca student outcomes were comparable with students in six other Andean departments that fell below the national average. In both cases, rural students in Cajamarca obtained significantly lower learning achievement levels than their urban cohort. However, Cajamarca’s rural student body performs similar to the rest of the country’s students, with nearly 20% of students reaching satisfactory learning levels for reading comprehension in 2014 (compared to 17% nationally), and 18% in math comprehension (compared to 13% nationally). This outline of Cajamarca’s student performance on nationally administered learning exams demonstrates Cajamarca’s comparability with other departmental student outcomes in the Andean region.

Together, the northern and central Andean regions have had the highest number of students enrolled in school that either drop out or fail, indicating a particular issue of student

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\(^8\) A number of departmental geographic boundaries span from the Western coastline into the Andean mountain range. These include: La Libertad, Ancash, Lima, and Arequipa.

\(^9\) National ECE Math Comprehension Average in 2014 = 43.5
Cajamarca ECE Math Comprehension Average in 2014 = 31.6
retention in that region of the country (Thorp & Paredes, 2010). Additionally, the Cajamarca department is the second poorest in the country and suffers from a high level of socio-environmental conflict pertaining to the mining industry (Bury, 2005; Steel, 2012). Natural resource extraction is an issue that is pertinent in Peru and South America, affecting rural communities around the country implicated by an increase peasant protests (Damonte & Vila, 2014). While the socioeconomic implications of natural resource extraction are beyond the scope of this study, it is noteworthy due to its relationship with public education, and for contextualizing teacher responses from the region.

At the provincial level, this study was conducted in the Cajamarca province of the Cajamarca department. Of the department’s 14 provinces, more than half contain ten or more districts. Home to the departmental capital city, Cajamarca is the fourth largest province in the department in terms of number of districts, and home to 19% of inhabitants in the department, making it the most populated province (OGIE, 2015). Furthermore, the Cajamarca province was selected due to researcher familiarity and contacts within the province, which facilitated access to research participants, and eased budgetary and time constraints (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). Established contacts in the province enabled a quicker establishment of rapport with participants, offering access to respondent perspectives in a cross-cultural setting (Ryen, 2001). Such access was valuable in coordinating school visits. Typically, only one rural school could be reached per day and required previous coordination with knowledgeable insiders to identify when and where transportation for each school could be accessed. Rural schools often required leaving at the break of dawn, infrequent and lengthy public (and sometimes private) transportation, and often an additional 30-60 minutes on foot to reach the school grounds. Therefore, concentrating the sample in a relatively smaller geographical area reduced the cost and time required for lengthy
travel, permitting more interviews to be conducted until saturation of perspective was achieved (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 in Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Saturation of perspective refers to a point in which the research hears the “same matters over and over again” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 68), and the researcher is not learning anything new from additional interviews that will contribute to answering the research questions.

**Figure 8: Map of the Cajamarca Department**

![Map of the Cajamarca Department](http://www.cuscotouristinformation.com/Info/Cajamarca.html)

Figure 8 above shows the location of the Cajamarca province within the department. Concentrating in one geographic region of the country limits the generalizability of this study’s findings to the Andean region. Teachers in different regions of Peru face variable degrees of

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union (SUTEP) influence and contextual differences. For example, the Andean region has traditionally had a higher active presence and influence of SUTEP compared to the coastal and jungle regions (Gastañadui, 2013). Furthermore, some regions speak a range of different local dialects and languages other than Spanish (Oliart, 2013). However, the Andean region is home to over a third of the population of Peru (INEI, 2015), and therefore provides pertinent insights unto the effective implementation of the 2012 Teacher Career Law.

Data Collection Strategy

This study consisted of two phases. The first phase included seeking permission and assistance from the local school board authorities, and the second, data collection. During the first phase of research, the Local Education Management Unit (UGEL) of Cajamarca was contacted through formal documentation (see Appendix C) about the purpose and scope of the study. The UGEL is the evaluative authority of schools in the province, and serve as the gatekeepers to communication with public schools (Singleton & Straits, 2010). Gatekeepers, according to Singleton and Straits (2010) are those people whose “permission is needed to conduct research in their setting” (p. 589). Therefore, seeking their written approval before contacting individual schools was pertinent. Cooperation with the local UGEL increased the internal validity of the study by minimizing possible misperceptions about the study, as the description of the study was offered both verbally and in written form through a document written by the UGEL (Singleton & Straits, 2010). On the other hand, there is a possibility that teacher participants associated me with the UGEL, rather than an independent researcher. In order to avoid such misconceptions, my status as a researcher independent of the UGEL was specified before each participant interview. Overall, as shown in Table 6 below, 46 rural and 24 urban teachers were interviewed, including 40 primary level teachers and 30 secondary level
teachers of which 7 were school principals. As will be discussed below, the sampling strategy for teachers in rural areas and urban areas differed to some extent. Therefore, the following sections are divided as to differentiate between sampling procedures for teachers in rural and urban areas.

**Table 6: Demographic Profile of Interview Participants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Peru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Participants</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># Schools</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary teachers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary teachers</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenured</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>60*</td>
<td>(82.5)%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contracted</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8*</td>
<td>(17.5)% (2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average # of years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working as teacher</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principals</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = Missing cases,

Peruvian National Statistics in 2015, obtained from:

2002 Data obtained from: Alcazar et al., 2006
Sample Selection: Rural Public School Teachers

The second phase of research consisted of data collection, for which a sample was drawn in multiple steps. First, a list of all of the public schools under the province’s authority classified as either urban or rural was obtained from the Cajamarca UGEL and used as a sampling frame. Individual public school teachers and principals at the primary and secondary school levels were the unit of analysis in this study. The Cajamarca province contains 119 primary and secondary public schools in which 1,551 teachers were employed at the time of the study. In order to enhance the study’s credibility, a variety of teacher perspectives were necessary, and thus the inclusion of primary and secondary level public school teachers permitted a range of teacher experiences to be expressed, irrespective of years of service, tenure status, gender, or specialty (Rubin & Rubin, 2005b). This sampling strategy also ensures broad generalizability of the research findings to the larger Cajamarca department, as many teacher perspectives and experiences are included (Singleton & Straits, 2010).

Public school teachers are a highly visible study population in the sense that they are easily identified and located within schools (Biernackie & Waldorf, 1981). In order to identify individual teachers, a systematic, multi-stage, cluster sampling design was conducted, first of schools and then of teachers and principals within schools (Singleton & Straits, 2010). First, a stratified sample of schools as either rural or urban was drawn, using the provincial UGEL categorization. This was done to reduce heterogeneity between sources (Singleton and Straits, 2010). Rural schools frequently required extensive time and transportation to access. Therefore, in order to maximize potential for subject participation, only schools classified as rural with more than five teachers were included in the sample. Out of 53 total rural schools, fifteen had five teachers or more, making up the first stage of cluster sampling. The second stage of
sampling, selection of teachers to be interview participants, will be discussed below in the section titled ‘Participant Selection’.

Sample Selection: Urban Public School Teachers

Rubin and Rubin (2005) describe thoroughness as “investigating new paths as they crop up, redesigning the study as often as necessary to pursue these new directions” (p. 74). Similarly, Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe open-sampling as constantly evolving and adjusting as one discovers “what to ask, and where to look” (p. 183). These concepts apply to the evolution of my study, as the original project design did not include a sample of teachers from the urban center. This was due to anticipated delays in obtaining approval from the UGEL, and time and budgetary constraints of reaching an adequate number of rural teachers to interview. However, due to a high rate of teacher interest and engagement with the subject, a higher number of interviews in rural areas were conducted than originally anticipated. After the number of rural interviews was deemed to be sufficient based on Glaser and Strauss’ saturation of perspective (1967, in Rubin & Rubin, 2005), I employed Rubin and Rubin’s (2005) concept of thoroughness, and grounded theory’s conceptualization of open-sampling to include an additional sample of teachers in urban areas (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Explicit, written permission to include teachers from urban schools was sought and obtained in the fourth week of study from the Cajamarca UGEL. Again, because teachers and principals are embedded within schools, the urban school sample was first drawn at the school level. Urban schools in Peru tend to have many more teachers on staff, thus requiring a smaller number of school visits to reach the target population. Three primary and three secondary schools were purposefully selected to represent the Cajamarca public school spectrum, consisting of 43 primary schools and 24 secondary schools. The advantage of purposeful sampling of urban
schools was to provide for a wider variety of teacher perspectives working within different student population environments (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Among Cajamarca city’s schools, 8% of schools are all female student institutions, 9% are all male, and 83% are mixed-gender institutions. However, while a small percentage of the city’s schools were all-male or all-female, a proportionately larger number of teachers worked in one-gender schools. In total, 19% of the city’s teachers worked in all-boys schools, and 17% in all-girls schools, making up almost 36% of the city’s teachers. Due to time and financial constraints, one primary and one secondary urban school of each student-body makeup were purposefully sampled, relying on referral for the selection of each individual school. Referrals were made by a key informant familiar with the city’s schools and the purpose of the study. By key informant, I employ Warren’s (2001) operationalization of a native speaker in the sense that they have “inside knowledge of some social world.” (Spradley, 1979 in Warren, 2001, p. 10).

While the UGEL distinguished between rural and urban, they did not categorize marginally-urban or pilot schools. Incidentally, it is notable that two of the urban schools visited were considered marginally-urban, and two schools were pilot schools. I determined whether or not a school was marginally-urban based on interview participants describing the school as marginally-urban, and identifying displays of the description of the school as marginally-urban on school plaques and documents. Pilot schools refer to schools selected by the national Ministry of Education in the 2015 school year to pilot new school hours, extending the typical Peruvian school day from 8am – 1pm (5 hours), to 8am – 3pm (7 hours). One of the urban schools and two or the rural schools in this study’s sample were pilot schools. The following section will address how individual teachers and principals within the sampled schools were selected to participate in interviews.
Sample Description

Individual teacher participants within the sampled schools were selected using systematic chain-referral, or, snowball sampling (Singleton & Straits, 2010). Participant sampling was systematic in that I went from teacher to teacher within a school, allowing me to “uncover more subtle differences than might be evident” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 184). In the majority of schools, the principal, considered the gatekeeper of each academic institution, suggested teachers within the school for interview. Based on recommendation, teachers were then approached to request an interview. In some cases, the principal accompanied the researcher to make this request. While the principal’s request for an interview may introduce bias, it was deemed culturally inappropriate to refute a principal’s authority in such circumstances. In total, 50 teachers from 13 rural schools and 20 teachers from 6 urban schools were interviewed. Table 6 provides a breakdown of the demographic profile of the teacher participants included in the sample, with national statistics in the far for comparison, right-hand column from 2013, and some from 2002 (indicated in parenthesis).

Including a wide variety of teachers and principals in the sample with different experiences and backgrounds increases the credibility of the study by incorporating a “variety of perspectives” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 70), allowing the researcher to capture “nuanced understanding that different individuals hold” (p. 70). In addition to the 70 teachers and principals interviewed, two representatives of the UGEL and one sociology professor at La Catolica university were interviewed about their perceptions of the Teacher Career Law. These final three interviews were not recorded, but detailed field notes were taken during and after the interviews.
Procedure

A semi-structured, open-ended interview tool was designed in order to obtain depth, nuance and richness (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). In-depth interviews are practical for research that seeks to obtain “in-depth, personal accounts” (Richie and Lewis, 2003, p. 60), and information on motivations, impacts, decisions and outcomes. The interview tool was evaluated by Rural Sociology faculty members at the Pennsylvania State University and revised accordingly (See Appendix B). A native Spanish-speaking faculty member reviewed the Spanish translation of the questions for accuracy. Questions were organized into four parts. The first set of questions served the purpose of gathering demographic and background data on teachers, such as how many years they have taught and where they were trained. The subsequent set of questions addressed teacher motivation, followed by a number of questions addressing teachers’ understanding and perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. Finally, teachers were asked about their perceptions in regards to access to teacher trainings and the adequacy of the teacher evaluation exams. These final questions were designed to gain nuanced understandings of teacher perceptions of the different elements included in the 2012 Teacher career law.

Approval for participant selection, the interview tool, and the interview process was sought from and approved by Penn State’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) prior to embarking on the research project. All interviews took place on the school grounds in locations such as the teacher’s lounge, the principal’s office, or in the participant’s classroom. All interviews were conducted one-on-one and were recorded on an audio recording device. Interviews lasted an average length of 23 minutes. However, a wide range of interviewing times, from 8 minutes to an hour and 44 minutes, is attributed to the nature of semi-structured interviews, which allow

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11 See appendix B
12 See appendix C
interview subjects to provide detail and clarification to their statements (Richie & Lewis, 2003). Occasionally, the interviews were interrupted by students, colleagues, or the principal. In such circumstances, the audio-recorder was paused while the participant responded. Before each interview, the purpose of the study and some of the topics to be covered were explained briefly to the interview subject. Teachers were assured that the information they provided would be anonymous in any future written work. Verbal informed consent was then sought for all participants in order to proceed with the interview. Separate informed consent to audio-record the interview was also obtained verbally before initiating the interview. All but one interview was recorded on an audio recorder. In the singular case that audio was not available, the researcher took detailed notes during and after the interview.

Guided by the research questions, the interview tool consisted of open-ended questions in which teachers and principals could elaborate on their views, insights and understandings. I sought to explore the issue of changing legal frameworks and incentives for teachers and principals in greater depths, utilizing Rubin and Rubin’s (2005) river and channel approach to interviewing. The analogy of a river refers to the flow of the interview proceeding down a guided path, with channels allowing for unanticipated topics and themes to emerge and be explored as they surface. Interview questions were focused on respondents’ motivations for becoming teachers, opinions of the new Teacher Career Law, and assessments of teacher evaluation and teacher trainings. In order to be thorough, follow-up questions and probes were employed when new ideas or information about the research topic emerged (Rubin & Rubin 2005).

Data Analysis

Grounded theory, while having undergone many changes, is still based on the “pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis” and “inductive construction of abstract categories
that explain and synthesize [these] processes” (Charmaz, 2002, quoted in Marvasti, 2004, p. 85), among other elements. Guided by grounded theory, emergent themes were noted during the data collection phase, as commonalities in responses surfaced. Interview data were then transcribed in Spanish, first to Microsoft Word and then uploaded into NVivo. The interviews were transcribed in Spanish to avoid translation inaccuracies associated with translation at this early stage (Temple, Edwards, and Alexander, 2006). As a competent, Spanish as a second language speaker, I felt competent in my ability to accurately transcribe the original interviews. NVivo software was used for subsequent coding and analysis. Broad codes were created that corresponded to each of the three research questions. As recurring themes emerged in the first transcriptions, codes were designated in English to facilitate later categorization using open-coding techniques (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Parallel to coding in NVivo, an excel spread sheet was created to organize and analyze quantitative data including; participant tenure status, years teaching, gender, number of students in the classroom, and previous participation in the evaluative teacher exams.

As with all qualitative analysis, some researcher discretion was necessary. As a Spanish as a second language speaker, there was a possibility for omitted or misinterpreted nuance of teacher perceptions, as well as a lack of full understanding of culturally embedded references. Therefore, whenever possible, participants were asked to clarify their meaning. In the coding process, content with unclear or disputable meaning were omitted.

Researcher Positionality

Nencel (2014) discusses research positionality as a reflexive exercise in which the researcher reveals her “assumptions, histories and identity and how they influenced the construction of intersubjective research relations” (p. 76). This exercise, argues Nencel, would
ideally occur both before, during, and after a research project, and is pertinent to constructing accurate and measured representations of the voices expressed in text. May and Perry (2011) define research reflexivity as “the ways in which the actions and understandings of researchers contribute to the modes in which research practices are constituted” (p. 84). As the researcher for this project, it is therefore relevant to point out that I am United States citizen, native English-speaking female. I am also a fluent, non-native Spanish speaker with four years of experience living and working in both rural and urban areas of Peru. Notably, before embarking on this research project, I had worked in Peru on a number of teacher training projects in rural and urban schools. It is through this previous experience that I witnessed teachers react to changes in the legislative frameworks that governed their work-place realities. This experience is relevant to both my motivation for selecting my research topic, and shaping the experiential lens from which I have been exposed to the teaching profession in Peru. Finally, throughout the research process, I have been cognizant that my accent, physical appearance and gender as a researcher in a foreign country influence how I am perceived and how participants interact with me. My semi-insider and simultaneous outsider status therefore affords some limitations. I cannot, for example, evaluate the degree to which respondents edited their answers based on their perceptions of what I may want to hear. However, my foreign status also affords me a number of opportunities. Most notable is the pleasant and warm welcome I was consistently afforded in rural settings. In places where interactions with foreigners may be uncommon and infrequent, my arrival to different rural sites was often treated with kindness, openness and respect.

Limitations

A number of limitations can be identified the chosen methodology for this study. First, this study is limited in generalizability of the analysis and conclusions. In order to get a more comprehensive picture of public school teacher and principal motivation in Peru under the new
legal framework, a more representative sample should be drawn representing the different ecological regions of the country. Depending on whether a teacher works in the coast, the Andes, or the rainforest is significant due to the diverse work-place challenges and cultural difference. For example, students in the Andes or the jungle regions may begin school without being able to speak Spanish. These regions have a rich diversity of local dialects and languages, adding to the complexity of teachers’ work (Oliart, 2013). However, consistency with previous findings from van der Tuin and Verger’s previous work in Cutervo, Cajamarca, add reliability to the findings (Singleton & Straits, 2010). Recommendations for future research on this topic would include the southern and central Andes, coastal regions, and the Amazon basin of Peru to account for teacher perception variability by geographic region.

While written approval to proceed with the study by the UGEL was valuable for legitimizing the study in the eyes of participants, I cannot dismiss the possibility of being perceived as associated with the UGEL, possibly biasing teacher responses. Teachers may, in some cases, have associated the surveys and interviews as a type of evaluation or information gathering on behalf of the government. However, cultural norms dictate that formal, written permission is granted by the UGEL to access public schools in the region. In order to minimize this bias, I clarified my independent researcher status to every potential interview subject and provided opportunities for them to ask questions about my intent and purpose. Another avenue for responses bias was through principal recommendations of teachers to be interviewed. While this may have biased responses for teachers within some schools, the grand majority were unaffected in this regard for three reasons; 1) Teachers were typically chosen by the principal because they were on their free periods at the time I was visiting, as opposed to some preference that the principal had for them, 2) in many schools all of the teachers in the school were sampled
or, 3) the principal did not suggest teachers, allowing me to seek out teachers on my own who were available and willing to participate.

With more time and resources permitting, triangulation methods could have been employed to increase the study’s validity (Singleton & Straits, 2010). For example, a survey could have been administered to teachers around the Cajamarca province, or even across provinces of the country. However, this was not feasible within the time and budgetary constraints of a Masters thesis research project. Finally, as Strauss and Rubin (1990) caution, every researcher must be “theoretically sensitive” (p. 41) of their own experience and understandings that may influence how they interpret and collect data. As a foreigner interviewing Peruvian teachers and principals, my interpretation of their responses is likely different than a native Peruvian researcher. In order to be more theoretically sensitive, a comprehensive literature review of Peruvian publications on education provided insight to the national discourse around teachers. In addition, clarification questions were frequently employed during the data collection process in order to avoid possible misrepresentations of meaning.

Summary

This study was guided by the theoretical insights of grounded theory, which emphasizes the role of emerging themes in reshaping research questions and strategies (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). As such, the study was extended to include teachers in urban areas, allowing for richer analysis of rural and urban teacher difference in perceptions. Overall, 70 teacher participants were interviewed reflecting teacher variation in terms experience, gender, age, allowing for a range of experiences to be reflected in the final analysis (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Finally, as dictated by grounded theory, I acknowledge my role as a research as embedded within the meaning making of participants (Friedrich, 2014; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In order to avoid
researcher bias, I compare my work to previous scholarship on teacher perceptions and broader theoretical insight as to teacher motivation. The following chapter elucidates the findings gleamed from the methodological procedures outlined here.
Chapter 4: Results and Analysis

Inductive analysis allows themes to emerge from the data, and adapts theoretical constructs accordingly (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). As a key component of grounded theory, this study employed an inductive approach to analyze 70 semi-structured interviews with primary and secondary level public school teachers in rural and urban areas of Cajamarca, Peru. Data collection through semi-structured interviews was purposefully designed to allow for rich and detailed understanding of teachers’ perceptions of the law. The results presented below are the product of multiple stages of open coding and subsequent re-coding techniques of the transcribed interview recordings, which allow for common themes to emerge. The implications of the data collection and coding techniques chosen for this study are such that nuanced commonalities and differences between teacher perceptions emerge, facilitating comparison of teachers from rural and urban areas. In the following chapter, I will draw conclusions from the analysis presented here, and propose areas for future research.

In the practice of inductive analysis, the researcher engages in a continual process of adjusting research questions and theoretical constructs to explain repeated and emergent themes. Rubin and Rubin (2005) explain that grounded theorists use cases from their study to “modify themes and emerging theory” (p. 241). In this project, inductive analysis provides the opportunity for depth and nuance related to teacher motivation and perception to emerge in light of the 2012 Teacher Career Law, rather than to be ascribed. As such, this study provides depth in terms of teacher concerns and motivations that would likely be obscured through a purely quantitative research approach. In the spirit of this approach, the three research questions proposed for this study have been adjusted throughout the research process as theoretical constructs were developed and adjusted to explain emerging themes. The 70 teacher participants
involved in this study discussed how they perceived their roles in light of national education policy reform, their perceptions of the new law, and their motivations for entering and remaining in the field. Table 7 below elucidates the relevant characteristics of each teacher participant. To protect teacher participants’ privacy, their names are not used. Instead, in the analysis that follows, each participant is referred to using the area in which they worked and an assigned number.

Table 7: Participant Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Highest level of education</th>
<th>Level Teaching</th>
<th>Principal</th>
<th>Tenure Status</th>
<th>Years Teaching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural Teacher 1</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Teacher 2</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Institute</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Teacher 3</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Institute</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Teacher 4</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Institute</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Teacher 5</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Institute</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Teacher 6</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>University/ Bachelors</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Teacher 7</td>
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<td>Institute</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rural Teacher 8</td>
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<td>Institute</td>
<td>Primary</td>
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<td>University/ Bachelors</td>
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<td>Rural Teacher 10</td>
<td>Rural</td>
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<td>Institute</td>
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| Rural Teacher 47 | Rural Teacher 48 | Rural Teacher 49 | Rural Teacher 50 | Urban Interview 1 | Urban Interview 2 | Urban Interview 3 | Urban Interview 4 | Urban Interview 5 | Urban Interview 6 | Urban Interview 7 | Urban Interview 8 | Urban Interview 9 | Urban Interview 10 | Urban Interview 11 | Urban Interview 12 | Urban Interview 13 | Urban Interview 14 | Urban Interview 15 | Urban Interview 16 | Urban Interview 17 | Urban Interview 18 | Urban Interview 19 | Urban Interview 20 | Urban Interview 21 | Urban Interview 22 | Urban Interview 23 | Urban Interview 24 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Male            | Male            | Male            | Male            | Female          | Male            | Female          | Male            | Female          | Male            | Female          | Female          | Female          | Male            | Female          | Female          | Male            | Female          | Male            | Female          | Male            | Female          | Female          | Male            | Female          | Female          |
| University/     | Institute       | Masters         | License         | University/     | University/     | Institute       | Institute       | Institute       | Institute       | University/     | Institute       | Institute       | University/     | Institute       | University/     | University/     | Institute       | Institute       | Institute       | Institute       | Institute       | University/     | Institute       | Institute       | University/     |
| Secondary       | No              | Yes             | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              | No              |

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In total, 46 teachers from rural areas and 24 from urban areas participated in the study, including 39 women and 31 men. Forty teachers were teaching at the primary level, meaning grades 1-6 (ages 6-11), and thirty were teaching at the secondary level, grades 7-11 (ages 12-16). The majority of teacher participants were tenured. Teacher participants varied in terms of their highest level of education and total years of service. Table 8 below provides an additional breakdown of rural and urban teachers by gender, tenure status, grade they teach at, years they’ve taught for, and whether or not they are school principals.

Table 8: Participant Demographics by Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th># Rural participants</th>
<th># Urban participants</th>
<th># participants (% valid sample)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40 (57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30 (43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>39 (56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31 (44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenured</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>60 (88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contracted</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest level of education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32 (46.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>License</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters and/or PhD</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15 (22.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years Teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15 (23%)</td>
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<td>26-30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22 (33%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>30+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7 (11%)</td>
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As Table 8 displays, more rural teachers than urban teachers were interviewed for this project. Most of the interview participants (88%) had tenure status, and the majority (over 60%
of the total sample) had been working as teachers for over 20 years. Notably, teachers from rural and urban areas differed in terms of their highest level of education achieved. For example, 52% of the teachers in the rural teacher sample obtained their pedagogical degrees from teacher training institutes, compared to only 33% of the urban sample. Urban teachers were more likely to have obtained a Masters or Doctorate degree; 66% of urban teachers had a Master or doctorate, compared to 43% of the rural teachers. The differences in educational attainment between rural and urban teachers represented in this sample are consistent with previous studies of teacher placement, as teachers who perform better on placement examinations are more likely to be placed in urban centers (Alcázar et al., 2006; Baanante, 2005). Differentiated educational attainment is significant in light of the financial incentives offered by the 2012 Teacher Career Law. The new law provides higher pay to teachers who have higher degrees and perform well on the periodic exam-based teacher evaluations. Thus, the demographic makeup of the teacher participant sample for this study would suggest that teachers in urban areas would be more likely to benefit financially from the 2012 Teacher Career Law. However, as the analysis below will demonstrate, teachers in urban areas do not necessarily perceive the new law as financially beneficial any more than rural teachers. Presented below are the key findings and analyses, organized under each of the three research questions.

Research Question 1: *Within the context of international education reform and the 2012 Teacher Career Law in particular, how do public school teachers in rural and urban areas perceive their role?*

“I hope that with time the new generation, who are the little ones that practically we are teaching, maybe they will change the actions of society.” –Rural Teacher 34

This quote by Rural Teacher 34 displays the teacher’s hope for a different and improved society for the future of Peruvian citizens. Indeed, teacher participants frequently discussed their
role as one that has an influence on future Peruvian citizens. However, at the outset of the data collection process, the original research questions designed for this study did not reflect teachers’ perceptions of their role. No specific questions were asked in the interviews about how teachers perceived themselves and their roles within changing national and international education paradigms. However, due to the semi-structured format of the interview process, emergent and consistent themes of teachers’ understanding of their role were revealed throughout the coding process. Consistent with grounded theory, which emphasizes theory building based on emerging themes throughout the data collection process, this first research question reflects themes that surfaced throughout the semi-structured interview data collection process (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Coding of the interview transcripts revealed a pattern of teacher participants discussing their roles either as agents of change, using terminology consistent with neoliberal principles, or to describe themselves as subjects of social control. When describing themselves as change agents in the future of Peru, teachers used words such as “orientation”, “influence”, “help”, “improvement” and “contribution”. Some teachers employed neoliberal rhetoric, mentioning individual responsibility, competition, and meritocracy. Teachers employing neoliberal rhetoric or contextualizing themselves as change agents can be understood through Foucault’s power-knowledge framework (Ball, 1990). The power-knowledge concept refers to the ways in which power shapes what knowledge is considered important, and how individual agents interpret and express such knowledge. Other teachers perceived themselves and Peru’s education system more broadly as subject to state and international control. As such, they were situating Peru’s education within a larger structure of power relationships. Such instances were identified in discussions of respect, control, and blame attributed to the teaching profession more broadly.
Thrupp’s (1998) articulation of politics of blame is instructive for understanding such perceptions of the teaching profession as increasingly subject to control mechanisms, such as education policy.

*Teachers as Agents of Change: Shaping Future Citizens*

Indicated by key words and phrases identified in the previous section, 59% of participants discussed their role as agents of change, including 24 (52%) rural teachers and 16 (67%) urban teachers. Included in this category were references to shaping future Peruvian citizens and, in doing so, perceptions of contributing to a better future for Peru. With regard to shaping future citizens, Urban Teacher 23 explains how influential a teacher can be at the primary school level:

“The only opportunity to influence a person is studying in primary [school]. In primary [school], you teach them to write, you give them their personalities. The student takes on the personality of their teacher. It is very important that the teacher is a good professional, very ethical, because that is going to form them [the students].” – Urban Teacher 23

In this example, Urban Teacher 23 refers to the need for ethical teachers, referring to the contribution a teacher can make to a student’s personality. In doing so, he understands a teacher’s role as significant and influential in shaping young lives, lives that will later make up the fabric of Peruvian social life. Urban Teacher 23 offers insight as to what qualities a future citizen should have that a teacher will impart, such as professionalism and ethics. Sentiments of a teacher’s contribution to forming future citizens were often extended to affecting change in the larger society. For example, one rural teacher discussed the importance of girls’ education to galvanize social change. In that discussion she explained:

“We try to orient the girls, that they should come to school, to high school. So that, in that way they can have more security, change the community, change the family, and change all of Peru. Because the change is in the youth. What we should do is orient the parents and the young people.” – Rural Teacher 44
In this statement, the teacher situates herself as an active agent of shifting social norms, referring to her role as ‘orienting’ girls, parents, and youth. Similarly, rural and urban teachers explained their roles in shaping Peru’s future in discussions of their perceived contribution to their students’ perception of life:

“And yes, it’s possible to contribute something, to help them grow up in the correct way. At least help them to chose their own paths, that they have a slightly more positive perception of life, well, we are here to help them.” – Rural Teacher 18

“I try to improve on what, as a student, I had, to give them new hope, a new way of seeing things, a new vision, a new projection [for life]. Its my objective.” – Urban Teacher 20

These teachers employ rhetoric of hope and improvement, typically encompassed in discussions of concern about the current state of Peru, referencing a lack of morality, increasing crime, and rampant corruption. As Urban Teacher 4 explains:

“Kids that tomorrow will be young people, then they will be adults, they are going to be authorities, they are going to be parents, they are going to be teachers, they are going to be police, they are going to be doctors. But I want them to go with another mentality.” – Urban Teacher 4

Teacher participants in this study envision a new, improved, future society, in which they situate themselves as active agents of change. For example, Urban Teacher 4 understands his role as playing a part in the mentalities of future parents, authorities, and teachers. Similarly, Rural Teacher 18 and Urban Teacher 20 describe their objectives of shaping a more positive, hopeful outlook on life, thus situating themselves as playing a role in forming character among future citizens. As these selected quotes show, teachers discuss their role within the education system as having a significant effect on the future of Peruvian citizens.
Neoliberal Rhetoric: Individual Responsibility, Competition and Meritocracy

Participants in this study frequently discussed their understanding of their roles as teachers in neoliberal terminology. Neoliberal terminology refers to language that reflects an internalized understanding of neoliberal principles. Two underlying principles of neoliberalism are individualism and competition, both facilitated by reduced government intervention (Antonio, 2009; Bonanno, 1998; Portes & Hoffman, 2003). In light of the theoretical framework developed in chapter 2, rhetoric that incorporates underlying principles such as individualism, competition, and meritocracy illuminate how neoliberal structural change in the country is being internalized, contested, and interpreted by teachers. Such rhetoric can be understood through the lens of Foucault’s power-knowledge, in which dominant powers determine which knowledge is valued and shared (Ball, 1990). For this study, the terminology that was coded as characteristically neoliberal included references to individual responsibility, competition, and meritocracy.

Individual responsibility is understood as neoliberal because it put the onus of responsibility on the individual while justifying reduced state responsibility. Teachers referred to individual responsibility in two ways: First, as needing to stay up to date on current pedagogical or legal information related to education (actualizado), and second, in terms of being prepared to instruct using current educational materials and methodologies (preparado). By placing the onus of preparation and staying up to date on themselves, teachers relieve governing bodies from responsibility to assist teachers in such tasks. Sixty-three percent of teacher participants referred to individual responsibility of being prepared, staying up to date, and the benefits of teacher competition. Forty percent of participants (28) referred to a teacher’s individual responsibility to be up to date as important for keeping up with the times. For example,
“We should always be changing, always renovating our thinking, reading, getting up to
date.” – Rural Teacher 21

“Maybe they are demanding a little more from us, and I am in agreement. Everyday things
change and we are in a globalized world, where day-to-day we see change. So, we should be on par with those changes, getting up to date all the time.” – Urban Teacher 21

Individualism is a key tenet of neoliberal ideology, incorporated into the emphasis on reduced
government intervention, privatization, and personal-responsibility (Bonanno, 1998; Moore et
al., 2011). By “demanding more from us”, Urban Teacher 21 is referring to increasing
government demands for teachers to independently study and prepare for classes in order to
qualify for promotion. As evidenced in the selected quotes above, it is understood by over a third of participants that a teacher’s role is to stay up to date on current pedagogical information. As such, the government is relieved the responsibility of informing and training teachers. This understanding of a teacher’s role places the onus of change and understanding on the teachers themselves.

In this study, references to competition and meritocracy were considered examples of neoliberal rhetoric. Inherent in a free market, neoliberal state is the concept of competition which assumes the most beneficial outcome will result from unregulated competition. Meritocratic measures based on competition, as stipulated in the 2012 Teacher Career Law, can be understood as a measure of teacher quality. These concepts are wedded into the new law, as a teacher’s merit is determined through exam-based competition. Over a third of teacher participants (25) referred to their role as perpetuating competition in education. Competition was described as increasing, both amongst themselves as teachers. Indeed, teachers often acknowledged their role in fostering competition among students. Less frequently, but also noteworthy, were the eight teachers who referred to the system of meritocracy as improving teacher performance. Of these eight, seven discussed meritocracy as beneficial in terms of identifying the most qualified teachers. In terms
of competition between teachers themselves, participants frequently discussed teacher rivalry due to the new law; referring to a division by pay grades, as seen in the quote below:

“Yes, definitely things have changed, everything has changed. The laws now, we are divided in two groups, the old ones and the new law. And so, there is a bit of rivalry that can be felt, that the old teachers are mad at us because they earn a bit less, and us a bit more.” – Rural Teacher 7

“And that too, as if, it makes it as if there is a rivalry between teachers. Those who go up [to a higher pay scale] and those that didn’t obtain the opportunity to go up. And that’s not fair either.” – Rural Interview 11

Sentiments about ‘other’ teachers being lazy and not wanting to work hard were also commonplace, and can be understood within a framework of competition.

“Like… for me the teachers are all equal. But some have more interest, and others put a little less interest.” – Urban Teacher 2

“I think that the majority, yes [are interested in participating in the exams]. But, there is a minority that opposes [the exams]. And this minority are mostly people who don’t like to work much, no?” - Urban Teacher 9

Meritocracy also played a role in the understanding of teacher competition, as the following quotes exemplify:

“Because I had the idea that said, if a person, a teacher, prepares him/herself, it is fair that they earn more, no?” – Rural Teacher 8

“It is an advancement compared to what it was before, well, the difference was only referential. Referential why? Because a teacher couldn’t earn a bit more because the difference was only 12 soles, 24 soles. And well, now, with the new scale, at least it determines in economic fusion with, what one can perceive, according to their work. That is good.” – Urban Teacher 20

Perceptions of fairness and meritocracy, reflected in these quotes, exemplify participant understanding of inequality in teacher compensation. References to meritocracy and ‘other’ teachers as less interested in their work resonate with Foucault’s concept of hidden power
(Thomas, 2008) and power-knowledge (Ball, 1990). Power, Foucault theorized, is most effective when it is followed subconsciously (Thomas, 2008). According to the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2, an international neoliberal agenda would cultivate competition and meritocracy. Evident in the statements of participants above is an acknowledgement of increasing competition between teachers, as well as competitive rhetoric employed when talking about teachers. Power-knowledge, on the other hand, is a concept that encompasses articulations of power through rhetoric and expressed perceptions. Therefore, teacher participants’ references to competition indicate the infusion of this mandate into everyday lived experiences of teachers; a reflection of how neoliberal ideologies seep into everyday life.

**Teacher Understanding of Education in Peru: Fading Respect, Increasing Blame, and Control**

Teachers also viewed regulatory changes as influencing their roles within the teaching profession and their status in society more broadly. Specifically, 33% of teacher participants described the teaching profession as either losing respect (13), being subject to increasing outside control (6), and as being blamed for the failings of the country (4). In terms of the teaching profession losing respect, teachers frequently employed examples of the past, when teachers were perceived as being respected. Indeed, as discussed by Saavedra and Diaz (2001), teachers were traditionally considered to be respected, knowledgeable community members. Saavedra and Diaz explained that teacher respect has indeed been on the decline since the 1980’s, corresponding with emerging neoliberal policies such those that facilitated the propagation of private TTIs. Indeed, teachers in this study perceived the loss of respect, as the following selected quotations demonstrate:

“[I]ncluding even society towards teaching, they are trying to marginalize us, no?” - Rural Teacher 12
“The state has marginalized us. The state makes us look bad with the public.” –Rural Teacher 25

“Now, I’ll tell you, well, the government to the teacher, well, they [the government] don’t give them [teachers] sufficient interest in respect, no? … and here in the community for example, they don’t respect you anymore.” –Rural Teacher 9

Teachers also attributed the lack of respect for the teaching profession to the government and changing education policy. For example,

“In my opinion… sometimes I say that it is a form of humiliation. How come they don’t evaluate those in other institutions? They have only started with education.” –Rural Teacher 28

“Teachers have been taken as, as the worst, as the least. The last, like I said, as an obligation, that’s how the Peruvian governments takes [education].” –Urban Teacher 4

Increased control of teacher’s work, as well as perceptions of being blamed for the failings of the country also emerged in conversations with teachers. For example,

“And sometimes they blame us as teachers, that we are to blame that the education is so low. And sometimes that is not how it is, right? The changes come from above, and us as teachers we have to pick it up.” –Urban Teacher 6

“The governments… they have put all the responsibility that we are behind [in education] as the fault of the teacher. That they don’t teach, that they don’t work well. And if they [the students] don’t pass, it is the teacher’s fault.” –Urban Teacher 4

“it seems to me that they are being very demanding with us, no? It seems to me that they are abusing, that the authority is very much abusing what we are doing, they are not valuing the work that we do.” –Rural Teacher 7

“Look the law is not made for us. It is not favorable for teachers. Instead it is, it’s a plan to control [teachers], to adjust, to be able to mistreat the teacher psychologically and economically” –Urban Teacher 3

Teachers’ perceptions echo Thrupp’s (1998b) politics of blame framework. Thrupp perceived evaluation and merit-based schemes for teachers as neoliberal tools used to easily
portray teachers as the culprits behind national educational shortcomings. Such tools facilitate policy that directs attention to individual (teacher) merit as opposed to treating more systematic issues of poverty and social inequality. Furthermore, fading respect for teachers has been associated with affecting teacher motivation to enter the field (Pidello, 2014). Therefore, teachers perceived loss of respect and blame may have profound implications for attracting teachers to the field, a primary objective of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. References to blame, fading respect and control indicate that teachers perceive how education policy fits within larger currents of social change that sets high expectations on teachers to improve Peruvian educational outcomes.

*International Contextualization: Taking a Broader Perspective of Peruvian Education Reform*

In addition to understanding their individual roles within changing national education reform, teachers perceived international changes to education more broadly as it affected their lived experience. Teacher participant references to education at the international level reflect teacher awareness of Peru’s education system within a larger, globalized system. Overall, 30% teacher participants made explicit, unsolicited comments about the Peruvian education system within an international context. Specifically, teachers working in rural and urban areas pointed to broader international changes in education policy by comparing Peru’s education with that of other countries (comparison), calling the Peruvian education system a copy of another country’s (copy), or in terms of international organizations controlling the education system (control). Rural and urban teachers discussed this international influence in different ways. Rural teachers were more likely to discuss Peru’s educational model being a copy of other countries (11%), while urban teachers were more likely to discuss comparisons with other countries (6%). For example, Rural Teacher 15 explained, “in Peru there are radical changes from one moment to another. Sometimes the copies come from other counties, not even developed countries but under
developed countries.” Such views highlight teacher preoccupation regarding curriculum changes that accompanied the 2012 Teacher Career Law and reflect an understanding of Peruvian education as influenced by curricular models of other countries. As Rural Teacher 15 states, the fact that the curriculum is a copy is seen as less than ideal, especially as it comes from ‘under developed countries’. Indeed, Rural Teacher 17 explains:

“It seems to me that one of the difficulties of the Peruvian government, of those that have past and those that will come, is that they never take a model from their own country. They always go looking to Chile, they go looking to Colombia, the go looking to Spain, Mexico, which are countries that haven’t had good education development either.”

The 11% of teacher participants that discussed Peruvian education in comparison with other countries identified perceived shortcomings of Peruvian education. For example, the higher investment in education among other countries was seen as the key point of comparison, in which Peruvian education was perceived as failing. For example, as Urban Teacher 2 conveys:

“[T]he education in Peru would really improve, it would improve more if there was more money from the government for education. I understand that other nearby countries in South American invest more in education. Most of them. We are the last place here in Peru.”

The comments highlighted here reflect a broader trend of teacher participants recognizing Peru’s education system within a larger international context. Comparisons to other countries shine light on the low governmental investment in education in Peru by way of referencing those that are perceived to have successful and respected education systems, such as Japan and Finland.

Finally, a small percentage of teachers (6%) explicitly discussed international financial influence over Peru’s educational policies. Half of these references referred to the World Bank’s role in shaping Peru’s education system, while the other half discussed the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and shifts to copy Chile’s education privatization model. Rural Teacher 40 explained that the World Bank was “with Fujimori” and “forced him [Fujimori] to make this
change”, referring to the previous President’s education policies that later enabled the creation of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. As Rural Teacher 26 explained, the World Bank is helping the Peruvian government financially with the end goal to privatize education:

“the objective of the government is to privatize education. Privatize it. Now, for example, now the World Bank, according to what I have heard… I always listen to my radio. Not just radio Existosa [national radio station], I have listened to many channels, and according to what other colleagues comment, the World Bank is helping them [the government]. With money. Money, money for this [change].” – Rural Teacher 26

Similarly, Rural Teacher 15 had the following to say:

“Now what are we shaping in our students? They say, in competencies, in abilities. But who does that serve? The international [institutions].”

Overall, 30% of teacher participants contextualized Peru’s educational policy within broader international change, indicating awareness of Peru’s education system as linked with other countries and international organizations. Such awareness is illustrative of Ball’s (2006) emphasis on studying the perception of those that enact education policy. National education policy is not enacted perfectly and evenly, argues Ball, but interpreted and adjusted at the local and school levels. Such interpretation is, as Rawolle and Lingard (2008) describe, subject to cross-field effects. Cross-field effects are interactions of policy, individual interpretation, and the media. Indeed, as evident in participant discourse around the new education policy in Peru, teachers interpret and reflect upon the policy in light of national and international factors, providing insight into how teachers ultimately perceive such legal change.

In response to the first research question, it is evident that teachers perceive their role in a variety of ways. Overall, nearly 60% of teacher participants perceived their role as being agents of change in the lives of their students and the future of Peru, in spite of changing education
policy. Specifically, teachers identify their individual ability to be agents of change in shaping the future of Peru through their students. Sixty-three percent of teacher participants incorporated what I identify as neoliberal terminology into their discussions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. Collectively, Thirty-three percent of teacher participants perceived that the teaching profession was being blamed for educational shortcomings of the country, contributing to a fading respect for the teaching profession. Teachers referred to this perceived blame as being unjustified and devoid of social context. Finally, teachers understand education policy more broadly as existing in interaction with other countries and international institutions. Rural teachers referred to concerns about the new curriculum mimicking other countries, while urban teachers more frequently drew comparisons with other countries in terms of educational financing. These findings shed light on how the 2012 Teacher Career Law is understood within a larger framework of educational change. Further, they reveal that teachers are not passive recipients of education policy; they engage with, interpret, and contest education policy as it interacts with their lived experience. I now turn to a discussion of how rural and urban teacher perceptions differ in terms of the 2012 Teacher Career Law.

Research Question 2: In what ways, if any, do rural and urban teacher perceptions of education reform differ? And, why?

To differentiate between rural and urban teacher perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career law, teachers were asked a number of questions about different elements of the law. First, participants were asked to describe their understanding of the new teacher career law, followed by a question about their overall opinions of the new law. Then, a number of questions were asked about access to training and teacher perceptions of the competitive exams for teachers. The
questions were organized this manner to engage teachers in a discussion of their understanding of the new law and probe their perceptions of it’s various elements. Questions about respondents’ perceptions of the new legislation will be addressed first. This is followed by a discussion of teachers’ perceptions of two specific elements of the new law; access to and opinions of trainings provided to teachers and perceptions of the competitive teacher evaluation exam itself. Finally, rural-urban differences in teacher perceptions that emerged from the interviews will be discussed.

Perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law

Teacher perceptions of the career law were analyzed from responses to a number of questions about particular elements of the teacher career law, such as the exam-based evaluation of teachers and the promise of additional training. To conceptualize teacher perceptions of the law, their responses were coded into two categories, that of agreement and disagreement. Agreement was signaled by statements such as “I agree”, and references elements of the as “positive”, “good”, or “favorable”. Disagreement was signaled with statements such as “I disagree”, or references to elements of the law as “negative”, “unfavorable”, or “unfair”. A number of teacher participants expressed agreement with certain elements of the new law, and disagreement with others. As shown in Table 9, 54% of teacher participants identified both elements of the new law that they agreed with, and others that they did not. A higher share (36%) of teacher participants conveyed outright disagreement with all elements of the law, compared to those who expressed only agreement (10%). Among the rural teacher sample, more rural teachers completely disagreed (39%) than completely agreed (13%) with the law. Urban teachers displayed a similar pattern, with 29% of the urban teachers conveying only disagreement with the 2012 Teacher Career law compared to 4% that only conveyed agreement. However, urban
teachers were more likely than were rural teachers to discuss elements of the law that they both agreed and disagreed; 67% of urban teachers expressed both agreement and disagreement with the new law, compared to 48% of rural teachers. Rural teachers were more likely to express either complete agreement or disagreement with the law (52%). Table 9 shows a breakdown of teacher respondents by area that agreed, disagreed, or expressed both some agreement and disagreement.

Table 9: Agreement and Disagreement with the 2012 Teacher Career Law by Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rural Teachers</th>
<th>Urban Teachers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only Agree</td>
<td>6 (9%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only Disagree</td>
<td>18 (26%)</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>25 (36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express both Agreement</td>
<td>22 (31%)</td>
<td>16 (23%)</td>
<td>38 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Disagreement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46 (66%)</td>
<td>24 (34%)</td>
<td>70 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because the majority of rural and urban teachers expressed some level of both agreement and disagreement with the 2012 Teacher Career Law, the agreement and disagreement categories were further subdivided into the most commonly cited reasons for each. The most commonly cited reasons for agreeing with the new law include perceptions that it results in better-prepared teachers, offers better pay, and improves student outcomes. Those who expressed disagreement with the new law referred to perceptions of corruption, unfairness and the law’s perceived threat to job stability. Less common but noteworthy reasons identified by teachers participants for disagreeing with the law were perceptions of state imposition, and that the education system was changing too frequently. Tables 10 and 11 show the number of teachers from rural and urban areas in terms of their reference to agreement or disagreement, broken down by the most commonly cited reasons.
As seen in Table 9, 90% of teacher participants expressed partial or complete disagreement with the 2012 Teacher Career Law, compared to 64% that conveyed partial or complete agreement. In regard to specific reasons for agreeing with the law, both rural and urban teachers cited better-prepared teachers as positive elements of the new law. With regard to disagreement, rural teachers cited corruption and unfairness more frequently than other reasons, while urban teachers referred to the law as threatening job security.

**Agreement**

“It’s a good thing. There is always, a change always brings a good change.” – Rural Teacher 6

“We can’t say that everything is bad now. There are good things, there are salvageable things.” – Rural Teacher 34

“The proposal that they are doing is better. Why? Because now we try to converse more with the students, to have a dialogue with the students, to know… so that they give us what they know. Before it wasn’t like this, [it was] more horizontal. The teacher lectured his class and it was over. Not now, now there is more student participation. It’s something that is very positive” – Urban Teacher 17

The quotes above exemplify broad statements of agreement with the 2012 Teacher Career Law. In the case of Urban Teacher 17, she viewed the law as “positive” in terms of broader changes accompanying the law, such as more dynamic teaching that garners the interest of students. As seen in Table 10, rural and urban teachers referred to teachers being better prepared as a reason for agreeing with the new law.
Table 10: Agreement with the 2012 Teacher Career Law by Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement</th>
<th># Rural Teacher Participants</th>
<th># Urban Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prepares Teachers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better Pay</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improves Student Outcomes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 displays a breakdown of commonly cited reasons for agreeing with the 2012 Teacher Career Law. Rural and urban teachers identified better-prepared teachers, better pay, and improved student learning and testing outcomes as attributable to the new law. By better-prepared teachers, teacher respondents referred to a sense of encouragement, perpetuated by the law, to stay up to date on current teaching pedagogies. Attributed to the 2012 Teacher Career Law, this was described as being favorable to Peruvian education, as the following quotes demonstrate:

“I think that this favors the education and it stimulates us that have participated in the competition. We are more committed, more motivated to work. Responsibly, no?” – Rural Teacher 13

“Personally I think that, that it’s good. Because it has motivated us to move, to worry about studying a second specialty, to try to investigate.” – Urban Teacher 11

“For me it is good. They can evaluate me as many times as they want because that gives me, it gives me a push to keep improving.” – Urban Teacher 20

Similar to responses cited in Research Question 1, teachers identified an element of the 2012 Teacher Career Law that correlates with individual responsibility. Teachers frequently discuss to the new law as motivating them to stay up to date. Sixteen percent of teachers also referred to the benefits to students as a result of this motivational push for teachers. For example,
“[If] we want to keep working as teachers we have to do real work, significant work with the kids. So that the kids are capable, uh, to create their own learning. If we cant do that with the kids, we are not helping Peruvian education. And I am in agreement. Very much in agreement with that.” –Rural Teacher 3

“It seems to me that now we are advancing in terms of our work because you can see some changes that have appeared recently. You can see better… what’s it called? Better student performance.” –Urban Teacher 9

“I think it is much better because kids participate more, and moreover, they have more interest in the class.” –Urban Teacher 14

In the examples above, teachers express an understanding of a relationship between education legislation and student outcomes. In particular, teachers perceive the changing legislation as encouraging them to be better prepared, and to adjust their pedagogical practices. Such changes are associated with benefits to student learning. As such, teachers’ discourse parallels that which assumes a link between teacher knowledge and student outcomes. This view can be understood within the context of the national government’s and international institutions’ efforts to place responsibility of poor learning outcomes on teachers. The 2012 Teacher Career Law targets teacher knowledge as a strategy to improve overall student learning. Such policy resonates with Thrupp’s (1998) politics of blame, which situates teachers as responsible for student achievement regardless of socioeconomic factors. Perceptions captured in the quotes displayed above exemplify that this assumed association between teacher knowledge and student learning has been internalized by some teacher participants. Such a finding can be better understood through Foucault’s concept of power-knowledge. In this case, the power of the OECD and the World Bank can be understood as influencing which knowledge is valued and believed. As expressed by Rural Teacher 3, teachers accept and internalize their responsibility to help Peruvian education in order to help the country advance (via student learning outcomes). Acceptance of this responsibility reflects rhetoric employed by the national government in which
new education legislation targeting teacher quality is justified as a strategy to improve student test scores.

The final reason for which 10% of teachers expressed agreement with the 2012 Teacher Career Law was in regards to better salaries. For example, as Rural Interview 4 describes:

“It has favored us, it has favored us a lot, no? Personally, professionally, and ultimately with the economic incentives, no?”

The infrequent mention of the perceived financial benefits of 2012 Teacher Career Law is pertinent in light of claims that the law will provide a pathway to better paid teachers (Gastañadui’s, 2013). Most of the teachers interviewed for this project did not identify financial incentives as benefit of the new law. In fact, financial incentives that adequately compensate teachers were widely perceived as lacking, as will be discussed in detail in subsequent sections. The fact that few teachers perceived the new law to be economically beneficial is consistent with Gastañadui’s (2013) finding that teachers are wary of the government’s honesty and commitment to paying higher salaries. Indeed, concerns about corruption and unfairness were a widely cited reason to disagree with the new law.

Disagreement

Ninety percent of teacher participants disagreed to some extent with the 2012 Teacher Career Law, citing one or more of the four reasons shown in Table 11. A higher percentage of urban teacher respondents (96%) compared rural teacher respondents (87%) expressed disagreement with the law. Furthermore, rural and urban teachers articulated different reasons for their disagreement; 54% of teachers in the urban teacher sample cited threats to job stability compared to 35% of rural teachers. Among rural teachers, corruption and a perceived unfairness were the most frequently cited reasons for disagreeing with the new law.
Table 11: Disagreement with the 2012 Teacher Career Law by Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th># Rural Teacher Participants</th>
<th># Urban Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption/Unfair</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatens Job Security</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imposition</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant Change</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Threatens job security” refers to a perceived loss of tenure due to periodic evaluation stipulated under the new law. Punitive sanctions refers to the automatic dismissal of teachers after three failing scores on the evaluative exams. Furthermore, a loss of job stability refers to rights typically associated with the teaching profession, which are perceived to be diminished under to the new law. Such rights were discussed as being earned over time through negotiations between SUTEP and the government. The following quotes exemplify urban teacher sentiments about a loss of job stability or workplace rights:

“For example, we have had three days a year to get permission [to miss work] for whatever emergency. How did we earn it? We earned it during the strikes of 1978-1979. In those strikes many teachers died, there was a lot of blood spilled. All of those rights we earned, and now with this law, it’s all going down. We don’t have three days, a ton of things.” – Urban Teacher 4

“Well, in the most recent [law] we have lost some rights, no? For example… what’s it called? Job stability.” –Urban Teacher 6

“However, we are losing some benefits that we teachers have been used to having, [such as] job stability.” –Urban Teacher 19

In addition, Urban Teacher 23, a secondary-level history teacher, offered a nuanced description of the process of diminishing job stability in the context of a larger political agenda. As he explains:
“It has been a long political process that the governments, since Fujimori, have been imposing to break the political extremities of teachers. Beginning recently with the famous job stability. Teachers have been cornered economically in such a way that if they earned a little bit less, they would sell potatoes in the market. In the moment of desperation, the new law arrives, which says ‘take an exam and we’ll double your salary’” –Urban Teacher 23

This particular teacher provided a thoughtful evaluation of declining job stability using a historical lens. As this teacher explains, the loss of job stability is perceived as a calculated strategy by the government.

Cited by half of the teachers interviewed, the most common reason for disagreeing with the 2012 Teacher Career Law was the perceived corruption and unfairness in the administration of the competitive teacher exams. Corruption, in this case, was the understanding that the exams, or the exam answer keys, were sold in advance to teachers that could pay for them. This was perceived as giving some teachers a competitive advantage on the exam. For example, Rural Teacher 22 describes it as follows:

“but it is not a fair exam, it is [an] exam that leaves [is sold], that other teachers, they buy it. So, in my case, I have studied a lot for the exam and I didn’t ascend [to a higher pay scale], like I said from the third level. And teachers that haven’t even opened a book have ascended to the 5th and 6th scales. But we all know how. Even they comment about it.”

Indeed, in over half of rural and urban teacher respondents, this type of corruption and perceived unfairness was a prominent reason for disagreeing with the new law. This is noteworthy because, as Rural Teacher 7 explains:

“Ninety-nine point nine percent [of teachers] disagree with the [teacher] evaluations, but not because we don’t want to be evaluated. But because the exam is sold, and it’s not legal in reality.”
Such a sentiment was a common caveat of teachers expressing disagreement with the exam. Evaluation was not seen as necessarily bad, however, many perceived flaws in the way evaluation was implemented. For example,

“it’s good that they evaluate us, but the evaluations have to be fair. Fair evaluations that really measure the level of teachers. Because you know the evaluations are not fair, you know that sometimes they leave [are sold] and are sold to those, the one that can pay the most. So there is no justice there.” –Rural Teacher 33

Perceived corruption and distrust of the law’s faithful and fair implementation are consistent with Gastañadui’s (2013) findings. Gastañadui found that teachers in her study were not opposed to being evaluated, but that they commonly referred to issues of corruption and fairness in the implementation of evaluation, leading to their disagreement and resistance.

Finally, both rural and urban teachers describe the new law is an imposition, voicing frustration with shifting legal frameworks. Teachers described the law as being forced upon them despite their resistance. When asked whether or not most teachers were interested in participating in the competitive teacher exams, participants explained that teachers do not participate voluntarily. Instead, teachers are now required to participate in the exams to reach higher pay scales. Constant change was also brought up in the context of disagreeing with the new law. Teachers expressed an inability to get a handle on one law or curriculum before a new law or curriculum takes its place. As Rural Teacher 37 explains, “We are working a certain way and they say ‘ok no, we are going to work in another way’. As they say, it makes us crazy.” Concerns about imposition and change are consistent with Mizala and Schneider’s (2014) comparative study of the implementation of incentive-pay policies in different countries. These authors found that such policy is more likely to be adopted if there are on-going and open negotiations between the government and the workers union. In cases where the union’s input is denied or ignored,
those affected by policy will be more likely to resist. This is relevant in light of the 2012 Teacher Career Law as the teacher’s union has been increasingly excluded from the policy making process. Indeed, this study shows that Peruvian public-school teachers explain their opposition to the 2012 Teacher Career Law is rooted in feelings of imposition and change.

In response to the second research question, it is evident that teacher perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law varied between rural and urban teachers. Overall, teacher participants in this study conveyed more reasons for disagreeing with the new law than for agreeing. The most frequently cited reasons for disagreeing with the new law were associated with corruption and unfairness. Rural and urban teachers differed in their overall perceptions of the law. For example, rural teachers were more likely to either completely agree or completely disagree with the law, while urban teachers conveyed both agreement and disagreement with different elements of the law. Rural and urban teachers cited similar reasons for agreeing with the law. Specifically, they referred to the new law as encouraging teachers to be better prepared for their work. Notably, only a small percentage of teachers (10%) noted better salaries as a reason to agree with the new law. This is significant in light of the rhetoric around the 2012 Teacher Career Law as a pathway to higher salaries for teachers. Rural and urban teachers conveyed different reasons for disagreeing with the law. Urban teachers were concerned with a perceived loss of earned rights, such as tenure. Rural teachers, on the other hand, cited concerns about corruption and unfairness in the laws implementation. What follows is an analysis of two components of the new law; competitive evaluation exams and teacher trainings. Teachers’ perceptions of specific components of the new law allow for a nuanced differentiation of rural and urban teacher perceptions.
Teacher Perceptions of the Evaluative Exams and Access to Training

The competitive teacher exams are one of the most contentious changes of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. Two questions were asked to gain further insight as to teacher perceptions of the exams. First, teachers were asked whether or not the exams adequately evaluate the abilities that teachers should have. Second, teachers were asked if the exams had an influence on their work environment. Tables 12 and 13 display responses to each question respectively by area in which teachers work.

Table 12: Teacher Responses by Area - Do Teacher Exams Adequately Evaluate the Abilities of Teachers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th># Rural Teacher Respondents</th>
<th># Urban Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes exams adequately evaluate teachers</td>
<td>7 (13%)</td>
<td>3 (6%)</td>
<td>10 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No exams do not adequately evaluate teachers</td>
<td>28 (53%)</td>
<td>15 (28%)</td>
<td>43 (81%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35 (66%)</td>
<td>18 (34%)</td>
<td>53 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Teacher Responses by Area - Do Teacher Exams Have an Influence in the Workplace?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th># Rural Teacher Respondents</th>
<th># Urban Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, the exams have an influence in the work environment</td>
<td>13 (33%)</td>
<td>17 (44%)</td>
<td>30 (77%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, the exams have no influence on the work environment</td>
<td>6 (15%)</td>
<td>3 (8%)</td>
<td>9 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>19 (49%)</td>
<td>20 (51%)</td>
<td>39 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 12 and 13 show that 81% of teachers do not feel that the exams adequately evaluate the abilities that teachers should have (Table 12), but that 77% of teachers perceive that
the exams have an effect on their work environment (Table 13). Rural and urban teachers equally perceived that the exam is not an adequate indicator of their knowledge and ability. However, a higher percentage (85%) of urban teachers perceived work-place effects of the exams compared to only 68% of rural teachers. When probed to explain what kinds of effects teachers perceived, responses were diverse. Broadly speaking, teachers referred to work-place effects in terms of salary change, emotional strain, loss of tenure, and encouraging teachers to get up to date on current teaching methodologies and theories. The following quotes provide examples of how teachers explained the effects of evaluation on their work:

"More than anything I think that the teachers that were not able to pass the exam, you know, they felt bad. But I always tell them, an exam doesn’t measure what we know.” – Rural Teacher 24

“A bit that they [the exams] motivate us, so that I prepare myself a bit more, no? Because I had already forgotten so many things from the Pedagogical Institute.” – Rural Teacher 39

“One could say yes because, they have an influence in that if one passes [the exam] they have better incentives. Yes. I mean, if one passes, things get better, no?” – Urban Teacher 8

“Of course it is influencing us, we have to train ourselves. Leave our families aside a bit and be more in, committed to reading, no?” – Urban Teacher 15

These selected quotes capture teachers’ sentiments regarding evaluations that link teachers’ salaries to their performance on knowledge-based exams. Such perceptions are interconnected with agreement and disagreement, indicated by rhetoric such as, “we have to train ourselves” by Urban Teacher 15, or that they “motivate us” as Rural Teacher 39 explains. Overall, both rural and urban teachers agreed that the exam was not an adequate evaluation of their ability. Rural teachers and urban teachers both perceived that the competitive exams influence their work and the workplace in terms of increased salaries, emotional strain, and increasing time spent on classroom material preparation. However, a higher percentage of teachers in urban areas
perceived such work-place effects compared to their rural colleagues. I now turn to a discussion of teacher perceptions of trainings.

*Teacher Training: Perceptions of Access and Quality*

The New Teacher Career Law stipulates adequate training and support for teachers in general, and for those who do not obtain sufficiently high scores on the competitive exams (Jopen et al., 2014). Consequently, a number of questions pertaining to teacher trainings were asked of participants to elucidate perceptions about training access, quality, and relevance. Table 14 shows a breakdown of teacher responses by area pertaining to the frequency of trainings.

| Table 14: Responses by Area to the Question - *Has the UGEL, the Ministry of Education, or Any Other Institution Offered Trainings to Teachers in the Past Two Years?*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No trainings have not been offered</td>
<td># Rural Teacher Respondents</td>
<td># Urban Teacher Respondents</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 (17%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>12 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trainings have been offered occasionally or infrequently</td>
<td>21 (32%)</td>
<td>12 (19%)</td>
<td>33 (51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes training has been offered</td>
<td>11 (17%)</td>
<td>9 (14%)</td>
<td>20 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>43 (66%)</td>
<td>22 (34%)</td>
<td>65 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to frequency, as seen in Table 14, 51% of teachers from rural and urban areas described trainings as being infrequently or occasionally offered. Rural teachers however were more likely to say that they had infrequent and/or no trainings offered (74%), as opposed to urban teachers (59%). Indeed, 41% teachers working in urban areas conveyed that they had participated in trainings in the past two years, compared to only 25% of rural teachers. The most striking finding is that only 2% of teachers from urban areas claimed that they had no training in

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13 Support is often referred to as *accompaniment*, a term employed in the World Bank (2007) report referring to regular oversight and assistance offered to teachers in the classroom to facilitate implementation of new curriculum and teaching pedagogies.
the past two years compared to a quarter of rural teachers. Furthermore, even among the 25% of rural teachers who said that trainings had been offered, just under half of them (45%) claimed that the trainings had been provided by private institutions or SUTEP, not by the Peruvian government. Consistent with van der Tuin and Verger’s (2013) study, these findings indicate that trainings offered by the government have been disproportionately provided to teachers in urban centers. Indeed, as Rural Teacher 5 explains:

“...I understand that now the Ministry is training teachers from the urban zone and nothing else. They take some institutions, as they say, that are being focused on and nothing else. They take the pilot schools to do that, the majority [of which] are in the urban zone. Eh, there are education institutions that now have pedagogical support and none of them are from the rural zone, they are all from the urban zone. So, we are at a disadvantage, no?” – Rural Teacher 5

In relation to the quality of trainings provided, teacher participants were asked about the overall quality of trainings offered. This was asked in terms how helpful teachers perceived the trainings in which they had participated to be, a question which only 27 of the 70 participants responded. Table 15 displays the breakdown of these responses by area.

Table 15: Responses by Area - Have the Trainings You Have Attended Been Useful?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th># Rural Teacher Respondents</th>
<th># Urban Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes trainings are</td>
<td>2 (7.4%)</td>
<td>9 (33.3%)</td>
<td>11 (40.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helpful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No trainings are</td>
<td>14 (51.9%)</td>
<td>2 (7.4%)</td>
<td>16 (59.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not helpful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>16 (59.3%)</td>
<td>11 (40.7%)</td>
<td>27 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the 16 rural teachers and 11 urban teachers that responded to this question, rural teachers were more likely to say that trainings were not helpful, while urban teachers primarily said that they were. Eighty-one percent of the urban teacher respondents to the question of training quality perceived such trainings to be helpful. Urban teachers were also the
most likely to have access to these trainings; ninety-five percent of urban teacher respondents said they had, at minimum, occasional access to training. Rural teacher respondents were more likely not to perceive the trainings as helpful. A smaller percentage (74%) of rural teacher respondents had, at a minimum, occasional access to trainings. Therefore, teacher perceptions of training usefulness appear to be associated with access to trainings, as those who received training on a regular basis perceived trainings to be more useful in general. For example, Urban Teachers 2 and 9 discuss the usefulness of trainings in the following way:

“Yes. Yes yes they help because, they are called accompaniment. They come in the classroom, observe the classes….. I think that they are accompanying, this is, better.” – Urban Teacher 2

“Yes. Yes yes they help because, they are called accompaniment. They come in the classroom, observe the classes….. I think that they are accompanying, this is, better.” – Urban Teacher 2

(Of course, logically. Logically [the trainings help] because teachers that are trained, practically, can operate on their own, no? So, we go and see them, we see that they are working well.” – Urban Teacher 9

Two rural teacher respondents also perceived the trainings as being useful. Rural Teacher 2 explains in the following manner:

“all trainings have something that they have to offer. Of course. But, not always satisfactory, if not, but they should be a bit more consistent.” – Rural Teacher 2

Rural Teacher 2’s comment about consistency points to many of the problems that teachers identified with trainings. The following quotations exemplify some of the main reasons identified by teachers that limit their perceptions of training usefulness:

“Look, I would say that there are trainings, there are trainings that do not relate with what they are evaluating us on. We attend the trainings, and at the end, what they trained us on they don’t ask, they don’t evaluate, nothing. It’s true.” – Rural Interview 15

“We always stay… mm… in the street with respect to the trainings. Look, when you talk about training, they have to really train themselves. Because if not, they leave us more lost.” – Rural Teacher 18
“Training, never. They are almost always the same. Framed in different molds. But, the point, the point, the main idea is the same. The trainer doesn’t know more than us. We can’t learn much from them. Because they are the same, almost all of them.” – Rural Teacher 22

“Look, the state has always been training teachers. The problem is that the trainers didn’t know how to get the message across that the state wanted. So, we didn’t feel very motivated.” – Urban Teacher 15

Evident in the remarks of Urban Teacher 15 and Rural Teachers 18 and 22 are perceptions of inadequate trainers. Rural Teacher 15 refers to a lack of consistency between the trainings and what is asked of teachers, in this case specifically in terms of teacher evaluation. These findings indicate that more teachers perceive trainings as unhelpful than helpful. In order to gain further insight as to what kind of training teachers themselves perceive as the most relevant, teacher participants were asked to describe what kind of training would be the most useful for teachers. Table 16 provides a breakdown of teacher responses to that question by area.

Table 16: Responses by Area to the Question - *What Do You Think Would be the Most Useful Training for Teachers?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th># Rural Respondents</th>
<th># Urban Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategies for teaching</td>
<td>17 (28.3%)</td>
<td>4 (6.7%)</td>
<td>21 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programming</td>
<td>10 (16.7%)</td>
<td>3 (5%)</td>
<td>13 (21.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The new curriculum (Routes of Learning)</td>
<td>9 (15%)</td>
<td>4 (6.7%)</td>
<td>13 (21.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student evaluation</td>
<td>4 (6.7)</td>
<td>4 (6.7%)</td>
<td>8 (13.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialty specific training</td>
<td>2 (3.3%)</td>
<td>1 (1.7%)</td>
<td>3 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal relationships</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (3.3%)</td>
<td>2 (3.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>42 (70%)</td>
<td>18 (30%)</td>
<td>60 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirty-five percent of teachers identified “strategies for teaching” as the most useful training they would like to receive, followed by training on programming and employing the new national curriculum. Strategies for teaching encompasses training directed at teachers’
pedagogical practice, rather than theoretical knowledge. For example, teachers frequently called for trainers to conduct an example class, providing specific examples of how to teach certain material. Also included in this category were references on how to reach students. Rural Teacher 21 explains as follows:

“Pedagogy, about methodological strategies. That is what is lacking among teachers, the strategies. How to reach students. How to successfully get them to learn. So that they do the things that they are taught, that it lasts, that it isn’t for just a moment, no? Because the education that we offer now is very much based on memorization. It is lacking critical thinking, reflexivity, no?” –Rural Teacher 21

Programming and planning how to implement the curriculum over the course of the year were discussed equally as being the most useful trainings, closely followed teaching strategies.

Urban teacher participants were split evenly on what was perceived to be the most useful training, conveying teaching strategies, programing, and the new curriculum as equally important. On the other hand, 40% of rural teachers stated that the most useful training would be in regard to teaching strategies, compared to 22% of urban teachers. This differentiation may reflect the fact that urban teachers are more likely to receive training than rural teachers. The need for training on programming and the new curriculum were expressed at comparable levels by rural teachers and their urban colleagues.

To learn about teacher perceptions of rural and urban difference with respect to the application of the 2012 Teacher Career Law, teachers were asked if they thought trainings should be different for rural teachers compared to urban teachers. Table 17 displays teacher responses by area as either affirmative (yes, trainings should be differentiated) or negative (no, trainings should not be differentiated).
Table 17: Responses by Area - Should Rural and Urban Teachers Receive Different Trainings?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th># Rural Teacher Respondents</th>
<th># Urban Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15 (28%)</td>
<td>9 (17%)</td>
<td>24 (45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>20 (38%)</td>
<td>9 (17%)</td>
<td>29 (55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35 (66%)</td>
<td>18 (34%)</td>
<td>53 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17 shows that over half of teacher respondents (55%) did not think that teachers should receive differentiated training due to the area in which they work. Urban teachers were split equally, half agreeing that trainings should be differentiated, and half disagreeing. On the other hand, more rural teachers (57%) thought that trainings should not be differentiated than those who thought they should be. Reasons that participants provided for trainings to be the same were in reference to equality of learning and training for all teachers, and an understanding that teachers themselves are responsible for adapting their pedagogy to their specific contexts. For example,

“Training, honestly, no. They are different strategies that the teacher has to look for so that a kid from a rural area understands you and a kid from an urban zone understands, no? They are strategies that you have to look for.” –Rural Teacher 7

“Difference, I don’t think so, because the curriculum and all of the programming is for, it should be equal for everyone. The training should be the same equally for everyone. We don’t have a reason to be discriminating or differentiating between colleagues, between teachers, no? It should be the rural area with the urban area equally.” –Rural Teacher 15

“the training should be equal, no? And the teacher is in charge of adapting it to their reality.” –Urban Teacher 1

“It is the same. The trainings should be the same in terms of teaching. But in terms of realities of each, what we have to adapt to is where we live. In the city too.” –Urban Teacher 8

On the other hand, teachers who thought trainings should be differentiated typically employed rational that the teaching contexts are different. For example, Rural Teacher 10 explains:
“I think so. Because in the case of, for example, here we work, we are a multi-grade school. And we don’t have training in the case in which I am working, for example, with two grades. My colleague is with 5th and 6th. And it’s very different to program for one grade than for two. Its different.” –Rural Teacher 10

Here, Rural Teacher 10 perceives differentiated trainings as important due to the fact that many rural teachers teach multiple grades at once, requiring different teaching strategies and planning than single grade classrooms. Furthermore, beyond working within contextual differences, teachers perceived the different realities and contexts in which children live as justification for differentiated training. For example,

“Definitely [trainings should be different] because, we can say, the form of learning and, not just the forms of learning, but also the form of living of each is so different. The real situation is different for each, no?” –Rural Teacher 5

“[Trainings should be] according to the reality of the kids. Because, I will say that all kids, as much from the rural area as from the city, the urban area, they all have the same brain, no? Everything is in knowing how to reach them.” –Urban Teacher 7

Rural students, as discussed by these two teachers, are thought to be living in very different contexts compared to their urban counterparts. However, both those who thought trainings should be differentiated and those that did not were quick to explain that they were not referring to differences in student ability. This question was frequently followed by a discussion about how rural and urban realities differ. The following section offers insight into how differences in teachers’ perception according to urban and rural settings.

Overall, teacher perceptions of trainings reveal that urban teachers received training and support more frequently than their rural colleagues. Furthermore, urban teachers perceived such trainings to be of higher quality compared to their rural colleagues. Forty percent of rural teachers perceived training on teaching strategies to be the most useful training, while urban
teachers were split evenly among many different training topics. Finally, slightly more rural teachers than urban teachers thought that teacher trainings should be differentiated by area.

*Perceived Rural and Urban Difference: Parents, Poverty, and Nutritional Challenges*

While differences in workplace realities and socioeconomic differences between rural and urban areas of Peru have been addressed in previous studies (Hall & Peters, 2002; Cueto, 2005; Angell, 1982; Oliart, 2007; World Bank, 2007), few have considered teachers’ perceptions of these differences and how it affects their work. Teacher participants were not asked explicitly to describe their perceived differences in their work experiences in comparison with their colleagues in other areas. However, the topic of rural-urban differences arose in 83% of the interviews and was equally discussed by rural and urban teachers alike. One point of difference was in regard to the parents of their students, a topic raised by 30% of teacher participants, including 43% percent of rural teachers participants and 13% of the urban teacher participants. Specifically, parents were referred to as being less helpful with regard to student learning in the rural areas. This was attributed to parent illiteracy, a lack of importance associated with education, or the idea that teachers are solely responsible for a child’s learning. The following statements by rural teachers convey their perceptions of rural parenting:

“In the urban zone parents even get private teachers for their kids, and in the countryside there are parents that do not have a level of education, the majority are illiterate.” –Rural Teacher 5

“[I]n the city the fathers and mothers of families are at least literate. Here [in this rural place], for example, there is still illiteracy. There is… the father sometimes is literate, but he works. He works, and the eventual work is in Yanacocha [mining]. What time do they get home? Eight or 10 at night. And the kids at that time are already sleeping. The mother doesn’t know how to read. If you give them, if you assign something for them to do, or to read, the mother is not going to say “you know what son, read, complete that [your work]” because she doesn’t know. So there you go.” –Rural Teacher 10
“Here we are in the country. It's a different reality. I've even heard them [local people] say, ‘that is what the teachers are for, to teach’. No? ‘The teacher has that, they should teach. That is what they are paid for, to teach their kids’. But that is not how things are. Because the help should be from all three; from the teacher, the student and the parents. And here, in this case, no. There is that rare parent that helps. But all of them, no. And they are illiterate. If I say to the parents ‘please, teach them [your kids]’, [they respond] ‘Teacher, I don’t know how. I don’t know teacher.’ So, if they don’t know? How are they going to teach their kids? They just don’t know.” –Rural Teacher 26

Only three teachers from urban areas brought up this perceived difference with regard to parents help. Two noted parent illiteracy in rural areas, adding to the challenge of teacher. For example, Urban Teacher 9 explained it in the following way:

“The problem in the rural zone is that, maybe, there is a lot of illiteracy among the parents, no? And there is no one to help the teacher. For example, if you give them [students] something that they should do in the house, the student cannot do it because there is no one there to help them much of the time, no?” –Urban Teacher 9

Second to parents, teachers perceived “different contexts” as a difference between working in rural and urban areas. Different contexts included references to socioeconomic differences of families compared to those in the city, student nutrition resulting from both family poverty and/or a lack of nutritional knowledge, and differential access to technology for students in rural areas compared to those in urban areas. Twenty-four percent of teacher participants mentioned context as a point of difference, of which 19% were rural teachers. Overall, 39% of rural teacher participants compared to 21% of urban teacher participants discussed these contextual differences, primarily in terms as an additional work burden for them. Indeed, teachers referred to a number of contextual barriers that their students face, hindering their learning and thus adding additional layers of responsibility on the teachers to assist in their learning. The following quotes provide examples of how rural-urban contextual differences were discussed by interview participants:
“[T]he learning is a little slower in the rural zone, it seems to me. I mean, not in everything because the kids in the rural zone are also alert, but there are many factors as well that influence in them too, like their alimentation, no?”  –Rural Interview 7

“Looking at the reality of education here, even their nutrition, the entire family context. That here, sometimes, many kids have to leave to do their work in the field in the afternoons, no? Go to see to the pasture animals, help their father or mother. In the city on the other hand it is different because [the kid] leaves, their father is worrying about them, if the kid doesn’t do well, in many cases they will find them a private teacher. So, they are two different realities that seem as though they are unequal, no?”  –Rural Teacher 17

“The rural zone, for example, the capacity and level of knowledge is much less than in the city. In the city you have so many instruments so that they can, I mean, information, like the internet. Here we don’t have the internet. It’s a difficulty for us. The [Education] Ministry wants us to work with the internet, and how does one do it if you don’t have that [the internet]? They always work to what it is like in the city, they never see what the rural zone is like.”  –Rural Teacher 45

“The social and economic development of families is very different. In the city the majority are, the majority of heads of families work in an office, no? Or they are teachers, engineers, they are…. they have a different culture. In the countryside, it’s not like that. In the countryside, the father of the family is a farmer. They don’t have, they don’t have the education, I mean, as high as they have in the city.”  –Urban Teacher 3

Perceptions of socioeconomic poverty contributing to student outcomes are consistent with previous studies on the determinants of student learning in Peru. Previous studies revealed the influence of parental literacy and poverty on student learning (Cueto, 2004; Cueto, Guerrero, Leon, Seguin and Muñoz, 2009). This analysis contributes to previous studies, highlighting what teachers perceive to be significant contextual barriers to student learning. Further, finding that 83% of Peruvian teachers participants in this study perceive significant contextual differences between teaching in rural and urban areas is significant in light of the politics of blame framework ascribed to the 2012 Teacher Career Law (Thrupp, 1998). The politics of blame framework refers to the decontextualization of teaching and learning from socioeconomic factors, targeting simple and quantifiable measures such as test-scores as measures of education
quality. In light of this framework, teachers’ discussions of rural-urban difference reveal an awareness of socioeconomic factors that contribute to student learning that ignored by policy targeting teacher quality.

In sum, in response to the second research question, it is evident that teachers perceive distinct workplace differences between rural and urban areas. The most frequently cited workplace differences between rural and urban areas were the lack of parental support, parent illiteracy, and socioeconomic poverty. While both rural and urban teachers discussed differentiated workplace challenges, a higher proportion of rural teacher participants vocalized such differences compared to urban teacher participants.

Research Question 3: How do the career incentives associated with the 2012 Teacher Career Law compare with what teachers express as their motivations for being in the field?

The third research question sheds light on incentives that teachers describe compared to what is offered in the 2012 Teacher Career Law by asking targeted questions related to teachers’ motivations and perceptions of what incentivizes them in their work. The 2012 Teacher Career Law offers a number of incentives targeting what Firestone (2014) would describe as external motivation. For example, the law offers financial reward for teachers that perform better on competitive knowledge-based exams. The highest pay scales are accessible only to those who have higher degrees, such as Masters or PhDs. It is presumed that teachers will be incentivized to seek additional studies to reach these higher paying scales. Finally, teachers working in rural areas, remote areas, or on national borders are provided slightly higher pay within the current pay scale that they occupy.
In order to understand teacher motivations for entering the field, two interview questions were asked of teacher participants. First, teachers were asked what motivated them to enter the field, followed by a question about whether their motivations for staying in the field have changed since they began teaching. Motivation for entering the field fell into two general categories, described here as either vocation or circumstance. Vocation refers descriptions in which being a teacher was a lifelong dream, for the love of children, or for the love of teaching. On the other hand, circumstance refers to teacher responses in which teachers described entering the profession as a second choice, or because it was the only affordable or convenient option for them at the time. Table 18 below displays the breakdown by area, followed by a break down teacher responses by sex (Table 19).

**Table 18: Teacher Motivation for Entering the Field by Area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rural Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>Urban Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocation</td>
<td>31 (46%)</td>
<td>17 (25%)</td>
<td>48 (72%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstance</td>
<td>12 (18%)</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>19 (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>43 (64%)</td>
<td>24 (36%)</td>
<td>67 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 19: Teacher Motivation for Entering the Field by Sex**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>Men Teacher Respondents</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocation</td>
<td>35 (52.2%)</td>
<td>13 (19.4%)</td>
<td>48 (71.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstance</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>16 (24%)</td>
<td>19 (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>38 (57%)</td>
<td>29 (43%)</td>
<td>67 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rural teacher respondents made up the majority of those who expressed vocational motivations for entering the teaching profession (46%). However, both rural and urban teachers expressed vocational motivations for entering the field more than circumstantial motivations. Indeed, overall, teachers in the sample described their motivations for becoming teachers as
vocational (72%) rather than circumstantial. The most striking difference is between men and women teachers. Women teachers were far more likely than their male colleagues to enter the profession for vocational reasons. Ninety-two percent of women participants described their reasons for entering the field as vocational and make up over half of the participant sample. In comparison, less than half (45%) of the male participants described their motivation to become a teacher as vocational.

Vocation was often expressed in terms of enjoying working with children, as a lifelong desire to become a teacher, or as influenced by family. For example,

“Well, me, I have liked education because I also have had family that, some uncles, that most of them are police and teachers, and I was also inclined for this career in education.” –Rural Teacher 17

“I have always liked teaching. To share with others. And, I liked to share my knowledge, to share with others what I know. I liked to socialize with others.” –Rural Teacher 22

“Well, since a little girl I watched my teacher when [s]he taught us and I liked it. I said ‘I am also going to be a teacher’” –Rural Teacher 23

“In my case, look, what has motivated me is to be able to help kids. If one doesn’t have that volition for service it is very difficult to be a teacher.” –Rural Teacher 32

“What motivated me to be a teacher was the love for being able to teach students.” –Urban Teacher 3

“I was motivated since I was a girl because I observed my teacher when she did her classes and I liked it. So, since I was a kid, in my role playing games, I imitated the teacher. Yes. And when I was an adult, well, I chose a career in education, I liked it.” –Urban Teacher 13

“My father is also a teacher, he has the same specialty as me. He’s a University professor. I have followed in his footsteps.” –Urban Teacher 20

In some cases, the vocation was felt so strongly that they pursued a degree in teaching despite being advised otherwise. Rural Teacher 7 explains as follows,
“In reality, I had to fight a battle with me parents because my Mom is a teacher and I remember that, since I was a little girl, I pretended to be a teacher. So, I’ve always felt special affection for kids, since forever, since I can remember, I’ve always liked kids. I played with them, especially with babies. And when the opportunity presented itself to chose a career, I made the decision to study initial education against my parents, because they wanted me to study a career in the University and not education, because I would die of hunger the same, like the miserable salary my Mom makes, no? But, in reality, I went against their will.” –Rural Teacher 7

Vocational motivations for entering the field reflect intrinsic motivations, such as enjoying working with children, loving teaching, and following a family career. Policy that emphasizes economic rewards for teachers based on measurable standards does not necessarily incorporate intrinsic motivations that teachers expressed in this sample. Indeed, according to Firestone (2014), such intrinsic motivation can be undermined by policy that targets extrinsic motivations exclusively.

Twenty eight percent of teacher participants described their motivation as being circumstantial, including over half of the men teacher participants. Circumstantial motivation was identified among teachers who described their reasons for becoming teachers in one of three ways; as a second choice, as the only available option at the time, or because it was more economically accessible than other career options. The following selected quotes exemplify teacher explanations of circumstantial reasons for entering the field:

“I would have liked to study something else, yes.” –Rural Teacher 2

“It was circumstantial, it wasn’t a grand desire of mine. I wanted to study agronomy. I applied, [but] the circumstance didn’t permit me to study and I decided to study education. Not for vocation, but due to economic situations.” –Rural Teacher 3

“Well, eh, the truth is that at the beginning it wasn’t my vocation to be a teacher. I had other ideals. Eh, but, due to destiny I couldn’t nail [them] down and I had the opportunity to enter the teaching institute.” –Rural Teacher 12
“Well my career at the beginning was different. However a moment presented itself to study teaching, no? It wasn’t in my, one could say, my thoughts as a young person were to apply to the Bank of the Nation. But they canceled the exams from one moment to the next and I had to throw it out. So out of nowhere I applied to the teaching institute and got in, and well, I studied teaching and carried me through as I had a family at that time at a young age and I took responsibility, for that motive.” –Rural Teacher 15

“Motivation…. The real motivation was the need for a job.” –Urban Teacher 2

“My motivation to be a teacher…… was the time available. The time available. Otherwise, I didn’t want to be a teacher.” –Urban teacher 5

“It wasn’t my intention to be a teacher, I wanted to be a doctor. But I went to the National University of Trujillo and I didn’t get the economic help to deal with a career in medicine. […] I came back to Cajamarca and I started to study pedagogy.” –Urban Teacher 23

Disaggregated, the findings from this study differ from those of Oliart (2007), who interviewed 46 teachers in Lima about their reasons for entering education programs. In her study of Peruvian education students, Oliart found that half of them entered for vocational reasons, while the other half entered for circumstantial reasons. However, Oliart does not disaggregate her data by gender, and does not include rural teachers in her study. Therefore, results from this study shed light on teachers’ motivation for entering the teaching career, differentiating between those in rural and urban areas, and between women and men teachers. While rural and urban teachers equally described their motivations for becoming teachers as vocational, a significant discrepancy is found between men and women teachers. Nearly all women teachers in this study expressed vocational reasons for entering the field, compared to less than half of men teachers.

Following the question of why teachers chose to become teachers, participants were asked if their motivations have changed over time. In the cases of teachers who expressed vocational reasons for entering the field, half of all rural and half of all urban teachers said that their reasons for staying in the field are the same as when then entered. For those that said their
motivation had changed over time, participants referred to low pay, poor treatment, and constant legislative changes as contributing to such change. Of the teachers who originally entered teaching for circumstantial reasons, 87% described a change in motivation for staying in the field, including 90% of rural teachers and 83% of urban teachers. They explained that their motivations had changed as they began to enjoy the profession and enjoy the work with children. For example, as Rural Teacher 40 explains:

“Yes, the [my motivations] have changed. I care about the kids. I am sad when they grow up and go to secondary school.” –Rural Teacher 40

The finding that teachers’ whom originally entered the field for circumstantial reasons later identified different reasons for staying in the field is significant in relation to the 2012 Teacher Career Law. The new law assumes that teachers will be motivated by financial incentives to improve their knowledge-based competencies. However, teachers who originally entered the field for circumstantial reasons found that they felt motivated by vocation over time.

Teacher Evaluation: Reflections on whether and how teachers should be evaluated

While the efficacy of knowledge-based teacher evaluation as an accurate measure of teacher competence has been debated in education and development literature, such policies are increasingly spreading around Latin America (Gindin & Finger, 2013). The 2012 Teacher Career Law implements a competitive, knowledge-based exam as an instrument for evaluating teachers. As Firestone (2014) explains, such an evaluation assumes that teachers are extrinsically motivated by economic incentives and will work to increase their knowledge to reach higher pay scales. To further understand teacher perceptions of the new law within the context of teachers’ motivation for being in the field, teachers were specifically asked about the teacher evaluation exams. First, 52 of the 70 teacher participants were asked whether or not teachers should be
evaluated at all, to which 96% of teachers said yes (representing 70% of the sample). Both teachers in rural and urban areas agreed that teachers should be evaluated. Teachers’ agreement was often stipulated with statements such as, “yes, but not with an exam on knowledge, no” (Rural Teacher 7), or “Yes, but not with the end goal of throwing us out” (Rural Teacher 11). This evidence suggests that teachers are widely in agreement with being evaluated, contradicting popular representations of SUTEP and the media that tend to frame teachers as being opposed to any form of evaluation (Gastañadui, 2013; Van der Tuin & Verger, 2013). Indeed, teacher agreement with evaluation is consistent with findings gleamed from Gastañadui’s (2013) study, in which 70% of teacher participants supported evaluation.

Teacher participants were then asked a follow up question: How should teachers be evaluated? Fifty-three percent of teachers said that they would prefer to be evaluated in their classrooms, including just over half of all rural teachers and half of all urban teachers. Classroom evaluation was explained as a way of observing and understanding the work teachers do, and the relationships teachers have with their students. The following quotes provide examples of teachers explaining their preference for classroom evaluation:

“I think that, for me, the correct evaluation would be monitoring us in the classroom and seeing the reality.” –Rural Teacher 30

“It could be [evaluation] by coming to a class, giving a class, observing a class.” –Rural Teacher 42

“I say, ‘come and see me in my class’. How you reach kids in the best way that you can, no?” –Urban Teacher 1

“In the classroom. A model class, for example. The development of a session, to see how students participate, or in the world that the kids do, their notebook, all of that, no? To see if we are employing the Ministry of Education’s books. All of that.” –Urban Teacher 14
Three other methods of evaluation were mentioned less frequently; evaluation that is coupled with consistent training (10%), evaluation through their students’ progress (7%), and evaluation through exams (7%). There was no notable difference between teachers from rural and urban areas preferring these other three forms of evaluation. The 10% of teachers that discussed evaluation as needing to be coupled with training explained that training should either come before evaluation, or should go hand-in-hand with evaluation so that teachers can constantly improve. In this category, references to teacher accompaniment and monitoring were also included. For example,

“First, I think that before evaluation there should be trainings provided by the state.” – Rural Teacher 31

“For a teacher, one should prepare them to evaluate them, no? The first thing the government would have to do is invest in training teachers.” – Urban Teacher 3

“Yes, there should be evaluation, but a different type of evaluation. Primarily, for example, trainings. They should give us training. What’s more, they should monitor us at work.” – Urban Teacher 18

Evidence from this study suggests that teachers overall do not oppose evaluation. Indeed, 96% of teachers who responded to the question of whether or not teachers should be evaluated responded resoundingly that yes, they should be. However, as evidenced above in Table 12 of research question 2, teachers do not perceive examination as an appropriate measure of teacher competency. Instead, over half of teacher respondents suggested that evaluation of their work should be done by way of observation of their work in the classroom.

Incentives: what do teachers perceive as effective incentives for their work?

To evaluate teachers’ own expressed incentives for being in the field, teachers were asked how they thought teachers should be compensated for their work. The most common response was “higher pay”, cited by 63% of teacher respondents. After higher pay, 37% of interview
participants mentioned additional trainings and educational opportunities as compensation for teachers, followed by increased respect and recognition (20%).

Both rural and urban teachers referred to higher pay for teachers as an important incentive for teachers. However, a higher percentage of the urban teacher participants (79%) referred to higher pay compared to 54% of rural teacher participants. Better pay was framed as allowing teachers more time to dedicate to their work because they would not need to take on a second job. Teachers explained as follows:

“Well, of course [they can compensate us] with the pay, which doesn’t cover our expectations, no? Because teachers, aside from working in the institution, bring their work to the home.” –Rural Teacher 23

“Even though one might say it’s ambitious, but first [they] have to increase the salary. Because a well paid teacher is a teacher that is more dedicated” –Rural Teacher 35

“With better salaries. With better salaries because practically we are dedicated to the education, and with the control that we have now, it’s too much work. Full pedagogical working days. So, they have increased our work.” –Urban Teacher 8

“Pay, in the form of pay. The economic condition in Peru, it already obligates us to look for other jobs sometimes. That’s why, for example, we cannot work extra hours for example.” –Urban Interview 12

Following monetary compensation, 39% of rural teachers and 21% of urban teacher participants referred to trainings and educational opportunities as a form of compensation for teachers. Additional training refers to increased opportunities for teachers to learn more, such as trainings or funding to study a higher degree. For example,

“Well, to offer, to give opportunities to for us to do, to go forward with a Masters, no? Imagine! I don’t have a Masters. I stayed only with a Bachelors. But a Masters, well, it’s expensive.” –Rural Teacher 10

“[They] can also offer trainings that don’t, that we don’t have to pay for. There, the teacher that is aware, that wants to go, is given the opportunity. I think that like that, teachers, we are going to feel more incentivized, we are going to feel like we are valued. That they are
offering us something, it can be something symbolic, to be up to date. Because if we are not up to date as teachers, we are bad.” –Urban Teacher 17

Thus, as Urban Teacher 17 explains, trainings would incentivize teachers by providing an opportunity for teachers to be up to date. Or, as Rural Teacher 10 explains, opportunities to study a higher degree are viewed as an incentive to teachers. In light of the fact that the highest pay scales in the 2012 Teacher Career Law are reserved for those teachers with higher degrees, the ability to pursue higher degrees and receive training are relevant for obtaining better salaries as a teacher.

Finally, 24% of rural teachers discussed the importance of compensating teachers through recognition and respect, compared to only 13% of urban teachers. Recognition was explained in terms of receiving congratulatory documents that acknowledges their hard work. For example, as Rural Teacher 24 explains:

“Maybe economically they cant, but if they could give a teacher a congratulatory document, that doesn’t just come from the principal, but from the UGEL or from the Regional Education Authority, we would be leave happy.” –Rural Teacher 24

Also included in this category were perceptions in which respect for their work was viewed as a valuable incentive. Rural Teacher 7 explains as follows:

“Generally in the rural zone, it is not the same as working in the city. It’s good that they give us 100 soles [Peruvian currency] or 120 soles more to those of us that work in the rural zone, but this is not really compensation. What we really want is good treatment. Better treatment, no? From the authorities that consider us… that don’t respect us.” –Rural Teacher 7

Finding that 20% of teachers view social esteem and respect as an incentive for their work is consistent with the findings of Pidello (2013), who found social esteem for teachers to be a significant source of motivation for teachers deciding whether or not to pursue the profession.
Overall, higher pay is viewed by most of the teacher participants (63%) as how teachers should be compensated for their work. However, more urban teachers cited financial compensation than rural teachers. Additional forms of compensation that were frequently cited by teachers were opportunities for additional training, access to higher educational opportunities, respect, and recognition of their work. Here, a higher percentage of rural teachers cited access to training and educational opportunities. Finally, more rural teachers than urban teachers perceived respect and recognition as their preferred form of compensation.

The findings discussed here in response to research question 3 provide insight into teacher perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. Most teachers described vocational motivation for entering the field, based on a love of children, teaching, and lifelong dreams of becoming a teacher. Vocational reasons for entering the field of teaching exemplify what Firestone (2014) characterizes as intrinsic reasons for entering the teaching career. On the other hand, nearly two-thirds of teacher participants mentioned higher pay for teachers as how teachers could best be compensated. Salary increases were described as necessary in the context of allowing teachers more time to dedicate to their profession. In light of Firestone’s (2014) intrinsic/extrinsic motivation typology, teacher perception of the 2012 Teacher Career Law incentives that target extrinsic, economically-based motivations may prove ineffective at incentivizing teachers to improve their work-place competencies. Finally, consistent with previously studies, teachers were not opposed to being evaluated. Both research question 2 and 3 reveal teachers’ perceptions regard evaluation by way of exams as inadequate for evaluating a teacher’s ability. Instead, teachers suggested classroom-based evaluations in which they can demonstrate their pedagogical skills.
Summary

The findings presented in this chapter illuminate teachers’ perceptions and experience of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. The analysis presented here offers insight into which elements of the law teachers accept and those that they do not. Overall, teachers’ opinions of the Teacher Career Law are unfavorable, but rural and urban teacher perceptions differ with respect to specific elements of the law. Differentiating between rural and urban teachers’ perceptions of the new law sheds light on the uneven implementation of the law, for example, by uncovering differentiated access to training. The theoretical framework situates the 2012 Teacher Career Law within a broader neoliberal trend in education policy. As such, this analysis provides evidence of teachers adopting and contesting neoliberal ideologies through their descriptions of their perceptions of the law. Such a phenomenon is reflective of the concept of power-knowledge, in which power shapes both what knowledge is considered important, and what knowledge is sought out and conveyed (Ball, 1990). I argue that this power is embodied by international governing agencies such as the World Bank, the OECD, and the IMF and perpetuated through national education policy. This study shows that teachers are aware of the international factors influencing Peruvian education policy, as well as how such policy affects their lived experience. Teachers perceive their role as agents of change shaping Peruvian citizens in their engagement with education policy. Both rural and urban teachers view the 2012 Teacher Career Law as unfavorable, but differ in the sources of their disapproval. Similarly, both rural and urban teachers were equally motivated by vocation when entering the teaching profession, compared to nearly all women teachers’ and less than half of men teachers. The concluding chapter that follows provides a discussion of the implications of the findings presented here and suggestions of areas for future research.
Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks

In this research project, Peruvian education policy is contextualized within global trends toward the restructuring of education according to neoliberal principles. Neoliberal ideologies and associated practices are created and diffused by international institutions including the World Bank and the OECD, and adopted by national governments through regulatory as well as “soft” mechanisms. The 2012 Teacher Career Law exemplifies such a regulatory mechanism, targeting teacher quality to improve student learning outcomes by creating a meritocratic compensation scheme in which teachers are evaluated by examination of their theoretical and content knowledge. Soft power refers to the creation and widespread application of “standards” that omit socioeconomic, cultural and political contexts. Through the quantification of outcomes and the application of data-driven comparison embodied in the PISA exam (Sellar & Lingard, 2013), educational policy shifts the responsibility associated with educational quality away from the state to individual teachers. As characterized in neoliberal practice, teachers are forced to compete based on individual evaluations in a system that is socially justified by the idea of individual merit and the nebulous link between teachers’ individual meritocratic performance and student learning outcomes. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, Peru’s national education policy has been increasingly subject to international influence over the past 25 years, as education is viewed as a key factor in economic development and global market integration. International influence is evident in a growing emphasis on quantitative indicators of educational attainment, first through measures of student enrollment, and later by student test scores. While Peruvian educational policies had facilitated high rates of student enrollment by the late 1990s, PISA results revealed unfavorable student performance on measures of math and reading comprehension. In this environment of increasing international comparison, Peruvian students’
poor showing on PISA sparked a national debate around education quality. Within the education quality rhetoric, teachers are viewed as instrumental for improving student learning outcomes. Therefore, policy has increasingly targeted teacher quality to improve overall national education quality, as measured by student testing outcomes.

The research presented here provides insights into teacher perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law, which targets teacher quality to facilitate improvements in student learning outcomes. However, by subjecting teachers to periodic evaluation, the new law destabilizes the job security established during the 1980s. While this might not necessarily be construed as negative, it is important to note that the benefits and incentives (such as pay and pensions) for potential teachers are few. Within this context, job security is the main reason anyone would consider such career. Not surprisingly, the new law has received pushback from the teachers union, SUTEP, which has traditionally opposed evaluation. As those targeted by the new law, teachers’ perceptions reflect how the law is interpreted, enacted, and refuted. Therefore, evaluating teachers’ perceptions provides insight as to what teachers accept and reject about the new law, offering solutions for improved implementation that reflects teachers’ needs.

Previous studies offer insight as to how neoliberal principles penetrate national policy decisions with underlying principles of individualism, competition, quantitative measures of quality, and the establishment of meritocracy (Antonio, 2009; Bonanno, 1998; Portes & Hoffman, 2003). In Peru, these principles are evident in the 2012 Teacher Career Law, which has established a meritocratic system in which those teachers deemed the most qualified, are rewarded with higher pay. The first question addressed by this study was in regard to teachers’ perceptions of their role within changing national and international education reforms. In response to the first research question, this study reveals that teachers are aware of the global
actors involved in the shaping their education system, expressing sentiments of concern. However, teachers in this study described themselves as having agency within larger power dynamics. For example, teachers explained their roles as change agents in shaping future citizens of Peru through the work they do with their students. As such, this study demonstrates that teachers in Peru do not view themselves as passive receptors of national education policy. This finding contributes what Ball (2006) describes as “people’s perception and experiences” (p. 43), as policy interacts with history, previous legislation, and the contextual realities of those affected. It implies that teachers perceive Peru’s current society as in need of change, situating themselves as active agents of change through forming future citizens.

As suggested by Foucault (Ball, 1990), the rhetoric teachers’ employ when voicing their perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law is indicative of power-knowledge interactions. Interviews with teachers revealed how the paradigm of neoliberalism infiltrates what we take to be legitimate knowledge (Ball, 1990). Sixty-three percent of teachers in this study used what I define as neoliberal terminology in discussions of the new law. This is significant for understanding how concepts such as competition, individual responsibility, and meritocratic measures come to be understood and normalized. Indeed, 40% of teachers perceived the encouragement of individual responsibility among teachers to be a benefit of the new law. This finding elucidates teachers’ discourse around changing educational policies. Specifically, it demonstrates how teachers perceive their roles as they interact with the international discourse of teacher quality within the neoliberal development agenda. Therefore, findings from this study suggest that teachers have adopted neoliberal terminology that is used to describe their perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. However, this does not suggest that teachers are necessarily accepting the ideals inherent in the neoliberal paradigm. While further research is
needed to draw more explicit connections between teachers’ discourse and practice, this study reveals that teachers are active agents in the production of power and knowledge. Teachers both adopt the language of neoliberalism and disrupt its uniform diffusion by situating themselves as agents of change.

In response to the second research question, this study sought to identify if and how rural and urban teacher perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law differed. Evidence from this study suggests that teachers’ perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law are unfavorable overall, both for teachers in rural and urban areas. However, teachers expressed agreement with some elements of the law, and disagreement with others. In general, more teachers disagreed with elements of the law than agreed, particularly in reference to the exam-based evaluation of teachers. Rural and urban teachers identified different elements of the law that they disagreed with. For example, rural teachers expressed more skepticism with regard to new law’s faithful and fair implementation, whereas urban teachers expressed more concern for the loss of job stability related to periodic evaluation. On the other hand, both rural and urban teachers identified elements of the law that they perceived as favorable, such as the competitive mechanisms that encourage teachers to be better prepared.

A key tenet of the 2012 Teacher Career Law is to establish a meritocratic system in which teachers are ranked based on knowledge-based quality standards. While studies on the impact of teacher knowledge on student learning are inconclusive (Metzler & Woessman, 2010; Mitchell et al., 2001; Yuan et al., 2013), an exam-based measure of teachers’ theoretical and content knowledge is established in the 2012 Teacher Career Law as the primary measure of teacher competency. Consistent with previous studies (Gastañadui, 2013; van der Tuin & Verger, 2013), 59% of teacher participants in this study expressed concerns of corruption in the
evaluation process. However, both rural and urban teachers alike did not convey opposition to being evaluated. Indeed, consistent with Gastañadui’s (2013) study, 70% of teacher participants for this study said that teachers should be evaluated. However, they did not perceive exam-based evaluation to adequately capture teacher competency.

A number of key findings from this study offer insight as to how new law is being implemented unevenly, favoring teachers in urban areas, and contributing to increasing inequality between rural and urban areas. Teachers’ discussions of the access, quality, and relevance of trainings revealed that rural teachers were receiving fewer and less helpful training opportunities than urban teachers at the time of this study. In addition, consistent with previous studies (Alcázar et al., 2006; Baanante, 2005), urban teachers in this study were shown to have higher levels of education than rural teachers, demonstrating how teacher placement practices have favored urban schools by equipping them with more highly educated teachers. Because the new law offers financial incentives for higher levels of education, the evidence here suggests that teachers in urban settings will be more likely to reach these higher pay scales than teachers in rural areas. Research for this study was conducted in 2015, and therefore it is possible that the training that has been available to urban teachers will be extended to rural teachers in subsequent years. However, the findings presented here reveal a compounding effect in which the most educated teachers receive the most training at the early stages of the law’s implementation. The implications of these findings are such that teachers in rural and urban areas are receiving differentiated degrees of information about the new law and the new curriculum, ultimately contributing to the unequal distribution of the financial benefits associated with the law.

The 2012 Teacher Career Law is contextualized in this study as embodying the politics of blame, in which blame for low student learning outcomes is predominantly placed on teachers.
This leads to policy that targets teacher quality through knowledge-based, quantifiable measures of merit. Thrupp (1998) described politics of blame as policy that decontextualizes teaching and learning from broader socioeconomic factors, enabling policy makers to place blame entirely on one sector of education. Based on this analysis, teachers themselves perceived such blame being attributed to teachers for the educational shortcomings of Peruvian students. However, teachers identified different contextual realities as impacting student learning outcomes. Teachers identified factors such as parent illiteracy, student malnutrition, and poverty as impacting the learning of their students. Furthermore, rural teachers perceived these differences as making their job more complicated and difficult than the media and policymakers portray it. Both rural and urban teachers perceived these socioeconomic factors as noteworthy differences between the work of rural teachers and urban teachers. Contextual impacts on student learning counters the logic inherent in the 2012 Teacher Career Law, which does not incorporate contextual effects on student learning, and instead shifts responsibility for student learning on the knowledge and educational qualifications of teachers. Indeed, in light of the fact that the 2012 Teacher Career Law evaluates teachers from rural and urban areas equally, this finding implies that there are significant differences in regard to the work-place challenges between rural and urban teachers. Based on the findings of this study, such differences should be taken into account in the evaluation and reward policies inherent in the law.

The third research question addressed by this study is in regard to whether or not the incentives offered by the 2012 Teacher Career Law match what teachers themselves express as reasons for entering and remaining in the teaching career. Indeed, teacher motivation was a key theme in participant interviews. For example, teachers perceived growing societal disrespect for the teaching profession, a factor that Pidello et al. (2013) found to have a significant influence on
those deciding to become teachers. Furthermore, Oliart (2007) found that those entering the teaching profession in Lima primarily did so as a last resort, or because it was perceived as an easy option. The implications of these studies’ findings suggest that social esteem for the work of teachers would motivate teachers in the field, as well as attract qualified teachers to consider teaching as a career. Increased respect and social esteem for teachers is a multifaceted issue, requiring public figures and policy makers to extend respect and social esteem through both their policies and public statements.

The 2012 Teacher Career Law targets teachers’ extrinsic motivations, assuming teachers will improve their work-place performance competencies in exchange for higher salaries (Firestone, 2014). However, rewarding teachers with higher salaries based on their theoretical knowledge may undermine their intrinsic reasons for entering the field (Firestone, 2014). Evidence from this study shows that most teachers, women teachers in particular, predominantly chose the profession for vocational reasons associated with intrinsic motivation, such as working with children and enjoying teaching. While teachers had no qualms with their work being evaluated; over half of the participants in this study felt evaluation in their classrooms would be a more effective strategy for evaluating the quality of teachers’ work. Furthermore, few teachers identified better salaries as a benefit of the new law, implying that the pathway to higher salaries celebrated by the new law’s advocates is not perceived as beneficial by teachers’ themselves. While teachers in this study did perceive higher pay as an appropriate mechanism for compensating teachers, they qualified higher pay as a way to free up their time and reduce financial stressors, enabling them to focus their energy on teaching. Such findings indicate that teachers do not feel that their compensation is adequate in proportion to the increasing demands on their work. Somewhat paradoxically, teachers did perceive that the law pushes them to be
better prepared in terms of being up to date on their pedagogical methods and information, reflecting the laws efficacy at motivating teachers in this regard.

The long-term effects of the 2012 Teacher Career Law on student learning outcomes will only be evidenced over time. Student test score data on ECE and PISA exams in subsequent years will offer insight as to the efficacy of the new education policy in Peru. However, this research suggests that test scores may obscure socioeconomic factors that affect learning, leading to politics of blame targeting teacher quality rather than structural issues of poverty and inequality (Thrupp, 1998). Furthermore, student test scores can be seen as a mechanism for infusing a neoliberal agenda into education policy, as nations are compared based on quantitative standards established by the OECD (Sellar & Lingard, 2013). Therefore, future research on Peruvian educational outcomes should evaluate student test scores as one indicator of student learning that is mediated by other variables, such as the area in which students live, students’ family situations, poverty, and the experience and training of students’ teachers.

Within this study, the differences between rural and urban teacher perceptions have been emphasized, contributing to previous work that had focused on teachers working in urban areas of Peru. Additional variables that differentiate teacher perceptions should be considered in future research. For example, indicators such as teacher participation with SUTEP, age, and history of participation in teacher protests would shed light on the factors influencing teacher resistance or adoption of the 2012 Teacher Career Law. Furthermore, as this study focused on teachers in the northern Andes, additional research is needed that spans the regional diversity of teacher experiences in the country. For example, research could compare teacher perceptions of education policy change from the coastal, jungle, and Andean regions representing variable socioeconomic and environmental contexts. Research that incorporates a wider scope of
education stakeholder voices would also add nuance and richness to the findings presented in this research. The incorporation of a broad range of perceptions enrich would these findings, allowing larger social beliefs about education policy to be identified. For example, student, parent, and authority perceptions of the new law would provide nuanced understanding of the broader social opinion and reaction to such change. Furthermore, follow up studies of teacher perceptions over time will reveal how teachers’ perceptions either solidify or change as the law continues to be implemented.

The key findings suggest a number of policy recommendations to augment teacher approval of and the law and facilitate its implementation. First, based on Mizala and Schneider’s (2014) study of successful education policy implementation, open communication with teachers’ unions or representatives of those most affected by new policy facilitates effective implementation. An open and engaged dialogue with SUTEP would lend legitimacy to the government’s new policy, minimizing teacher opposition. However, this strategy would only be effective if such a dialogue was open to possible adjustments or changes to the new law, reflecting an agreement between the two representative bodies. For example, given teachers’ concern over the implementation and adequacy of the exam-based evaluation, one such policy alteration may involve reconsidering the teacher evaluation strategy. Based on the findings established in this study, teachers would be less resistant to evaluation methods that captured their multidimensional work in the classroom and the different socioeconomic factors that affect their students’ learning. Evidence from this study suggests that evaluation mechanisms such as classroom or peer-to-peer evaluations, given equal weight with the exam-based evaluation, would likely face less resistance from teachers, potentially minimizing teacher protests and discontent. Concern about corruption also suggests that stronger oversight of the exam-based
evaluation is needed. One example would be stronger sanctions for those suspected of buying or selling the exams or exam keys prior to testing. Another suggestion would be to provide the administrators of the exam with the questions the day of the exam to minimize opportunities to sell the exam key prior to the test.

Given that teachers expressed concern about the loss of job security, additional effort should be made to ensure teachers are aware of teachers’ rights under the new law. Indeed, the new law stipulates that teachers will receive additional training after each poor outcome on an evaluative exam, government officials must ensure that such trainings are offered evenly and appropriately. In light of the uneven access to trainings illuminated by this study, outreach of teacher trainings stipulated under the 2012 Teacher Career Law should be expanded to better reach rural teachers. Rural teachers often have to travel long distances to and from their places of employment. Therefore, trainings could be offered in individual schools or in centralized rural areas for those teachers in surrounding schools.

Additional policy recommendations drawn from this study are in regard to incentives targeting teachers’ extrinsic motivations. Evidence from this study suggests that teachers enter and remain in the teaching career for vocational reasons. While teacher participants in this study did feel motivated by the new law to improve their knowledge, policy that seeks to incentivize teachers primarily through financial reward may ultimately undermine teachers’ intrinsic motivations. To ensure that competent and qualified teachers receive compensation that satisfies both their intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, teachers could be offered scholarships for higher education opportunities, or awards that recognize teachers’ work alongside salary increases for high performing teachers. However, as with teacher evaluation strategies, the government should be open to negotiating teacher compensation with SUTEP. Furthermore, such alternative
incentives must be based on fair evaluation of teacher ability that captures the multiple dimensions of their work.

In conclusion, this research provides insight into teacher perceptions of the 2012 Teacher Career Law, offering insight as to how education policy is interpreted, enacted, and refuted. Evidence from this project suggests that teachers are very concerned about corruption in the exam-based teacher evaluations. Furthermore, teachers are resoundingly in favor of being evaluated, but do not perceive exam-based evaluation as an appropriate measure of their work and abilities. Finally, a key finding of this study is that rural teachers have less access to training than urban teachers, contributing to uneven implementation and redistribution of benefits that may perpetuate student learning inequalities by area.
References


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Appendix A: Interview Questions (English)

Hello, my name is Carolyn Reyes and I am a Masters student in Rural Sociology at The Pennsylvania State University in the United States. I am conducting a research project on the new magisterial reform law passed in 2012 and its implications on rural teachers. I am not affiliated with the UGEL (Local Education Management Unit) or the Ministry of Education. Rather, this is a completely independent project.

I am asking you to be in this research study because you are currently a teacher in a public school in a rural area. I will be interviewing approximately 30 teachers from different schools around the region. The interview will take about 40 minutes. You are free to decline to be interviewed or end the interview at your discretion. Whether or not you take part is up to you. You can agree to take part and later change your mind. Your decision will not be held against you.

If you agree to participate in an interview, everything you say will be strictly confidential. Your identity will not be disclosed or discernable in any future report that I write. Your name, location and distinguishable features will be changed in any written work.

With your permission, I will record our conversation so as to be able to recall specific details. If you prefer that this interview not be recorded but would still like to participate, will you permit me to take time to make hand-written notes? Do you understand the information I have read to you? Do you have any questions before we begin? Do I have your permission to turn on the tape-recorder and begin with the interview questions?

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<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<td>1. Name</td>
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<td>2. Topics currently teaching</td>
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<td>3. Grade level/s currently teaching</td>
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<td>4. How many students this year?</td>
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<td>5. How many years have you been teaching?</td>
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<td>6. How many years teaching at this school?</td>
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<td>7. What is your professional grade?</td>
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8. Where did you get your higher education studies?

| University | Technical Institute | Other |

9. I would like you to think back to when you decided to be a teacher. What made you decide to become a teacher? Why?

10. How has being a teacher changed over time in your opinion? Why? What have been some of the most important factors that shaped these changes, in your opinion?

11. In your opinion, what effects have legal changes had on teachers? How so?

12. Have you heard of the new Magisterial Reform Law? Or, of the Public Magisterial Career?
   a. (IF YES) Tell me a little about what you know about the law.
   b. (IF NO) The law was passed at the end of 2012. It changes the formerly 5-scale career ladder to eight. Those who are already in service as teachers will be put in the first, second or third scales according to certain evaluation requisites. To ascend to a higher scale, all teachers will have to wait the designated number of years in each scale, and then participate in an evaluation in the form of a nationally administered exam. Rural teachers can participate in the exam and advance a pay scale in one less year per scale than urban teachers.

13. Have you participated in one of the evaluations for teachers in the past 2 years?
   (YES) a. What do you think about the evaluations?
      b. Do you perceive that the exam adequately evaluates the abilities that teachers should have? How so or how not?
      c. If you could change them, what would you change?
   (NO) Do you have any intention to participate in an evaluation in the future?
      Why yes or no?

14. In your opinion, do teacher evaluations influence the work environment in schools? If so, in what ways?
15. In your experience, do you feel most teachers are interested in participating in the examinations? Why or why not? What do you think, would make them more interested?

16. Have you participated in any additional teacher training in the past two years? Why? What were they? Were they helpful?

17. What type of training do you think would be the most useful for rural teachers?

18. If it were up to you, what would you change, if anything, about new teacher evaluation system?

19. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

20. Is there anyone you know who I might contact to talk about these issues?
Hola, mi nombre es Carolyn Booth Reyes y soy alumna de maestría de sociología rural en la Universidad de Penn State de los EEUU. Estoy realizando un proyecto que se trata de profesores trabajando en zonas rurales y la nueva ley de reforma magisterial aprobada en 2012. No estoy afiliada con la UGEL o el Ministerio de Educación. Más bien, es un proyecto completamente independiente.

Le estoy pidiendo que participe en esta investigación porque usted es actualmente un/a profesor/a en una escuela pública en una zona rural. Estaré entrevistando aproximadamente 30 profesores de diferentes colegios en esta región. La entrevista demorará aproximadamente una hora. La decisión participar es la suya. Se puede participar o no, o luego cambiar su mente. Su decisión no estará retenido contra usted.

Si usted este de acuerdo en participar en una entrevista conmigo, le garantizo que todo lo que usted diga se estará considerado y tratado como confidencial y que su identidad no estará discernible en cualquier futuro informe que yo escriba. Cambiare su nombre de usted, el lugar y cualquier otro detalle que le distinga en cualquier informe escrita.

Con su permiso, grabare la conversación para poder recordar los detalles específicos. ¿Entiende usted la información que le he leído? ¿Tiene alguna pregunta antes de empezar? ¿Tengo su permiso a prender la grabadora? ¿Tengo su permiso proceder con esta entrevista grabada?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pregunta</th>
<th>Respuesta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nombre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ¿Desde que año esta enseñando usted?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Usted enseña. ¿Siempre ha enseñado este nivel?</td>
<td>Primaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Siempre ha enseñado en zona rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ¿Por cuantos años ha enseñado usted en esta I.E.?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ¿Cuántos alumnos tiene este año?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ¿Cuántos alumnos tuviste el</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. ¿Ha cambiado el número de estudiantes por año en los últimos 10 años?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Si</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

9. ¿Donde realizó sus estudios superiores?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universidad</th>
<th>Instituto Técnico</th>
<th>Otro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

10. ¿El grado profesional de usted es…?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contratado</th>
<th>Titulado</th>
<th>Nombrado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

11. ¿Qué le motivó para ser docente? ¿Cuáles fueron las razones principales por las cuales decidió seguir esta carrera de profesor/a?

12. ¿En su opinión, han cambiado los motivos por los cuales usted decidió ser profesor/a? ¿Por qué? ¿En su opinión, cuáles han sido algunos factores en los últimos 10 años que han contribuido a estos cambios?

*Ahora me gustaría hablar de algunos de los cambios legales en el sistema educativo en los últimos años.*

13. ¿Han habido cambios estructurales o legislativos en los últimos 10 años que hayan influido en la manera que usted haga su trabajo?

14. ¿Usted ha escuchado acerca de la Ley de Profesorado? O, ¿de la Carrera Pública Magisterial? ¿Cómo se enteró de esta ley?

   a. (SI) ¿Me puede explicar que significa estas leyes?

   b. (NO) La ley fue promulgado a fines del 2012. La Ley cambia las cinco escalas anteriores de la carrera magisterial a ocho. Los que ya están en servicio como profesor estarán puestos en la primera, segunda o tercera escala de acorde con ciertos requisitos de evaluación. Para acceder a una escala más alto, todo profesor tendrá que participar en una evaluación en la forma de un concurso nacional. Docentes podrán participar en el examen y acceder a la siguiente escala después de pertenecer el número de años indicado en cada escala. Docentes en zonas rurales podrán participar en los concursos perteneciendo en cada escala por un año menos que los de zonas urbanas.

15. ¿Qué opina de ella (la ley de Reforma Magisterial)?

16. ¿Ha participado usted en alguna de las evaluaciones realizadas a los docentes en los últimos 5 años?
a. ¿Qué le parece los diferentes partes del examen? Por ejemplo, en la sección de “conocimiento del estudiante,” “conocimiento de la didáctica” o “conocimiento de la especialidad.”

b. ¿Percibe usted que el examen evalúa adecuadamente las habilidades que los profesores deben de tener? ¿Cómo así o cómo no?

(NO) ¿Tiene alguna intención participar en una evaluación en el futuro? ¿Por qué sí o no?

17. ¿Qué influencia tienen las evaluaciones en su trabajo como docente? ¿En qué manera está influye el desempeño en las aulas escolares?

18. ¿En su opinión, usted cree que la mayoría de profesores están interesados en participar en las evaluaciones? ¿Por qué sí o no?

19. ¿Cree que el examen capta el nivel de conocimiento u habilidad de los docentes?

20. ¿En su opinión, cree que se deberían de evaluar los docentes? ¿En cuales maneras deberían evaluar a los docentes?

21. ¿Qué tipo de capacitación han ofrecido el UGEL o el estado para los docentes? ¿Usted ha participado? ¿Eran de alguna ayuda?

22. ¿Qué tipo de capacitación cree usted que sería más útil para docentes?

23. ¿Usted cree que hay una diferencia en los tipos de capacitación necesitada para profesores en zonas rurales comparado con profesores en zonas urbanas? ¿por qué sí o no? ¿Cómo serían diferentes?

24. ¿En su opinión, de que manera se les puede compensar a los docentes para su trabajo?

25. ¿Hay algo más que quisiera agregar?

26. ¿Conoce alguna otra persona que yo podría contactar para hablar de estos temas?
Appendix C: IRB Approval

EXEMPTION DETERMINATION

Date: March 6, 2015

From: Courtney Whetzel, IRB Analyst

To: Carolyn Booth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Submission:</th>
<th>Initial Study</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title of Study:</td>
<td>Motivating the Motivators: Rural Teacher Incentives in the 2012 Peruvian Teacher Career Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal Investigator:</td>
<td>Carolyn Booth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study ID:</td>
<td>STUDY00001986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submission ID:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Funding:</td>
<td>International Programs (UNIVERSITY PARK)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Documents Approved:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
  - Certification of Translation (HRP 597), Category: Other
  - INTAD Graduate Research Competitive Grant Application (0.01), Category: Sponsor Attachment
  - Protocol for Human Subject Research (HRP591), Category: IRB Protocol
  - Solicitud UGEL English (0.01), Category: Other
  - Interview Questions - English (0.01), Category: Data |
The Office for Research Protections determined that the proposed activity, as described in the above-referenced submission, does not require formal IRB review because the research met the criteria for exempt research according to the policies of this institution and the provisions of applicable federal regulations.

Continuing Progress Reports are **not** required for exempt research. Record of this research determined to be exempt will be maintained for five years from the date of this notification. If your research will continue beyond five years, please contact the Office for Research Protections closer to the determination end date.

Changes to exempt research only need to be submitted to the Office for Research Protections in limited circumstances described in the below-referenced Investigator Manual. If changes are being considered and there are questions about whether IRB review is needed, please contact the Office for Research Protections.

Penn State researchers are required to follow the requirements listed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103), which can be found by navigating to the IRB Library within CATS IRB (http://irb.psu.edu).

This correspondence should be maintained with your records.