#8

Documento de Trabajo del IPES
Monitor Social del Uruguay

Primary Education:
Changing Mainstay of Uruguay

Juan A. Bogliaccini

IPES

Universidad Católica
DAMASO A. LARRAÑAGA • URUGUAY

EMBAJADA DE ESPAÑA EN URUGUAY
COOPERACIÓN ESPAÑOLA

CDD 300
ISSN: 1510-5628

Serie Documentos de Trabajo del IPES / Colección Monitor Social Nº8
Uruguay asiste a una radical transformación de su matriz social y de sus mecanismos de integración social. El Monitor Social del Uruguay recoge los aportes de los investigadores del IPES a la comprensión de dichas transformaciones y de la realidad actual del Uruguay social. Este Monitor pretende aportar información y análisis que permita el seguimiento de la situación social de los uruguayos. Mediante tales aportes se busca contribuir a modelar agendas sociales así como lograr una mejor comprensión de las dinámicas económicas y sociales que operan en la producción de desigualdad, pobreza y exclusión social del Uruguay.

Programa IPES
Facultad de Ciencias Humanas
Universidad Católica del Uruguay
Dep. Legal 326.861

Primary Education: Changing Mainstay of Uruguay

Juan A. Bogliaccini

La versión original de este trabajo fue publicada en Noblit, G. and Pink, W. (2006) International Handbook of Education. University of North Carolina & Marquette University. USA.

ABSTRACT

The Uruguayan public educational system is undergoing profound changes in response to the deep transformations Uruguay has gone through for the last decades in terms of increasing inequality and social segregation. Starting from the public primary education, the social problems above mentioned, and the educational reform of 1995, this article analyses the main tensions educational system faces concerning the opposition between the Traditional Educational Model which is not able to respond to new challenges, and the Full Time Model that is able to establish a virtuous circle, integrating the most underprivileged children with teachers of great experience and schools provided with the best resources offered by the system.

INTRODUCTION 1.

Traditionally one of the countries of highest human development in Latin America, Uruguay is a small and eminently urban country, with an extended welfare state and universal education. From the beginnings of the 20th century, education has been one of its main tools for the constitution of nationality and citizenship.

Considering the change of the development models the region and Uruguay experimented, switching from an Import Substitution Model (ISM) to an export-oriented model, the second half of the 20th century entailed a series of changes in the social structures of the country. Poverty and inequality indicators grew and the architecture of the welfare state gradually lost its capacity to give response to a changing structure of social risks (Filgueira et al. 2005). Education did not escape from this.

In 1995, there is a revolution in the educational public system caused by the reform carried out by the national government. This reform has subordinated most of its strategies to the equity in resources (with compensatory emphasis) and results with centralized models that combine focalization and universalization of resources assignment. In primary educational level, Full-Time School model has been its main and more successful tool[1].

Eleven years after the beginning of the reform, the educational system faces, from the point of view of its organization, a group of tensions between the traditional structure and the emerging model. These challenges refer to the following four aspects: Teachers´ stability in schools, degree of autonomy between the school and the central administration, cultural impoverishment of the underprivileged social sectors, and the necessity of basing the expansion of the new model on a series of essential resources. There follows an analysis of the educational system characteristics associated to these four tensions, and a discussion of the most important risks in terms of universalizing the emerging transformation.

[1] To study the Uruguayan Full Time School Model, check **Administración Nacional de Educación Pública (National Board of Public Education – ANEP) (1997)** "*Propuesta pedagógica para las escuelas de Tiempo Completo" [Pedagogical Proposal to Full-Time Schools].* MECAEP – ANEP – BIRF Project. Uruguay.

THE PUBLIC PRIMARY EDUCATION AND THE 20TH CENTURY 2.

a. The Principles of Public Education in Uruguay

The principle of equal opportunities at education has been present in the ideal of Uruguayans since Varela's Reform at the end of the 20th century[2]. This reform planned education taking into account three principles that sought to guarantee this equality concept: *compulsory, secular and free of charge education* in a modernized Uruguay that was receiving a steady flow of immigrants mostly from Western Europe. As the 20th century passed by, these principles have reached the category of dogmas, becoming a constituent aspect of the national culture.

Table 1. Population composition of Uruguay by origin

	Uruguayans		Foreigners		Total
	Population	%	Population	%	Population
1860	147.557	66	74.849	34	222.406
1908	801.464	83	181.222	17	1.042.686

Source: Juan Rial. Estadísticas históricas del Uruguay (Historical Statistics of Uruguay)

The principle of *compulsory education* became a major element in the constitution of Uruguayan nationality since it gave rise to a common language and symbolic universe among immigrants of different nations. Varela's thought is greatly influenced by the thought of the Argentinean Domingo Sarmiento[3], whose civilizing ideal is summarized on his famous dialectic distinction between "civilización y barbarie" (civilization and barbarity). The principle of *free of charge education* sought, along with the compulsoriness, to universalize the registration in education. The State affords the costs of public education at every level, including university education. Finally, the *principle of secular education* sought to guarantee the hegemonic role of the State in said constitution of the national identity, in a society who lived strong confrontations between Catholic Church, State and Masonry.

b. Early Achievement in Coverage and Arrival of System Crisis

Since Varela's reform, Uruguay attained a major achievement in terms of education. The illiteracy rate started to decrease steeply, and in the first decades of the 20th

[2] José Pedro Varela, who publishes his first pedagogical work: "La educación del pueblo" [The Education of the People] in 1874 and "La legislación escolar" [School Legislation] in 1876, is commissioned by the President Gral. Lorenzo Latorre to elaborate the basis of a national educational system in 1876. Varela has become a symbol of Uruguayan culture and education. To study Varela read: **Demarchi, M. and Rodríguez H. (2000)** *José Pedro Varela (1845 – 1879).* Perspectives : revue trimestrielle d'éducation comparée. Bureau international d'éducation, vol. XXIV, n° 3/4, 1994 (91/92) p. 733-749. UNESCO. Paris.

[3] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento had a preponderant influence in Varela's thought, who met him during his travels to the United States and with whom he established a rich epistolary exchange. His work "Facundo", written in 1851 reflects Sarmiento's thought. **Sarmiento, D. (1967)** *Facundo. Civilización y barbarie [Civilization and Barbarity].* Colección Austral. Argentina.

century, the country appeared among the Latin American countries with highest education development. To the middle of 1960s, the 91.6% of population assist to primary education, the 23.2% of youths between 12 and 18 years old assist to secondary education, and the 1.9% of people older than 18 assist to post secondary education. Historically, registration in primary education has been mainly public[4]. In 2004, the 87.8% of primary education is public, against a 12.2% of registration in private schools[5].

Table 2. Number of schools and registered children

	Public		Private	
	Schools	Children	Schools	Children
1868	121	9.201	---	---
1876	196	17.451	225	6.631
1883	303	26.169	423	19.244
1887	366	30.572	441	21.810
1896	533	51.312	379	22.689
1900	571	52.474	344	18.066
1905	619	57.638	301	17.794
1911	793	74.717	300	20.443
1914	997	94.940	219	20.006

Source: Morás, L. "De la Tierra Purpúrea al laboratorio social" (From Purple Land to Social Laboratory).

However, since 1970s, the Uruguayan educational system became threatened by three different factors that appeared in its bosom. These factors attack both the homogenizing goal of the system, and its centralized administration. The appearance of preschool education (education of children of 4 and 5 years old), mainly of private initiative, was gradual but determined. This education started to replace the first year of public basic education as genesis of the socialization process of children from most privileged socio-economic sectors[6]. When private initiative appeared in preschool education, a sector predominantly managed by the State, it started to retain students for the following grades of education. This situation enabled the growth of private offer, receiving these upper classes that can afford their own education, discarding the free of charge but not extended option of lower quality education offered by the State. Furthermore, even when children who have attended private preschool then migrate to public schools, they arrive to first grade with significant advantages over children who have not attended preschool.

Another process that increasingly settles in the country and its educational system comes from the double segmentation between public and private system in primary, but mainly between schools with favorable contexts and schools with unfavorable

[4] In Uruguay, the State does not take part in the funding of primary educational schools of private management. The structural matrix is hegemonically public, with 87.7% of coverage entrusted to the State. See percentages of participation in public and private education by income quintile in Table 8 below. However, the experience of "Care Centers for Children and Family" (CAIF) constitutes a successful national experience of public funding and private management. CAIF offers comprehensive care for children up to four years old, from low economic and cultural contexts (Filgueira and Bogliaccini, 2004).

[5] Data from the Educational Statistics Department, ANEP.

[6] To study the results of the expansion of public preschool education offer since educational reform of 1995, read Filgueira and Bogliaccini 2004.

contexts[7]. Given the primary coverage matrix that covers 86.1% of school population between six to eleven years old in 2000 *(table 8)*, the main inequality factor is the segmentation in the public system due to the registration according to school areas within an urban matrix in a residential segregation process that took place in the last decades. Actually, the State effort to universalize basic school attendance triggered, as stated above, a rapid growth of registration since 1960, giving space to private initiative but also permitting the massification of registration. Sectors of higher socio-economic power intensified the search for solutions to the new problem outside the public system.

Both situations constitute a third threaten factor to public educational system, especially in primary level: increasing territorial segmentation that affects the equity of a registration system based on territory. Public schools start to differentiate from each other in terms of target population and the population starts choosing schools placed in neighborhoods with favorable contexts over those placed in neighborhoods with critical contexts. This entails a deep segmentation process regarding quality in education, especially in human resources available in the different social contexts. All of which is a consequence of teachers´ employment strategies: choosing schools with higher socio-cultural level instead of those increasingly impoverished.

c. Centralized Administration that Generates Incoherence

The centralized management of Uruguayan educational system is regulated by the State, mainly through inspection system[8]. Some examples of this powerful centralism in public schools are the statutory procedures they must follow. Schools lack their own resources: furniture and implements, therefore, they have to ask the National Board of Education (ANEP) for the necessary goods. ANEP distributes every material, be it the needed chalks for the academic year or the books used in different academic subjects[9]. Even maintenance and necessary repairs including replacement of broken glasses, plumbing, carpentry or paintwork have to be done by an official hired by ANEP and assigned for the case; otherwise, money should be contributed by the parents' commission or other occasional benefactor.

In Uruguay, the main sources of inequality in the assignment of school resources are: the political capacity of better schools to obtain more central resources; the possibility of schools to have access to contributions from parent's commissions; and the distribution and rotation degree of teachers and principals in schools of different socio-educational contexts. (da Silveira and Queirolo 1998; Filgueira and Martínez

[7] From the National Learning Census executed by UMRE in 1996 at sixth grade of public and private schools nationwide, these were grouped under five categories according to socio-cultural context that was defined by two indicators: educational level of the mother and equipment of the home. Groups were denominated as "very favorable", "favorable", "middle", "unfavorable" and "very unfavorable".

[8] The inspectorate is the main formal communication channel between the school and the main office of the system, as well as with other public or private schools. Inspectors are selected through public examination among those school principals who want to run for the post. Inspectors assess teachers and principals of a certain number of schools appointed by territorial areas, and they watch over the proper functioning of the schools in his/her care, on behalf of the educational system. Likewise, the inspector is the channel by which school communicates with the main office and vice versa, however, ANEP uses, as well, the circular letter system to send direct and general messages to schools.

[9] This last issue constitutes a part of a program promoted by the 1995 Reform in order to give every student of the public system access to the academically necessary supplies.

2001; García Huidobro 2003; Filgueira and Bogliaccini 2004; Bogliaccini 2001 y 2004). There are important differences in terms of educational equipment videos, library, TV, etc. A basic equipment index made by the technical systems of ANEP shows that 24% of schools with a very unfavorable context lack equipment, and only 2% of schools with a favorable context are in the same position.

However, this huge centralizing structure that intervenes in every hidden corner of the system refuses to directly manage the teachers and principals allocation system. In contrast with the centralizing logic, this allocation is decided according to the statutes of school choosing which establish a mechanism of teacher autonomy to choose the school of his/her preference and to change the center at will, within a framework of teaching staff organization that gives priority to those with seniority in the system.

Teachers and principals allocation system works as follows: every year teachers choose among available positions. Once the total positions are defined, there is an election of teaching hours in every department of the country. If wanted, teachers can register in two different departments for such election. Standards in force stipulate a complex mechanism governed by a *"precedence order by grade in decreasing order"*[10]. This mechanism establishes that effective teachers choose before provisional teachers and substitutes, teachers with higher grade choose before those with lower grade and, within each grade, the ones with higher score choose before the ones with lower score. Final distribution of teachers in schools depends on the results of such mechanism. Neither authorities, nor principals or parents have jurisdiction in that matter, except in the case of authorities, who can suppress, transfer or create positions by an indirect mechanism. The only limit to the choices of a teacher are the choices of the others, or more precisely, the choices of those teachers placed in a better position in the "precedence order".

Table 3: Teacher stability in schools of public educational system (1996-2002)

		Public-Montevideo			Public-Interior			**Total**
		Average	Favorable context	Unfavorable context	Average	Favorable context	Unfavorable context	
New teachers	1996	51.5	40.9	61.4	45.8	37.7	48.3	46.9
	2002	44.2	40.4	53.7	44.2	30.8	47.4	44.2
Stable teachers	1996	10.5	15.9	3.6	25.6	34.4	23.9	22.6
	2002	18.4	14.9	14.7	21.0	26.2	19.5	20.4

Source: National Learning Census 1996 (UMRE) and Survey of Registration, Teachers and Equipment - General Administration of Planning and Educational Management (2002).

• Data to public system originate from the information of urban schools that were included in both surveys.

[10] See the *Statute of Teachers*, particularly articles 13 and 14. This same mechanism appears in the regulations of Decentralized Boards.

The information that arose from the teacher survey in 1996 and 2002, suggests that the allocation of teachers has a negative bias strongly related to socio-cultural contexts of schools. In general terms, in both years, the percentage of young teachers in schools with favorable context is significantly lower than in schools with unfavorable ones (IIPE-ANEP, 2003 / ANEP, 2002). This distortion in the allocation gets confirmed in all public schools of the country. There is a greater difference concerning the levels of teachers´ stability depending on the educational center.

In this case, the amount of teachers working in the center for less than two years (new teachers) is significantly higher in unfavorable contexts rather than favorable ones. The system of teachers' allocation contributes to the weakening of the identity of the school and its center project because given certain score, the teacher acquires the right to choose the school, and the lack of other incentives cause a constant rotation of human resources. This mainly affects schools not wanted by teachers, generally those that receive students from income quintiles 1 and 2 (the poorer 40 per cent of Uruguayans). An allocation system that leaves the school election to the teacher, without any restriction or corrective measure, in a context of educational segmentation between schools of different average socio-educational levels gives this result.

d. The 1990s Decade and the Educational Reform

When democracy returned in 1985, public education was in a state of crisis. Some of the most prominent symptoms of the crisis were: lean wages, inappropriate infrastructure, crowded classes and a great number of parents who have chosen to leave the system and look for private alternatives. There were no attempts of structural reforms during the first Sanguinetti administration (1985-1989). The Lacalle administration (1990-1994) developed a system by which some schools of neighborhoods with unfulfilled basic needs (UBN) were defined as schools of "priority care". Teachers' wages of those schools rose as a bonus.

In 1995, with the arrival of the second Sanguinetti administration (1995-1999), an ambitious project of reform was launched. It sought to revert, from a centralist logic, these desegregating processes through the improvement of quality in education, through the development of equity and a higher administrative efficiency. The Batlle Ibáñez administration (2000-2004) continued with the educational policy started in 1995, though with less determination and leadership than the preceding lustrum. The current Vázquez administration (2005-2009) has not followed a defined policy in terms of education during its first year. It continued with the main lines of reform in primary school education and promoted a revision –more political and sectorial than technical– in middle school.

During the first five years, reform was planned and conducted by Germán Rama, sociologist and professor, who had accumulated many researches regarding Uruguayan educational system when working for the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in Montevideo. During the 1995 Educational Reform, the administration and the decision making remained centralized. During the last years, a discussion has been established within the educational environment

concerning the grade in which autonomy of educational centers could foster institutional strengthening and have a positive impact on educational quality[11].

Firstly, the reform advanced over the first three grades of middle education, trying to recover an institutional dimension that had been lost for more than 25 years due to the intervention of multiple factors such as narrowing of timetable, overcrowding of registration, and high rotation of teachers without identification with the authorities and social spaces of the centers. In these terms, the reform aimed to enlarge timetable, reduce repetition levels[12] and search for collective workspaces for the teachers. Furthermore, curriculum was drastically changed through subject regrouping, training courses for teachers to fulfill the new demand, and through the increment of working hours.

Secondly, the reform projected the ambitious plan of expanding public preschool education, free of charge and compulsory. Preschool education of middle and upper class had grown significantly during the last two decades at private schools, as stated above. Consequently, the State proceeds through a centralist intervention to thwart the logic of preschool expansion headed by private schools, with the purpose of homogenizing the system. ECLAC's researches from previous years showed the importance of preschool education as one of the determining factors for children's performance during subsequent years and, therefore, as one of the key factors to lower inequality in education.

Regarding educational resources, the reform aimed and achieved the goal of guaranteeing that all children of public primary education had –either as owner or usufructuary owner– three basic textbooks (math, language and natural sciences), and teachers had their corresponding teachers' books. This program of common texts replaced a culture of photocopies of old texts and new materials that clearly stratified educational materials in schools with different resources. The expansion of wage bonus for those who chose schools with critical context or priority need –as previously defined–[13] was one of the few initiatives in terms of giving direct economic resources to the participants of educational system with the purpose of attenuating the poor assignment of human resources.

The reform fostered Full Time Schools (ETC)[14] as a measurement of focalization of additional resources in schools with critical context. The main goal was to provide a reference framework that includes more than just the education, it attempted to keep children out of the street and instruct teachers in these new schools to face the learning and adaptation difficulties of children in most unfavorable social contexts. Reform developed a system of texts for all the students, training courses for teachers of schools with critical context and a bonus program for teachers, material resources and technical support for schools called *"Todos los niños pueden aprender" (All children can learn)*, with particular emphasis in underprivileged social contexts. The

[11] The only initiative that opens spaces of school autonomy is the so-called Projects of Educational Improvement (PME), inclined to promote the elaboration of own profiles at each school. Projects of diverse kind compete for funds that ANEP assigns to the execution of winning PMEs.

[12] This includes suppressing low attendance through administrative methods, as it constitutes a cause of repetition at junior high school (12 to 14 years old, 1st to 3rd grade of middle school).

[13] Nowadays these schools are called: Schools with Critical Socio-Cultural Context (CSCC).

[14] Full-Time Schools (ETCs) were created in Resolution Nº21 of Record 90, 24/dec/98, Central Directive Board This resolution was put in force in 1999.

model remains centralist and combines focalized strategies with a bias in underprivileged and universal sectors (where heterogeneity appears increasingly stratified).

Educational reform emphasized the search for mechanisms to reduce the high repetition percentages of the first grades of primary education. These percentages worked as a regression in terms of equity –children of schools with poor contexts repeat in a higher percentage– and were inelastic to the improvement of educational strategies –universalization of preschool education and preferential assignment of resources to schools with unfavorable contexts–[15]. The high repetition rate, likewise, had a direct impact on the over-aged dropout during the first grades of middle education (13 to 15 years) once again with a marked equity bias.

A standardized system of learning evaluation was created with the purpose of evaluating the reform and as a progress in the search for larger and better elements that allow it to move along the path of equity and quality in education. The system is a reserved system –each principal receives the results of the school but they are not public and principals cannot compare them with other schools–. The management of the system is under the Unit for the Measurement of Educational Results (UMRE), whose product tried to boost the educational work of schools with an emphasis on those schools with unfavorable contexts. The combination of standardized measures, teacher courses and the return of results was the strategy chosen by the Uruguayan reform to improve learning and close the educational gap between socio-economic sectors.

e. Public Expenditure in Education

Although between 1985 and 2004 the expenditure assigned to education has been irregular, it has improved patently and with a strong redistributive orientation in comparison with the deterioration of previous years. This is particularly true since 1995, when the educational effort of the country considerably increased and the equity bias became the structural axis of educational interventions. Finally, between 1990 and 2000, the educational expenditure as a percentage of the GDP grew from 2.4% to 3.4% of a GDP that also grew between 1990 and 1998 up to an annual accretion of almost 5 per cent. The expenditure by student in preschool, primary and secondary education increased in real terms between 1990 and 2004. During Vázquez administration, the national Budget law for 2006-2010 approved by National Parliament establishes the purpose of reaching an educational expenditure of 4% of the GDP towards the end of the period.

On the other hand, teachers wage remained practically stable. Different judgments state that between 1995 and 1998 teachers wage had a real increase of 5%, but between 1999 and 2000 lost almost the total earnings of the previous period.

[15] To study the problem of repetition in Uruguay read **ANEP (2002)** *La repetición en la escuela pública en cifras [Repetition in Public School in Figures].* Statistics Series Nº 3. General Administration of Planning and Educational Management. Montevideo. This work, conducted by C.Filgueira, constitutes an excellent analysis of this situation.

Table 4. Expenditure of Primary Education Board, by large categories. Registration, expenditure by student and Expenses by student Rate, 1990=100. Period: 1990-2004.						
Years	Expenditure			Registration	Expenditure by student	Rate 1990=100
	Performance	Investment	Total			
1990	113,8	1,2	115,0	345.344	333	100,0
1995	102,4	3,9	106,3	343.826	309	92,8
1996	126,9	2,5	129,4	356.030	364	109,2
1997	139,4	2,8	142,2	369.500	385	115,6
1998	136,2	5,8	142,0	376.870	377	113,2
1999	149,3	11,0	160,3	383.799	418	125,4
2000	143,2	7,7	150,9	394.400	383	114,9
2001	149,1	8,0	157,1	400.289	392	117,8
2002	141,9	6,8	148,7	403.738	368	110,6
2003	132,4	9,2	141,6	405.653	349	104,8
2004	w/d	w/d	146,4	411.534	356	106,9
Source: Based on Furtado and Llambí, 2004. Planning and Budget Administration and Educational Planning Administration of ANEP (National Board of Public Education).						

f. Full Time School: Flagship of the Reform[16]

The results obtained from National Learning Census of 1996 confirmed that social segmentation is reproduced in learning, showing clearly different results according to the context. In “very favorable” contexts, 85% of children reached sufficiency levels in Language and the 66% in Math. In "very unfavorable" contexts, the results of sufficiency were 37% and 17% respectively. From this point of view, Educational Reform of 1995 constitutes the launching pad of the educational proposal that becomes manifest in Full Time Schools[17] as a response to this increasing segmentation of learning quality. The Reform justifies the Full-Time School model within these unprivileged sectors as a means to achieve a greater equity in the access to knowledge and in the development of competences and learning[18].

Table 5. Evolution of number of Full Time Schools Period: 1997-2004						
Geographic area	1997	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total	57	73	90	91	96	102
Montevideo	12	18	21	22	22	24

[16] To expand the information regarding Full-Time Schools, the National Board of Public Education (ANEP) has the main documents of this educational proposal available at: www.mecaep.com.uy

[17] Resolution Nº21 of Record 90, 24/dec/98. Central Directive Board (CODICEN) of ANEP. This resolution was put in force in 1999.

[18] “The concept of a new primary education universality lies in the fact that it is not enough to guarantee the access and permanency; the actual transformation is related to the democratization of the access to knowledge". Program – Five-year Budget of ANEP. 1995 – 1999.

Interior	45	55	65	71	74	78

Source: ANEP - MECAEP

In 1992, the fist attempts to enlarge timetable started in some schools as a pilot plan. In 1996, the first 58 schools, with 9554 attending children, were created or transformed to Full-Time regime. In 2004, there were 102 schools nationwide working under this regime, which represents about the 7% of the total registration in the country.

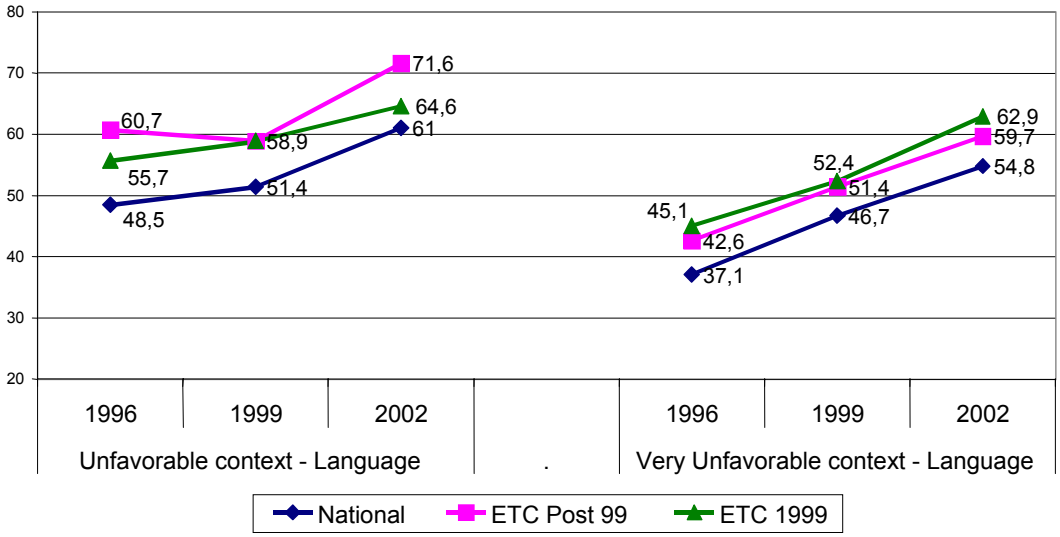
Table 6. Primary School Registration, from 1st to 6th grade, by school category, by socio-cultural context, urban and rural. Year 2004.

	2004	
	Number of students	Percentage
By category		
Normal urban	174.128	56,2
Rural	16.955	5,5
Critical socio-cultural context	46.410	15,0
Full Time	20.326	6,6
Practice	52.101	16,8
National Total	*309.920*	*100,0*
Urban according to Socio-cultural context		
Very favorable	15.956	5,5
Favorable	39.676	13,6
Average	60.101	20,6
Unfavorable	76.047	26,0
Very unfavorable	101.185	34,6
Urban Total	*292.265*	*100,0*

Source: ANEP - MECAEP

The Full-Time proposal does not end in the extension of the timetable, but it offers a change in the educational schedule. Underprivileged children do not form a homogeneous group. Even though poverty and its determining factors have an impact on children with similar disadvantages, its manifestation in the educational needs is different. Full-Time Schools try to make up for the differences through actions based on affirmative action criteria. Therefore, the school day in such schools includes different institutional educational schedules, designing differentiated educational strategies. (ANEP, 1997): the ***Regular*** timetable (35 hours a week) that children attend schools during 7 hours a day, developing activities related to the normal program and activities that complement the central curriculum. These activities are collective, complementary and are developed at classroom. There are three kinds of complementary activities: activities related to the achievement of languages and physical education, workshop activities and activities oriented to connect with the social environment and the culture. Pedagogical Classroom activities are based on two criteria: start from the experience and culture of the student; and create in the classroom an environment of shared knowledge. *Complementary* Time (3 hours a week) is optional and includes one-on-one assistance and activities intended to complete the personal hygiene and the afternoon snack. Finally, the Teachers Meeting (2 hours a week) gives the teachers a time of meditation, elaboration and evaluation.

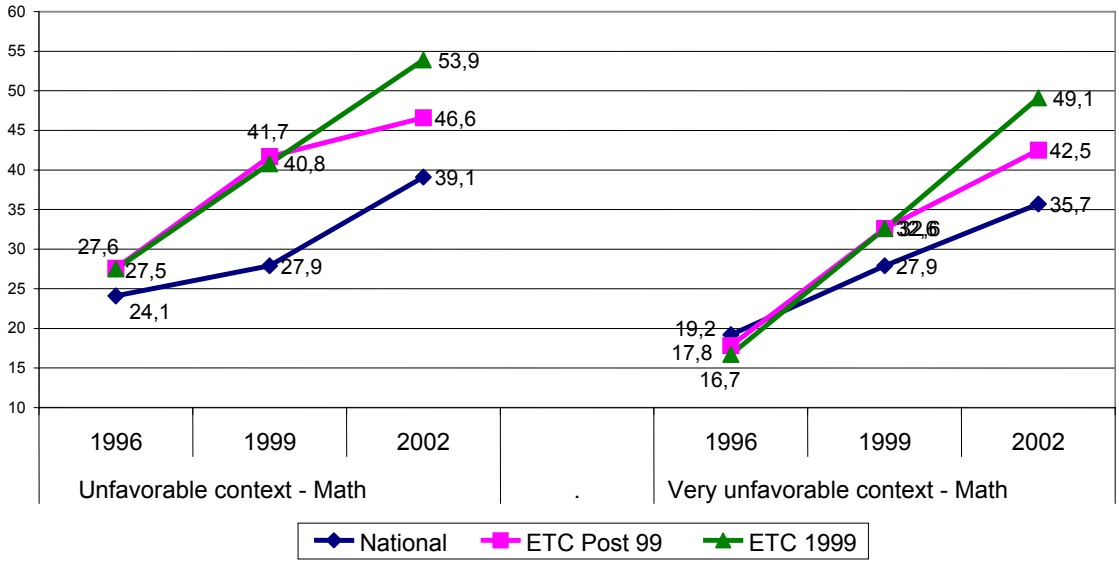
Chart 1: Language evolution in Uruguayan public schools. Sufficiency percentage in unfavorable and very unfavorable contexts.



Source: Study based on ANEP data (2003). National Evaluation of Language and Math Development . 6th grade Primary Education. Second Report. General Administration of Planning and Educational Management. Montevideo.

These Full-Time schools have systematically obtained better results on UMRE tests in terms of sufficiency percentage than the rest of national public schools with the same socio cultural context. Graphics 1 and 2 below show this fact, comparing sufficiency percentages of language and math tests in very unfavorable and unfavorable contexts of three school groups, for the years 1996, 1999 and 2002. Schools that worked as Full-Time Schools before 1999, those that did it since or after 1999 and the rest of public schools of the same context. The groups of Full-Time Schools get better results, keeping or widening the initial gap between the groups in 1996 to the/towards year 1999 and 2002, either in language or in math.

Chart 2: Math development in public schools.
Sufficiency percentage in unfavorable and very unfavorable contexts.



Source: Study based on ANEP data (2003). National Evaluation of Language and Math Development. 6th grade Primary Education 2002. Second Report. General Administration of Planning and Educational Management. Montevideo.

g. Social Segregation and Educational Segmentation during the 1990s[19]

Population distribution in different schools corresponds to many factors. In primary education, the territorial bias in the recruitment of the population is very clear. In societies with high levels of inequality, there are two big sources that generate risks of educational segregation: the territorial recruitment base and the existence of a segmented offer in terms of quality and costs. Educational segmentation should be understood as the situation in which the educational experience of the individual tends to be developed and shared essentially with people of the same socioeconomic origin. This segregation is detrimental not only to the constitution of the civic character of the population but also to the learning and educational achievement. (Kaztman 2001, Kaztman and Filgueira 2001, ANEP 2002).

The Uruguayan case is a good example of the processes and impacts of the educational segmentation. During the last 20 years, a traditionally equalitarian society with a heterogeneous sense of residence with regard to the social composition of a typical neighborhood of Montevideo, has presented a growing territorial segregation process. This process has deeply affected a virtuous dyad that existed between a hegemonic public educational system and heterogeneous neighborhoods. The result was a public school socially heterogeneous in terms of centers which favored not only the early civic experience, but also the learning and the different educational

[19] To analyze social and residential segregation, deepen into the works of R. Kaztman within the framework of the Program of Research on Exclusion, Poverty and Social Exclusion of the Catholic University of Uruguay. (www.ucu.edu.uy/ipes/publicaciones)

achievements based on the diversity of role models. Nowadays, schools progressively educate homogeneous status and the social and human capital is distributed in an increasingly regressive way (Kaztman 2001).

Table 7. Population under Poverty Line (methodology 2002) by age and according to geographical areas of residence. Years 2004 and 2005. Percentages.

	0 to 5 years		6 to 12 years		13 to 17		18 to 64		65 or more		Total	
	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005
Montevideo	56.6	53.1	57.9	53.5	47.8	47.3	29.4	27.1	11.6	10.6	32.4	30.2
Urban Interior	58.4	55.7	53.2	50.4	44.1	39.5	28.8	25.3	10.0	8.0	32.8	29.5
Whole country	57.6	54.5	55.3	51.7	45.9	43.1	29.1	26.2	10.8	9.4	32.6	29.8

Source: Statistics National Institute (2006): "Press Communication, Homes Constant Poll, Poverty Effect in 2005", Montevideo, April 5th, http://www.ine.gub.uy/

It is important to emphasize, though, that the analyzed segmentation effects are caused in a context of universal coverage for basic education, which started from rates over 95% at the beginning of the decade. Since the improvements in the coverage were achieved in 1990, the interest in this aspect is based on observing the distribution of the registration in the interior part of the public system. The 1990s were renowned for the return of quintiles 2 and 3 to public schools. In turn, quintile 4 remained without great changes during the decade, however, quintile 5 returned to private schools. The poorest quintile returned almost in a 100 per cent to public offer. Definitively, public system welcomes middle and low sectors from private centers, but rejects high sectors towards said schools.

Table 8. Uruguay 1991-2000: Attendance percentage of children from 6 to 11 years old to public educational system, according to income

Income Quintiles	1991	2000	1991-2000
	Public	Public	Balance
Quintile 1	93.7	98.0	4.3
Quintile 2	84.1	91.1	7.0
Quintile 3	71.6	79.8	8.2
Quintile 4	60.5	61.0	0.5
Quintile 5	46.0	39.2	-6.8
Total	81.3	86.1	4.8

Source: Own study based on Household Constant Survey (ECH)

There are two most influential causes to this situation. First, the return of middle and low sectors to public education could possibly have been caused by the beginning of problems that the job market experienced since 1994 and the later recession and economical crisis started in 1998. Free offer of public education could have feasibly been more attractive compared to paid offer of private education, or even have been the only possible choice to some sectors. Another possible cause can be that the educational reform made the offer to middle sectors more attractive when adding quality to primary education, focusing on critical contexts. Therefore, new Full-Time Schools could have attracted the attention of the population residing in those neighborhoods instead of the private offer. (Filgueira and Bogliaccini 2004).

Quintile 5, the most privileged sectors, had moved to private education, probably due to lack of attention to reform the best public schools and possible deterioration of this offer, which attracts the richest sectors of the population. The very emphasis in achieving equity levels focused on those vulnerable sectors may had created, as a secondary effect, this change of preferences of those who can afford a private institution. However, in general terms, public offer overcomes the private one, during the decade, increasing the registration in a universal coverage achieved beforehand this process. This is a similar situation to the one experienced at preschool education, although in this case there were trying to achieve a goal of expanding the coverage like in middle education. Thus, Uruguay throughout the 1990s creates mechanisms that improve the equity among middle and low sectors but drives high sectors from public education to private offer. (Filgueira and Bogliaccini 2004)

DEVELOPMENT TENSIONS THAT CAUSE CHANGE ALTERNATIVES 3.

Full-Time School model arrival has favored the visualization of alternatives regarding the way of organizing and working in a school, in a traditionally homogenous system in terms of offer. Methods and processes traditionally homogenous which characterized the regular urban school model now seem to be altered by centers that are able to differentiate in a better way their educational offer according to the assisted population. All these changes become part of the school's identity and open the door to new and different strategies. (ANEP 2003)

All Full-Time Schools (ETCs) form a differentiated universe from the traditionally regular urban schools. Some ETCs have created favorable settings to innovations and changes, which leads to specific strategies and actions. However, this policy now faces different tensions that will rule its future determining its way of integration with the rest of the educational system: be it transforming the model into a universal one or, in a negative setting, the traditional model overcoming full-time model in a slow stagnating process which returns to old mechanisms.

There are four main tensions to deal with between this new emerging model and the traditional model of regular urban schools, in order to improve quality and equity in this educational proposal, as follows[20]: managing teachers' stability in schools, degree of autonomy between central administration and school, dealing with culture differentiation tied to social segregation process and economical costs of universalizing Full-Time model and of constant training of teachers.

a. Teachers' Stability in Schools

Innovation as driving force of school experience in terms of its capacity to incorporate or assimilate particulars of the environment in which operates, depends on the stability of a series of key processes of the school. This stability also depends essentially on the school staff's stability. This stability is a necessary condition,

[20] The analysis of the author is directly supported by two researches accomplished within the framework of the evaluation of Full-Time model (Lijtenstein and Bogliaccini, 2004; Bogliaccini, 2005).

however, not sufficient, to positively impact at medium-term on the quality of education. Stability and innovation established a fragile link where the change phenomenon operates as opportunity and risk. (Argyris 1978). This stability is a key actor when it comes to improving the relationship between teachers, the relation with the neighborhood and with students´ families, the elaboration of an institutional project with long-term goals and the achievement of a complete knowledge of the organization that allows a change from solving an urgent matter to having a medium-term planning. This stability framework establishes a better setting for education, an attractive setting. It is necessary to consider this not only as a virtue, but also as an essential condition to achieve a qualitative change in the performance of the educational system as a whole. (Da Silveira and Queirolo 1998; Frigerio and Poggi 1999; García Huidobro 2003; Bogliaccini 2004).

However, should be taken into account the fact that teachers´ stability has worked in public schools with a regressive bias in terms of equity, since most rotation takes place in schools with students of low socio-economic status or with an "unfavorable socio-cultural context" (see table 2). This happens due to the normal mechanism of teachers´ allocation to schools. In Full-Time Schools, teachers´ mobility is lower than in the rest of the system, due to the inclusion of *ad hoc* regulations from ANEP and also due to the number of this type of schools. Once the teacher chooses a Full-Time School, he wishes not to go back to regular schools, and probably would not have the chance to, as there are few available vacancies. However, the allocation method is the same that works for the rest of the public system, which makes a good reason to assume that, in a moment of expansion of the full-time school model, the same defects that presently affect regular urban schools be copied: great teachers´ mobility and therefore little stability in schools, with a strong regressive bias in terms of equity.

Nowadays, in a setting of expansion of the new model, teachers' stability in full-time schools is extremely fragile, and depends on two facts that would disappear in such setting, all other things being equal. First, it is unlikely that a procedure of exceptional job allocation survives an expansion of the model unless there is a negotiation with the teachers´ union and a change in the Teachers Statute. On the other hand, the affective and personal acknowledgement caused by working in the *"flagship"* of the system is softened when the same *"renovates the fleet"*. Finally, the weak point of the current model lies in the fact that individual or corporate interests have replaced collective interests when allocating teachers to schools, without prioritizing an affirmative action judgment[21]. It is also necessary to admit that the current system has an attractive characteristic, which should be taken into account when negotiating alternatives, that is to allow teachers to choose his/her workplace.

b. Degree of Autonomy between Schools and ANEP

The strong centralization of the national educational system has started to manifest signs of inadequacy in the management of the new model and this represents a challenge to its authorities. The hypothesis of a greater autonomy to schools opens

[21] To study the concept of affirmative action, read **Reimers, F. (2000)** *Unequal schools, Unequal chances.* Harvard University. USA.

a door to diversity and allows schools to use their creativity to respond in a better way to their own context. Full-Time Schools model constitutes a better setting to achieve an institutional project than the regular urban school, mainly because of the new structure, that is time available to coordination and a stronger relation between teachers. A consequence of this differentiation process on the interior of educational system is the teachers' expectations regarding roles and attributions of the principal and the inspector. A stronger school claims more autonomy (Lijtenstein and Bogliaccini 2004; Bogliaccini 2004).

Principal's role, key actor in the relation with ANEP, has faced changes in Full-Time Schools with respect to professional practice in previous model (Bogliaccini 2003). Full-Time Schools dynamics has caused stronger relations between teachers and has increased teamwork, all of which implies a different evaluation and a redefinition of principal's leadership. Among teachers, it starts to appear a tension that confronts traditional management based on administrative facts with new management that evidenced a pedagogical leadership (typical of Full-Time Schools).

The difficult relation between principals and inspectors appears mainly in schools that have created stable groups of teachers, based on a successful pedagogical center project. (Bogliaccini 2004). However, in a gradual expansion process of Full-Time Schools model, less successful centers probably still need the inspector figure, but a kind of inspector similar to a pedagogical leader instead of a supervisor. The challenge is then to improve strategies to make the model more flexible in terms of schools autonomy, instead of keeping a system of non-differentiated universal rules.

c. Cultural Impoverishment in Settings of Residential Segregation

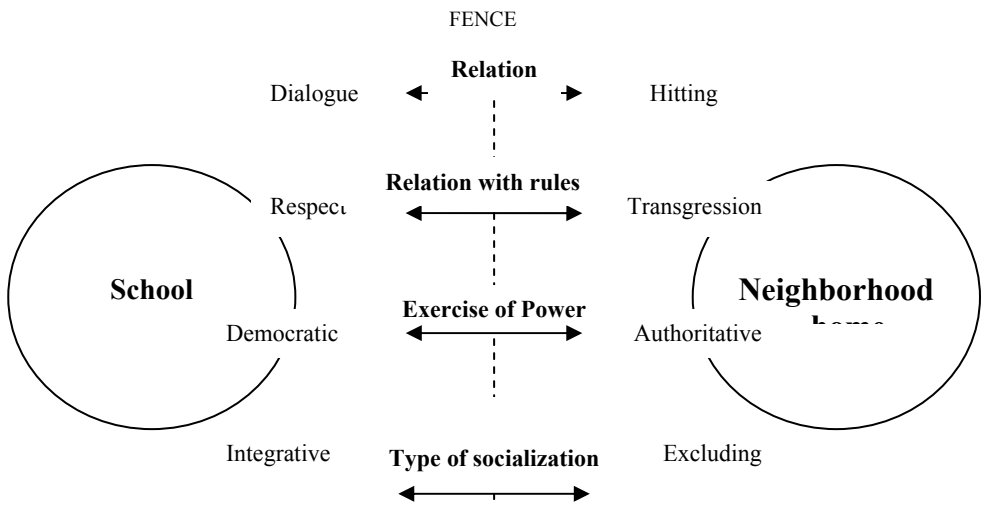
This tension extends throughout the whole educational system but mainly affects those schools with unfavorable and very unfavorable contexts. Full-Time Schools are specifically located in areas of the country with this kind of socio-cultural contexts. In general terms, parents of students attending these schools have achieved a low educational level and their relation with job market is unstable, informal and transitory. These neighborhood communities are generally caused by interurban migration as a consequence of social segregation processes (Kaztman 2001) and that is why they progressively become poorer communities. These families constitute the population group with social vulnerable conditions, affected or threatened by poverty and exclusion processes of the social collective (Kaztman and Filgueira 2001). In Uruguay, 51.7% of children between 6 and 12 years old are under poverty line.

This cultural differentiation[22] shows a new geography of the increasingly segmented educational system. Although it would not be reasonable to pretend to give a solution to social segregation only from the educational system, Full-Time School model is proving to be a successful affirmative action instrument for a better assistance to poorest social sectors. School buildings located in those neighborhoods are an exception to context morphology: new, firm, spacious constructions located in large

[22] To study the concept of cultural differentiation and its impact on the education, read Reimers, F. (2000) Unequal schools, Unequal chances. Harvard University.

pieces of land establish the presence of State integrative vocation. From teachers´ perspective, violence in human relations is one of the main differentiated aspects in school and neighborhood culture (Bogliaccini 2005). Schools, in that sense, should not give up the goal of becoming something different: a socializing environment that unifies rules that permit a better integration of the child to society. Finally, the problem comes into question in terms of behavior codes from one culture to another, which oppose to each other presenting the challenge in terms of integrative ways to social mainstream (Kaztman 1999, 2001; Kaztman and Filgueira 2001; Kessler 2004; Bogliaccini 2005).

Picture 1. Teachers' symbolic perception of children's universe of interaction. (Bogliaccini, 2005)



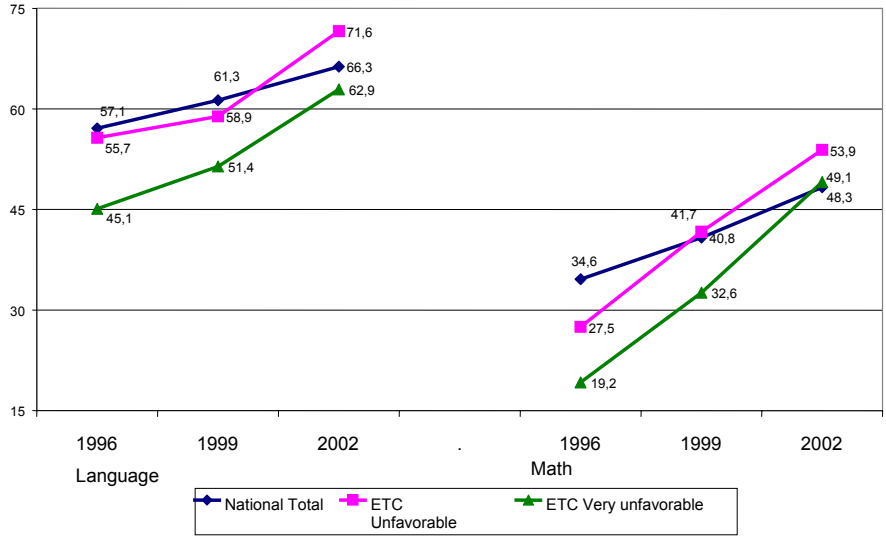
A constant challenge of educational system should be trying to lessen the tension between both increasingly differentiated universes -school and neighborhood- in Uruguay, moving forward to new strategies to relate with students´ families. The school competence to approach its work from an innovative perspective depends on the proper organization of the human relations between teachers and students´ families.

d. Resources and Policies to Universalize the Full-Time School model

Probably the major lesson of these first years of Full-Time School model operation is that affirmative action works out. As Graphic 3 shows, the schools that receive children from unfavorable and very unfavorable socio-cultural contexts have attained similar or even higher percentages of sufficiency than the average of the rest of the public educational system, with attending children from all social strata. However, this model has worked with an intensive investment not only in furniture and building resources, but also in permanent costs as food, educational and technological resources, wages of special teachers, reduction of number of students by grade and even the wages of regular teachers. In this sense, if the model's vocation is to extend its coverage towards a more significant proportion of the registration, a proportionate

rise in the expenditure as well as an inclusion of the same in the national educational budget will be necessary. Otherwise, if the model spreads out without the appropriate economic resources, there is a high probability that a distortion and a loss of its differential economic resources will occur.

Chart 3: Language and Math Development in Uruguayan Public Schools. Compared sufficiency percentage between national average and Full-Time Schools (ETCs) according to context.



Source: Study based on ANEP data (2003). National Evaluation of Language and Math Development. 6th grade Primary Education 2002. Second Report. General Administration of Planning and Educational Management. Montevideo.

Table 9.Funds spent by ANEP on Primary Education (1995-2002), according to Type of Expenditure.
Dollars - Year 2002

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Total expenditure	101.942.307	124.139.618	136.418.354	153.632.516	165.642.748	160.909.460	170.007.147	152.638.518
Performance expenditure	92.243.338	121.735.380	133.730.827	148.458.302	161.609.629	156.655.574	165.673.381	152.074.362
Investment expenditure	3.698.918	2.404.239	2.687.527	5.174.214	4.033.119	4.253.886	4.333.767	564.156

Source: Statistics Department of Programming and Budget General Administration of CODICEN. Based on balances of budget execution of ANEP.

The success of this model, as a policy of affirmative action, compels the country to generate a progressive policy for its expansion, starting from the creation of a

decennial plan of incorporation of schools to the model, while necessary corrective measures are studied to guard those characteristics that make it successful. Along with this issue, there appears another challenge for a successful model in a low proportion of national registration confronted with the growth tensions of a universalization process: to design stability and coverage strategies of the instruments for the permanent formation of teachers who started in 1995.

Summarizing, the proper resolution of the four identified tensions opens the door to the stabilization of the new model, positioning it as the*"flagship"*of a change, which must be the mirror for the whole primary education system for the next decades.

References

National Board of Public Education (ANEP) (1997) *Propuesta pedagógica para las escuelas de Tiempo Completo [Pedagogical Proposal to Full-Time Schools]* MECAEP – ANEP – BIRF Project Uruguay.

ANEP (2002) *La repetición en la escuela pública en cifras. [Repetition in Public School in Figures]* Statistics Series Nº 3. General Administration of Planning and Educational Management. Montevideo.

ANEP (2003) *Evaluación Nacional de Aprendizaje en Lenguaje y Matemática. 6º Año enseñanza Primaria 2002. [National Evaluation of Language and Math Development. 6th grade Primary Education 2002.]* First report. General Administration of Planning and Educational Management. Montevideo.

ANEP (2003) *Evaluación Nacional de Aprendizaje en Lenguaje y Matemática. 6º Año enseñanza Primaria 2002. [National Evaluation of Language and Math Development. 6th grade Primary Education 2002.]* Second report. General Administration of Planning and Educational Management. Montevideo.

ANEP (2005) *Panorama de la educación en el Uruguay. Una década de transformaciones 1992-2004. [Overview of Education in Uruguay. A Decade of Transformations 1992-2004.]* Montevideo.

Argyris, C. and D. Schön. (1978) *Organizational learning: a theory of action perspective.* Addison Wesley. USA.

Belleï, C. (2001) *¿Ha tenido impacto la reforma educativa chilena? [Has the Chilean Educational Reform Had Impact?]* Outreach Project and results of the educational reforms in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. IDB.

Bogliaccini, J. A. (2003) La autonomía del director de escuela [Autonomy of the School Principal] Umbral Magazine No 11.

Bogliaccini, J.A. (2004) *Escuelas innovadoras en un marco que favorece la innovación y la diversidad [Innovative Schools Within a Framework that Favors Innovation and Diversity]* Unpublished master's thesis. Alberto Hurtado University. Santiago.

Bogliaccini, J. A. (2005) Las claves territoriales de la fractura social urbana: Inseguridad y segregación en Montevideo. *Dilemas sociales y alternativas distributivas en el Uruguay.* [Territorial Guidelines of Urban Social Breach: Insecurity and segregation in Montevideo*. Social Dilemmas and Distributive Alternatives in Uruguay*.] PRISMA Magazine. Catholic University of Uruguay. Montevideo.

ECLAC – UNESCO. (1992) *Educación y conocimiento: eje de la transformación productiva con equidad [Education and Knowledge: Axis of the Productive Transformation with Equity]* Santiago de Chile.

da Silveira, P. and Queirolo, R. (1998) *Análisis organizacional: Cómo funciona la educación pública en Uruguay [Organizational Analysis: How Does Public Education Work in Uruguay]* Research Report 010. CERES.

Demarchi, M. and Rodríguez H. (1994) José Pedro Varela (1845 – 1879). Perspectives. *Revue trimestrielle d'éducation comparée*. Bureau international d'éducation, vol. XXIV, n° 3/4. UNESCO. Paris.

Espínola, V. (1999) *¿Es la autonomía la clave para una escuela más efectiva?[Is Autonomy the Key for a More Effective School?]* Chile

Filgueira, F. and Martínez, E. (2001) *La reforma educativa en Uruguay: desafíos y tendencias [The Educational Reform in Uruguay: Challenges and Tendencies].* Outreach Project and results of the educational reforms in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. IDB.

Filgueira, F. and Bogliaccini, J. A. (2004) Las reformas educativas en Chile y Uruguay: descentralización orientada al mercado versus centralismo estatista. [Educational Reforms in Chile and Uruguay: Market-Oriented Decentralization vs. Statist Centralism] in Goma y Jordana (eds.) *Descentralización y Políticas Sociales en América Latina [Decentralization and Social Policies in Latin America]* CIDOB. Barcelona.

Filgueira, F. et al. (2005) Estructura de riesgo y arquitectura de protección social en el Uruguay actual: crónica de un divorcio anunciado, in *Dilemas sociales y Alternativas distributivas en Uruguay.* [Risk Structure and Architecture of Social Protection in Present Uruguay: Chronicle of a Divorce Foretold, in *Social Dilemmas and Distributive Alternatives in Uruguay*.] PRISMA Magazine nº21. Catholic University of Uruguay. Uruguay.

Frigerio, Graciela y Poggi, Margarita (1992) *Las instituciones educativas. Cara y Seca . [Educational Institutions. Heads and Tails.]* FLACSO. Argentina.

Gajardo, M. **(1999)** *Reformas educativas en América Latina, Balance de una década [Educational Reforms in Latin America, Balance of a Decade]* PREAL. Santiago.

García Huidobro, J. E. (2000) La deserción y el fracaso escolar [School Drop-Out and Failure], in UNICEF**,** *Educación, Pobreza y Deserción Escolar [Education, Poverty and School Drop-Out]* Santiago.

García Huidobro, J. E. (2003) La buena escuela [The Good School], in **García Huidobro, J. E. and Sotomayor, C.** *La centralidad de la escuela en la política educativa chilena de los '90 [Centrality of School in 1990s' Chilean Educational Policy].* Santiago.

Kaztman, R. (1999) (coord.). *Activos y estructura de oportunidades: estudios sobre las raíces de la vulnerabilidad social en Uruguay [Assets and Opportunity Structure: Studies on the roots of social vulnerability in Uruguay]*. ECLA, UNDP, Montevideo.

Kaztman, R.; Beccaria, L.; Filgueira, F.; Golbert, L. and K. Gabriel (1999): *Vulnerabilidad, activos y exclusión en Argentina y Uruguay [Vulnerability, Assets and Exclusion in Argentina and Uruguay].* ILO, Ford Fundation, Chile.

Kaztman, R. (2001) Seducidos y abandonados: el aislamiento social de los pobres urbanos [Seduced and Abandoned: Social Isolation of Urban Poor], *ECLA Magazine* Nº 75, Santiago de Chile.

Kaztman, R, and Filgueira, F. (2001) *Panorama de la infancia y la familia en Uruguay [Overview of Childhood and Family in Uruguay]*. IPES, Catholic University of Uruguay. Montevideo.

Kessler, G. (2004) *Sociología del delito amateur [Sociology of Amateur Crime]* Piados. Tramas sociales. Argentina.

Lijtenstein, S. and Bogliaccini, J. A. *Lecciones aprendidas y buenas prácticas en escuelas de Tiempo Completo [Lessons Learnt and Good Practices in Full Time Schools].* Research Report. ANEP. Uruguay. Unpublished version. 2004.

Morás, L. (2000) *De la tierra purpúrea al laboratorio social [From Purple Land to Social Laboratory]*. Ediciones de la Banda Oriental. Montevideo.

OAS. (1997) *Educación en las Américas:* Education in America: Quality, Equity and Citizenship. OAS.

PREAL. (2002) *Creando autonomía en las escuelas [Creating Autonomy in Schools].* Ed. Lom. Chile.

Raczynski, D. and Serrano, C. (2001) *Descentralización. Nudos críticos [Decentralization. Critical Knots]*. CIEPLAN. Chile.

Rama, G. (1993) *¿Qué aprenden y quienes aprenden en las escuelas públicas de Uruguay? [Who Learn and What Do They Learn in Uruguayan Public School?]* ECLA. Montevideo.

Reimers, F. and McGinn, N. (1997) *Diálogo informado [Informed dialogue].* CEE. México.

Reimers, F. Coord. (2000) *Unequal schools, unequal Chances.* Harvard University. USA.

Varela, J. P. (1919) *La educación del pueblo [The Education of The People]* Ed. El Siglo Ilustrado. Montevideo.