

NEOLIBERALISM AND EDUCATION ON AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE: CHILE AS PERFECT SCENARIO

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Abstract. In our modern society, governments, civil society and private sector are concerned about education as it is a key to build a successful community. This paper seeks to analyse, through one particular country, how the education system can change when neoliberalism is implemented as a framework in educational terms. This paper focuses on Chile and its education system adopting an international comparative perspective, using empirical examples and cases within a Latin America scenario. Chilean's education system has created a controversial, complex and unique relationship between neoliberalism and education. This relationship has configured a complex social context increasing the gap between rich and poor. At the same time, Chilean's education system has reproduced social classes in discourse and practice through of a dramatic social stratification. In this particular case, we confirm that neoliberalism has generated an education system that is highly segregated and selective. Improvisation has been utilised as a political strategy to reduce neoliberal impacts on education.

Keywords: neoliberalism, globalisation, Chilean education system, Latin America.

Education is a relevant issue to solve the inequality around the world in different aspects, such as; economic, social, political, gender and ethnic. In our modern society, governments, civil society and private sector are concerned about education because it is a key to build a successful community. However, it is a preoccupation in economic terms. In the last decades, this situation has brought a new scenario on education. This new scenario is based on a particular paradigm: neoliberalism.

In a globalized world national governments have been competing to achieve economic benefits through improving the education system. Further education with in the economy have been interconnected. These concepts are interrelated one to another in a neoliberal world. Thus, in a globalised world, knowledge has been a relevant commodity because today knowledge is associated with capital (Alcántara et al. 2013) and it provides general guidelines to appraisal and design education systems across the globe.

Since the 1970's neoliberalism was implemented as an economic theory in different parts of the world, including China, apartheid era in South Africa and countries of the inexistent Soviet Union (Harvey, 2007). Nevertheless, some countries have distinguished between neoliberalism as a social theory and neoliberalism as a framework to be used in the educational field. Chile such as other countries decided to not generate distinctions.

This paper seeks to analyse through one particular country how an education system can change when neoliberalism is implemented as framework. This paper focuses on Chile and its education system, adopting an international comparative perspective, using empirical examples and cases within a Latin America scenario. Chilean's education system has created a controversial, complex and unique relationship between neoliberalism and education. This relationship has configured a complex social context increasing the gap between rich and poor. At the same time, Chilean's education system has reproduced social classes in discourse and practice trough of a dramatic social

stratification. In this particular case, we confirm that neoliberalism has generated an education system that is highly segregated and selective.

This article will be divided into five different sections. The first section explains neoliberalism as a plastic concept. The second section analyses changes and processes on Chilean's education system implementing neoliberalism at school level as framework. The third section analyses higher education system and students' movements against neoliberalism. The fourth section analyses social inclusion and social exclusion as a practice result of enacted neoliberalism policies. Finally, the last section discusses different implications, complexities and conclusions in this case study.

Neoliberalism as plastic concept

Neoliberalism is a politic and economic theory (Davies & Bansel, 2007; Harvey, 2007). However, it has been more practice than theory (Roy et al., 2007). In essence, neo-liberalism is a new form of liberalism proposed by Adam Smith in the eighteenth century (Hilgers, 2012; Klein, 2008). Usually, neoliberalism has been condensed into two key concepts; freedom and market. These are essential components but also this perspective is simplistic and reductionist to conceptualise neoliberalism. Further, it is a concept that proposes liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms, free markets, free trade, strong property rights and competition (Mercer et al., 2010; Hilgers, 2012). Moreover, neoliberalism is a complex concept that contains other intricate ideas inside it.

Neoliberalism is a multifaceted concept because it is polyvalent and has been used in a variety of context, situations and areas (Ferguson, 2010; Kaščák & Pupala, 2011). In this sense, neoliberalism can be characterized as plastic concept because it is multidimensional, flexible and dynamic. It is multidimensional because it can be applied in different dimensions, such as; social, cultural, moral and political. For instance, in a social dimension neoliber-

alism has been used as key component to design governmental policies as well as it is applied with moral purposes conceding to neoliberalism as regulator of values. It is flexible because it can be functional in developed countries as well as in developing countries. Obviously with different effects depending on the context, it is highly adaptive and malleable. Neoliberalism is a dynamic concept because it is changeable throughout time. Therefore, it is important to understand “neoliberalism as a plastic concept” because this property has different usages and it can be utilised in the context of educational reforms under uncontrolled and controlled situations.

In the same vein, according to Harvey (2007), neoliberalism can be defined as a creative concept. This categorization represents an idea of how neoliberalism has been positioned around the world with a hegemonic discourse creating new scenarios. It is an important part of how we can interpret the socio-economic relations in the world. Indeed, it is a concept that is extremely useful to understand the world. Thus, to understand the world it is necessary to understand how neoliberalism is working at international, national and local levels. In a similar way, Roy et al. (2007) points out that neoliberalism can be conceptualised as a shared mental model. This idea refers to the spread of market-oriented ideas and values in different part of the world because it is possible to share mental ideas, interpretations, meanings and symbols (Roy et al., 2007). The concept of shared mental model has an individual and global dimension. On one hand, it is individual because the world can be interpreted under an individual perspective in a particular context. On the other hand, the same individual interpretation of the world can be applied in a globalised world. Therefore, neoliberalist ideas are shared around the world.

Neoliberalism refers to ‘liberal market economies’ (Roy et al., 2007). Despite the fact that neoliberalism appeared in an economic arena for the purpose of this paper, neoliberalism is more connected and interpreted as a social model (Klees, 2008; Lakes & Carter, 2011; Roy et al., 2007). Neoliberalism

has consequences beyond policies, economy and politics. In fact, it is possible to reference neoliberalist policies as another complex concept. In general terms, neoliberalist policies are linked with privatization of the economy and even the public sector is based on market, competition and accountability (Cavieres, 2011). Furthermore, neoliberalism is a political and economic paradigm.

Neoliberalism and education: Chilean's choice at school level

Latin America has been implementing neoliberal educational policies in the last times. Thus, Chile has been under control of neoliberal policies during the last three decades (Cavieres, 2011; Klein, 2008). Indeed, Klein (2008), and also Cavieres (2011), explain that Chile was one of the first countries around the world to adopt neoliberalism as state policy and it was introduced in Pinochet's dictatorship. When democratic system was established neoliberalism was synonymous with modernization (Cavieres, 2011). This is an important point because of the political circumstances in Chile; neoliberalism generated positive impact in economic field including during Pinochet's dictatorship. Even though democracy is an important change neoliberalism continued functioning as a predominant and hegemonic economic model. Chile is independent of political colour over government power, the state was/is dominated and controlled by neoliberalist policies. The most evident example of this is the education (Gauri, 1998; Levin, 2011; Mizala & Romanguera, 1998). In Chile's case, the dictatorship regime allowed the implementation of neoliberalism. Without the dictatorship, the neoliberal experiment would have not been possible in Chile.

Chile cannot be explained without neoliberalism as a framework. Thus, Chilean's education system emerged based on neoliberalist policies (Cavieres, 2011; Gauri, 1998). Policy makers, political sectors, and The Ministry of Education constructed a neoliberal education system. This decision

making changed the structure of the system as a whole as well as it can be understood as a new way of thinking on education. In fact, this new design permitted a relevant change; neoliberalism structurally influenced and created a new Chilean's education system.

According to Cavieres (2011) in Chile, it is possible to baptise the whole process of educational changes as 'Chilean neoliberal educational reform' from 1990 to 2010. During this period of time, educational reforms were incorporated within a complex neoliberal sphere. As a result, the school system transformed competently over the neoliberal model. Competition, selection, modernization and homogenization were some results of this transformation process. From this perspective, Chile as a neoliberal country needed a neoliberal education system. This was explicitly embodied as a necessity because Chile under a neoliberal economic model increased in relevant areas, such as; public budget, sustainable economic growth, poverty reduction, urban acceleration, high incomes (Cavieres, 2011). Thus, it has created a positive imaginary on Chile's economic performance at international level as well as within the country. Furthermore, if neoliberalism was a useful and successful model to reconstruct a democratic society in economic terms, why is it not possible to re-create this situation on educational policies? The answer to this question was the educational choice in Chile; the creation of a new Chilean's education system is structured by neoliberalism.

Chile is a perfect example of neoliberalism as politic, social and economic paradigm, specifically, Chileans' education system and its structure at micro-level and macro-level. In other words, primary and secondary schools and tertiary education (universities) represent a perfect example as neoliberalism can penetrate in a society as a whole. In the early 1990 a new configuration, organization and typification of school was materialized as a consequence of neoliberalism policies. For instance, Levin (2011) illustrates this particular situation of structural change categorizing the whole process as de-

centralized. This was a new scenario moving from an over control on schools with a clear centralised administration moving to a decentralised administration. Logically, it caused inequalities because of the budget of municipalities being different and it was varying between regions across the country. For example, it is impossible to compare the isolated regions in the north with urban regions localized in Santiago. Plausibly the inequalities are evident and the state was accomplice to sharp and create new inequalities. In other words, this structural change of administration signified in practical terms that school should be controlled by the municipal sector. Bellei (2009) explains that this was transference from the ministry of education to local authorities as municipalities. In this transference, the Chilean state, with a new role in the educational system, mainly provided fundamental guidelines as official curriculum, learning goals, school text and general statutes referencing to teachers. This was the same situation for Argentina, Colombia and Brazil (Levin, 2011; Levy & Schady, 2013). This situation was a decision to control more school organizations and as a logic consequence it produced less autonomy to take internal decisions.

Sapelli (2003) clarifies that the design of Chileans' education system explains and determines student outcomes. Bellei (2009) supports that point giving more details. For example, in the Chilean education system it is possible to observe three different types of schools; private, public and private subsidised. This is denominated as Chilean voucher system. The Chilean voucher system is complex to understand as structure and design because it emphasises social segregation and disparities. In Chile, neoliberalism engendered a social segregation in academic terms as well as in opportunities. The structure and division between public, private subsidised and private schools increased the inequalities. Paradoxically, this school's stratification seems a social class division, characterised by low-class, middle class and high class. Therefore, neoliberalism and the state were accomplices to design a biased education

system which inequality is a structural reality. This is a unique case in Latin America because it signifies that the same education system is creating more disparities than opportunities. To illustrate that point, Drago & Paredes (2011) describe that Chilean education system has three types of school. Firstly, municipal or public with funding provided by municipalities according to attendance per student. Secondly, private schools with own curriculum, texts and organization. These types of school were funded by tuition payments. From this point there is nothing new. However, a new type of school was introduced denominated private subsidised. These types of school are a complex hybrid because it's funding by tuition payments and stated funded providing by attendance per student. In other words, private subsidised are schools that provided both financial support from families and municipalities.

Private subsidised schools are a special case to analyse because Michelle Bachelet in 2015 states that these schools should disappear in a long term process. As noted by Cavieres (2011) as well as by Bellei (2009) this type of school represents an example of neoliberalism as state policy. As mentioned before the Chilean state has been an accomplice of structural deformation of educational system. For example, private subsidised schools obviously obtain more incomes in comparison with public school (municipal schools). The Chilean state is sustaining both schools with almost the same amount of incomes between municipal schools and private subsidised schools. However, private subsidised schools also obtain payments coming from families for fees (Hsieh & Urquiola, 2006; Mizala & Torche, 2012). It is clear that resources play an important role to enhance teaching-learning process and student outcomes. Therefore, the Chilean state is a collaborator distinguishing and providing incomes to private subsidised schools rather than in vulnerable sectors. This shows a system structurally disproportioned. It can be explained because vulnerable sectors with more low socio-economic background do not receive fees from families. Therefore, public schools solely obtain income

from the state. In contrast, private subsidised schools obtain incomes from the state and families. As a rational result, students which come from private subsidised schools have achieved better scores in national standardised test such as SIMCE (The system for Measuring the Quality of Education) (Drago & Paredes, 2011) as well as opportunities because of the peer-effect.

The Chilean voucher system also created, as mentioned by literature, peer-effect. Bellei (2009) suggests that the role of peer-effect has always been essential in the classroom. Sapelli (2003) maintains that regarding peer-effect is positive when school environment is diverse. In contrast, when peer-effect takes more control on the factors, school environment is homogenous and highly socio-economically segregated. In the same approach, peer-effect also plays an essential role on individual student's outcomes (Sapelli & Vial, 2003). From an individual and social dimension peer-effect influences on student's performance. There is an extensive agreement on positive effects of peer-effect because its produces social interaction and fundamental learning experiences. However, in the case of the Chilean voucher system peer-effect does not exist and it had severely divided the Chilean society. For this reason, the Chilean society is fractured from school choice. In social terms, Chile has been fissured by the education system creating closed circles where individual comes from the same part of the socio-economical background. This phenomenon has been catalogued as a unique experience of apartheid "the educational apartheid in Chile".¹⁾

Neoliberalism and Chilean's universities

During 1980-1990 Chilean Higher Education experienced dramatic changes in composition, structure and enrolment (Brunner, 1993). Indeed, it was a sequence of neoliberal changes introduced during Military government. The main effect was a liberalization and establishment of free-market system to create new tertiary institutions and universities (Espinoza & Gonzalez,

2013). As a result, the number of universities has multiplied. Brunner (1993) distinguishes a dramatic change imposed by Military government categorizing this process according to three main goals: to open-up the Higher Education system, to differentiate its institutional structures, and to partially transfer cost of state-financed institutions to the students and/their families (cost recovery) to diversify their funding sources. These goals are aligned with a neoliberal policies because its represents a practice introduction of free-market. It is notable that financial policies are intimately connected with educational changes. Thus, it is possible to argue that the educational system was privatised.

To illustrate the establishment of new education system at Higher education level Brunner (1993) provides specific data showing the increment of universities between 1980 and 1990. During 1980 solely were functioning across of the country 8 universities. In contrast, in 1990 Chile had incremented the number of universities on more than 60. As we can see in more detail, in terms of new private universities (public funding) from 1985, when the neoliberal policies were introduced, there were only three universities. Incredibly, this number was incremented from three to 40 universities during five years. In part, this shows a range of opportunities and access for low-class and middle-class. Therefore, this triggered an enormous impact on demand, supply and enrolment as a result an increasing over-extension of opportunities to entry at the university level (Brunner, 1993). However, the requirements to generate a professional institution at tertiary level were minimums. Thus, the regulation process was not exhaustive and this new establishment permitted an opportunity to create an educational business with a sustained growth because of demand and supply. Colombia has continued with the same exercise opening universities around the country without official control (Berry & Taylor, 2013; Levin, 2011). The control is based on neoliberal market.

In the last decades, access to higher education in Latin America has climaxed. According to Espinoza & Gonzalez (2013) this explosion has per-

mitted to enrol more students, in a progressive enrolment of females, ethnic minorities and socio-economically vulnerable students. This explosion of higher education system is associated with a permanent demand of qualified personnel across the globe (Espinoza & Gonzalez, 2013). This represents an incredible advance on diversification and expansion of higher education system. Although this explosion is an improvement on education system because it is also relevant in terms of access to higher education; however, it is not sufficient to solve the inequality. In fact, the inequality between rich and poor has been increased (Cavieres, 2011; Gauri, 1998). Neoliberalism has permitted this explosion with loans and bank credits to finance university payments and fees. In consequence, more students are enrolled in universities but this has signified high indebtedness for students as well as for their families. As a result, Neoliberalism proportionated the opportunity to access to higher education, however subsists a high socio-economic cost associated with it.

Nowadays, in Chile public universities exist in rhetorical terms, however in reality it is a convention rather than a practice. It is because Chilean students need to pay to access at university level. However, since 2016 Chilean universities have been generating new policies to generate public funding to subsidise student's fees. In contrast, some countries in Latin America have been capable to create a public system of higher education. It signifies that universities are free; for instance, in countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela.²⁾ Therefore, Chile represents a special case in the region because neoliberalism has strongly penetrated within higher education system.

The relationship between neoliberalism and education has brought during the last decade resistance. As a result, Latin American's countries such as Mexico, Colombia, Argentina and Chile have been criticized the strong relationship between universities and market (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013; Alcántara et al., 2013; Levy & Schady, 2013). Moreover, Chile represents a special case of resistance which students were drivers in a political way to

generate debate at national level. According to Bellei & Cabalin (2013) Chile is an example of movements against the association between neoliberalism and higher education. Thus, a strong student movement in 2011 called “Chilean Winter” was a triggering point with enormous changes and consequences in the short terms as well as in the long term. In short term university students achieved to increase amount of loans and created a new scholarships to benefit students from the lowest quintiles (Bellei & Caballin, 2013). However, the main demand was accomplished in 2016. In Chile higher education is free for some parts of students (low quintils, vulnerable sectors). In spite of this, long term consequences were more profound because it’s criticised structural components of education system. For instance, privatisation and marketization were relevant topics discussed within parliament. Thus, charismatic leaders of the “Chilean winter” movement were invited to debate different approaches to improve the education system at schooling level, especially at higher education level.

Students of Higher education system during “Chilean Winter” generated a sharp critique of the structural components of Chilean’s education system. On April 2011 more than 8,000 university students protested across Chile demanding more economic resources for public universities, free access and payments of university and the end of marketization of Chilean’s education at all levels (Bellei & Caballin, 2013). This is an important point because it represents a demand for equity and quality to access higher education. Moreover, Chilean’s students settled a resistance movement against neoliberalism because this economic and politic paradigm had created an education system that was highly segregated.

According to Daude (2011) Chile has one of the most expensive university fees in comparison with other OECD countries. Therefore, these economic conditions within a neoliberalism scenario created a critical situation for President Sebastián Piñera in 2011. In this conflictive situation Piñera’s

administration did not crystallised a new funding policy in higher education. Nonetheless, this episode engendered beliefs within a social atmosphere that education needs to be conceptualised as a human right (Alcántara et al., 2013). For the first time, neoliberalism was questioned as framework on educational policies and more surprisingly for its own learners, Chilean students.

From different perspectives, Chilean's students changed from continued apathy during Pinochet's dictatorship to active movements against neoliberalism (Alcántara et al., 2013; Bellei & Caballin, 2013; Cavieres, 2011). The recent Chilean's movement can be characterized by four features: (1) persistence; (2) combining short term and more structural, long term demands; (3) innovative forms of organization and communication; and (4) multiple mechanisms of coordination (Alcántara et al., 2013). In this point, it is important to notice that social media such as: Facebook and Twitter, powerful technological tools to coordinate mobilisations on the street as well as to widespread ideas and thoughts about education (Bellei & Caballin, 2013). Winter in Chile was a perfect example to illustrate how students can be organized in the educational discussion against the flawless Chilean's association between neoliberalism and higher education.

The Chilean's higher education system has been privatised as a result of enacted neoliberalism as their framework. Even though, "Chilean winter" attempted to fracture the relationship between neoliberalism and education it was impossible. However, student's movements represent an important progress because it brought new stakeholders to discuss educational policies (Berry & Taylor, 2013). Therefore, important interrogations were associated with the specific demands. For example, questions, which include; how is possible to create a new system more inclusive? It is possible? It is necessary for the social justice? Neoliberalism is part of the problem? In fact, these questions are provocative because they are capable of producing a dialogue about why equity should be relevant in a society as a whole.

Social exclusion, education and neoliberalism

Latin America is the region of inequality (Azevedo & Bouillon, 2009). Latin America is the most unequal region in two main aspects: (1) income distribution;²⁾ and (2) opportunities to achieve social progress.²⁾ There are an agreement by different governments in the area that education is a perfect key to decrease the inequality within the region.²⁾ For that reason, education in the recent decades has permitted to increase the degree of social mobility. However, this social mobility in Latin America depends on social origin, race and gender (Azevedo & Bouillon, 2009). At the same, neoliberalism and education are together creating social exclusion based on social origin, race, gender and economic background.

According to Azevedo & Bouillon (2009) social mobility can be defined as movement upwards or downwards between social groups. This movement is a social progress within a society and education has been transformed in the better way to achieve social mobility. So, social mobility is an evolution, progress and success. However, in Latin America's education system, social exclusion is the reality because income and social origin are still essential factors to determinate individual situations.

For us, a successful education system brings opportunities as well as social mobility and social inclusion. However, this situation is not representative in Latin America because educational success is still depending of the social origin (Azevedo & Bouillon, 2009). One of the most important factors that are determining the opportunities and social mobility is parental background.²⁾ To illustrate this case, Brazil is a good example to compare with Chile because this country shares the same two mains problems of Chile: (i) dramatic inequality and (ii) social exclusion. At the same time, Chile and Brazil have been shown as countries with a clear future potential in the international arena.

Brazil and Chile have parental background as the most important factor to achieve social success.²⁾ In practical terms, it symbolizes social exclusion within the whole education system where inequalities are an important part of the system. In this sense, similar socioeconomic groups are studying in the same school. In simple words, rich with rich and poor with poor. Indeed, the social mix within schools and the per-effect has been dismantled in a neoliberal education (Levy & Schady, 2013; Azevedo & Bouillon, 2009).

To illustrate, how education system can terminate social mobility, Brazil and Chile are clear examples. Chile and Brazil have integrated privatization in the education as a key element. However, these countries have relevant differences in terms of social composition. First, Brazil has an important component of black population. Therefore, ethnic minorities and social origin are interconnected in Brazil's society in terms of inequality.³⁾ To solve this problem, policy makers created a system called "quotas" that means to establish places in the higher education system for black people. The adoption of "racial quotas" was thinking to resolve the social inclusion between black and the rest of the society³⁾ (Levy & Schady, 2013). So, "racial quotas" is a triggered point to achieve social inclusion and racial equality to access to higher education. However, "racial quotas" has brought social division and segregation producing an inverse effect on the Brazilian society. The argument that social inclusion is part of the national agenda of Brazil because it has a quota that favor black students in education is at least risky, and a lot of evidence that may suggest the opposite.

According to Osorio³⁾ "racial quotas" can generate a toxic climate and dangerous division in the whole society because one part of the inclusion is compulsorily generated and it perceived as a privilege. Paradoxically, this situation it is not necessarily associated with low income. Therefore, it is beneficial to be part of the black middle class rather than to be a white Brazilian with low incomes because quotas were thinking to reserve a place in the uni-

iversity for black people. In contrast, Chilean's reality is completely different because ethnic groups proportionally are minorities. So, this it is not a real preoccupation in Chile. Similarly, educational success is determined by social origin and parental background²⁾ (Cavieres, 2011; Gauri, 1998; Sapelli, 2003). At schooling level and higher education level Chile is a perfect example of social exclusion based on structural neoliberal design of the education system. In Brazil, it is possible to notice the existence of a concern about social inclusion within a national agenda, independently that results were not effective. However, in Chile social exclusion is a characteristic of the system. Chilean's education system has designed a new society entirely fractured, divided and stratified. The Chilean voucher system itself is an exclusion which income is the most important factor to determinate the academic success. For this situation, it is necessary to create a better mix within school (Azevedo & Bouillon, 2009).

Social inclusion is a purpose not achieved in Latin America's education system as well as social mobility and education progress. Neoliberalism has subjugated social exclusion in the society because income and social origin are determinant factors to accomplish social progress. The education system is unsuccessful because social mobility, inclusion and integration are positive effects of educated society not proliferated in Latin America.

Conclusions and implications

Latin America understood that education is a key to build a society. This social scenario has decided to connect education with neoliberalism. This complex relationship has brought a new structure, components and results across of the region. Within this area, Chile is a perfect example of how education systems changed when neoliberalism is implemented as a framework.

Neoliberalism in Chilean's education system has produced, as a main consequence, a society highly segregated. The association between neoliberal-

ism and Chile is complex, controversial and unique because it has brought incredible social divisions creating closed circles. In other words, Chilean's education system is creating and will be creating different social realities in the future. Thus, it is possible to observe multiple Chilean's realities within the same Chile.

Chile was one of the first countries in Latin America to adopt neoliberalism as state policy and this was the problem because uncertainty was the general pattern. Improvisation in the short term was the desirable option within a balkanization of educational reforms. Neoliberalism was an intentional, modern and improvised choice which policy makers, political sectors and The Ministry of Education built. Today, the central point is to select intentional and programmed choices to discuss how is it possible to fracture the strong relationship between neoliberalism and education in the long term process? This is a structural problem that demands more challenging questions.

Chile has been resolved small questions generating improvisations as educational structures. The next step is to discuss on big questions to create solid structures in a perspective and systemic way. We are in a position to elaborate big questions because we have perspective, data and experiences. Therefore, solving big questions will imply to create provocative sceneries at internal and structural level. Otherwise, protests, multiple reforms, unstable programs, fragmented policies will be a continued reality.

Taking these considerations into account, we can categorise neoliberalism as a paradigm has been shaped perfectly to the Chilean context. In this sense, Chile is an empirical case of how neoliberalism and education can be associated intimately because neoliberalism has specific properties as a plastic concept being malleable, flexible and dynamic. However the main question here is, how the plastic property can be avoid in the education system? Why neoliberalism needs to be adapted in diverse contexts? This situation is be-

cause neoliberalism has been analysed as a part of the problem, and it is the problem itself.

The education system is fractured by neoliberalism creating segregation, division and resistance. Therefore, education has not brought openness, on the contrary it has increased the gap between rich and poor. Marketization, competition and for-profit universities are common elements at higher education level. In the future, Chilean universities should be capable to re-create new macro-structure of competition? Why universities should be responsible of it? How Chile can produce strategies to enhance social inclusion and social stratification sustained by the system? It is time to mitigate improvisation and create coherent strategies to deal with neoliberalism in a long term process. Analysing and creating new strategies for a new context mean understand the Chilean education system as a whole. It remains a future task to explain generating new strategies to deal in improvised situations and programmed situations focusing on, among other things, in the crucial development of plastic policies.

NOTES

1. <http://www.educacion2020.cl/noticia/profundizando-el-apartheid-educativo>
2. <https://www.oecd.org/education/skills-beyond-school/48631582.pdf>
3. http://www.scielo.br/pdf/cp/v39n138/en_v39n138a09.pdf

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