

Appendix B
Survey Responses
Translated to English
For Amy Zeigler's Honors Capstone

Survey #1

- a) Yes, since education was privatized, educational politics have become worse year by year. This is due to the privilege given to people with money.
- b) *unable to translate*
- c) The structural changes made by the government are highly opposed by the youth. Students react to their discontent with the government by striking and protesting; not getting anywhere due that education is too politicized.
- d) I went to public school because back then private education was too expensive. In this country those who have money can pay and attend a good school, which is usually a private school.
- e) Definitely harmful because those who have money can study while those who don't have to go to public school.
- f) Only those with money have the opportunity to be well-educated and go to college.
- g) Disastrous, negative and one that left bad memories.

Survey #2

- a) The fact that Pinochet fired and sent to exile hundreds of professors had a powerful effect because those professors left did not have the capacity of those sent to exile. The fact that the government had cancelled and eliminated certain professional courses, like for example philosophy, created a society subdued without opinion and today we are suffering the consequences.
- b) My professors were militaries with no academic preparation. I went to school to receive military instructions. The effects of this is that now I have practically no reading comprehension skills.
- c) The motivation to study and the lack of real opportunities. Good education is only for the rich (for those who can afford it).
- d) I am a public school professor because I am interested in those students who think they have no opportunities in life and because I also want to help educate those with little hope or believe in a better future (being that the majority of these students are in public schools).
- e) Beneficial, none, I think a law called LOCE, stated that anyone could create a school, provoking grave problems to our society, because school owners had no experience in education, or were never professors, creating policies and rules that affected students, their values, perspectives and education.
- f) It affected me because it made it harder for me to study. I had to work really hard for many years to be able to attend college education and I am still paying for it.
- g) The legacy is deadly, it affected me because it traumatized me by the fact that I had no liberty and to this day I ask permission and approval in order to organize any activity.

Survey #3

- a) The truth is that life in this period of time is not that complicated, education is not bad but is not well paid, and there is not a protocol that schools can follow to teach. Private education has always succeeded and in the end is better because you are paying for a better quality. I don't believe that this generation is affected by private education because the problem comes from the fact that public education is not good and that it has to improve.
- b) I studied in private school and the difference in education is none, what really changes is the attitude of the students towards their education. Those who want to learn pay for better education, while those who don't want to learn don't pay for education because is not important to them.
- c) That the institutions and the government don't learn from their mistakes and instead, make the same mistakes over and over again.
- d) I don't have kids, but I believe families put their kids where they can pay and instead of where it is better for their kids. There are few parents who sacrifice to give their children the best they can have.
- e) No response.
- f) It affected my parents in the past in economic ways because there was little to eat and it was really hard and uncomfortable to obtain food (like waiting in long lines for food). It also affected my parents in a political way because there were curfews by law and they had to follow every rule.
- g) Economically good because the country is doing better now. He was intelligent and signed many agreements and accords that benefited Chile. Some things, however, were questionable, such as the deaths and assassinations of many.

Survey #4

- a) The politics implemented by Pinochet are objectively still in practice, having an impact on education. In this sense, nothing has improved. I don't think privatization is bad; it permits one to demand for better quality through competition. The image that I have about the real problem of the privatization is that public education is bad and private is good, and more than that the government improves public education by harming the private education so that there is less difference between them.

I don't believe the political apathy has to go with it. As a matter of fact, even when there are young people that have apathy towards politics, many others are motivated by politics. For those Chileans that are skeptical towards politics, I believe that is mainly the cause of the poor job done by politicians (rather than the effects of public education). These politicians have a reputation of never doing their job and being self-interested and focused on destroying opposition projects, leaving little space to address the community interests and needs. Those political parties are the ones that have to change. The youth today is narcissist and they don't feel involved. Until they feel involved it is not likely they will show interest.

- b) One has to see the news to see the reflection of the Chilean youth in every special program. They are tired of suffering, and now they want to have fun. Also, you can see the manifestations in the movie theaters. Until a couple of years ago, the only theme in the movies was the dictatorship seen from different point of views and social classes. Now more movies are being created with very different plots.
- c) I believe that the biggest problem with the youth is education, and only a small group of people is really interested in solving this problem. This group is the one that creates peaceful protests and knows why they are protesting. The majority of the students that protest don't even know why they are protesting, they have no arguments to say why their education is bad and they don't even know what LOCE means. They go to the protests because is entertaining and fun.

On the other hand, in terms of the schools, I think that the biggest problem have to do with the money they have for maintaining and administering the school. They have more students than they should and they let students pass grades when they don't have the knowledge to go to the next level. The problem is that if students don't pass the classes, the schools get less money. Also, there is a law that doesn't permit a school to expel any students during basic learning years.

In addition to this, there is also the situation with professors. There are good professors who are paid the minimum wage, so they go to private schools because they get paid better. The professors left in public school are those that don't have the necessary preparation and knowledge (some that don't even have titles, and that didn't finish basic education).

- d) I don't have kids but if I had them I would send them to private school because public is bad. The "subvencionados" are a little better but private school is the only one that can offer the resources and teaching methods that will provide knowledge to students to progress in life and be successful. (You can look at the studies done where the majority of corporate managers came from the same seven best private schools. There are very few who came from public schools.)
- e) I think that it was created at the proper time. However we don't need it anymore. After the entrance of democracy, no changes have occurred. If the educational system wants to evolve, that aspect [education] has to evolve with the rest of the country.

- f) Fortunately, I don't feel affected by the regime. I was born in 1983 when things were changing. In my family I didn't feel we were affected but as I am told, my mom and dad had wait in lines for food. But this topic is not a big deal in my house and has left no resentment.
- g) I think that he did a good job economically, but the price we paid for that was too high. The atrocities committed during his regime were the worst things that happened to Chile. The biggest legacy of Pinochet is the division of our society; the ones who support him versus the ones who hate him. Pinochet divided Chile in two and this division is now starting to change. His death was the first step and new generations are those who will be able to make a big difference.

Pinochet doesn't affect me. I'm a tolerant person, I know pro-Pinochet people and I respect their opinions. I prefer to end discussions that never get anywhere, prolonging and increasing hatred. I think that the important thing is to keep on with life and look into the future instead of the past.

Survey #5

- a) Absolutely. The legacies of the dictatorship continue presently especially in socioeconomic politics and educational matters in Chile. The educational ideal in terms of universities is what is denominated as “Universidad de Elite” (University of the Elites). This would be considered an awful idea for European countries such as Germany, but a very known (and accepted) topic in our country.
- b) My personal experience is with taxes and fees that want to be added to schools and that would increase the price to levels that the majority cannot afford.
- c) More than anything else, the lack of expectations. There is no academic system that guarantees employment at the end of your studies, or a solution to those that could not afford school any longer. The model to follow is more of a technocratic orientation in activities related to education.
- d) Not yet.
- e) Harmful. In the long run you can see the effects of a de-democratization of the educational system.
- f) First, a sad feeling of not belonging to my country, since I was outside of Chile for long. I felt impotence by not being able to do anything outside of Chile to help in the reconstruction and democratization of the country.
My direct family is being economically affected by the situations and problems that overpower the extreme regions of the country, which forced them to look for different opportunities and leave our country.
- g) I grew up in the military system. It was clear that solutions were set by the strongest. It was normal to not talk about what was discussed at home. It was normal and smart not to discuss or talk, especially if you were against what was happening. After democracy began, it was like re-discovering a country. That, adding to the entrance of teenage years, made me the political person I am today.

Survey #6

- a) You have a very distinct and definite opinion on Pinochet. It is hard to give an answer to someone that already has her own. What consequences of Pinochet's politics are you talking about?
- b) I lived in Chile during Allende's and Pinochet's governments. It is still a very sensitive period and it's hard to talk about it without hurting many Chileans that lived during this period and that were affected by the politics and social conditions of the time.

I have grandchildren in schools and colleges but I don't necessarily agree with you argument. I was not and I am not pro-Pinochet but in order for you to make an impartial questionnaire you should abstain yourself from exposing you argument. Your questions, however, are well established and developed.

Survey #7

- a) I think your argument is wrong and not well formulated. Your arguments come from a fact that actually is not correct. You assume that I, as a typical Chilean, have antecedents to be able to have an opinion about the consequences of Pinochet's educational politics. Even though I don't have specific data, my view is that during the democratic period a lot of changes have been done, implying that any impression without data and facts about the impact in education is just a speculation. Your thesis does not match with your declared purposes, because you will only receive opinions of pro- and anti-Pinochetistas, leaving little space for those typical neutral Chileans to answer. For the "chileno medio" Pinochet is not a topic anymore, and very little is remembered of him and his policies, which makes me unable to evaluate it.
- b) No response.
- c) Professors don't have a critical attitude with themselves. If it is not possible to evaluate professors, giving awards to the good ones and firing the bad ones, you cannot have improved education.
- d) Private school because you know that you can demand better quality.
- e) I don't know. What changes did Pinochet make?
- f) According to "La Concertacion," the macroeconomic foundations were set by Pinochet. If I remember correctly, Foxley called him a visionary and ahead in economic matters. Because I am doing well today, I suppose his policies affected me positively.

However, the more I read your questionnaire, the more I feel that you want to confirm a thesis against Pinochet. That bothers me, not because I want Pinochet to be well evaluated, but because I cannot stand assignments with a lack of scientific and professional facts and standards, the type of assignments that define the answer before defining the problem to be resolve (or the question to be answered).

- g) Today I am doing well and so is Chile. It represents 13 years of life in which he was president.

Survey #8

- a) In my opinion, the topic of education is different from the topic of political preferences. In effect, the privatization has had negative effects. I imagine societies with public education and active citizens. To me, the worse social condition was the social transformation. This transformation consists in the ignorance of the need for and the power of social organizing (civil society).
- b) I don't have any.
- c) I believe the tendencies are moving towards individualism and competition as a way of subsistence.
- d) My daughter goes to a private preschool. In my city there are no public garden schools with infrastructure, especially when compared to the private ones.

When my daughter grows up, I will put her in a private school, because the quality of the professors and the opportunities to learn are much better. In many cities of "provinces" there are less public schools with quality (whereas in Santiago there are many good public schools).

- e) They were awful. The University of Chile was fractioned and fell in debt, and I suppose it was not the only one that had problems. There are many professors in the market as a consequence of the ease of opening many universities and private schools, creating a lack of good quality professors.
- f) When one talks to people that lived before the dictatorship you realize the consequences. They say people were happier before, even when they had less wealth. The state of economy today has created envy and general discontent. This is due to the lack of human, not economic, satisfaction.
- g) The legacy of Pinochet I believe is the fact that he favored the implementation of an economic model of free market and, in general, favored the implementation of neoliberal politics. In my life, I don't think it has economically affected me, since I have had luck. However, I am not happy with the country I live in today, and I am worried that my family will settle and develop here.

Survey #9

- a) I believe that your argument is correct. However, I don't think that the young generation is free of the heavy consequences and pressures of the dictatorship, but that it is rather a generation that still suffers this "carga pesada" of the dictatorship, which is reflected in the unmodified education system. It is important to stress the influence of the imposed economic system and perhaps its struggle.

I believe that maybe you should explain or clearly state when you talk about privatization (economic aspect) and the construction of society (sociological, psychological, and ideological aspects). I don't know what your point of view or your methodology is, but maybe the explanation could help you set a stronger orientation to develop your arguments.

To specify who is the youth today? The following or mine. The privatization of universities (from what I know, the basic education and school education is not privatized).

- b) Personally, when I got to college I realized for the first time the weight that the dictatorship has on the educational system. I was isolated (coming from the North and my parents being of the "derecha") and in school we never talked about the dictatorship but instead we talked about government. The schools were not privatized and would generally force the students to sign the national anthem and learn patriotic military poems.
- c) Ufff, hard question. There is no real political conscience and this happens because we don't investigate and go to the bottom of the situations. The regime's ghost still influences decisions and even votes. I suppose that there should be a modification in the education in terms of history and its consequences.
- d) No, and the only reason I went to private school was because I earned a scholarship. I don't have kids.
- e) 100% harmful, especially in those topics that are still taboo. There was censorship of literacy, history was manipulated, and religion was imposed. In addition, universities stopped being symbols of a solid union, of group work, and of work for the population.
- f) I suppose that we suffered a little from this destruction of conscience. I wasn't very aware of what was happening and that has made a bigger effect on me. Even when I have tried to learn more history and have fought against the conformist seduction that characterizes my generation, I feel guilty for not being interested when I was younger. It's not that I don't have a conscience or a political preference, but that those politics did affect me and my generation (especially those who like me were not aware of the factors affecting our development of opinions and character).
- g) Pinochet's legacies have translated into fear, censorship, and a civil society that does not intend to have a big voice or struggles to manifest freely. We grew up with an inferiority complex, and a conformist character. We grew up "con la sangre hasta los tobillos," but kept drinking coca-cola and watching Venezuelan soap operas. The dictatorship did not permit us to learn and stimulate the brain (to create critical personalities and took us to a stagnant intellectual state that still has consequences in the newer generations).

Survey #10

- a) I would not be able to give you an opinion on the education system in the past. Even though I believe that the political apathy of the youth is correct to a certain extent because of how politicians are seen in general around the world (corrupt, inefficient, self interested). However, these politicians were the ones who took out Pinochet and for that they were admired. What I can tell you is that the private education has two major impacts:

1-There is a big difference in the quality of education. The people that go to particular schools (private schools) are more successful in terms of access and success during the college education. The private is far better than the public education and it is not the fault of the privatization but rather of an inefficient work of the public educational authorities. The budget for education has grown in the last years and that doesn't reflect a change in measures done to the system.

2-The private education made it possible for more people to have access to education. There are statistics that say that 80% of college students are the children of parents that did not go to college. In other words, more people were given the opportunity to develop their intellects and grow socially.

- b) I studied in private college and many of my classmates' parents didn't go to college. My parents did go to college and became professionals.
- c) It's the quality and competition with private education. A person that goes to a private school has more options and opportunities of going to a good college because they are taught with better professionals and better resources to teach them how to be successful.
- d) I don't have children. My parents went to public schools but they sent their kids to private school because they knew it offered a better quality.
- e) Beneficial in the sense that it gave access to education to more people, but harmful because public education lost its quality relative to the private.
- f) Not being pro-Pinochet and being totally against his human rights violations and the excessive time he remained in power, the economist group that created public policies in his government did a great job for the economy. Especially when compared to Latin America, since we are, socially and economically, doing better than the rest. Unfortunately, the human rights problems were grave and the militaries are guilty of a division that still exists today when talking about political topics.
- g) I have a different opinion about Pinochet. I did not like him because of his human rights violations and the excessive time he remained in power, but he is admirable because he was able to understand that the economists could change the country. He incorporated these measures to his government and implemented the policies advised by the economists as the best solution (alternative to development). Then, when I found out about the stealing incident and the discovery of the accounts with millions of dollars, my opinion about him became more negative.

Survey #11

- a) I think your argument makes sense due to the fact that the Chilean society was highly affected by the military dictatorship. By imposing a neo-liberal capitalistic system he demanded too much of a community that was not prepared for such a change. This pressure and stress that the new model imposed in Chile changed our culture. From what I studied, in the 60's and 70's, you could see that Chile was an intellectual country that worked while still being Latin. Today, we have lost many of the Latin values mainly because of an exploitive economic system and an education system focused on consumption.
- b) Schools of Journalism in the 60's and 70's (even in the 80's) were places where the Chilean society was constructed, they were spaces where the youth expressed themselves and where people with critical visions of the world were born. Today, that has changed. To talk about politics and society in schools of journalism is an irrelevant topic, almost "nerdy like". Young people go to school interested in television and soccer, while less and less students are interested in representing a spirit of change for the world.
- c) That the youth is ignorant. They don't read, they criticize without information or without reading anything. We have a generation that likes and adores TV even when our TV is purely ignorant.
- d) My son goes to a particular private school due that it is the only place where he will really learn what he needs to, which is English. I thoroughly believe that the foundations of knowledge of schools are weak and serve only in specific areas. Hence, when it's time to educate my son, I believe he should go to a place where he learns something concrete that will help him no matter what, and that is English.
- e) They were harmful because they made education change into a product of consumption instead of a project of and for the country. Today whoever does not have English cannot get an excellent education.
- f) In that we have to work a lot to maintain a normal life. If instead we lived in a country that had economic politics focused on society, we would live better.
- g) For me it is contradictory. My family is on the Pinochet side but thanks to the education that they provided me with I could realize that their position is a mistake and that the world that I want is not the world that they dream of. For me Pinochet left a legacy that has not left Chile, but that its getting worse and that Chileans believe more by the day. This motivates me to confront my life and to fight against this legacy.

Survey #12

- a) I believe that the apathy is not necessarily a consequence of the educational policies, but rather the lack of clarity of the political class. With the beginning of democracy there was not a big change in life. The sensation of a change arrived only to the politicians, producing discontent to the general population.
- b) We see things that disappoint us all the time. For example, it was discovered that the mayor of Punta Arena's daughter, that had the means and resources to pay for university, financed school with a scholarship of the government for students with little resources.
- c) The intellectual capacity is not rewarded by quality educational possibilities of reasonable costs for the middle class; the scholarship programs requirements are ridiculous: you have to have a virtuous brain and at the same time demonstrate extreme poverty in order to receive a scholarship from the state. The middle class cannot get the scholarships because our family incomes are higher than 600 US dollars.
- d) My children go to private school; we selected this system because it has a good level of quality that prepares students to compete when applying for colleges (and we are able to pay for it).
- e) A little bit of both, but the most harmful was the system of changes, without possibilities for discussion. Those who did not agree and expressed it suffered the consequences. Consequences that were many times very grave.
- f) Nobody wants to discuss the fact that Pinochet implemented policies without asking or giving space for opinion, some of his policies are working and being used, but the way they were implemented is very questionable.
- g) In general it was a sad period, with excessive oppression of different opinions. All of those who were young in that period were left with a sour sensation that it is never convenient to discuss or contradict. Unfortunately, that sensation has lasted in those that lived during those times (especially the young generation during that period).

Survey #13

As a fact for the discussion, the college education in Chile has always been majorly private. Pinochet did not privatize it. To say the contrary is to tell a lie: in 1973 almost all the universities were private. Examples of this are: Universidad Católica, Universidad Austral, Universidad Federico Santa Maria and Universidad de Concepción. Only University of Chile was part of the state. The only thing that Pinochet did was to liberalize the aperture of universities, adopting an American model (US) (a model responsible for the fact that almost the 50 top universities in the world are from the US). This helped create better academic opportunities for more students, opening a market that has always been elitist and generating competitive stimuli to the universities in need. One of these universities is the University of Chile that throughout decades, being a state university, has fallen behind, losing its leadership progressively in almost all the fields.

Survey #14

- a) No response.
- b) I think I have been lucky to educate myself. My school was not too bad but not too good. I was lucky to have had obtained scholarships and taken advantage of them, recognizing that the majority of people that didn't have the resources nor the support of their families have different stories (having to go to public school).
- c) The lack of motivation from the young people, the education that is of such bad quality does not motivate students and does not give satisfaction. It's an obligatory process. Instead of school being a part of one's development, there is no value on knowledge. This makes young people less motivated to study. In addition, those who actually study become, in the majority of times, mediocre professionals. Everything forms part of a cultural problem that has been imposed for lucrative purposes.
- d) I studied in a private school because where I lived there were not any good schools that were public. My school was not fancy, the cost was cheap, and it was a small and relatively good place. I stayed there until college because it felt comfortable for me.
- e) Clearly harmful because his modifications were profound, permitting differences in class that are reflected in education, which should be, instead of a devising factor, a unifying one. Privatizing education implies a separation of people, a better pay for excellent professors and a stagnation of the progress for those who stayed in public school. The consequences are reflected in today's society.
- f) It affected my family a lot. My grandfather was a communist and he was detained and disappeared a couple of months during that period. He was tortured but at least he came back home. My father was detained because of my grandfather, but he was detained for less time though it was a traumatic experience for him as well. This affected his integrity and the integrity of my whole family, added to that is the periods of necessity for having to lose my granddad and my dad for some time. My mother's family on the other hand had a bad time also, but by being humble because they suffered abuses like changing homes and always having fear. Clearly, I don't have antecedents of people close to me that benefited from Pinochet's government and honestly I preferred to be in the side of those innocently affected than those that supported his tyranny.
- g) Personally, it implies something I didn't live, but that I feel profoundly. I share the feeling of lack of justice even in the present and the great pain of those who suffered directly during the period, especially with those families that lost their love ones. Moreover, the legacy that is present, which is socio-cultural and political, is implied in my life and in my generation. The young people today are surrounded by inequality and conflict between class standards that should not even exist but that Pinochet created, dividing us, and that is awful. This fact creates an obstacle for development and improvement. The government of Pinochet created a lot of harm in the country, the worst of which has not been repaired. We could get something good out of all this I'm sure, but without justice and correction of those measures that affect us socially it will not be possible. Without change we only have negative consequences and very little to recover.

Survey #15

- a) The argument exposed is just and presents a perspective that I believe correct and assertive in terms of the condition of the Chilean education of today. Even though it is good, it needs to consider more complex and profound elements like the role of the universities in the promotion of social, investigational, and developmental knowledge for public utilization. The college project today is very different from the past, but we also have to understand that there are certain aspects of old colleges that we cannot reestablish. We should instead create a modern project with regional focus and not with tendencies that don't correspond to the national interest. I believe that the root of the problem is the foundations of the university concepts and the lack of national project for development (that involves and approaches the problems with and for the whole country).
- b) A couple of weeks ago, a vacancy for a professor of journalism opened. The director of journalism, advised by the former director, hired a professor that worked doing administrative tasks. A week after, she was fired because the institute director considered that it was not possible to hire a professor because they couldn't pay for the small amount of hours she would work at the institute. The director of journalism, one of the two winners of National Awards of our school, decided to quit his position as director. The problem is that the small amount of people cannot do all the work alone. It is too much for them. Also, even when it is expensive, students need those professors. This is only an example of all the problems we have, such as: lack of chairs, administrative problems, and necessity of laboratories that can be used whenever.
- c) The quality and its public sense. In Chile, to study is to make an investment where everyone believes that the more you pay for education the better income you will get in you profession (in the future). The people that cannot pay for it have to get in huge debts to pay for it. Private universities costs around 6,000 US dollars per year, not counting registration costs that are around \$600. In public universities, the costs are 40-50% lower. If we calculate the difference, the minimum wage needed for a person to pay for school is \$3,500 US dollars. Taking into account all that you have to pay for that money to satisfied basic necessities, we could say that around 700,000 people cannot pay for education or obtain college credits and/or loans.

More than a radical problem in the youth, there is a grave problem in the education system. Poor people are segregated because they don't have the money to get education and they don't have the resources to finance college. I think the youth is dispersed in their purposes and goals, but even then, there is a group of society that is educated and that is not afraid to confront this problem. They are against discrimination, especially discrimination of those that lack resources.

- d) I study in a public university because I got good grades in my examination for college applications. This happened because I studied in a French school that had many resources, excellent professors and great educational programs. It was a privilege. My college classmates in college represent a small group that got to good universities (from their respective schools) because they put an extra effort and studied a lot. However, almost everyone from my school got into colleges like the one I'm in, with excellent rankings and outstanding quality. The problem is that education is defined by the economic status families have, rather than by the effort that the students put into learning. The biggest obstacle for middle and poor class students is to compete with inequalities of opportunities and resources.
- e) Deeply harmful because that was when our current educational system was implemented, destroying the program that focused on social progress of the poor and the intellectual and technical development of the entire country. After 1973, education, like all public

services, was privatized leaving the restructuring and transformation of the educational system to the private agents and to people interested in applying the new economic model for development. Now everyone talks about neo-liberalism, but the model, with its current economic focus, was implemented before the 1980's by using the country as an experimental space easy to control with little or no social resistance.

- f) In terms of family, we didn't suffer grave consequences. My family, although they are not pro-Pinochet, recognizes the successes of his regime, and currently takes advantage of those successes. They even blame the current government for the more recent economic problems. I believe that even though I did not live during the dictatorship, I feel it does affect me for how I think and view things. The contradictions and violations committed against the opposition during the regime did not end with the beginning of democracy. In the contrary, with democracy this crime was institutionalized. What was imposed during the dictatorship is now reaffirmed by "democracy," while people assume this as the natural order of things. Even when justice has been made, politically we follow and respect the same constitution, made in non-democratic times. Thus, we live in the same institutions and with the same elements of state from the dictatorship period, only to add a few changes and reforms that makes this imposition look like a democracy.
- g) If we see it from the status quo perspective, we could say that the transition between the military regime and the democracy has not been a significant change for the Chilean history. It has rather been, in a more global sphere, a system that has been constantly improving by being capable of incorporating the democratic model without greater conflicts. Why? It is the state itself that secures the mechanisms to avoid political crisis and maintain the status quo. This is based on the small diversity of means of communication and the lack of promoting the development of alternative methods, criminalization of social demands (Mapuche conflict, education, fishermen, etc) and prohibition of political participation of smaller groups that are not identified as the big political conglomerates. Pinochet's legacy represents two situations. On the one hand, it is very dramatic to be able to see the legacies of the military regime in the public education system. Public universities, the oldest and most important for Chilean history, have been greatly punished for having been in the past the foundation for critical knowledge and autonomous characteristics (typical of the era). Today, professionals are educated with relation to the necessities of the market, without even looking to the overproduction before they graduate. This creates doubts over my studies and my real sentiment over education and knowledge. On the other hand, the enormous contradictions produced by the Chilean social model opens space for criticism and the creation of new answers and strategies that can generate substantial changes in the politics and society of Chile. This gives me strength to keep on struggling and working for a more democratic country and to understand the real meaning and importance of democracy.

Survey #16

- a) I believe that the argument that there is an existent political apathy is insufficient as an explanation of what happens today in our country. It is much more complicated. First, I believe that there is no existence of apathy, but rather discredit of current politicians in the current political system and institutions. This is because the current generation of secondary students doesn't have the minimum age to vote and the older generations (up to 25 years of age) are not registered to vote. This "penguin" generation, how we call it, is much more political than any other that has come before. They have been able to put in public discussion the problem of education and the inequalities that exists in the "liceos", "subvencionados", and private schools. To organize, march and get the government to present a law to the Senate of the Republic, is to create a pure political and social act. The fact that they can't vote doesn't mean that they are not political, especially when considering that they are so young (younger than 18 years of age),
- b) No response.
- c) Inequality, because there are grave infrastructure and public education deficiencies. Only those who pay more for education get better grades.
- d) I don't have kids.
- e) Besides that he killed, tortured, and fomented terror in the population, he destroyed our culture and our education system. Now, those who don't have money can't study. Those who study in public school will not get far due to the fact that they will not be able to pay college, which costs a minimum of 250 pesos per month. How could this be good or beneficial? Inequality is increasing in the country. Moreover, private universities are graduating students that know nothing about their professions.
- f) I could write about my entire life. Summarizing, the fear in the population still exists today and not only fear, but also the lack of dignity is very noticeable. In addition, the police repression and the public forces have not ceased since the beginning of "democratic" governments. These "democratic" governments sat down against the Chilean struggle for democracy, sold the country to foreign transnational from the North that take all profits out of the country while paying little taxes. This democracy left the majority out of having an opinion on decisions that concern everybody. But because everybody fears, nobody argues or criticizes; that same fear that was created by Pinochet.
- g) I feel that there was a struggle that diminished when democracy began because the people thought their demands were being satisfied. But as time passed, the demands were never truly satisfied. Pinochet is still in the constitution. This means that he still is the backbone of our country, he still mandates what has to be done, and still enforces the neo-liberal model, excluding and privatizing.