

Index

- analysis of opportunity structures, 20
- Anzia, Sarah
 - influence of teacher unions on policy process, 210
 - on off-cycle school board elections, 211
- Argentina. *See also* Maffei, Marta; Sánchez, Mary
- Alfonsín, Raúl (1983–1989) of the Radical Party (UCR) enacted policies to democratize the education system, 113
- Argentine Workers' Central Union (CTA), 138
- Big March for Work led by Argentine Workers' Central Union (CTA), 138
- Buenos Aires recruitment of non-Argentine teachers, 127
- class differences among teachers, 43
- consequences of decentralization of CTERA, 123
- CTERA aided creation of the Argentine Workers' Central Union in 1991, 128
- CTERA avoided electoral politics, 112
- CTERA leaders who became national deputies, 141
- CTERA reflects a stronger propensity to express opposition and protests state actions, 111
- CTERA resembles a social movement union, 111
- CTERA suffered severe repression in the 1970s, 62
- decentralization and labor grievances, 125–8
- decentralization and political de-alignment, 128–9
- decentralization and weakening organizational hierarchies, 123–5
- decentralization led to convergence of different teacher organizations, 129
- deteriorating political and economic context from 1999 to 2002, 137
- difficulties in creating a unified union, 43
- education spending rose steadily from 1983 to 1986, 113
- efforts by political elites to build a centralized organization to control teachers failed, 53
- end of national collective bargaining did not put an end to movementism, 151
- formation of stark urban–rural divide in education (segmented school system), 42
- founding of CTERA (1973), 61
- Granja Educativa (Education Farm), 139
- had robust labor unions that were incorporated into the Peronist party, 36
- institution of collective bargaining became the primary axis of conflict over education policy, 148
- La Celeste* became a multi-party vehicle for power-sharing, 128
- Láinez rural schools, 43
- Law of Education Finance (2005) increased funding for education, 145
- Law of Education Financing created the Paritaria Nacional Docente, 145

- Argentina (cont.)
 Lista Celeste, 116, 119, 125, 128, 130, 131, 135
 Lista Celeste came to dominate CTERA, 118
 Lista Celeste sought to Peronize the union, 117
 Lista Celeste took control of CTERA's executive committee, 118
 Menem's decentralization undermined national union leaders and empowered militant groups, 112
 movementism became CTERA's political strategy, 113
 movementism led to national collective bargaining, 143–9
 National Fund for Teacher Incentive (FONID), 137
 national union leaders had a limited capacity to constrain local protests, 112
 paired with Peru, 192
 Paritaria Nacional Docente (national collective bargaining), 144
 Peron/Peronism division between industrial workers and urban teachers, 45
 Peronist General Confederation of Labor (CGT) organized thirteen general strikes during the Alfonsín presidency, 114
 Peronists coopted the traditional leaders, 44
piqueteros (defined), 135
 President Kirchner takes action to resolve teacher protest in Entre Ríos, 144
 President Macri dismantled collective bargaining with teachers, 150
 protest and political autonomy, 61–2
 protest by self-mobilized teachers (*autoconvocados*), 138
 protests led to impeachment of Brailard Pocard, Pedro (Governor of Corrientes), 137
 Radical Civic Union (UCR), 53
 recurrent protests, 193
 resistance to corporatism, 53–5
 rival teachers' unions to CTERA, 116
 Roca, Julio Argentino (President) enacted compulsory secular education, 42
 Sánchez, Mary led the White March, 119
 Sarmiento, Domingo (President) promoted and supported public education, 42
 segmented teacher movement, 41
 self-mobilized teachers and *piqueteros*
 blocked roads, 139
 teacher mobilization in response to austerity measures in, 138
 teacher opposition to Peron's policies, 19
 teachers had a more heterogenous set of partisan identities than other unions, 36
 teachers thought of themselves as middle-class professionals, 43
 transitioned to democracy (1982), 1
 union leaders avoided politicizing the union, 143
 urban guerrilla warfare in Entre Ríos, 138
 White March (1988), 117, 126, 135, 136
 White March (1988) fostered a network of activists, 115
 White March (1988) lasted 42 days, 115
 White March stimulated grassroots activism, 116
 authoritarian legacies
 are fixed and rooted firmly in the past, 19
 Caraway, Teri. *See also* historical legacies of labor incorporation
 authoritarian regimes and links to democratization, 35
 historical legacies and union trajectories, 18
 historical legacies of corporatism, 28
 Indonesia unfavorable electoral rules, 19
 legacies of corporatism, 18
 union democracy and mechanisms of control, 24
 union militancy and restraint, 21
 Chile, 196–202
 Colegio de Profesores (CUT), 5, 196, 197
 CUT supported military rule, 198
 Figueroa, Barbara (CUT), 196
 leftism political strategy, 12
 paired with Colombia, 6, 192
 as a shadow case, 192
 union enacted protests, 6
 clientelism
 abusive forms of, 64
 based on regional union party bosses, 69
 Colombia's Teacher Statute protected teachers from, 65
 means to control dissident teachers in Mexico, 68
 provincial-level, 68

- teachers' unions fostering of, 9
- unions as the vehicles of, 69
- Collier, David
 - contrast of teacher and worker incorporation, 67
 - cooptation and labor peace, 18
 - corporatist labor unions loyal to the regime, 40
 - labor as a macropolitical actor, 13
 - los tres ojos*, 47
 - state subsidies and constraint on union demand making, 182
 - teacher influence over education policy may be contingent, 213
 - teacher mobilization as project from above, 28
 - teacher mobilization as project from below, 28
- Collier, Ruth Berins, 3, *See also* corporatism
 - contrast of teacher and worker incorporation, 67
 - cooptation and labor peace, 18
 - corporatist labor unions loyal to the regime, 40
 - labor as macropolitical actor, 13
 - los tres ojos*, 47
 - segmented neocorporatism, 144
 - state subsidies and constraint on union demand making, 182
 - teacher influence over education policy may be contingent, 213
 - teacher mobilization as project from above, 28
 - teacher mobilization as project from below, 28
- Colombia. *See also* Ramírez, Gloria Ines Carvajal, Adalberto, and Movement of Education Action (MODAE), 57
- Colombian Federation of Educators (FECODE) supported left-of-center parties, 153
- Conservative Hegemony (1884–1930) and shaping of education, 45
- discovery of corrupt practices by Dusan, 175
- Dusan's Education, Work, and Social Change faction, 173
- Dussan, Jaime (President of FECODE) included in negotiations with President Gaviria, 162
- factional importance of competitive union elections for the national executive committee of FECODE, 175
- factionalism generated leftism, 171
- factions limited influence on policy, 183
- FECODE created Center of Study and Research on Teaching (CEID), 158
- FECODE formed teachers into a national political voting bloc, 153
- FECODE launched the journal *Education and Culture*, 158
- FECODE launches Pedagogical Movement (MP) in 1982, 157
- FECODE made relations in the union hierarchical, 153
- FECODE's control of protests, 179–82
- FECODE's electoral mobilization, 178
- FECODE's Hunger March, 56
- Federation of Colombian Educators (FECODE), 2
- Federation of Colombian Educators (FECODE) created in 1959, 56
- ideological factions within FECODE, 154
- interest of Afro-Colombians and Indigenous communities were integrated, 162
- intermittent protests, 193
- La Violencia*, 56
- Labor Code of 1939 denied teachers the right to strike, 48
- leftism encompassed elements of electoral mobilization of instrumentalism and the oppositional behavior of movementism, 171
- leftist parties brought the teachers' movement together, 55
- Maoist party (MOIR) a central protagonist, 63
- MP focused on professional expertise and the practice of teaching, 158
- MP marked a generational and ideological shift that divided the radical and center left, 157
- MP opposed the technology of education and goals of efficiency, 157
- MP pushed for popular education, curricular changes, and pedagogical innovations, 155
- MP's separation from FECODE, 166
- the National Front, powersharing pact, 56
- oppositional corporatism, 55–8
- paired with Chile, 192

- Colombia (cont.)
 Pedagogical Movement (MP), 154
 period known as the political
 genocide, 155
 Petro, Gustavo, first leftist President of, 2
 President Barco enacted Fondo de
 Prestaciones del Magisterio (1990), 160
 President Lleras Restrepo and creation
 of regional funds, 56
 President López Pumarejo's expansion of
 public education, 47
 President Samper and Dussan, Jaime,
 negotiated the 'three eights', 163
 President Samper named Rodríguez,
 Abel as vice minister of education, 163
 primary education became compulsory
 (1927), 46
 primary education made free but not
 compulsory (1903), 46
 protest and oppositional politics, 55–8
 refusal to pay teachers led to early
 episodes of labor conflict, 49
 regional governments controlled
 education, 47
 Robledo, Jorge, elected to the Senate
 with Maoist support, 176
 Rodríguez, Abel elected to the
 Constitutional Assembly, 160
 Rodríguez, Abel, president of FECODE
 (1982), 157
 state pact with the church restricted the
 scope of public schools, 46
 subsidized parochial schools, 46
 teachers among the victims of the violence
 during the political genocide, 155
 Thousand Day War (1899–1902), 46
 Toro, German elected to the
 Constitutional Assembly, 160
 Turbay, Julio César (President) enacted
 the pro-teacher statute (1979), 65
 unions were weak and coopted by the
 traditional political parties, 35
 Confederation of Education Workers of
 the Republic of Argentina (CTERA),
 grassroots activism. *See* Argentina
 controlled comparison, 31
 Cook, María Lorena, 50, 78
 assassination of Núñez Acosta, Misael,
 dissident leader, 74
 cohort of union leaders and creation of a
 national faction, 52
 dissident teacher movement in Mexico, 29
 dissident teachers victories, 74
 emergence of teacher movements, 21
 fragmentation of teachers' movement in
 Mexico, 38
 Gordillo's strategy to control
 dissidents, 81
 Gordillo's use of dissident groups, 84
 Jonguitud, Carlos, as cacique of
 SNTE, 60
 leftist governments response to unions, 3
 opening for teachers to challenge union
 leadership at SNTE, 72
 opposition to Gordillo from union
 bosses in several states, 75
 President Cárdenas consolidation
 failed, 41
 pushed for central control within
 SNTE, 52
 Robles Martínez, Jesús, continued power
 in SNTE after stepping down as
 Secretary-General, 52
 shift from ideological differences to
 personal loyalties within SNTE, 60
 state-brokered consolidation of teacher
 unions, 51
 teacher protest reached a peak in 1989
 in Mexico, 74
 teachers and democratic reforms, 5
 union democracy and mechanisms of
 control, 24
 corporatism
 association with authoritarian rule, 18
 beyond, 216–18
 defined, 18
 diverse forms in Argentina, Colombia,
 and Mexico, 49
 exclusionary, in Indonesia, 209
 importance of segmentation of
 teachers, 19
 incorporation and control of workers, 18
 legacies of, explain union politics, 18
 legacies of, shape union trajectories, 11
 and political elites, 18
 societal, in Colombia, 55
 state, in Latin America, 152
 state-determined, 50
 Cristero Wars (1926–29), 39
 decentralization, either strengthened or
 undermined teacher organizations, 30
 divergent paths of labor unions and social
 movements, 3

- Etchemendy, Sebastián
 cooptation of labor unions during
 neoliberal restructuring, 30
 data on teacher protests (2006–2019), 180
 Menem's simultaneous rewarding some
 unions, while repressing others, 119
 and neocorporatism, 144
 Paritaria Nacional Docente (PND) and
 the enablement of national collective
 bargaining, 145
 state funds and demobilization of
 protests, 144
 state neo-corporatism and alliance with
 CTERA union leaders, 145
 suggestion on studying public sector
 mobilization, 217
- factionalism, 11, 25, 26
 competition, 25
 leftism, 25
 movementism, 25
- Falleti, Tulia, 77, 121, 163, *See also*
 Argentina
 Argentina's fortification of
 education, 42
 Argentina's subsidization of rural
 education (Láinez schools), 43
 on decentralization, 30
 decentralization of education in
 Argentina, 114
 education and political realignment, 119
 effects of decentralization, 30
 on elections of governors, 159
 on federalization, 77
 neoliberalism and decentralization of
 education, 62
 President Menem's agreement with
 governors, 122
 waterdowned decentralization and
 concessions to SNTE, 77
- Federation of Colombian Educators
 (FECODE). *See* Colombia
- Fox, Vicente (President). *See* National
 Action Party (PAN)
- Gindin, Julián
 Argentina's church sponsored
 anticommunist federation of
 teachers, 44
 cooptation of teachers, 44
 CTERA granted *personeria gremial*
 (1985), 114
- law made union leaders buyers and
 sellers of teaching positions, 60
 military rule and restrictions on
 unions, 62
 opposition to Peronism, 142
 parallel school systems with different
 labor codes, 43
 Peron's civic, moral, and religious
 curriculum, 45
 Peronist Party endorsed the United
 Teachers of Argentina (UDA), 44
 PRI granted resources to SNTE to purge
 rivals, 52
 on professionalization and training, 5
 SNTE as a singular labor organization in
 Mexico, 72
- Gomez Buendia, Hernando, 63
 98 teacher strikes in Colombia, 64
 regional funds to cover teachers'
 wages, 56
 unions and powersharing in
 Colombia, 57
- Gordillo, Elba Esther. *See also* Mexico
 accused of corruption and
 clientelism, 214
 accused of diverting funds from ISSTE to
 her New Alliance party, 97
 arrested and indicted on charges of
 money laundering, 106
 build a vast network of political
 brokers, 90
 challenges faced by, 75
 and clientelism based on promises
 of teaching positions, salary
 bonuses, and other union advocacy
 services, 93
 criticized for advancing her personal
 interests, 214
 deployed her dominant faction to
 control state resources and capacity to
 advance political careers to maintain
 loyalty within SNTE, 86
 eclipsed the power of Jonguitud's
 Revolutionary Vanguard in SNTE, 83
 foreclosed the possibility for union
 democracy, 71
 freedom of partisanship, 80
 head of National Union of Education
 Workers (SNTE), 1
 held high-ranking positions in the PRI, 1
 her political endorsement became
 coveted by political candidates, 95

- Gordillo, Elba Esther (cont.)
 hired political consultants and
 operatives with advanced training in
 computer science, communication,
 and polling, 91
 instrumental negotiations hinged on the
 consolidation of power under, 95
 led the National Organization of
 Popular Organizations of the PRI
 from 1995 to 2001, 95
 negotiated a salary increase for teachers,
 1, 78
 negotiated directly with President Fox
 (PAN), 1
 new faction referred to as the hegemonic
 or institutional group, 71
 Salinas, Carlos (President) replaced
 Jonguitud, Carlos as head of
 SNTE with, 74
 selected as the secretary general of
 the PRI, 96
 served as senator from 1997 to 2000, 95
 sought to suppress the vote tally of both
 López Obrador and Madrazo, 100
 steps taken to consolidate control of
 SNTE, 80–3
- historical legacies of labor incorporation
 need to examine diverse pathways and
 time periods, 19
 shape contemporary union strategies, 18
- Indonesia, 6, 206–9
 democratization and union
 decentralization, 208
 enactment of Teacher Law (2005), 208
 instrumentalism political strategy, 12
 paired with Mexico, 192
 Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia
 (PGRI, Teachers Association of the
 Republic of Indonesia), 206
 PGRI a weaker organization after
 democratization, 209
 PGRI and promiscuous
 powersharing, 207
 PGRI contrast to leftist and movementist
 unions, 207
 as a shadow case, 192
 similarities with Mexico, 207, 210
 unfavorable electoral rules, 19
 union and government strategic
 partnership, 207
 union avoids protests, 207
 union ruled by dominant faction, 209
 union support for Suharto
 dictatorship, 208
- Institutional Revolutionary Parti (PRI), 1
 instrumentalism, 11, 12, 15–16, *See*
 Indonesia; Mexico
 described, 14
 determined by mode of mobilization and
 partisan alliances, 14
 downside to, 110
 electoral as the primary mode of
 mobilization in Mexico, 14
 shifting party alliances in Mexico, 14
- interviews conducted
 Argentina (26), Colombia (57), and
 Mexico (46), 33
- Jonguitud, Carlos. *See also* Robles
 Martínez, Jesús
 as cacique of SNTE, 60
 controlled SNTE from 1972 to
 1989, 60
 made a large contribution from the
 salaries of ordinary teachers to the
 presidential campaign of Salinas,
 Carlos, 73
 male-dominated Revolutionary
 Vanguard faction in SNTE, 73
 predatory clientelistic practices of, 68
 Revolutionary Vanguard. *See also*
 Robles Martínez, Jesús
 Revolutionary Vanguard faction in
 SNTE, 71, 72
 teachers as electoral plumbers, 90
 use of clientelism to control dissident
 teachers, 68
- labor politics, 18–21
 labor unions
 marked by decline, 3
 leftism, 17–18, *See* Chile; Colombia
 described, 14
 electoral as primary mode of
 mobilization in Colombia, 14
 stable alliance with left parties in
 Colombia, 14
- Losada Lora, Rodrigo, 63, 64
 banding of teacher' unions, 63
 political diversity within
 FECODE, 57
 radicalization of FECODE, 57

- Maffei, Marta. *See also* Argentina
 CTERA, 1, 128, 136, 140, 141, 145
 elected to Chamber of Deputies
 (2003), 1
 national protest movement, 136
 Secretary General of CTERA, 1, 128
 supported by Affirmation for an
 Egalitarian Republic (ARI), 1
 Mexico. *See also* Gordillo, Elba Esther
 1934 law made public education
 compulsory and free, 39
 assassination of Núñez Acosta, Maisel, 74
 authoritarian regimes shaped labor
 politics, 35
 Ávila Camacho (President)
 institutionalized the PRI, 50
 Calles, Plutarco Elías (President) fostered
 an anti-clerical education, 39
 Cárdenas, Lázaro (President) sought
 to consolidate teachers into a single
 union, 41
 Civic Association of the Teaching
 Profession (ACM), 98
 Confederation of Mexican Workers
 (CTM, 1936), 50
 Coordinadora Nacional de Trabajadores
 de la Educación (CNTE), 72
 decentralization fostered by technocrats
 at SEP, 75
 dirty war within SNTE, 74
 discontinuity across SNTE
 caciques, 88
 dissident challenge to SNTE, 71–5
 dissident protests also called for union
 democracy, 73
 dissident teachers faction, National
 Coordinator of Education Workers
 (CNTE), 2
 early labor laws for teachers, 40
 Eleven Year Plan to Expand and
 Improve Education, 59
 federal government's expansion of
 public education challenged regional
 elites, 39
 Federal Law of Service Workers of the
 State, 59
 Fox (President) signed the Social
 Compromise for Education Quality
 (2002), 97
 General Law of Professional Teacher
 Service enacted major changes in
 education, 105
 guaranteed source of income for
 teacher, 60
 informal linkage between teachers and
 the PRI, 51
 intermittent protests, 193
 National Agreement for the
 Modernization of Basic Education
 (1992), 77
 National Confederation of Popular
 Organizations (CNOP), 50
 National Labor Congress ensured Díaz
 de la Torre's, Juan, as president of
 SNTE, 107
 National Union of Education Workers
 (SNTE) and clientelism, 67
 New Alliance (PANAL), teacher-based
 party, 90, 92
 New Alliance Party won seats in
 proportional representation districts, 94
 Obregon, Álvaro (President) created
 the Secretariat of Public Education
 (SEP), 38
 over 700 teachers' unions by the
 1930s, 38
 paired with Indonesia, 192
 partisan subordination, 58–61
 Peña Nieto reforms, 105–6
 Peña Nieto supported by Mexicanos
 Primero, 105
 salary increases under Carrera
 Magisterial, 79
 Salinas (President) enacted Vivienda
 Magisterial (VIMA), 79
 Salinas (President) removed Bartlett as
 Secretary of Education and appointed
 Zedillo, Ernesto, in his place, 77
 Sindicato de Trabajadores de la
 Enseñanza de la República Mexicana
 (STERM), 41
 SNTE as an instrument of political
 control, 58
 SNTE received legal recognition as
personalidad jurídica, 1944), 51
 SNTE responsible for disciplining
 teachers and managing labor
 conflict, 58
 SNTE shifted alliance from PRI to
 PAN, 70
 state corporatism, 50–3
 state transfer of one-percent of teachers'
 salaries into SNTE, 78
 state-sponsored union consolidation, 51

- Mexico (cont.)
 teachers affiliated with CNOP, and not with CTM, 50
 teachers' union as extensions of the party-state apparatus, 49
 teachers' union had close ties to the PRI party, 36
 VIMA used to funnel money to union leaders and their families, 79
- Michels, Robert
 iron law of oligarchy, 118
- Migliavacca, Adriana G., 138
 Argentina's austerity measures, 137
autoconvocados (self-mobilized), 135
 broad teacher protests in Argentina, 138
 dramatic decline in teachers' salaries, 127
 drastic decline in teachers' salaries, 115
 factions within CTERA, 117
patacones (IOUs) for teachers, 137
 union leaders resisted consolidation, 118
 White March and emergence of *autoconvocados* (self-mobilized), 116
 White March as challenge to political leadership, 116
- Moe, Terry M., 192
 challenge of vested interest in educational reform, 211
 influence of teacher unions on policy process, 210
 teachers' unions as labor organizations with economic interests, 9
 on teachers' unions as vested interests, 8
- movementism, 16–17, *See also*
 Argentina; Peru
 contentious mobilization in Argentina, 14
 CTERA as a paradigmatic case of, 16
 described, 14
 no party alliance in Argentina, 14
 pattern in Argentina, 111
 state response to, 16
 SUTEP actions resemble, 202
 teachers at forefront of labor conflict, 6
 and teacher militancy, 16
 unions as independent of political parties, 16
 and weak organizational hierarchy in Argentina, 12
- Muñoz Armenta, Aldo, 15, 51, 105
 discontent with teacher evaluations and renewed protests, 106
 Fox alliance with Gordillo, Elba Esther, 2
 lower transparency and corruption, 106
 Mexican presidents without a legislative majority, 95
 on Peña Nieto reforms, 105
 sizeable network of SNTE political operators paid as teachers, though did not teach, 93
 SNTE clientelist operation, 93
 on the success of the Civic Association of the Teaching Profession (ACM), 98
- Murillo, María Victoria, 21, 122, 123
 Argentina's political instability, 137
 complex interactions between workers, union leaders, and political parties, 21
 on conflict between Arizcuren and Garcetti, 117
 economic restructuring and union dilemmas, 13
 factionalism can lead to greater union militancy, 179
 labor politics as cooperative or adversarial, 3
 Menem pegged the Argentine peso to the US dollar, 119
 militancy among rival unions, 133
 new cycle of teacher protests (1996–2000), 134
 political causes for decentralization, 30
 President Menem did not negotiate with CTERA, 122
- Nardacchione, Gabriel, 54
 advantages of national Láinez rural schools, 43
 contrast between *cuadros* and *operadores*, 142
 creation of commission to promote union unity, 55
 efforts to assert political autonomy in Argentina, 45
 Menem placed UDA in charge of administering social funds, 123
 politics of regional elites, 44
 union principles emphasized secular, state-provided public education, 61
- National Action Party (PAN), 1–2
 National Union of Education Workers (SNTE). *See* Mexico
- Nelson, Joan
 political parties sought to capitalize on teachers' organizational clout, 6
 neocorporatism. *See also* corporatism

- neoliberalism
 - impact on labor unions, 3
 - and labor repression, 3
- new social movements
 - organized protests, and formed new alliances with political parties, 4
- Peron/Peronism
 - coopted some unions and marginalized opposing unions, 44
 - curriculum emphasizing moral, religious, and civic education, 45
 - distinction between *personeria gremial* and *personeria profesional*, 44
 - divided manual from intellectual laborers, 44
 - divided teachers, 44
 - a group of teachers resisted, 111
 - presidency (1945–55), 44
 - some teachers supported, 44
 - UDA failed to integrate most teachers, 44
- Peru, 202–6
 - Castillo, Pedro, elected President, 206
 - early affiliation with Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), 203
 - efforts under the Teacher Committee for Unification and Struggle (COMUL), 203
 - enactment of General Law of Education (2003), 204
 - enactment of teacher law (1984), 203
 - movementism political strategy, 12
 - paired with Argentina, 192
 - pauperization of teachers, 127
 - as a shadow case, 192
 - SUTEP composed of various local factions, 205
 - SUTEP leadership part of Peruvian Communist Party, 202
 - SUTEP opposed García's educational reforms and organized strikes, 205
 - SUTEP's limited role in electoral politics, 202
 - SUTEP's driven by local unions, 202
 - Teacher Law, 204
 - teacher reform law (2012), 205
 - teachers articulate interests through bottom-up protests, 206
 - teachers as classroom Maoists, 203
 - teachers mobilized against neoliberal policies, 202
 - Unitary Union of Education Workers (SUTEP), 202
 - Zevallos, Horacio, led SUTEP, 203
- policy-focused political science, 28
- political strategies, 14–18, *See also* movementism; leftism; instrumentalism
 - actions by social movements and labor unions to make claims on the state, 14
 - defined, 3
 - and factional competition, 6
 - and hierarchical relations, 6, 25
 - and how teachers mobilize, 3
 - importance of organizational decisions, 6
 - inadvertent outcomes of state support, 7
 - prioritize protest or electoral mobilization, 3
 - rooted in the internal organization of the unions, 24
- programmatic dealignment
 - described, 128
- Ramírez, Gloria Ines, 2. *See also* Colombia
 - criticized neoliberalism and Pastrana, Andres (President), 2
 - elected to the Senate with support from the Communist Party, 176
 - head of Federation of Colombian Educators (FECODE), 2
 - member of the Communist Party, 2
 - mobilized teachers to support the left-coalition, Democratic Alternative Pole, 2
 - Petro, Gustavo (President) appointed her as Minister of Labor, 2
- Raphael, Ricardo, 79, 82, 91, 96
 - Calderón support for SNTE, 15
 - creation of National Organization of Electoral Observation of the Teaching Profession (ONOE), 92
 - decline of teacher salaries in Mexico under de la Madrid, Miguel (President), 73
 - Gordillo negotiated her exit with Madrazo, 97
 - on Gordillo's, Elba Esther, political control, 84
 - Gordillo's last minute support for Calderón, 100
 - on Gordillo's loyalty of candidates for leadership positions, 85

- Raphael, Ricardo (cont.)
 Mexican state subsidization of SNTE.
See also National Union of Education Workers (SNTE)
 Mexican state subsidization of teacher unions, 80
 mobilization of electoral brokers, 96
 New Alliance party, 23
 re-emergence of clientelism, 93
 support for Zedillo, Ernesto (President), 92
 teacher unions as neutral election observers, 92
 on teachers voting for the left, 100
 VIMA as symbol of corruption, 79
- Robles Martínez, Jesús. *See also* Jonguitud, Carlos
 blamed poor condition for teachers on ideological divisions within SNTE, 52
 creation of the Revolutionary Vanguard faction in SNTE, 60
 Secretary General of SNTE and personalistic following, 52
- Sánchez, Mary
 elected as a National Deputy, 140
 helped to negotiate the National Fund for Teacher Incentive (FONID), 140
 played a role in the creation of the *Frente Grande*, 128, 140
 Secretary General of CTERA. *See also* Argentina
 withdrew from the Peronist party and joined the Broad Front (*Frente Grande*), 128
- Schneider, Ben Ross, 199
 and defense of status quo by teachers, 9
 influence of teacher union on policy process, 210
 significant increase in wages for Chilean teachers, 200
 support of leftist government in Chile, 201
 teacher opposition to reforms, 211
 teachers, 9
 union democracy and mechanisms of control, 24
 self-mobilized teachers (*autoconvocados*), 137
 some controlled local unions, 138
- shadow cases
 Chile, 196
 focus on organizational mechanisms, 196
 Indonesia, 196
 Peru, 196
 social movements and political parties, 21–4
 Stokes, Susan C.
 Menem's neoliberalism by surprise, 119
- teachers (public school)
 asserted pressures to democratize union leadership, 29
 contested austerity measures in Argentina, Colombia, and Mexico in the 1980s, 29
 as contingent democrats, 10
 demands for higher pay may exacerbate the segmentation between the formal and informal sectors, 8
 emergence as the largest and most politically active group of workers, 4
 first-generation reforms, macro-economic stabilization reforms, 4
 have advantages that other workers do not, 8
 head national labor federations, 5
 protest movements emerged in parallel with other protest movements, 5
 referred to as political apostles, 49
 second-generation reforms sought to improve efficiency and service in the public sector, 4
 and “thick” strategies, 13
- teachers' unions
autoconvocados (self-mobilized), 135
 confront political environment, 192
 criticized for focusing narrowly on labor issues and establishing standards, 8
 decline in industrial workers and rise in, 4
 defended for playing a vital role in democratic engagement and education policy making, 8
 early teacher movements fragmented and weak, 37
 exhibited relative autonomy from the state, contentious mobilization and protest, and novel partisan alliances, 4
 historical structures shape political strategies of, 192
 a leading role in shaping landmark education legislation, 8

Index

245

- legacies of union founding, 66
- may be an impediment to better public schools, 8
- and mobilization against policies that harm children, 9
- and new forms of labor politics, 192
- prominent role in the policy process, 192
- rarely organize workers in private schools and universities, 5
- resemble new social movements, but important differences remain, 21
- strategies located between those of labor unions and social movements, 4
- uneven gains across nations, 193
- traits of teachers' unions
 - forms of collective action, 24
 - and strong hierarchical relations, 24
 - and weak hierarchical relations, 26
- Vélez, Cecilia Maria
 - "the iron lady," 181
- vom Hau, Matthias
 - and military regime, 203
- Peron sought to integrate unions in his populism, 112
- Peronist personality cult, 45
- teachers as modernizers of Indigenous communities, 40
- White Tent protest, 1
 - described, 136
 - fostered the enactment of pro-teacher law (1999), 1
 - a national spectacle. *See also* Argentina; Maffei, Marta
 - organized by CTERA, 135
 - preceded by repression of teachers, 136
- within-case analysis, 32
- women
 - emergence as national leaders in education. *See* Gordillo, Elba Esther; Maffei, Marta; Ramírez, Gloria Ines; Sánchez, Mary
 - a majority in the teaching profession, 2
 - union leaders stressed gender equity, 3