

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND GLOBAL ARTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF YOUTH ORCHESTRAS IN VENEZUELA AND CHILE



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In loving memory of George Paine (1953-2015)
who believed wholeheartedly in young people and in music

ABSTRACT

An expansive movement comprised of UN Millennium Development Goals, international banks, and hundreds of programs worldwide promotes access to the arts as a creative means of social change. Often grounded in cognitive science and inspired by the model of youth orchestras in Venezuela known as El Sistema, this movement contends that arts training—which fosters empathy, collaboration, academic achievement, and self-esteem—helps alleviate poverty and combat inequality. In contrast to the majority of literature on public arts programs—quantitative impact studies that assume the arts create social change through universal mechanisms—I examine the influence of political economy on the implementation of public arts programs. Through a mixed-method, comparative study of youth orchestras for social inclusion in Venezuela (1974-2015) and Chile (1964-2015), I find that the scope and intensity of government control, social welfare policy, and competition for public funds shape public arts programs' social goals, daily operations, definitions of success, and impact study procedures. Therefore, we must reexamine our understanding of arts programs as a development model. Future global efforts to combat inequality should avoid over-standardization. This thesis offers a new Arts for Social Change Context Framework that places input variables at the center of analysis, with policy implications.

Keywords: El Sistema, public arts programs, social change, comparative

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Ed Bradley: *Tell me what it was like the first time you picked [your clarinet] up to play it.*

Lennar Acosta: *It's completely different than when you hold a gun.*

-Interview on *60 Minutes*, "El Sistema: Changing Lives through Music"

From Greenland to South Africa, and from Japan to the United States,¹ policymakers seek to expand public access to the fine arts with social change goals in mind. Many aim to alleviate poverty and increase social mobility by fostering self-discipline, imaginative learning, academic achievement, and self-esteem in children and youth.² According to the largest youth music NGO in the world, public arts programs engaged over 5 million people aged 13-30 in 2013.³ They range in size and outreach from activities at community centers to the work of national organizations. The greatest subset of such programs—which uses youth orchestras to promote social inclusion—consisted of 241 projects in 55 countries in 2014⁴ as illustrated by the shading in Figure 1.1.

¹ Lauren Silberman, "Globalizing El Sistema: Exploring the Growth and Development of El Sistema Inspired Programs Around the World," Masters Thesis, (Portland: University of Oregon: 2013).

² Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2011).

³ Jeunesses Musicales International, "Mission Statement," (2014). <http://www.jmi.net/page.php?n=2&s=1#.VHohbTCJOuY>

⁴ Sistema Global, "El Sistema Programs Worldwide," (2014). <http://sistemaglobal.org/el-sistema-global-program-directory/>

Figure 1.1: A Map of Orchestral Music for Social Change Programs



Sources: Friends of El Sistema Japan, *Transforming the Lives of Children through the Power of Music*, (2014); El Sistema USA, *El Sistema Around the World*, (2013); Map drawn by Emma Strother at www.amcharts.com/visited_countries.

Journalists and policymakers alike applaud public arts initiatives for their unique approaches to empowering young people.⁵ Even the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (UN MDGs)—a set of objectives aimed at global poverty, health, and equality, to be updated in 2015—portray culture as an active ally to social change through political, economic and human development.⁶

⁵ Anastasia Tsioulcas, “The Landfill Harmonic: an orchestra built from trash,” (National Public Radio, December 19, 2012); Charles R. Larson, “Kinshasa Symphony: pure joy,” (Washington, DC: Counterpunch, April 29, 2011); Clemency Burton-Hill, “West-Eastern Divan Orchestra: Uniting Arabs, Israelis,” (London: BBC, August 22, 2014); Harry A. Radcliffe II and Bob Simon, “El Sistema: Changing Lives Through Music,” *60 Minutes*, (Caracas: CBS News, April 13, 2008); Henrique Dores, “Defying all odds, the first Palestinian Circus School flourishes,” (Palestine Monitor: April 24, 2013); Paige Pfleger, “Matrix Theater gives kids outlet for creativity, expression,” (The Michigan Daily: Detroit, March 13, 2014).

⁶ Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues* (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2011), XI; UNESCO, *Analytical Framework: Culture for Development Indicator Suite*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2011), 6; UNESCO, *Culture: A Driver and An Enabler of Sustainable Development* (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2012), 4.

The logic behind combatting social inequalities, injustices, and conflict with art and cultural activities is that creative expression and arts education nurture certain values and skillsets lacking in the target populations and crucial to social change.⁷ Public arts policymakers define social change as “social and civic outcomes from increased awareness and understanding, [from] attitudinal change, to increased civic participation, the building of public will, [and] policy change that corrects injustice.”⁸ This definition, published in *Animating Democracy’s* framework for understanding social impacts of the arts, focuses on desirable outcomes rather than processes of change. Such goals include decreased crime, increased school attendance, and improved employability. Proponents argue that public arts programs construct supportive communities apart from violent or impoverished neighborhood contexts.⁹ Furthermore, such programs maintain that arts training encourages self-discipline, imagination, academic achievement, and self-esteem—skills that promote positive socialization.¹⁰

For the purposes of this thesis, I define social change as the dynamic process of transforming the status quo in a particular context. I depart from conventional wisdom

⁷ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

⁸ *Animating Democracy, IMPACT: Resources for Evaluating the Social Impact of the Arts*, (Washington, DC: 2014), 1.

⁹ Tricia Tunstall, *Changing Lives: Gustavo Dudamel, El Sistema and the Transformative Power of Music*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012).

¹⁰ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); D.M. Hollinger, *Instrument of Social Reform: A Case Study of the Venezuelan System of Youth Orchestras*, Dissertation, (Phoenix: Arizona State University, 2006).

that the social change impact of public arts programs can *only* be measured by specific outcomes.

National and international trends in funding suggest the rapidly growing popularity of arts for social change logic. In the United States alone, 55.4% of grantmakers funded social change through the arts in 2013,¹¹ and the number of grants given to arts programs with social change goals has risen by 191% in the past ten years.¹² In 2013, The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) co-sponsored 45 arts for social change programs in 26 countries across the Western Hemisphere.¹³ The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) apportioned 7.9% of its 2013 budget for a “Major Programme on Culture,” which described arts and cultural programming as a tool for peacemaking, social inclusion, and economic growth around the world.¹⁴ Financial support on national, regional, and international levels allows arts programs to improve their material resources and adds to their legitimacy as social change initiatives in the public eye.

This flow of money, global wave of positive attention, and international development debates depicting the arts as agents of social change, inspire a growing field

¹¹ Pam Korza and Barbara Schaffer Bacon, “Trend or Tipping Point: Arts and Social Change Grantmaking,” (Washington, DC: Animating Democracy, 2010), 34.

¹² *Foundation Directory Online Database*. Data collected and percent change calculated by Emma Strother. Number of grants awarded throughout the United States to arts programs with the following goals in 2003 versus 2013: music therapy, cultural or ethnic awareness, equal rights, ethics, public education, public policy, reform and volunteer services. November 6, 2014.

¹³ Inter-American Development Bank, “Cultural Development Program: Selected Projects 2013,” (Washington, DC: IDB, 2013).

¹⁴ UNESCO, *36 C-5 Approved Programme and Budget 2012-2013*, (Paris: UNESCO, 2012), 149-178.

of scholarship. Through diverse case selections and approaches—ranging from qualitative ethnographies of several students¹⁵ to quantitative large-*n* program evaluations¹⁶—a wealth of existing studies analyzes program strengths and weaknesses.¹⁷ Yet these studies provide an incomplete picture of the extent to which arts programs affect social change. For example, they tend to focus on impacts without context—thus examining correlations between program goals and outcomes as if in a vacuum—and/or assume similarities across programs. While reports, scholarship, and evaluations endorse public arts programs with overwhelming optimism, skeptics claim such programs can produce ideological contradictions, political corruption, and student abuse.¹⁸ We lack systematic evidence on how public arts programs affect social change.

To what extent does political-economic context influence the implementation of public arts programs? Drawing upon scholarship, reports, and impact studies, I argue the following. National government control over institutions, prioritization of social welfare,

¹⁵ J. C. Castañeda-Castañeda, “Percepción sobre un taller de educación musical, de jóvenes en reclusión en el Marceliano Ossa Lázaro Nicholls ‘Créeme,’” (Pereira, Colombia: Universidad Tecnológica de Pereira, 2009).

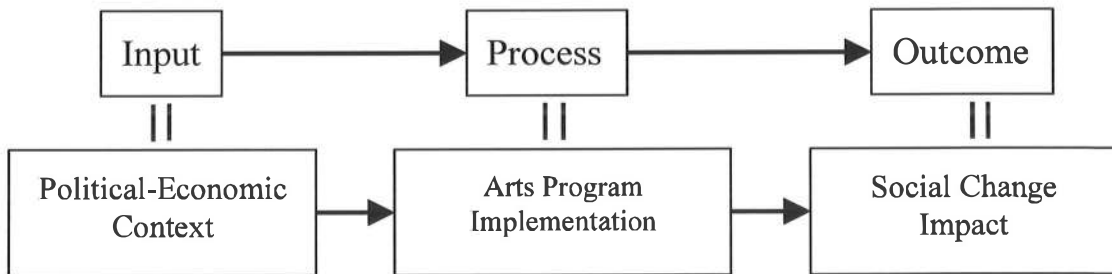
¹⁶ Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues*, (New York: UN Headquarters, 2011).

¹⁷ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues*, (New York: UN Headquarters, 2011); Diane Elizabeth Cline, *Community Music Education Partnerships for Social Change: Six Unique Adaptations of El Sistema in the United States of America*, Masters Thesis, (University of Chicago: 2012); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (London: Oxford University Press: 2014); James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012); Ludim R. Pedroza, “Music as a Life-Saving Project: Venezuela’s El Sistema in American Neo-Idealistic Imagination,” *College Music Symposium Journal*, Vol. 54 (2014); Michael Uy, “Venezuela’s National Music Education Program El Sistema: Its Interactions with Society and its Participants’ Engagement in Praxis,” *Music and Arts in Action*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (Exeter: Department of Sociology and Philosophy, 2012); Michelle Reeves, *Measuring the Social and Economic Impact of the Arts: A Review*, (Arts Council of England: 2001).

¹⁸ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (London: Oxford University Press: 2014).

and competition for public funding shapes a public arts program’s social goals, daily operations, and definition of success. In turn, this process of implementation influences how we interpret a program’s social change impact. The purpose of this thesis is to bring together agency and structure through an examination of processes and mechanisms, in order to develop a new Arts for Social Change Context Framework. Unlike studies that examine output—the social change effects of arts programs on individuals and groups—I examine input variables to shed light on arts program implementation. These categories are fluid and dynamic, yet Figure 1.2 separates them into a framework for understanding how they relate to one another.

Figure 1.2: My Arts for Social Change Context Framework



THE ARGUMENT

I argue that political-economic context matters. I add a set of understudied independent variables to current scholarship and policy debates about why public arts for social change programs flourish or flounder.¹⁹ My thesis is not an evaluation of arts

¹⁹ Austin Lui, “Orchestrating Communities: An Investigation of El Sistema and its Global Influences,” (Ottawa: Carleton University, 2012); Ciera M. DeSilva and Gregory L. Sharp, “El Sistema: Challenging Norms through Music,” (New Brunswick: Mount Allison University, 2013); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (London: Oxford University Press: 2014); Ludim R. Pedroza, “Music as a Life-Saving Project: Venezuela’s El Sistema in American Neo-Idealistic Imagination,” *College Music Symposium Journal* Vol. 54 (2014).

program success, yet it completes a necessary step through testing how context variables affect the implementation of arts for social change programs. This study will help scholars consider new variables to aid in more comprehensive studies. I acknowledge that a range of independent variables influence the missions, operations, and impact measurements of public arts programs. I divide key inputs into social, economic, and political categories in Table 1.1. I realize that these variables are interrelated, but I separate them for analytic purposes. I highlight my chosen independent variables in orange and others in blue.

Table 1.1: Social, Economic, and Political Variables of Implementation

| Social Variables | Economic Variables | Political Variables |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Public acceptance of the program | Amount and reliability of funding | Degree to which government upholds freedom of expression |
| Pedagogue | Resources: -Material (musical instruments, arts supplies, dance shoes, rehearsal space) -Human (teachers, student leaders, participants) | Value of culture in national development plans |
| National prioritization of social welfare | Competition for public funding | Government control over institutions |

National prioritization of social welfare, competition for public funding, and government control over institutions influence how arts for social change programs function in a particular country. The aspects of society which a program attempts to change, its targeted audience, strategic plan, allocation of funds, daily operations, and definition of success are all intimately linked to the political structures on which it relies

for support. This mechanism runs contrary to the popular belief that uplifting young people through the arts is a universal goal, non-controversial, or a-political.²⁰

A country's political economy influences its public policies and support for public programs.²¹ In this thesis I define the state as the administrative, legal, bureaucratic and coercive systems that attempt to structure relationships between civil society and public authority *as well as* relationships within society itself.²² This definition is Manuel Castells' extraction from Max Weber's conception of the state.²³ It suits this thesis because it acknowledges executive influence over the lives of citizens through public funding and institutional support. I categorize states on an authoritarian to democratic scale²⁴ and on a socialist to free market scale.²⁵

²⁰ Inter-American Development Bank, Project VE-T1038, "National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela," (Washington, DC: IDB, June 24, 2013); UNESCO, *Analytical Framework: Culture for Development Indicator Suite*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2011); UNESCO, *Culture: A Driver and An Enabler of Sustainable Development*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2012); UN High Commission on Refugees, "Barlovento—El Sistema Youth Orchestra," (November 28, 2014), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JJFOYTiCqhI>; UN Task Force on Cultural Indicators of Human Development in Africa, *Cultural Indicators: Views from Africa*, (2004).

²¹ David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Diez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

²² Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity*, Second Edition, (Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

²³ Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity*, Second Edition, (Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013); Max Weber, *General Economic History*, Translated by Frank H. Knight, (London: George, Allen, & Unwin Ltd, 1927); Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Translated by Talcott Parsons, (New York: Routledge, 1930).

²⁴ Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

I argue that free market dictatorships are likely to feel threatened by public arts programs with social change goals, and thus work to eliminate them.²⁶ Socialist non-democracies are likely to support public arts programs as symbols of nationalism and cultural exports.²⁷ They define social inclusion as increased program participation and measure program scope rather than specific impact.²⁸ Socialist democracies likely demonstrate enthusiastic support for public arts programs, but don't have the executive power to fund them without public accountability.²⁹ Free market democracies likely demand concrete, measurable social change impacts from their public arts programs before allocating social spending for their expansion.³⁰ Figure 1.3 condenses the logic behind my Arts for Social Change Context Framework.

²⁵ Charles L. Davis and Kenneth M. Coleman, "Neoliberal Economic Policies and the Potential for Electoral Change in Mexico," *Mexican Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Jeanne A. K. Hey and Thomas Klak, "From Protectionism Towards Neoliberalism: Ecuador Across Four Administrations (1981-1996)" *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 34, No. 3, (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1999), 66-97.

²⁶ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014).

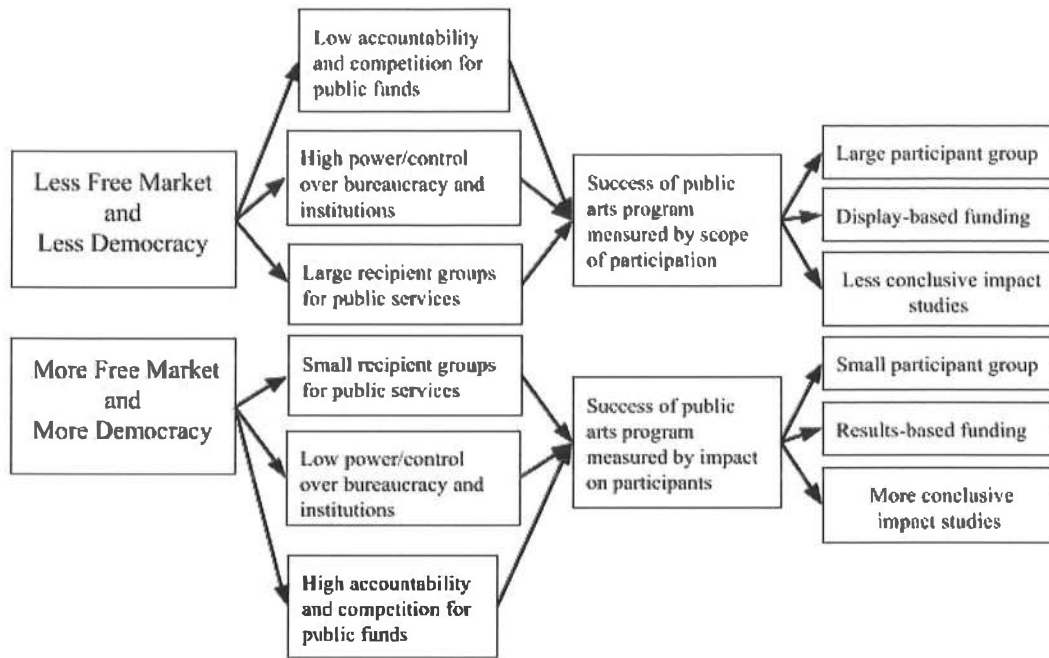
²⁷ David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

²⁸ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman. *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*. (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (London: Oxford University Press: 2014).

²⁹ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014).

³⁰ David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost,

Figure 1.3: The Logic behind My Arts for Social Change Context Framework



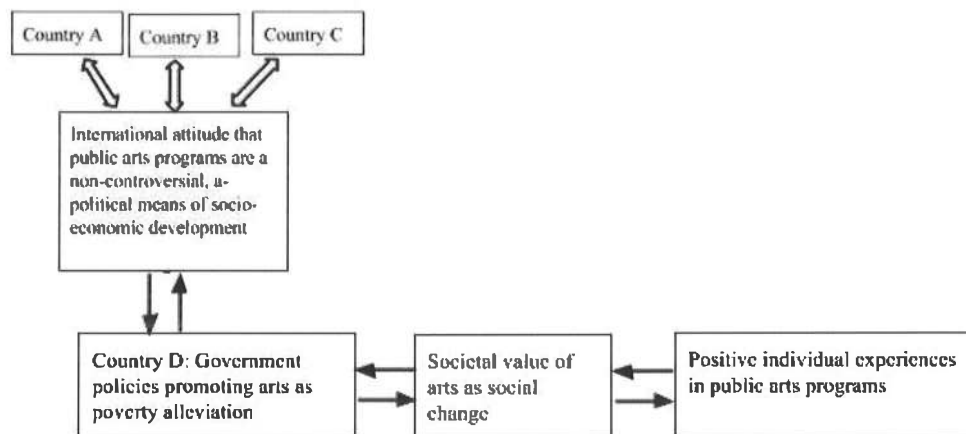
An alternative argument to this logic is that self-reinforcing optimism surrounding arts for social change programs contributes to their rapid expansion and haphazard evaluation around the world. International organizations often portray arts and culture programs as non-controversial and a-political means to socioeconomic development.³¹

Politics of Latin America: The Power Game, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Diez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³¹ Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues*, (New York: UN Headquarters, 2011); UNESCO, *Analytical Framework: Culture for Development Indicator Suite*, (New York: UN Headquarters 2012); Inter-American Development Bank, "Cultural Development Program: Selected Project 2013," (Washington, DC: IDB, 2013); World Bank, "Afghanistan Skills Development Project: P201573 - Implementation and Status Report, Sequence 13," (Washington, DC: World Bank, June 22, 2014).

This attitude encourages policies³² to combat inequality through arts training, which in turn increase the societal value of art as a means of social change, and positive individual experiences in public arts programs.³³ The reverse process also occurs, as individual experiences in public arts programs—especially sensational success stories³⁴—increase the societal value of art as a means of social change, and in turn encourage national government policies.³⁵ I illustrate this optimism feedback loop in Figure 1.4.

Figure 1.4: The Optimism Feedback Loop



³² Andrew P. Cortell, “How do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 4, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996); Martha Finnemore, “International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy,” *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 4, (Cambridge: The IO Foundation, 1993).

³³ Tricia Tunstall, *Changing Lives: Gustavo Dudamel, El Sistema, and the Transformative Power of Music*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012).

³⁴ By success stories I mean personal narratives, most commonly found in news pieces, documentary films, and memoirs, detailing the profound positive influence of a public arts program on a participant’s life.

³⁵ Jeffrey T. Checkel, “International Norms and Domestic Politics: Bridging the Rationalist-Constructivist Divide,” *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 3, No. 4, (Konstanz: University of Konstanz Press, 1997); Thomas Risse-Kappen, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1999).

While this logic can apply to the success of particular public arts programs, I argue that the extent to which optimism circulates in this manner and creates program success *varies* based on political-economic context. Specifically, government control over institutions, competition for public funds, and national prioritization of social welfare shape the implementation of public arts programs, and how they affect social change. Promotion does not inherently equal success. Furthermore, the desire for success illustrated in the optimism feedback loop effects methods of assessment and leads to potentially overinflated evaluations. Thus, I argue that political-economic context matters.

SIGNIFICANCE

There are both theoretical and practical reasons to undertake a study of public arts programs and social change.

Theoretical Significance

There are three main bodies of literature relevant to my study of public arts programs and social change: social consequences of arts training; arts education and economic development; and arts programs and politics. These are my original groupings which cover a wide span of academic and policy disciplines.

First, I examine methods of conflict prevention and peacebuilding through the humanities³⁶—particularly the variables empathy³⁷ and collaborative learning³⁸—as

³⁶ Arild Bergh and John Sloboda, “Music and Art in Conflict Transformation: A Review,” *Music and Arts in Action*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (Exeter: Oxford Research Group, 2010); Cynthia E. Cohen, Roberto Gutiérrez Varea, and Polly O. Walker eds. *Acting Together: Performance and the Creative Transformation of Conflict*, Vol. 1: Resistance and Reconciliation in Regions of Violence, (New York: New Village Press, 2011); Daniel Barenboim and Edward W. Said, *Parallels and Paradoxes: Explorations in Music and Society*, (New York: Random House, 2002).

social consequences of arts training. According to literature on the social consequences of arts training, public arts programs prevent conflict through the following mechanisms. Experiences in visual and performing arts develop empathy, through increased exposure to diverse cultures and the idea of art as a universal language.³⁹ Arts programs almost always include elements of group learning—for example, ensemble work in music, theater, and dance, or peer critique or collaborative projects in visual arts—which promote cooperative skills.⁴⁰ Together, these skill-sets contribute to peacebuilding by changing participants’ attitudes towards others, developing collaborative and humanitarian worldviews.⁴¹ Therefore, scholars and policymakers argue that increased public access to fine arts decreases either the likelihood or the instance of violent conflict in a given country context.

³⁷ Johanna Shapiro and Lloyd Rucker, “Can Poetry Make Better Doctors? Teaching the Humanities and Arts to Doctors, Medical Students and Residents at the University of California, Irvine College of Medicine,” *Academic Medicine*, Vol. 78, No. 10 (Washington, DC: Association of American Medical Colleges, 2003), 953-957; Mirja Kalliopuska and Inkeri Ruokonen, “A Study with a Follow-Up of the Effects of Music Education on Holistic Development of Empathy,” *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, Vol. 76, (Perceptual and Motor Skills, 1993), 131-137.

³⁸ Olivier Urbain, *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*, (London, I.B. Tauris & Co. 2008); Steven E. Daniels, *Working Through Environmental Conflict: The Collaborative Learning Approach*, (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2001).

³⁹ Johanna Shapiro and Lloyd Rucker, “Can Poetry Make Better Doctors? Teaching the Humanities and Arts to Doctors, Medical Students and Residents at the University of California, Irvine College of Medicine,” *Academic Medicine*, Vol. 78, No. 10 (Washington, DC: Association of American Medical Colleges, 2003), 953-957; Mirja Kalliopuska and Inkeri Ruokonen, “A Study with a Follow-Up of the Effects of Music Education on Holistic Development of Empathy,” *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, Vol. 76, (Perceptual and Motor Skills, 1993), 131-137.

⁴⁰ Olivier Urbain, *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*, (London, I.B. Tauris & Co. 2008); Steven E. Daniels, *Working Through Environmental Conflict: The Collaborative Learning Approach*, (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2001).

⁴¹ C. Daniel Batson and Nadia Y. Ahmad, “Using Empathy to Improve Intergroup Attitudes and Relations,” *Social Issues and Policy Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues: 2009), 141-177; Robert Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2, (Princeton: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 167-214.

Second, scholarship on arts education and economic development⁴² examines the links from public arts training to employability and in turn to class mobility,⁴³ economic growth,⁴⁴ and poverty alleviation.⁴⁵ This body of literature builds upon a foundation of cognitive and psychological research on how arts training affects brain development and in turn employability.⁴⁶

Arts and cognitive development literature⁴⁷ examines the variables of advanced language skills⁴⁸ and increased mathematical abilities⁴⁹ in the context of arts education.

⁴² Kaivan Munshi and Jacques Myaux, "Development as a Process of Social Change: An Application to the Fertility Transition," Masters Thesis, (Brown University: 2002); Philip McMichael, "Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective," (Los Angeles, SAGE Publications, 2012); Tareq Y. Ismael, "Development: A Process of Social Change and Revolutionary Transition," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 1, (Middle East Institute, 1971), 91-97.

⁴³ David J. Murray, "How the Arts and Culture Sector Catalyzes Economic Vitality," (New York: American Planning Association, 2010); Min Zhou and Susan S. Kim, "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (Boston: Harvard Education Publishing Group, 2006); Nina Sabnani and Judy Frater, "Art as Identity: Social Mobility through Traditional Textiles in Kutch," (Bombay: Indian Institute of Technology, 2012); Paul DiMaggio and Michael Useem, "The Arts in Education and Cultural Participation: The Social Role of Aesthetic Education and the Arts" *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, Vol. 14, No. 4, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1980).

⁴⁴ Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues*, (New York: UN Headquarters, 2011).

⁴⁵ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez—Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema—Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

⁴⁶ Aniruddh D. Patel, *Music, Language and the Brain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); David J. Hargreaves, *The Developmental Psychology of Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Henkjan Honing, *Music Cognition*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009); Irene Deliege and Jane W. Davidson, *Music and the Mind*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughn Kahn, *Math and Music: Harmonious Connections*, (Palo Alto: Dale Seymour Publications, 1995); Wendy S. Boettcher, Sabrina S. Hahn, and Gordon L. Shaw, "Mathematics and Music: A Search for Insight into Higher Brain Function," *Leonardo Music Journal*, Vol. 4, (Boston: MIT Press, 1994).

⁴⁷ Aniruddh D. Patel, *Music, Language and the Brain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); David J. Hargreaves, *The Developmental Psychology of Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Henkjan Honing, *Music Cognition*, (New Brunswick: Transaction

According to this approach, artistic training, particularly in music, contributes to the development of specific language and math skills. The connection between musical training and improved language skills is condensed in Aniruddh Patel's OPERA hypothesis: neural plasticity of speech-processing networks is a positive result of musical training when five conditions are met—overlap, precision, emotion, repetition, and attention (OPERA).⁵⁰ Improved language skills in this case refer to ease of learning foreign languages and an increased ability to distinguish speech in cacophonous environments. Due to the exceptional ear training associated with music education, students develop the sensitized capacity to differentiate, imitate, and memorize different sounds.⁵¹ Many public arts programs connect artistic training to higher probabilities of the following: advanced language skills, thus academic achievement, thus employability, and thus social change.⁵²

Publishers, 2009); Irene Deliege and Jane W. Davidson, *Music and the Mind*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁴⁸ Aniruddh D. Patel, "Why Would Musical Training Benefit the Neural Encoding of Speech? The OPERA Hypothesis," *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol. 2, (2011); Nina Kraus and Bharath Chandrasekaran, "Music training for the development of auditory skills," *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, Vol. 11, No. 8, (2010), 600.

⁴⁹ Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughn Kahn, *Math and Music: Harmonious Connections*, (Palo Alto: Dale Seymour Publications, 1995); Wendy S. Boettcher, Sabrina S. Hahn, and Gordon L. Shaw, "Mathematics and Music: A Search for Insight into Higher Brain Function," *Leonardo Music Journal*, Vol. 4, (Boston: MIT Press, 1994).

⁵⁰ Aniruddh D. Patel, "Why Would Musical Training Benefit the Neural Encoding of Speech? The OPERA hypothesis," *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol. 2, (2011).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); James S. Catterall, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012).

The logic behind music education creating mathematical advantages emphasizes the overlap between the two fields. Diverse aspects of musical training, from counting rhythms and sounding pitches to understanding the construction of musical instruments are based on mathematical equations.⁵³ These cognition theories on music, language, and math help justify the arts as a means of academic achievement, social mobility, and social change, especially to program funders.⁵⁴ Yet cognition theories cannot provide the complete picture of how students benefit from participation in music programs on the level of human development, nor the extent to which communities and societies benefit from arts training on the level of social change.

Building on this underlying logic about how arts training affects the brain, economic development literature argues that arts for social change programs affect class mobility through the following process. Creative expression and arts education foster self-discipline, imaginative thinking, academic achievement, and self-esteem. Advancement in the arts requires regular, diligent practice of skills and techniques, which builds self-discipline in artists.⁵⁵ Artistic expression fosters imaginative thinking as artists do not seek correct answers to problems, but rather attempt to portray thoughts and

⁵³ Gerard Assayag, Hans G. Feichtinger, and José-Francisco Rodrigues eds., "Mathematics and Music: A Diderot Mathematical Forum," (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2002); Leon Harkleroad, *The Math Behind the Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁵⁴ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); Inter-American Development Bank, Project VE-T1038, "National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela," (Washington, DC: IDB, June 24, 2013).

⁵⁵ Gregory D. Freeman, Kathleen Sullivan, and C. Ray Fulton, "Effects of Creative Drama on Self-Concept, Social Skills, and Problem Behavior," *The Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 96, No. 3, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 131-138; Lois Hetland, Ellen Winner, Shirley Veneema, and Kimberly M. Sheridan, *Studio Thinking: The Real Benefits of Visual Arts Education*, (New York: Teachers College Press, 2013).

feelings through creative means.⁵⁶ Arts education increases academic achievement both by strengthening students' right-brain capabilities linked to innovative problem-solving and through the specific connections between art, language, and math skills.⁵⁷ Finally, positive experiences performing or otherwise showcasing artistic talent cultivates positive feelings of self-worth.⁵⁸ According to socioeconomic development literature applied to public arts programs, these positive outcomes overlap and interconnect, creating a net positive effect of artistic training and creative expression on quality of life and future.

A mechanism of the increased quality of life argument is that the previously detailed variables in turn increase the employability of participants⁵⁹ and thus their potential for social mobility. The logic behind this process is that increased self-discipline, imaginative thinking, academic achievement, and self-esteem are indicators of

⁵⁶ Heather Moorefield-Lang and Barbara Day, "Arts Education and Creativity," *Journal of Creativity, Spontaneity, and Learning*, Vol. 1, No. 3, (Royal Library of Denmark: CHARA, 2010); Maxine Greene, *Releasing the Imagination: Essays on Education, the Arts, and Social Change*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1995).

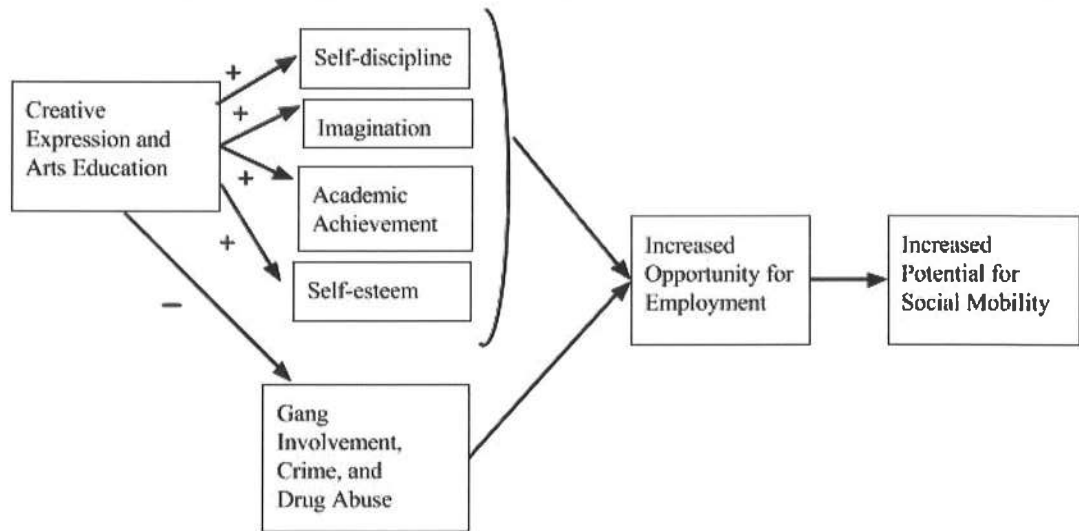
⁵⁷ David E. Gullatt, "Research Links the Arts with Student Academic Gains," *The Educational Forum*, Vol. 71, No. 3, (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2007); Edward B. Fiske, *Champions of Change: The Impact of Arts on Learning*, (Washington, DC: President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, 1999); James S. Catterall, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012); Lois Hetland and Ellen Winner, "The Arts and Academic Achievement: What the Evidence Shows," *Arts Education Policy Review*, Vol. 102, No. 5, (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2001).

⁵⁸ César Iván Lara, "De una autoestima sin límites nace la efervescencia del músico venezolano," *Entrevista, Fundamusical Bolívar*, (March 27, 2014); D.M. Hollinger, *Instrument of Social Reform: A Case Study of the Venezuelan System of Youth Orchestras*, Dissertation, (Phoenix: Arizona State University, 2006); Eugenia Costa-Giomi, "Effects of Three Years of Piano Instruction on Children's Academic Achievement, School Performance, and Self-Esteem," *Psychology of Music*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (New York: SAGE, 2004); Elizabeth Hartz and Lynette Thick, "Art Therapy Strategies to Raise Self-Esteem in Female Juvenile Offenders," *Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art Therapy Association*, Vol. 22, No. 2, (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005).

⁵⁹ José Cuesta, "Music to My Ears: The (Many) Socio-Economic Benefits of Music Training Programs," (Washington, DC: IDB Research Department, 2008); Judith Humphrey Weitz, *Coming Up Taller: Arts and Humanities Programs for Children and Youth at Risk*. (Washington, DC: President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, 1996); Kirsten Anderson and Katie Overy, "Engaging Scottish Young Offenders in Education Through Music and Art," *International Journal of Community Music*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (Bristol: Intellect, 2010), 47-64.

competence, innovation, and confidence, and thus assets in a job search.⁶⁰ Additionally, participation in programs outside of school discourages children and youth from risking social exclusion through gang activity, crime, and drug abuse.⁶¹ While program participation may do so in any context, academics and policymakers are particularly interested in applicability to communities where resources are scarce, such as developing countries and socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods.⁶² Thus, we would expect the consequences of program participation to be greater where resources are more scarce. I illustrate this mechanism in Figure 1.5.

Figure 1.5: From Creative Expression and Arts Education to Increased Social Mobility



⁶⁰ Neil Wellman, “The Employability Attributes Required of New Marketing Graduates,” *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, Vol. 28, No. 7, (Cardiff: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2010).

⁶¹ Trinetia Respress and Ghazwan Lutfi, “Whole Brain Learning: The Fine Arts with Students at Risk,” *The Journal of Strength-Based Interventions*, Vol. 15, No. 1, (Brookfield, WI: Crisis Prevention Institute, 2006).

⁶² Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

Third, literature on arts programs and politics examines the following links between independent and dependent variables across different national contexts: the contributions of financial support to social change,⁶³ the effects of government advocacy on arts program success,⁶⁴ connections between arts programs and democracy,⁶⁵ and the influence of arts training on civic engagement.⁶⁶

A national government's prioritization of social welfare, executive control of institutions, and allocation of public funds influence how arts for social change programs function in a particular country. I argue that a public arts program in a country where national prioritization of social welfare is high has more state support in meeting its goals (increased funding), reaches a greater percentage of the population (more participants), and applies more resources to fulfilling its mission (increased material resources). In other words, the higher the national government's desire and ability to support public programs, the greater the ability of public arts programs to affect social change. Yet the aspects of society which a program attempts to change, its targeted audience, and its

⁶³ Alberto Alesina and Roberto Perotti, "The Political Economy of Growth: A Critical Survey of the Recent Literature," *The World Bank Economic Review*, (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1994); Robert R. Kaufman and Alex Segura-Ubiergo, "Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis, 1973-97," *World Politics*, Vol. 53, No. 4, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); The Lewin Group, "Spending on Social Welfare Programs in Rich and Poor States," Department of Health and Human Services Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, (2004).

⁶⁴ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

⁶⁵ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Yana Stainova, *The Music of Becoming: The Social Resonance of Classical Music in the Youth Orchestra's of Venezuela's El Sistema*, (Providence: Brown University, 2012).

⁶⁶ James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012).

strategic plan are all intimately linked to the political structures on which it relies for support.

The dependent link from national government support for public arts programs to programs' goals, operations, and impact measurements creates arts for social change programs that reflect national government social priorities, rather than systematic change. In other words, I argue that public arts programs affect social change following a national government's social vision. Their survival and success relies on continued support from institutions which influence their implementation and assessment. Figure 1.3 structures how government prioritization of social welfare, control over institutions, and competition for public funds connect to public arts program implementation. This mechanism runs contrary to the popular belief that uplifting young people through the arts is a universal goal, non-controversial, or a-political.⁶⁷

While all three categories of theory test various impacts of arts education or training, advocates too often apply them to arts for social change programs without the proper contextualization. These arguments are often well-supported, but they do not occur in a vacuum. Arts programs often rely on these findings to help shape their social impact goals. Yet we need more comprehensive research on the success of arts programs as social mobility and/or conflict prevention initiatives to test the applicability of economic development literature to the arts for social change context. While my thesis is not an evaluation of arts program success, it completes a necessary step in this

⁶⁷ Inter-American Development Bank, Project VE-T1038, "National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela," (Washington, DC: IDB, June 24, 2013); UNESCO, *Analytical Framework: Culture for Development Indicator Suite*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2011); UNESCO, *Culture: A Driver and An Enabler of Sustainable Development*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2012); UN High Commission on Refugees, "Barlovento—El Sistema Youth Orchestra," (November 28, 2014), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JJFOYTiCqHl>; UN Task Force on Cultural Indicators of Human Development in Africa. *Cultural Indicators: Views from Africa*. (2004).

investigation through testing the impact of various political-economic context variables on the success of arts for social change programs, which will in turn help scholars consider new variables to aid in more systematic studies.

Practical Significance

Given the worldwide expansion and promotion of the arts as a means of social change through advocacy⁶⁸ and funding,⁶⁹ we need to understand the conditions under which these programs flourish, and how context affects their implementation. Relevant policies guiding how arts programs affect social change cannot be implemented without concrete, systematized comparisons of such programs across different national, historical and cultural contexts. The point of this approach is to avoid evaluating programs based on a set of static criteria regardless of context.

Examining the extent to which political-economic context impacts the implementation of public arts programs is particularly relevant and timely to the field of international relations for the following reasons. Reports and resolutions to rework the UN Millenium Development Goals for 2015 increasingly consider the preservation of cultural heritage, economic growth in cultural sectors, celebration of cultural diversity,

⁶⁸ Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues*, (New York: UN Headquarters, 2011); UNESCO, *Analytical Framework: Culture for Development Indicator Suite*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2011), 6; UNESCO, *Culture: A Driver and An Enabler of Sustainable Development* (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2012), 4.

⁶⁹ Corporación Andina de Fomento, "Complejo de Acción Social Por la Música Simón Bolívar," (Caracas: December 21, 2010); Inter-American Development Bank, Project VE-T1038, "National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela," (Washington, DC: June 24, 2013); World Bank, Afghanistan Skills Development Project, "P201573 - Implementation and Status Results Report: Sequence 13," (Washington DC: June 22, 2014).

and public access to the arts as indicators of socioeconomic development.⁷⁰ The arguments set forth in these reports and resolutions produced an analytical framework published by UNESCO in 2011, arguing that the theoretical discourse on culture and development needs to next examine “how”—as opposed to “what”—questions about the use of culture in development approaches in order to penetrate policy agendas.⁷¹

My thesis contributes to a trend of increased critical examination of public arts programs and social change. This approach has the ability to make policy recommendations with applications for national government arts, culture, and development initiatives, the organization of public arts programs, and the experiences of young artists around the world.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Case Selection

In order to investigate the effects of domestic political context on public arts programs, I examine two similar cases⁷² of youth orchestra programs in two countries with different political ideologies and perspectives on social welfare and public programs. Specifically, I examine the interrelation between the music and social change movements in Venezuela and Chile. These movements encompass the Fundación

⁷⁰ Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo, *Cómo Evaluar Proyectos de Cultura Para el Desarrollo: Una aproximación metodológica a la construcción de indicadores*, (2009); DANIDA, *Culture and Development: Strategy and Guidelines*, (2002); Keith Griffin, *Culture, Human Development and Economic Growth*, (Paris: UNESCO and UNRISD, 1997); Raj Isar and Helmut Anheier, *Cultural Expression, Creativity, and Innovation*, The Cultures and Globalization Series, (New York: SAGE, 2010); UN Task Force on Cultural Indicators of Human Development in Africa, *Cultural Indicators: Views from Africa*, (2004).

⁷¹ UNESCO, *Analytical Framework: Culture for Development Indicator Suite*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2011).

⁷² Charles Lipson, “Using Case Studies Effectively,” *How to Write a BA Thesis*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 98-108.

Musical Simón Bolívar⁷³ (FMSB, aka El Sistema) in Venezuela (1974-2015) and the Children's Orchestra of La Serena (COLA) and Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles⁷⁴ (FOJI) in Chile (1964-2015). Venezuela's FMSB is a national foundation of 623,000 student participants with majority direct funding from Venezuela's national government.⁷⁵ Chile's FOJI is a public-private foundation, nominally run by the country's First Lady (or equivalent), with 12,000 student participants.⁷⁶

Venezuela in my chosen pre-Chávez era—from the first term of President Carlos Pérez to the final term of President Rafael Caldera, 1974-1990—was a free market democracy.⁷⁷ Venezuela in the Chávez+ era—from the election of Chávez through the term of his chosen successor Nicolás Maduro, 1990-2015—is a socialist state with decreasing democracy over time.⁷⁸ Chile in my chosen Pre-Pinochet era—the terms of President Eduardo Frei and President Salvador Allende, 1964-1973—was an increasingly

⁷³ Simón Bolívar Musical Foundation. Translation from Spanish to English by Emma Strother.

⁷⁴ Foundation of Children and Youth Orchestras. Translation from Spanish to English by Emma Strother.

⁷⁵ Ministerio Público, República Bolivariana de Venezuela, *El Informe Anual de la Fiscal General de la República ofrece un compendio de las metas y logros alcanzados por las diferentes dependencias que conforman el Ministerio Público*, (2013).

⁷⁶ Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles, *Memoria Anual: FOJI 2013*, (Santiago: FOJI, 2013).

⁷⁷ Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd., 1997); Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁷⁸ Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011); Neil Brenner, Jamie Peck, and Nik Theodore, "After Neoliberalization?" *Globalizations*, Vol. 7, No. 3, (New York: Routledge, 2010); Terry Lynn Karl, "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (Washington, DC: Latin American Studies Association, 1987).

socialist democracy.⁷⁹ Chile experienced free market dictatorship under the Pinochet regime (1973-1990).⁸⁰ Chile in the post-Pinochet era—from the Patricio Aylwin administration through the second term of President Michelle Bachelet, 1990-2015—is a free market democracy.⁸¹ I understand Venezuelan and Chilean political economy labels as fluid categories on scales. Yet for the purposes of this thesis, I organize them according to Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Venezuelan and Chilean Political Economy over Time (1964-2015)

| | Democracy | Decreasing Democracy and Dictatorship |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Free Market | Venezuela, Pre-Chávez Chile, Post-Pinochet | Chile, Pinochet Dictatorship |
| Socialist | Chile, Pre-Pinochet | Venezuela, Chávez+ |

My comparison of Venezuela and Chile isolates variation in government prioritization of social welfare and support for public programs across two cases that share regional context, language, and an intersecting historical narrative regarding the

⁷⁹ Peter P. Houtzager and Marcus J. Kurtz, “The Institutional Roots of Popular Mobilization: State Transformation and Rural Politics in Brazil and Chile, 1960-1995,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42, No. 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile’s Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁸⁰ Alan Angell, “Chile since 1958,” *Latin America Since 1930: Spanish South America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, Vol. 8, *Cambridge History of Latin America*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁸¹ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile’s Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Alejandro Foxley, “Lessons from Chile’s Development in the 1990s,” *Development Challenges in the 1990s: Leading Policy-Makers Speak from Experience*, Tim Besley and N. Roberto Zagher eds., (Washington, DC: The World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2005).

origins of youth orchestras for social inclusion.⁸² Specifically, the vision of Jorge Peña Hen in northern Chile in the 1960s and his exiled colleagues' work with Jose Antonio Abreu and Juan Martínez in Venezuela in the 1970s inspired the Venezuelan movement that has culminated in FMSB.⁸³ With this historical perspective in mind, and wanting to draw cross-country comparisons over time, I begin my study in 1964 and end it, in keeping with as many current developments as possible, in 2015. This timeframe allows me to observe the extent to which arts with social goals implementation changed over time in both movements.

Approach

My study is thus an embedded comparison,⁸⁴ encompassing two national movements, three major orchestral organizations, and four different types of political economy, over fifty years. I examine each political-economic context by quantitatively measuring political and economic freedom and by qualitatively analyzing chosen texts.

I use the democratic freedom metric of regime trend levels from the Center for Systemic Peace's Polity IV Project.⁸⁵ This system rates regimes on a scale of negative ten to positive ten, in which democracies have scores of positive six and above and autocracies have scores of negative six and below. Scores are based on characteristics of

⁸² Sharon Spray and Laura Roselle, "Project Definition and Systematic Investigation," *Research and Writing in International Relations*, (Boston: Longman, 2008).

⁸³ Alexandra Carlson, *The Story of Carora: The Origins of El Sistema*, (Boulder: University of Colorado, 2013).

⁸⁴ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, (London: SAGE, 2003).

⁸⁵ Monty G. Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr, "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013," (Vienna, Virginia: Center for Systemic Peace, 2013).

democracy versus autocracy in governing institutions, such as executive recruitment, constraints on executive authority, and political competition.⁸⁶

I use economic freedom levels from the Economic Freedom Network.⁸⁷ This metric rates national economic freedom on a scale of zero as the least free to positive ten as the most free. The project accounts for levels of personal choice, ability to enter markets, security of privately owned property, and rule of law, through policy and institutional analysis.⁸⁸ I adjust the original economic freedom levels to fit the negative ten to positive ten scale to make economic and political data comparable over time.⁸⁹

The independent or input variable of this study is a public arts program's political-economic context. The dependent or output variable is what we know about its social change impact. Intervening variables occur in the process of public arts program implementation. I conceptualize and operationalize my variables according to Table 1.3.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ James Gwartney, Robert Lawson and Joshua Hall, *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*, (New York: The Fraser Institute, 2014).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Calculations by Emma Strother. Adjusted economic freedom levels to fit a -10 to +10 scale from a 0 - +10 scale. This means that an original score of 0 is an adjusted score of -10, an original score of +0.5 is an adjusted score of -9, an original score of +1 is an adjusted score of -8 etc.

Table 1.3: Conceptualization and Operationalization of Variables

| Variable: | Independent (Input): Political-Economic Context of Arts Program | Intervening (Process): Arts Program Implementation | Dependent (Output): Arts Program Social Impact |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Conceptualization: | -Government control over institutions -Competition and accountability in public funding -National prioritization of social welfare | -Social mission -Daily operations -Definition of success | Our knowledge on the extent to which public arts programs affect social change |
| Operationalization: | -Numerical democracy and economy scores -National government spending and policies -Discourse and decisions of politicians regarding social welfare | -Textual analysis: founding documents, mission statements, speeches, and interviews -Observations of rehearsals and performances | -Discussion of program impact -Findings from impact studies |

My study thus employs a mixed methods approach to operationalization of variables.⁹⁰ I bring together agency and structure through an examination of processes and mechanisms. I develop an Arts for Social Change Context Framework to understand the extent to which arts programs affect social change differently in various political-economic contexts. First, I examine the political economy of a given country and time frame. I complete this step through numerical measurements of political and economic freedom, and through textual analysis of chosen sources. Second, I examine arts program implementation in the given context. To complete this step, I analyze founding documents, mission statements, speeches, and primary accounts. I also conduct interviews with program participants and leadership. I use process-tracing as

⁹⁰ Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

triangulation of evidence to critically examine the links between political-economic context, arts program implementation, and how we interpret a program's social impact.⁹¹

Process-tracing is a method of analysis over time which tests causal chains of variables, through a thorough examination of processes and mechanisms.⁹² In this thesis, process-tracing functions as a narrative about the intermediate steps between my independent variable (political-economic context), my intervening variables (mechanisms of implementation), and my dependent variable (social impact), with the aim of testing the strength of influence between them. This thesis does not argue causality, as the cases I examine do not exist in a vacuum. Rather, I test the varying strength of influence across different variables in order to come to some conclusion about the extent to which political-economic context affects the social change impact of public arts programs. Process-tracing is crucial to my research question because my topic is rife with opportunities for spurious variables to interfere with my hypothesized links. Due to complex, seismic shifts in Venezuelan and Chilean political economies in my time frame, I must understand the extent to which my independent variable influences my intervening variables and in turn my dependent variable over time.

Limitations to the Research Design:

In conducting this study, I have limited access to foreign government documents and interviews with local leaders of the movements I study in Venezuela and Chile. I address this limitation through electronic interviews with a range of in-country contacts

⁹¹ Andrew Bennett and Alexander L. George, "Process Tracing in Case Study Research," (1997).

⁹² Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Process Tracing" *Qualitative Methods in International Relations: A Pluralist Guide* Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash eds. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

for both Chile and Venezuela, including academics, students, and leaders of FMSB and FOJI, who have shared unique perspectives not available to me otherwise.

As a violinist, I am biased towards optimism about orchestral programs for social change because I have experienced personally the human development benefits of ensemble training. Yet this experience has also proved a strength in my research process, as my musicianship allowed me to take part in a Chilean orchestra involving many former members of FOJI for three months in 2014,⁹³ and experience through participant observation both FOJI students' advanced musical talent and their various opinions about FOJI orchestras.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Chapter Two evaluates and critiques literature and scholarship on social consequences of arts training; arts education and economic development; and arts programs and politics in order to explore gaps in our current knowledge. Chapter Three analyzes the case of the Venezuelan Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar⁹⁴ (FMSB, aka El Sistema) in depth. I examine the effects of government control over institutions, competition for public funds, and national prioritization of social welfare on El Sistema implementation and social impact. Chapter Four analyzes

⁹³ I rehearsed and performed with the Orquesta de Cámara de la Universidad Católica de Chile (Chamber Orchestra of the Catholic University of Chile) in Santiago and Rancagua from March to May of 2014. The Orchestra was not a part of FOJI, but 75% of the students involved were former FOJI participants, and the Chamber Orchestra was based on a similar system of scholarships, targeting students who could not otherwise necessarily afford the opportunity costs of studying music in Chile.

⁹⁴ Simón Bolívar Musical Foundation. Translation by Emma Strother.

the case of the youth orchestra for social change movement in Chile⁹⁵ through the same framework. Chapter Five draws implications from my findings for theory on the arts and social change, and for best practice in designing and implementing public arts programs.

⁹⁵ Encompassing the work of the Children's Orchestra of La Serena (COLA) and the Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles, or Foundation of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Chile (FOJI). Translation by Emma Strother.

CHAPTER TWO

DEBATES ON THE ARTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Writing about music is generally designed to look as if it is working from causes to effects, but it is better understood as working backward from valued belief to reasons for believing it.

-Nicholas Cook, "Writing on Music or Axes to Grind:
Road Rage and Musical Community,"
Music Education Research

There are three main bodies of literature relevant to a study of public arts programs and social change: social consequences of arts training; arts education and economic development; and art programs and politics. I organize the relevant literature into social, economic, and political categories, recognizing that they overlap, to focus sequentially on how arts programs interact with three major aspects of society, and how input and outcome variables vary across literatures. While scholarship is overwhelmingly positive about the ability of public arts programs to affect non-controversial social change, the most recent work on Venezuela's El Sistema as of 2015 questions the ideological integrity of the most popular of such organizations, arguing that it may impede academic progress, thrive off of political corruption, and cultivate social exclusion.¹

¹ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Literature on the social consequences of arts training examines new methods of conflict prevention and peacebuilding through the humanities,² investigating the variables empathy³ and collaborative learning.⁴ Literature on arts education and economic development⁵ examines employability as a mechanism to achieve class mobility,⁶ economic growth,⁷ and poverty alleviation⁸ through public arts programs. This body of literature builds upon a foundation of cognitive and psychological research on arts

² Arild Bergh and John Sloboda, "Music and Art in Conflict Transformation: A Review," *Music and Arts in Action*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (Exeter: Oxford Research Group, 2010); Cynthia E. Cohen, Roberto Gutiérrez Varea, and Polly O. Walker (eds.) *Acting Together: Performance and the Creative Transformation of Conflict*, Vol. 1: Resistance and Reconciliation in Regions of Violence, (New York: New Village Press, 2011); Daniel Barenboim and Edward W. Said, *Parallels and Paradoxes: Explorations in Music and Society*, (New York: Random House, 2002).

³ Johanna Shapiro and Lloyd Rucker, "Can Poetry Make Better Doctors? Teaching the Humanities and Arts to Doctors, Medical Students and Residents at the University of California, Irvine College of Medicine," *Academic Medicine*, Vol. 78, No. 10 (Washington, DC: Association of American Medical Colleges, 2003), 953-957; Mirja Kalliopuska and Inkeri Ruokonen, "A Study with a Follow-Up of the Effects of Music Education on Holistic Development of Empathy," *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, Vol. 76, (Perceptual and Motor Skills, 1993), 131-137.

⁴ Olivier Urbain, *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*, (London, I.B. Tauris & Co. 2008); Steven E. Daniels, *Working Through Environmental Conflict: The Collaborative Learning Approach*, (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2001).

⁵ Kaivan Munshi and Jacques Myaux, "Development as a Process of Social Change: An Application to the Fertility Transition," Masters Thesis, (Brown University: 2002); Philip McMichael, "Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective," (Los Angeles, SAGE Publications, 2012); Tareq Y. Ismael, "Development: A Process of Social Change and Revolutionary Transition," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 1, (Middle East Institute, 1971), 91-97.

⁶ David J. Murray, "How the Arts and Culture Sector Catalyzes Economic Vitality," (New York: American Planning Association, 2010); Min Zhou and Susan S. Kim, "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (Boston: Harvard Education Publishing Group, 2006); Nina Sabnani and Judy Frater, "Art as Identity: Social Mobility through Traditional Textiles in Kutch," (Bombay: Indian Institute of Technology, 2012); Paul DiMaggio and Michael Useem, "The Arts in Education and Cultural Participation: The Social Role of Aesthetic Education and the Arts" *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, Vol. 14, No. 4, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1980).

⁷ Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues*, (New York: UN Headquarters, 2011).

⁸ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez—Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema—Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

training—particularly music—and brain development,⁹ and investigates the variables self-discipline, academic achievement, imagination, and self-esteem.¹⁰ Literature on arts programs and politics illustrates the following links between independent and dependent variables across different national contexts: the contributions of financial support to social change,¹¹ the effects of government advocacy on arts program success,¹² connections between arts programs and democracy,¹³ and the influence of arts training on civic engagement.¹⁴

⁹ Aniruddh D. Patel, *Music, Language and the Brain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); David J. Hargreaves, *The Developmental Psychology of Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Henkjan Honing, *Music Cognition*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009); Irene Deliege and Jane W. Davidson, *Music and the Mind*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughn Kahn, *Math and Music: Harmonious Connections*, (Palo Alto: Dale Seymour Publications, 1995); Wendy S. Boettcher, Sabrina S. Hahn, and Gordon L. Shaw, “Mathematics and Music: A Search for Insight into Higher Brain Function,” *Leonardo Music Journal*, Vol. 4, (Boston: MIT Press, 1994).

¹⁰ Ailbhe Kenny and Gwen Moore, *Sing Out With Strings Evaluation Report*, (Limerick: University of Limerick, 2011); Elizabeth Hartz and Lynette Thick, “Art Therapy Strategies to Raise Self-Esteem in Female Juvenile Offenders: A Comparison of Art Psychotherapy and Art as Therapy Approaches,” *Art Therapy*, Vol. 22, No. 2, (American Art Therapy Association: 2005); Heather Moorefield-Lang and Barbara Day, “Arts Education and Creativity,” *Journal of Creativity, Spontaneity, and Learning*, Vol. 1, No. 3, (Royal Library of Denmark: CHARA, 2010); James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012).

¹¹ Alberto Alesina and Roberto Perotti, “The Political Economy of Growth: A Critical Survey of the Recent Literature,” *The World Bank Economic Review*, (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1994); Robert R. Kaufman and Alex Segura-Ubiergo, “Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis, 1973-97,” *World Politics*, Vol. 53, No. 4, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); The Lewin Group, “Spending on Social Welfare Programs in Rich and Poor States,” Department of Health and Human Services Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, (2004).

¹² Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

¹³ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Yana Stainova, *The Music of Becoming: The Social Resonance of Classical Music in the Youth Orchestra's of Venezuela's El Sistema*, (Providence: Brown University, 2012).

¹⁴ James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012).

Taken together, this literature provides the logic behind the growing popularity and worldwide expansion of public arts for social change programs. Yet impact studies of vastly different sample sizes, outcome variables, and timeframes are impossible to compare. There are no systematic criteria with which to evaluate program success due to these inconclusive results. Rather than solely debating impact studies on their own terms, scholars must examine the extent to which context variables influence the ability of arts programs to affect social change if international organizations, national governments, and public and private foundations continue to support them worldwide. I help begin this conversation by examining the under-studied links from political-economic context¹⁵ to arts program implementation¹⁶ and to social impact.¹⁷

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF ARTS TRAINING

According to literature on the social consequences of arts training, using the arts for social change affects conflict prevention through the following mechanisms. Experiences in visual and performing arts develop empathy, through increased exposure to diverse cultures and the idea of art as a universal language.¹⁸ Arts programs almost always include elements of group learning—for example ensemble work in music,

¹⁵ Understood as government control over institutions, competition and accountability in public funding, and national prioritization of social welfare.

¹⁶ Understood as a program's social goals, daily operations, and definition of success.

¹⁷ Understood as what we know about the program's social impact through discourse and findings from impact studies.

¹⁸ Johanna Shapiro and Lloyd Rucker, "Can Poetry Make Better Doctors? Teaching the Humanities and Arts to Doctors, Medical Students and Residents at the University of California, Irvine College of Medicine," *Academic Medicine*, Vol. 78, No. 10 (Washington, DC: Association of American Medical Colleges, 2003), 953-957; Mirja Kalliopuska and Inkeri Ruokonen, "A Study with a Follow-Up of the Effects of Music Education on Holistic Development of Empathy," *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, Vol. 76, (Perceptual and Motor Skills, 1993), 131-137.

theater, and dance, or peer critique or collaborative projects in visual arts—which promote cooperative skills.¹⁹ Together, these skill-sets contribute to peacebuilding by changing participants’ attitudes towards others, developing collaborative and humanitarian worldviews.²⁰ Therefore, scholars and policymakers argue that increased public access to fine arts decreases either the likelihood or the instance of violent conflict in a given country.

Yet a critical body of literature uncovers contradictions between external image and internal affairs of public arts programs with conflict prevention goals. Scholars argue that framing the arts in terms of peacekeeping can be a method of hiding professional ambition and appealing to audiences, rather than a means of social change.²¹ Even Daniel Barenboim, director of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra (WEDO)—arguably the world’s most prominent arts as conflict prevention program—has stated that, “the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra is of course incapable of bringing peace to the Middle East.”²² WEDO leaders maintain instead that the orchestra—which brings together Jewish and

¹⁹ Olivier Urbain, *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*, (London, I.B. Tauris & Co. 2008); Steven E. Daniels, *Working Through Environmental Conflict: The Collaborative Learning Approach*, (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2001).

²⁰ C. Daniel Batson and Nadia Y. Ahmad, “Using Empathy to Improve Intergroup Attitudes and Relations,” *Social Issues and Policy Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues: 2009), 141-177; Robert Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2, (Princeton: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 167-214.

²¹ Ben Etherington, “Instrumentalising Musical Ethics: Edward Said and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra,” *Australasian Music Research*, Vol. 9, (2007), 121-129; Elena Cheah, *An Orchestra Beyond Borders: Voices of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra*, (London: Verso, 2009); Kate Wakeling, “Said, Barenboim, and West-Eastern Divan Orchestra,” *Jewish Quarterly*, (2010); Rachel Beckles Wilson, “Whose Utopia? Perspectives on the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra,” *Music and Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2009); Solveig Riiser, “National Identity and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra,” *Music and Arts in Action*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (2010), 19-37.

²² Elena Cheah, *An Orchestra Beyond Borders: Voices of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra*, (London: Verso, 2009), vii.

Muslim youth from Israel, Palestinian Territories, and neighboring countries—is a symbol of peace, meant to provoke inter-cultural dialogue and awaken curiosity.²³

Artistic Expression, Empathy, and Conflict Prevention

According to A. Funmilayo Odunuga in a 2013 qualitative study of cultural awareness and community conflict in Nigerian history, artistic expression can promote shared understanding by increasing contact among diverse people, relieving tension, and offering youth a stable future alternative to violence.²⁴ In the case of Nigeria, Odunuga argues that the 1929 protests in Calabar and Owerri, setting off the national movement against British colonial rule, remained non-violent because of their strategic use of song and dance to challenge authority.²⁵ He also maintains that Nigerian musical memorializations of civil rights abuses in the 1960s helped to prevent violent backlash through uplifting emotions and compassion.²⁶ These historical analyses illustrate the links between artistic expression, empathy, and conflict-prevention. Odunuga grounds his historical examples in conflict theory on the continued competition between groups for shared resources.²⁷ He advocates increased expenditures on music education throughout Nigeria in order to cultivate a culture of peace.²⁸

²³ Ben Etherington, "Instrumentalising Musical Ethics: Edward Said and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Australian Music Research*, Vol. 9, 121-129.

²⁴ A. Funmilayo Odunuga, "Preventing Socio-Political Conflicts and Building Peace Block: The Role of Music," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 2, (Rome: MCSER-CEMAS-Sapienza, 2013), 703-708.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 706.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 705.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 704.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 708.

While Odunuga's study provides theory on the links between artistic expression, empathy, and conflict prevention, it lacks conclusive evidence and does not fully unpack the mechanisms through which music and dance create empathy. More scholarship needs to test which consequences of arts training build humanitarian outlooks comparatively across programs and over time. In this way, scholars can begin to unpack how the same variables function in different contexts. Additionally, scholars need to separate out components of this humanitarian outlook and connect them to particular characteristics of arts training in public programs with different contexts if policymakers continue to support public arts programs as a means of conflict prevention and social change.

Arts Programs, Collaborative Learning, and Peacebuilding

According to Gertraud Koch—in a 2009 qualitative study of intercultural communication through the anthropological paradigm of culture as knowledge and the case of Daniel Barenboim's West-East Divan Orchestra (WEDO)²⁹—public arts programs foster collaborative learning and build peace in turn through the following mechanisms. Music works as a catalyst for jump-starting intercultural dialogue.³⁰ The microcosm of the orchestra builds shared knowledge regardless of personal background and success.³¹ Experiences occur collectively or not at all.³² This study conveys music as an alternative language and the orchestra as a safe space for dialogue outside conflict. Yet

²⁹ An orchestra of Israeli, Palestinian, and other Arab youth, begun by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said in Weimar, Germany, 1999. Now located in Sevilla, Spain.

³⁰ Gertraud Koch, "Intercultural Communication and Competence Research through the Lens of an Anthropology of Knowledge," *Qualitative Social Research*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (2009), 7.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

³² *Ibid.*, 7.

Koch also acknowledges that this space apart from everyday life can hinder the application of attitudes cultivated in the orchestra to life in the outside world.³³ The fact that WEDO rehearses in Sevilla, Spain simultaneously makes it easier for students to observe their similarities outside the conflict zone and more challenging for them to bring social change outside the orchestra context and back to the Middle East.

According to Kate Wakeling in a 2010 review of articles on the same West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, framing orchestral training as a means of peacebuilding in WEDO enchants European and American audiences with a vision of cooperation more than it contributes to social dynamics in the Middle East.³⁴ Wakeling argues that WEDO's public image is divorced from its internal motivations of musical excellence and professional success.³⁵ The article does not critique those valuable orchestral goals, but rather unpacks the perceived need to include a social justice and peacebuilding mission in order to captivate audiences and secure funds, particularly from Europe and the United States.³⁶

While this article provides a critical examination of the arts as peacebuilding, its publication in the *Jewish Quarterly* could signify specific biases about the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories and ensuing violence, the exact social context to which WEDO responds. Yet it does cover a wide body of literature, representing diverse

³³ Ibid., 9.

³⁴ Kate Wakeling, "Said, Barenboim, and West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Jewish Quarterly*, (2010).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

perspectives. Critics of other public arts programs site this subset of literature on WEDO as scholarly precedent for critically examining social consequences of arts training.³⁷

ARTS EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Literature on arts education and economic development³⁸ examines employability as a mechanism for achieving class mobility,³⁹ economic growth,⁴⁰ and poverty alleviation⁴¹ through public arts programs. This body of literature builds upon a foundation of cognitive and psychological research on arts training and brain development.⁴² While the literature provides a body of evaluative reports and impact

³⁷ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 12.

³⁸ Kaivan Munshi and Jacques Myaux, "Development as a Process of Social Change: An Application to the Fertility Transition," Masters Thesis, (Brown University: 2002); Philip McMichael, "Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective," (Los Angeles, SAGE Publications, 2012); Tareq Y. Ismael, "Development: A Process of Social Change and Revolutionary Transition," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 1, (Middle East Institute, 1971, 91-97).

³⁹ David J. Murray, "How the Arts and Culture Sector Catalyzes Economic Vitality," (New York: American Planning Association, 2010); Min Zhou and Susan S. Kim, "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (Boston: Harvard Education Publishing Group, 2006); Nina Sabnani and Judy Frater, "Art as Identity: Social Mobility through Traditional Textiles in Kutch," (Bombay: Indian Institute of Technology, 2012); Paul DiMaggio and Michael Useem, "The Arts in Education and Cultural Participation: The Social Role of Aesthetic Education and the Arts" *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, Vol. 14, No. 4, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1980).

⁴⁰ Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues*, (New York: UN Headquarters, 2011).

⁴¹ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez—Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema—Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

⁴² Aniruddh D. Patel, *Music, Language and the Brain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); David J. Hargreaves, *The Developmental Psychology of Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Henkjan Honing, *Music Cognition*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009); Irene Deliege and Jane W. Davidson, *Music and the Mind*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Trudi Hammel Garland and Charity Vaughn Kahn, *Math and Music: Harmonious Connections*, (Palo Alto: Dale Seymour Publications, 1995); Wendy S. Boettcher, Sabrina S. Hahn, and Gordon L. Shaw, "Mathematics and Music: A Search for Insight into Higher Brain Function," *Leonardo Music Journal*, Vol. 4, (Boston: MIT Press, 1994).

studies on whether public arts programs have reached their social change goals, it is impossible to compare findings from such vastly different sample sizes, methods, and timeframes. Additionally, the majority of these studies assume positive impacts from program participation. Much of the theoretical logic behind these studies of output variables develops in a vacuum, without the crucial consideration of program context.

Arts Training and Brain Development

A well-developed, influential body of literature examines the effects of arts education and creative expression on psychology and cognition. The majority of these studies are quantitative, large-*n*, and longitudinal, using random sampling to empirically test evidence against hypotheses. By effects on cognition, I refer to functional and structural changes in the brain. Arguments that arts training positively affects language skills, grade point average, standardized testing scores, and psychological well-being have vast implications for the fields of cognitive development, neuroscience, education, and sociology. Studying the effects of input variables on public arts program implementation, I must examine how arts training and creative expression impact participants at multiple levels of analysis, beginning with the individual. This body of literature also provides the underlying logic for arts education motivating economic development.

According to Nina Kraus and Bharath Chandrasekaran, the auditory skills developed in music education—including pitch, rhythm, and timbre processing—improve auditory skills not related to music.⁴³ Specifically, Kraus and Chandrasekaran argue that

⁴³ Nina Kraus and Bharath Chandrasekaran, “Music training for the development of auditory skills,” *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, Vol. 11, Issue 8, (2010), 600.

musical training impacts speech, language, emotion, and auditory processing via neural plasticity in the brainstem driven by corticofugal projections.⁴⁴ Neural plasticity is the brain's ability to reorganize neural pathways and synapses in response to behavioral or environmental changes.⁴⁵ Corticofugal projections are neural processes originating and extending outward from neural cells in the cerebral cortex.⁴⁶ Kraus and Chandrasekaran's study is significant because it posits how musical training influences neural encoding of speech. Yet the article leaves out what qualities of musical training encourage advanced speech skills. The logic behind what makes musical expression especially suited to listening and language development is key to understanding arguments for musical training as a means of academic achievement.

Aniruddh Patel's OPERA hypothesis addresses this point, claiming that neural plasticity of speech-processing networks is a positive result of musical training when five conditions are met—overlap, precision, emotion, repetition, and attention (OPERA).⁴⁷ In this study, overlap refers to the fact that some of the same brain networks process music and speech. Yet music demands more precision from these networks than does speech.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Aniruddh D. Patel, "Why Would Musical Training Benefit the Neural Encoding of Speech? The OPERA hypothesis," *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol. 2, (2011); Nina Kraus and Bharath Chandrasekaran, "Music training for the development of auditory skills," *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, Vol. 11, No. 8, (2010), 600.

⁴⁵ Alvaro Pascual Leone et. al., "Characterizing Brain Cortical Plasticity and Network Dynamics Across the Age-Span in Health and Disease with TMS-EEG and TMS-fMRI," *Brain Topography: A Journal of Cerebral Functions and Dynamics*, Vol. 24, Issue 3-4, (2011), 302.

⁴⁶ Casto Rivadulla, Luis M. Martínez, Carmen Varela, and Javier Cudeiro, "Completing the Corticofugal Loop: A Visual Role for the Corticogeniculate Type 1 Metabotropic Glutamate Receptor," *The Journal of Neuroscience*, Vol. 22, Issue 7, (2002), 2956.

⁴⁷ Aniruddh D. Patel, "Why Would Musical Training Benefit the Neural Encoding of Speech? The OPERA hypothesis," *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol. 2, (2011).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Engaging these networks through musical stimuli elicits strong positive emotions.⁴⁹ The repetitive nature of musical training ensures that networks are frequently engaged in the same tasks.⁵⁰ Finally, Patel considers focused attention key to advancement in musical training.⁵¹ Improved language skills in this case refer to ease of learning foreign languages and an increased ability to distinguish speech in cacophonous environments. Due to the exceptional ear training associated with music education, students develop the sensitized capacity to differentiate, imitate, and memorize different sounds.⁵² Many public arts programs connect the probability of advanced language skills from artistic training to academic achievement in an underserved population and thus to social change.⁵³

The logic behind a mathematical advantage from music education emphasizes the overlap between the two fields. Diverse aspects of musical training, from counting rhythms and sounding pitches to understanding the construction of musical instruments are based on mathematical equations.⁵⁴ According to mathematical music theorist Rachel Wells Hall, the connection between the two disciplines transcends mathematical patterns within music and involves the physical representation of abstract ideas at the heart of

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); James S. Catterall, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012).

⁵⁴ Gerard Assayag, Hans G. Feichtinger, José-Francisco Rodrigues (eds.), "Mathematics and Music: A Diderot Mathematical Forum" (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2002); Leon Harkleroad, *The Math Behind the Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

both fields.⁵⁵ Hall supports this fundamental link between the worldviews of math and music through a range of articles applying mathematical and musical theories to musical experiments.⁵⁶ For example, in a quantitative study of asymmetrical drumming patterns, Hall and Klingsberg mathematically model ethnomusicology findings.⁵⁷ Research that thus understands music through a mathematical framework or vice versa links humanities to other disciplines, and this wider applicability helps to justify increased funding for arts training as an interdisciplinary activity.⁵⁸

Brain development literature positions scientific reasoning and mathematical modeling behind arts education, quantifying seemingly intangible qualities of creativity and artistic expression with empirical experiments. When studies measure these elusive characteristics of arts training, the logic that exposure to art affects social change becomes grounded in scientific fact. If arts engagement changes individual brains, it must change the way people behave, interact, and make decisions. The major problem with this logical leap is that how arts training to affects economic development and social change is heavily linked to empirical context, not solely based on mathematics or science.

⁵⁵ Rachel Wells Hall, "Review of *The Math behind the Music*, by Leon Harkleroad, Cambridge University Press, 2006," *Journal of Mathematics and the Arts*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (2007), 143-145.

⁵⁶ Rachel Wells Hall, "Geometrical music theory," *Science*, Vol. 320, (2008), 328-329; Rachel Wells Hall and Krešimir Josić, "The Mathematics of Musical Instruments," *American Mathematical Monthly*, Vol. 108, No. 4, (2001), 347-357; Rachel Wells Hall and Paul Klingsberg, "Asymmetric Rhythms, Tiling Canons, and Burnside's Dilemma," *Bridges: Mathematical Connections in Art, Music, and Science*, R. Sarhangi and C. Sequin, eds., (Winfield, Kansas: 2004), 189-194.

⁵⁷ Rachel Wells Hall and Paul Klingsberg, "Asymmetric Rhythms, Tiling Canons, and Burnside's Dilemma," *Bridges: Mathematical Connections in Art, Music, and Science*, R. Sarhangi and C. Sequin, (eds.), (Winfield, Kansas: 2004), 190.

⁵⁸ Barbara Hesser and Harry N. Heinemann, *Music as a Global Resource: Solutions for Social and Economic Issues* (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2011); Inter-American Development Bank, "Cultural Development Program: Selected Projects 2013," (Washington, DC: IDB, 2013); UNESCO, *36 C-5 Approved Programme and Budget 2012-2013*, (Paris: UNESCO, 2012), 149-178.

Arts Programs, Self-Discipline, and Economic Development

According to Ailbhe Kenny and Gwen Moore's 2011 impact study of the Irish Chamber Orchestra's Sing Out with Strings, the majority of students exhibited increased self-discipline after participation in the violin and choral music program.⁵⁹ This evaluation of three program sites, 34 teachers, and 300 children, specifically reported that 73.5% of instructors noticed significant increases in their students' self-discipline after three years of program enrollment.⁶⁰ This study measures self-discipline as the increased ability to concentrate in class, better motor memory skills, and greater dedication to practice.⁶¹ These findings are based on three weeks of researcher participant observation, three unstructured interviews with program directors, and 34 surveys from music teachers.⁶² This evaluation is one of many arguing that increased self-discipline results from participation in a public arts program. The majority of evaluations use similar sample sizes and timeframes, making the Kenney and Moore study representative of a larger group. According to many public arts programs, self-discipline is a desirable quality to develop in young people to resist risky behavior leading to social exclusion, and to cultivate a strong work ethic.⁶³

⁵⁹ Ailbhe Kenny and Gwen Moore, *Sing Out with Strings Evaluation Report*, (Limerick: University of Limerick, 2011).

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez—Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema—Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

The Sing Out with Strings evaluation falls into several logical and practical traps typical of public arts program impact studies. First, a small sample size and short timeframe limit the report’s generalizability to theory about arts training and self-discipline. This evaluation is static—it represents a snapshot in time in which the scholars were able to participate and observe, not longitudinal evidence or comparative analysis. Many arts for social change programs are newly founded, making it necessary to begin the process of tracing their progressions over time early, to better understand their impacts on the lives of students. Finally, these findings consider the perceptions of program teachers as indicators of change, without the necessary grounding in theories of social change. This approach poses serious problems of subject bias, as teachers have a vested interest in portraying the progress of their students, to protect their jobs and validate their pedagogy.

Arts Programs, Academic Achievement, and Economic Development

According to the Harvard University Reviewing Education and the Arts Project (REAP)—a quantitative study of 188 empirical datasets published from 1950-1999⁶⁴—researchers found the following three “reliable causal links”⁶⁵ between artistic training and academic skills improvement. First, listening to music improves spatial reasoning.⁶⁶ Second, learning to play a musical instrument also improves spatial reasoning.⁶⁷ Third,

⁶⁴ Ellen Winner and Lois Hetland, “The Arts and Academic Improvement: What the Evidence Shows,” *Translations: From Theory to Practice*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (Washington, DC: The National Art Education Association, 2001).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

participating in drama classes improves verbal skills.⁶⁸ This study uses correlational testing, ten meta-analyses across datasets with similar measurements, and statistical testing of whether the correlation can be generalized to other findings, to determine causality.⁶⁹

Mathematics and Geography are examples of academic subjects that test spatial skills, or the ability to understand and remember how objects relate to each other in space.⁷⁰ Spatial reasoning can aid in innovative problem solving, through creative data management and analyzation. Strengthened verbal skills improve performance in reading, writing, public speaking, and foreign languages. These findings provide evidence that arts education fosters certain academic skillsets, which public arts program leaders and policymakers argue increase academic achievement.⁷¹ They often use this logic to justify expanding arts training as economic development and social change.⁷²

While these statistical findings connect the arts and other disciplines, they have limited applications to a study of public arts programs and social change until researchers fully unpack the mechanisms behind the study's three causal relationships. Despite the project's claims of "reliable causal[ity]"⁷³ based on an immense sample of literature, a

⁶⁸ Ibid., 1.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁰ "What is spatial ability?" *Spatial Test Battery Guide*, (John's Hopkins University, 2013).

⁷¹ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ellen Winner and Lois Hetland, "The Arts and Academic Improvement: What the Evidence Shows," *Translations: From Theory to Practice*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (Washington, DC: The National Art Education Association, 2001), 1.

lack of process-tracing analysis makes these findings inconclusive. While this study is expansive, it is only one, and we need more investigations testing the logic behind arts training leading to academic skill-sets and therefore to academic achievement. In order to determine the potential of arts training to increase academic achievement under different conditions, it is necessary to conduct a comparative study over time of cases that vary in terms of student academic success. This approach would uncover impact variables for future testing. Examining context variables thus crucially increases the utility of impact studies for policymakers and program leaders seeking to improve public arts programs.

According to James S. Catterall et al. in *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies* in 2012, American high school students with intensive arts training are more likely to score well on standardized tests, succeed in math courses, and pursue bachelor's degrees.⁷⁴ These findings come from evidence in four longitudinal databases with sample sizes and timeframes that range from 8,984 students (divided into treatment and control groups in terms of arts background, and into low and high socioeconomic groups) over four years to 24,599 students over twelve years.⁷⁵ The study measures arts education on a binary of low and high based on points awarded by researchers for each time subjects participated in an arts activity whether at school or extracurricular, with the top 12.5% of scores in the "high arts" group.⁷⁶ It measures academic achievement based on science and writing test scores, completion of

⁷⁴ James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012).

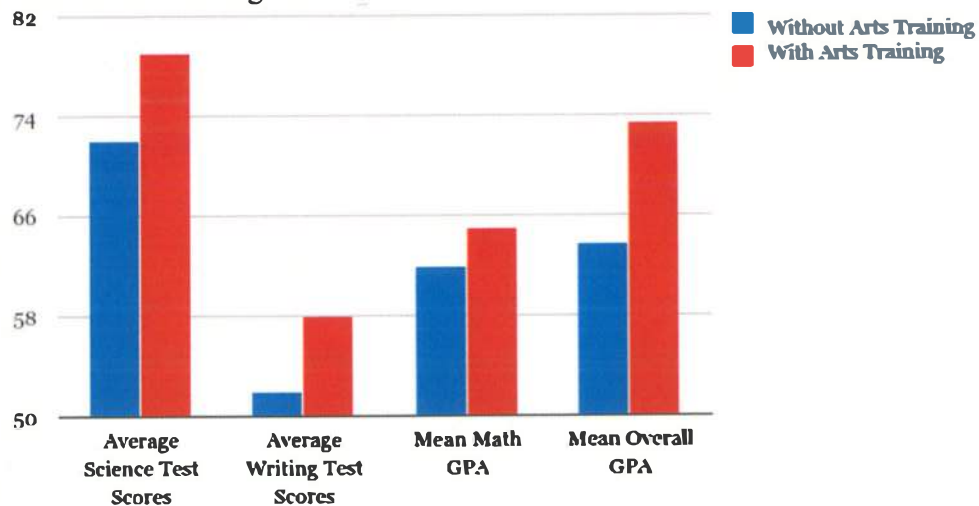
⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

a high school calculus class, grade point averages, graduation rates, enrollment in bachelor's degree programs, and enrollment in selective four-year colleges.⁷⁷

Specifically, Catterall et. al. found that average science test scores among arts students in the low socioeconomic group were 7% higher than their peers, and writing test scores were 6% higher.⁷⁸ Additionally, mean math grade point average (GPA) of the same group was 3% higher among arts students, and overall GPA 9.75% higher. Finally, low socioeconomic students were 15% more likely to enroll in bachelor's degree programs if they had arts backgrounds. I illustrate these differences on a bar graph of findings in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Graph of Academic Indicators for Low Socioeconomic Students with and without Arts Training



Source: James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012), 12-15. Data organized on the graph by Emma Strother.

The *Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth* study is an important step in connecting arts education to particular skillsets, to academic achievement, and thus to

⁷⁷ Ibid., 12-15.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 12.

economic development and social change. The longitudinal nature of the study emphasizes the effects of arts training throughout youth, when students across different socioeconomic backgrounds make choices about higher education and careers. To determine the extent to which arts training impacts students' academic achievement—especially findings directly involving social change, such as students earning higher education degrees despite lower socioeconomic backgrounds—more studies must measure the academic effects of participation in arts programs across different populations and timeframes.

Arts Programs, Imagination, and Economic Development

According to Heather Moorefield-Lang and Barbara Day, in a 2010 qualitative study of 92 students in two rural United States eighth grade classes, artistic training generates imaginative thought.⁷⁹ Moorefield-Lang and Day collected data through student surveys, as well as focus-group and individual interviews, using narrative inquiry methods.⁸⁰ The study focuses on the individual experiences of students. The researchers' logic behind the link between arts education and imagination is that artists attempt to portray thoughts and feelings through a wide range of means, less limited by right or wrong answers than in other disciplines.⁸¹ Increased imagination leads to social change by encouraging innovative thinking and creative problem-solving.⁸²

⁷⁹ Heather Moorefield-Lang and Barbara Day, "Arts Education and Creativity," *Journal of Creativity, Spontaneity, and Learning*, Vol. 1, No. 3, (Royal Library of Denmark: CHARA, 2010), 338.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 334.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 332.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 332.

Moorefield-Lang and Day study a small sample of students, and they extensively discuss researcher bias in favor of illustrating a connection between creativity and arts training, without strategies for addressing this bias.⁸³ Furthermore, while the surveys and interviews detailed in the study do support the connection between imaginative thought and artistic training, they beg the following questions. If increased arts training contributes to increased imagination, what sets arts training apart from other creative exercises? What is unique about the link between arts training and imagination that warrants expansion of arts education for social change?

Scholars often argue against portraying the arts as a method for improving other skills, fearing that this attitude may replace arts education with other activities that foster the same skills and values, such as sports programs.⁸⁴ They claim utilitarian arguments in favor of the arts are unsustainable without robust evidence.⁸⁵ Furthermore, utilitarian advocacy is instrumental and “betray[s] a misunderstanding of the inherent value of the arts.”⁸⁶ If there are unique aspects to arts training that separate it from other creative activities, they must be clearly illustrated in reports and scholarship in order to avoid this logical leap. To promote arts programs as models of social change, scholars and

⁸³ Ibid., 338.

⁸⁴ Andrew J. Martin, Marianne Mansour, Michael Anderson, Robyn Gibson, Gregory A. D. Liem, and David Sudmalis, “The Role of Arts Participation in Students’ Academic and Non-academic Achievement Outcomes: A Longitudinal Study of School, Home, and Community Outcomes,” *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 105, No. 3, (American Psychological Association, 2013); Ellen Winner and Lois Hetland, “The Arts and Academic Improvement: What the Evidence Shows,” *Translations: From Theory to Practice*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (Washington, DC: The National Art Education Association, 2001).

⁸⁵ Ellen Winner and Monica Cooper, “Mute Those Claims: No Evidence (Yet) for a Causal Link Between Arts Study and Academic Achievement,” *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, Vol. 34, No. 3-4, (2000), 11-75.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

policymakers must provide a solid basis to support the reasoning behind increased arts engagement leading to social change.

Arts Programs, Self-Esteem, and Economic Development

According to Elizabeth Hartz and Lynette Thick—in an exploratory, quasi-experimental study of the effects of two different visual art therapy approaches on the self-esteem of female juvenile offenders in 2005—artistic expression contributes to increased self-approval and self-worth.⁸⁷ The researchers' logic behind increased self-esteem through artistic expression is that the creative process is fundamentally empowering because it relies on assertiveness and values uniqueness.⁸⁸ Hartz and Thick provide evidence for this argument from participant observation and surveys over 12 weeks of intensive art therapy with a group of 27 girls.⁸⁹ They measure self-esteem with scales on the Self-Perception Profile for Adolescents because of the profile's widespread use and its impartial representation of all answers as equally legitimate responses.⁹⁰ This approach is rigorous, combating bias despite a small sample size, and the study's findings illustrate reported improvement in self-esteem as direct responses to an arts program.

Hartz and Thick's study supports the idea that artistic expression helps to uplift youth in hardship situations. This argument is a cornerstone of the movement for expanding public arts programs worldwide. The logic connecting arts training to

⁸⁷ Elizabeth Hartz and Lynette Thick, "Art Therapy Strategies to Raise Self-Esteem in Female Juvenile Offenders: A Comparison of Art Psychotherapy and Art as Therapy Approaches," *Art Therapy*, Vol. 22, No. 2, (American Art Therapy Association: 2005), 70.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

economic development through self-esteem is that children with higher self-esteem are less likely to perceive limits in their options for education and careers, and thus more likely to pursue class mobility.⁹¹ Yet this study lacks a comprehensive look at how the context of a maximum security juvenile detention center influences the extent to which involvement in visual arts affects self-esteem. In public arts program literature, scholars and policymakers require more studies which contextualize arts projects and their outcomes.

Arts Programs, Employability, and Economic Development

The first study measuring the “social benefits” of arts education programs in English—according to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) Research Department—employs a simple cost-benefit analysis of Venezuela’s Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar (FMSB) to examine the impacts of the program on academic achievement, employability, social capital, and socioeconomic profile.⁹² The IDB used this study to justify \$150 million of funding for FMSB, and many advocates and scholars consider it grounds for the expansion of El Sistema-inspired programs.⁹³ It begins with a baseline survey of 840 students (ages 3-17) and 500 parents, representing fifteen community

⁹¹ Kali H. Trzesniewski, M. Brent Donnellan, Terrie E. Moffitt, Richard W. Robins, Richie Poulton, and Avshalom Caspi, “Low self-esteem during adolescence predicts poor health, criminal behavior, and limited economic prospects during adulthood,” *Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 42, No. 2, (2006), 381-390.

⁹² José Cuesta, *Music to My Ears: The (Many) Socio-Economic Benefits of Music Training Programs*, (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank Research Department, 2008), 4.

⁹³ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (London: Oxford University Press: 2014).

centers across six Venezuelan states, from October to December of 2006.⁹⁴ Cuesta comes to the conclusion that the socioeconomic benefits of participation in FMSB “exceed their costs [in domestic and international program funding] by USD 56 million.”⁹⁵ He therefore argues that funding cultural programs with social change goals increases capital at a higher rate than spends capital.⁹⁶

While Cuesta’s 2008 study is the beginning of an important trend in empirical research of public arts programs with social change goals, it lacks utility in determining the extent to which participation in such programs affects economic development and social change. Cuesta insufficiently defines several key areas of impact for the purposes of his study, including victimization, social capital, and participation in community activities. He does not discuss his process for locating and selecting survey subjects, or why he chose to study certain community centers connected to FMSB. He makes broad claims about the “public saving” benefits of funding FMSB in the future, based on social rather than economic indicators. His study reveals correlation, not causation, and members of his control group were ten percent more likely to be living in poverty than members of his treatment group.⁹⁷ This discrepancy reveals a range of spurious associated with relatively higher socioeconomic status which may be influencing the positive results of Cuesta’s treatment group. Scholars and policymakers need more studies of how public arts programs affect economic development differently across

⁹⁴ José Cuesta, *Music to My Ears: The (Many) Socio-Economic Benefits of Music Training Programs*, (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank Research Department, 2008), 2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1-3.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

countries and institutions to determine best practices for funding programs and advocating the arts as a means of social change.

ARTS PROGRAMS AND POLITICS

Literature on arts programs and politics examines the following links between independent and dependent variables across different national contexts: the contributions of financial support to social change,⁹⁸ the effects of government advocacy on arts program success,⁹⁹ connections between arts programs and democracy,¹⁰⁰ and the influence of arts training on civic engagement.¹⁰¹

While scholars exhibit interest in the variation of arts program implementation across different contexts, their studies are inconclusive. The vast majority involve cultural contexts within North America, from anthropological perspectives, and do not address political context.¹⁰² Studies that do address political variables focus primarily on

⁹⁸ Alberto Alesina and Roberto Perotti, "The Political Economy of Growth: A Critical Survey of the Recent Literature," *The World Bank Economic Review*, (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1994); Robert R. Kaufman and Alex Segura-Ubiergo, "Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis, 1973-97," *World Politics*, Vol. 53, No. 4, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); The Lewin Group, "Spending on Social Welfare Programs in Rich and Poor States," Department of Health and Human Services Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, (2004).

⁹⁹ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

¹⁰⁰ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Yana Stainova, *The Music of Becoming: The Social Resonance of Classical Music in the Youth Orchestra's of Venezuela's El Sistema*, (Providence: Brown University, 2012).

¹⁰¹ James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012).

¹⁰² Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

program outcomes, such as possible connections between arts training and increased civic engagement.¹⁰³ Yet the most recent debate in arts programs and politics literature investigates the extent to which financial support and advocacy of public programs from national governments create particular visions of social change.¹⁰⁴

I argue that the dependent link from national government support for public arts programs to programs' goals, operations, and impact measurements creates arts for social change programs that enact national government social priorities, rather than systematic change. In other words, public arts programs affect social change following a national government's social vision. Their survival and success relies on continued support from institutions which influence their implementation and assessment. Figure 1.3 structures how government prioritization of social welfare, control over institutions, and competition for public funds connect to public arts program implementation. This mechanism runs contrary to the popular belief that uplifting young people through the arts is a universal goal, non-controversial, or a-political.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012).

¹⁰⁴ Alberto Alesina and Roberto Perotti, "The Political Economy of Growth: A Critical Survey of the Recent Literature," *The World Bank Economic Review*, (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1994); Robert R. Kaufman and Alex Segura-Ubierno, "Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis, 1973-97," *World Politics*, Vol. 53, No. 4, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); The Lewin Group, "Spending on Social Welfare Programs in Rich and Poor States," Department of Health and Human Services Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, (2004).

¹⁰⁵ Inter-American Development Bank, Project VE-T1038, "National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela," (Washington, DC: IDB, June 24, 2013); UNESCO, *Analytical Framework: Culture for Development Indicator Suite*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2011); UNESCO, *Culture: A Driver and An Enabler of Sustainable Development*, (New York: United Nations Headquarters, 2012); UN High Commission on Refugees, "Barlovento—El Sistema Youth Orchestra," (November 28, 2014), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JJFOYTicqhl>; UN Task Force on Cultural Indicators of Human Development in Africa. *Cultural Indicators: Views from Africa*. (2004).

The latest work on the political context of public arts programs as of 2015—Geoffrey Baker’s *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela’s Youth*—pushes back against the argument that social change through the arts is universal, above controversy and politics. Instead of a positive correlation between state support and objective social change, or the possibility of political mobilization through the arts,¹⁰⁶ Baker argues that FMSB attracts support through emotional appeals rather than empirical evidence, makes internal decisions through political coercion, and produces dependent professional musicians through exclusivity, rigor, and nepotism.¹⁰⁷ Baker’s claims—based on textual analysis of scholarship and institution documents, interviews with musicians and cultural figures, and a year of ethnographic fieldwork in Venezuela—spark controversy about El Sistema’s methods and core values.¹⁰⁸ While Geoffrey Baker observes significant links between El Sistema’s political context and how the organization functions, he does not ground his evidence in theory on political regimes or social change. Furthermore, he does not unpack the connections between the political context of public arts programs, their implementation, and our interpretation of their social impact.

Arts Programs and Political Outcomes: Civic Engagement

According to James S. Catterall et al. in *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies* in 2012, young adults in the United States with intensive arts training in high school are more likely to vote, volunteer, and

¹⁰⁶ Yana Stainova, *The Music of Becoming: The Social Resonance of Classical Music in the Youth Orchestra’s of Venezuela’s El Sistema*, (Providence: Brown University, 2012).

¹⁰⁷ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela’s Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

engage in local politics than their peers.¹⁰⁹ This longitudinal study measures the effects of the independent variable arts education on the dependent variable civic engagement with groups of students from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds.¹¹⁰ The logic behind arts education increasing civic engagement is that artistic training builds conscientiousness, attention to detail, and passion for extra-curricular activities, leading to increased prioritization of civics.¹¹¹

The study measures arts education on a binary of low and high based on points awarded by researchers for each time subjects participated in an arts activity whether at school or extracurricular, with the top 12.5% of scores in the “high arts” group.¹¹² It measures civic engagement by percent of students who reported reading the newspaper at least once a week, participating in student government or other school community service groups, volunteering, registering to vote, voting, and participating in political campaigns.¹¹³ The study’s findings come from evidence in four longitudinal databases with sample sizes and timeframes that range from 8,984 students (divided into treatment and control groups, with arts backgrounds and without) over four years, to 24,599 students over twelve years.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012), 18.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

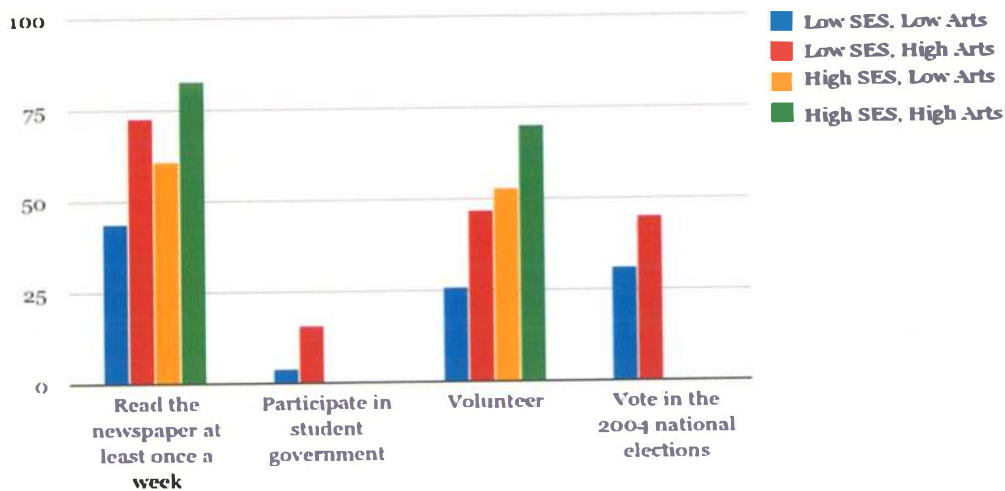
¹¹² *Ibid.*, 9.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 18-21.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

The *Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth* study finds that students with arts backgrounds were 22% more likely to read the newspaper at least once a week in the high socioeconomic group and 29% more likely in the low socioeconomic group than their peers in the control group.¹¹⁵ Also in the low socioeconomic group, students with arts backgrounds were 12% more likely to participate in student government.¹¹⁶ Students exhibited higher rates of volunteer work by 17% in the high socioeconomic group and 21% in the low socioeconomic group.¹¹⁷ Finally arts students in the low socioeconomic group were 14% more likely to vote in the 2004 national elections than their peers in the control group.¹¹⁸ I illustrate these findings on a bar graph in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2: Graph of Students' Civic Engagement, Divided into Low and High Socioeconomic and Arts Training Groups



Source: James S. Catterall, Susan A. Dumais, and Gillian Hampden-Thompson, *The Arts and Achievement in At-Risk Youth: Findings from Four Longitudinal Studies*, (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2012), 12-15. Data organized on the graph by Emma Strother.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 18.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 19.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 21.

Taken together, this evidence suggests a positive correlation between intensive arts training and civic engagement. This connection appears to be stronger in the low socioeconomic group than in the high socioeconomic group, implying that students coming from lower-income households had the potential to become more invested in politics after their arts education experiences than their peers from higher-income households. Thus, the very arts programs touted as non-controversial or even a-political by scholars and policymakers in socioeconomic development literature are shown to increase political involvement, particularly amongst low-income students, in this study of the US context, and thus affect social change. The logic behind the link from political involvement to potential for social change is that increased engagement in politics—through voting, participation in political organizations, and keeping up with current events—increases the likelihood of informed and effective demands for change through political mechanisms.

While this study provides a unique and rigorous set of measurements, encompassing four large databases, it lacks comprehensiveness for the following reasons. The databases in question represent different timeframes and sample sizes, making their evidence difficult to compile into a single study. While the US Department of Education and the US Department of Labor sponsored the databases, the National Endowment for the Arts sponsored and published the study, opening its particular findings to bias critique as the funders have a clear vested interest in demonstrating the benefits of arts education.

In general, impact studies such as these are essential to understanding the political effects of programs which seek to increase public access to fine arts across socioeconomic groups, and should be pursued with greater regularity by a range of

organizations. Yet to understand the extent to which public arts programs affect social change in different cases, we must also depart from the political consequences of arts training and discuss how political context influences public arts programs.

Political Context Variables, Arts Programs, and Social Change

According to Geoffrey Baker in *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, the rise of El Sistema—and by extension much of the international popularity of public arts programs—has occurred primarily through political mechanisms.¹¹⁹ Baker perceives autocratic tendencies in El Sistema leadership,¹²⁰ social exclusion and abuse inherent to musical advancement within the organization,¹²¹ and ideological contradictions compromising its integrity as a social change program.¹²² Responding to the puzzling gap between the official narrative of the Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar and negative accounts from participants, teachers, and leaders, Baker illustrates a disconnect between the private and public faces of El Sistema, and complex entanglement between the organization and the Venezuelan state.¹²³

Baker's provocative account provides crucial alternative arguments to the overwhelming optimism surrounding arts as social change programs. His ultimate goal is not to maliciously criticize El Sistema, but rather to provoke debate on how to best create social change through enjoyment and excellence in the arts. Yet his work relies heavily

¹¹⁹ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 26-47.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 48-62.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 1-21.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

on personal accounts and lacks the necessary grounding in theories of leadership, institutions, political economy, and social change. Baker does examine the use of discipline in El Sistema through the theoretical lens of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* study,¹²⁴ but he regulates this examination of theory to one aspect of an El Sistema education—development of self-discipline—and insufficiently applies theory to his broader critical analysis of the arts and social change.

Baker's purpose of debunking myths about El Sistema sometimes lends an unnecessarily sensationalist tone to his writing—images of Jose Antonio Abreu as a vengeful god, Dudamel as a slave-turned-overseer, and the organization as a “cult,” for example¹²⁵—which may hurt his academic credibility. Additionally, several of his key points are difficult to reconcile. For example, his depiction of El Sistema as a “state within (and in contradiction with) the [Venezuelan] state,”¹²⁶ directly opposes his idea that “the linking of the arts and social inclusion—in Venezuela as elsewhere—might be understood primarily as an instrumental response to changing political priorities.”¹²⁷ The reasoning that El Sistema functions as its own state outside national government authority while simultaneously manipulating its social mission and symbolism according to national political trends is puzzling and demonstrates criticism of El Sistema from multiple angles rather than a coherent argument. Similarly, Baker characterizes an orchestral education based on classical European repertoire as authoritarian, colonial, and

¹²⁴ Ibid., 193-202.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 6, 206, 208.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 207.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 167.

irrelevant to the Venezuelan context, while at the same time criticizing El Sistema's curriculum because "pedagogies proposed in recent decades by music education researchers and practitioners in the Global North have made little impact."¹²⁸

Much of Baker's book highlights disillusionment with El Sistema, emphasizing people's surprise at their negative observations and experiences, and thus staving off critiques of researcher and subject bias. Yet he never directly addresses researcher bias either. The major point of Baker's book—well-supported and well-articulated—is that scholars and policymakers need more critical examinations of public fine arts programs as social change initiatives.

My study examines the extent to which a country's political economy influences arts program implementation by examining government control over institutions, competition for public funds, and national prioritization of social welfare.¹²⁹ I argue that free market dictatorships likely feel threatened by public arts programs with social change goals, and thus work to eliminate them.¹³⁰ Non-democratic, socialist states likely support public arts programs as symbols of nationalism and cultural exports.¹³¹ They

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹²⁹ David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³⁰ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014).

¹³¹ David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras,

define social inclusion as increased program participation and measure program scope rather than specific impact.¹³² Democratic, socialist states likely demonstrate enthusiastic support for public arts programs, but don't have the executive power to fund them without public accountability.¹³³ Democratic, free market states likely demand concrete, measurable social change impacts from their public arts programs before allocating social spending for their expansion.¹³⁴

The logic behind these claims is as follows. National governments of countries with fewer economic and political freedoms are less accountable to their citizens for how public money is spent than governments of countries with more freedoms.¹³⁵ Non-democratic governments often spend money for the purpose of building public morale, and if they can demonstrate public optimism, whether or not this optimism represents the

and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³² Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman. *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*. (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (London: Oxford University Press: 2014).

¹³³ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014).

¹³⁴ David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³⁵ Charles C. Griffin, David de Ferranti, Courtney Tolmie, Justin Jacinto, Graeme Ramshaw, and Chinyere Bun, *Lives in the Balance: Improving Accountability for Public Spending in Developing Countries*, (Baltimore: Brookings Institute, 2010).

majority, they claim success.¹³⁶ When non-democratic governments are infused with nationalist ideology, they often heavily fund government-controlled media and government-dispensed optimism.¹³⁷ There may be genuine benefit from good national feeling, yet the need to distract populations from their lack of civil liberties may also contribute to this trend.¹³⁸ At the same time, national governments in countries with fewer economic and political freedoms often have the executive power to deliver certain services to a large recipient group, through control over national institutions.¹³⁹

In contrast, national governments of countries with more economic and political freedoms uphold a greater degree of accountability in public spending.¹⁴⁰ When many organizations are competing for public funds, they need to demonstrate concrete outcomes in order to receive support.¹⁴¹ Another result of this competition is that

¹³⁶ Charles C. Griffin, David de Ferranti, Courtney Tolmie, Justin Jacinto, Graeme Ramshaw, and Chinyere Bun, *Lives in the Balance: Improving Accountability for Public Spending in Developing Countries* (Baltimore: Brookings Institute, 2010); David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹³⁷ Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Charles C. Griffin, David de Ferranti, Courtney Tolmie, Justin Jacinto, Graeme Ramshaw, and Chinyere Bun, *Lives in the Balance: Improving Accountability for Public Spending in Developing Countries* (Baltimore: Brookings Institute, 2010); David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹⁴⁰ Mancur Olson, "Autocracy, Democracy, and Prosperity," *Strategy and Choice*, Richard Zeckhauser ed., (Boston: MIT Press, 1991).

¹⁴¹ Kathleen Bawn and Frances Rosenbluth, "Short versus Long Coalitions: Electoral Accountability and the Size of the Public Sector," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 2, (New York:

democratic, free market regimes often cannot claim that public services reach the majority of their citizens.¹⁴² Higher taxation carries the threat of being removed from office by unhappy citizens if impeachment, protest, and free elections are within their constitutional rights, and these rights are upheld.¹⁴³

CONCLUSION

Taken together, the books, articles, evaluations, and reports in this chapter illustrate a common thread—across cognitive science, mathematics, peace studies, economic development, and politics—of critical interest in the arts as a means of social change. A major similarity between these studies across diverse disciplines is that they examine outcome variables. They illustrate the potential of artistic expression and arts training to impact human development, academic achievement, economic development, and social mobility. Unfortunately, small sample sizes, short timeframes, unaddressed biases, lack of precise measurements, and inconclusive results prevail throughout. While the majority of works discussed in this chapter are overwhelmingly positive about the capacity of the arts to affect social change, a trend in greater criticism of public arts programs positions this conversation on the cusp of a substantive debate.

American Journal of Political Science, 2006), 251-265; Stuti Khemani, “Democracy, Public Expenditures, and the Poor: Understanding Political Incentives for Providing Public Services,” *World Bank Research Observer*, Vol. 20, No. 1, (Oxford: Oxford Journals, 2005), 1-27.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

My Arts for Social Change Context Framework helps begin the crucial conversation of how input variables, particularly in the under-studied category of political economy, contribute to using the arts as a means of social change. I critique and build off of *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, to generate theory on the extent to which political-economic context influences the implementation of public arts programs and how we interpret their social impact. These factors, such as the degree to which national governments prioritize social welfare, hold programs accountable for competitive public funds, and control institutions, shape the missions, operations, definitions of success, and impact study procedures found in arts for social change programs.

I agree with Baker that public arts programs are intimately linked to political economy, and that these connections are often obscured in disingenuous public relations or the common belief that arts and cultural activities are non-controversial. Yet my argument *does not* automatically condemn arts for social change programs as ineffective institutions with negative impacts on participants' lives. Arts for social change programs may alleviate poverty, increase social inclusion, and encourage class mobility. Yet we must test the possibilities of positive, negative, and neutral impact in order to be intentional about funding public arts for social change. I provide a new longitudinal and cross-country perspective, contextualizing arts for social change movements, and investigating which factors influence their implementation.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL-ECONOMIC CONTEXT, ARTS PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION, AND SOCIAL CHANGE: VENEZUELA

We don't just play to interpret the music—we play with an underlying social purpose. And that's the most important, right? To let the world know that using music we can rescue children, purify the soul.

-Fernando, El Sistema trumpeter, *Changing Lives: Gustavo Dudamel, El Sistema and the Transformative Power of Music*

This chapter examines the extent to which political-economic context has influenced the implementation of El Sistema¹ youth orchestras in Venezuela over time. By implementation, I mean the set of definitions, goals, plans, and procedures that make up the orchestras' mission, operations, and impact. Thus, implementation is the process of deciding and enacting 1) what aspects of society El Sistema targets changing, 2) how the organization runs on a daily basis, and 3) how it defines success. This process—shaped by political-economic context—facilitates the growth of El Sistema in Venezuela and the rise of inspired programs around the world.

I organize this chapter in the following way. First, I apply my Arts for Social Change Context Framework generally to the Venezuelan case. I divide my case timeframe into two political-economic eras: free market democracy before the election of Chávez and socialism with decreasing democracy afterwards. Thus, my pre-Chávez period is 1974-1997 and my Chávez+ period is 1998-2015. Second, I examine political-economic context and the implementation of El Sistema within each time period. Third, I

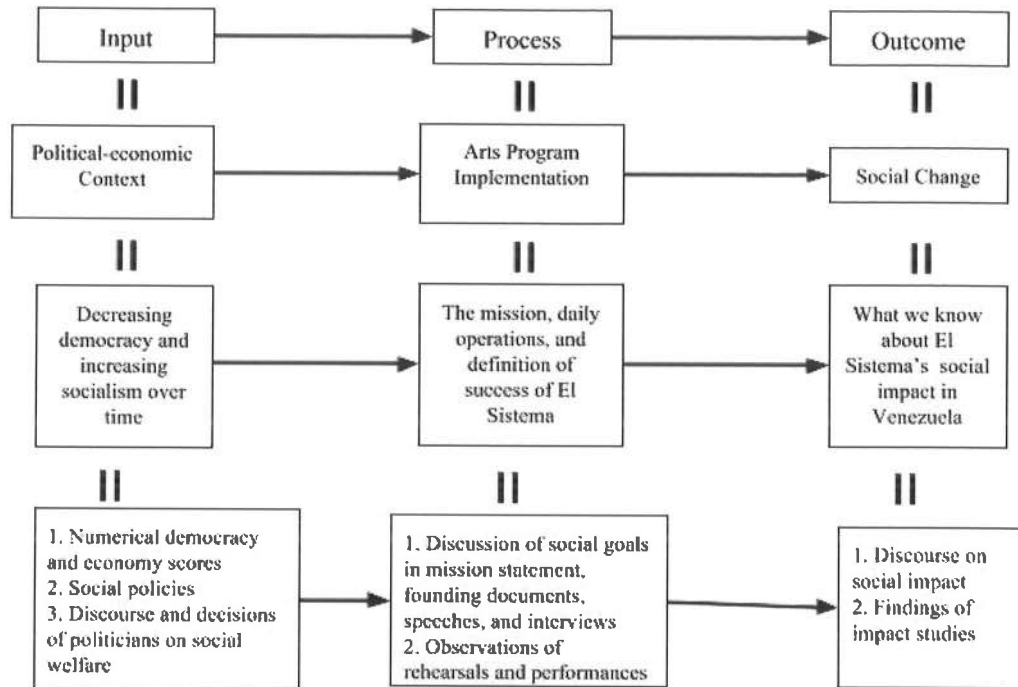
¹ The System. Translation by Emma Strother.

use process tracing as triangulation of evidence to determine the extent to which Venezuelan political economy has influenced scholars' and policymakers' understandings of the social change impact of El Sistema.

MY CONTEXT FRAMEWORK IN THE VENEZUELAN CASE

In this chapter, I investigate the extent to which El Sistema implementation has changed with variations in Venezuelan political economy over time. In turn, I examine the extent to which this process shapes how we interpret the social change impact of El Sistema orchestras. Figure 3.1 applies these relationships to my Arts for Social Change Context Framework in the Venezuelan case. I understand that inputs, processes, and outcomes are interrelated, but for the analytical purposes of this thesis it is necessary to separate them. From the top row to the bottom, here are my designated analytical categories, my conceptualizations of these categories in terms of public arts programs, these concepts applied to the El Sistema, and how I operationalize each.

Figure 3.1: Arts for Social Change Context Framework Applied to FMSB



To apply this framework across political-economic contexts, I divide my case into pre-Chávez and Chávez+ time periods. I understand these political and economic characterizations as fluid categories on scales. For the purposes of this thesis however, I organize shifts in Venezuelan political economy according to Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Venezuelan Political-Economic Context (1974-2015)

| | Pre-Chávez (President Carlos Andrés Pérez → President Rafael Caldera: 1974-1997): | Chávez+ (President Hugo Chávez → President Nicolás Maduro: 1998-2015): |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Politics: | Democracy | Decreasing Democracy over Time |
| Economics: | Free Market | Socialist |

I define democracy as a multi-party, competitive political system with adult suffrage, regularly contested elections conducted with ballot secrecy and security, major

political parties with public access to the electorate through media, and electoral results which reflect the public will.² I use this definition because it highlights a democratic national government's accountability to its citizens in political decision-making. In other words, the national government is responsible for collecting polls on public opinion through free and fair mechanisms and reflecting public demands in its policymaking. This definition is relevant because the mechanism of national government accountability to citizens, especially in terms of the allocation of public funds, shapes how public programs seek support from national government offices and how they define success.

I define socialism as a political and economic theory of social organization which is characterized by cooperative ownership and management over the means of production, distribution, and exchange.³ I have compiled this definition from sources ranging from liberal to conservative in order to draw out the elements of socialism most important to my analysis of El Sistema as a public program in a larger political-economic context. To this end, I emphasize the collective aspects of socialism which encourage broad participation in social endeavors and weaker class divisions.

Left unchallenged, government policies in the name of the public good have the ability to mold Venezuelan officials and citizens.⁴ High oil prices in the early 2000s gave Chávez the means to pour funds into select public programs.⁵ A lower degree of market

² Freedom House, "Methodology," *Freedom in the World 2014*, (Washington, DC: Freedom House, 2014).

³ Conservative Politics, "A Definition of Socialism," (2015); Encyclopædia Britannica, "Socialism," (London: Encyclopædia Britannica Press, 2014); Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "Socialism," (London: Encyclopædia Britannica Press, 2014); The International Socialist Organization, "What We Stand For," (2014); World Socialist Movement, "What is Socialism?" (Creative Commons, 2015).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), 4.

freedom suggests decreased privatization of social services.⁶ If a national government values citizen welfare and breaking social class barriers more than reducing debt and increasing international trade, levels of public spending are high and organizations experience less competition for public funds. When national democracy also decreases over time, state-controlled media outlets and public programming can deliver streamlined optimism to a large recipient group.⁷

FREE MARKET DEMOCRACY

Venezuelan Political Economy Pre-Chávez: 1974-1997

In the democratic years dominated by the Pérez and Caldera administrations, scholars and policymakers alike heralded Venezuela as “the political darling of the developmental set.”⁸ According to Peter Merkl in 1981, “it appear[ed] that the only trail to a democratic future for developing societies [was] the one followed by Venezuela... Venezuela [was] a textbook case of step-by-step progress.”⁹ Scholars debate the extent to which Venezuela’s transition to democracy, beginning in 1958, was the product of government policies versus structural factors in the global economy.¹⁰ Many argue that

⁶ Neil Brenner, Jamie Peck, and Nik Theodore, “After Neoliberalization?” *Globalizations*, Vol. 7, No. 3, (New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁷ Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd., 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁸ Terry Lynn Karl, “Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela,” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (Washington, DC: Latin American Studies Association, 1987), 63.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Venezuela's privatization of petroleum resources institutionalized the national party system in this time period.¹¹ Yet this era in Venezuelan politics was also characterized by social crises and political corruption, culminating in popular revolt in 1992 and a Supreme Court impeachment of the president for embezzlement in 1993.¹²

Caldera's subsequent administration experienced increasing political and social pressure to implement economic policies focused on the collective good, while maintaining democracy.¹³ Yet some scholars and policymakers classify Venezuela as a "partyarchy" in this time period due to patronage platforms and vertical political party entrenchment.¹⁴ In other words, politicians' principle goals were connected to winning elections, rather than framing election victories as the means to policy ends.¹⁵ This phenomenon results in part from minimal checks on the executive office of president.¹⁶ Thus, scholars have argued that free and fair elections do not necessarily lead to

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³ Kurt Weyland, *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Venezuela*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

¹⁴ Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011); Jennifer L. McCoy, "Chavez and the End of the 'Partyarchy' in Venezuela," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 10, No. 3, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 64-77.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Guillermo A. O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 55-69.

government policies that reflect the public will.¹⁷ This finding is relevant because executive decisions made by national governments without answering to public opinion are more streamlined. As the space for public debate and accountability to the electorate decreased in Venezuela, El Sistema orchestras rapidly expanded and their success became increasingly tied to a nationalist vision of youth orchestras for social inclusion as a cultural export.

Measuring Political and Economic Freedom

To help justify my categorizations of Venezuelan political economy across the Pre-Chávez era I provide numerical evidence—Polity IV regime trend levels every year and economic freedom levels every five years—in Table 3.2 and Figure 3.2. I adjust the original economic freedom levels to fit the negative ten to positive ten scale to make the data comparable over time.¹⁸

¹⁷ Ibid.

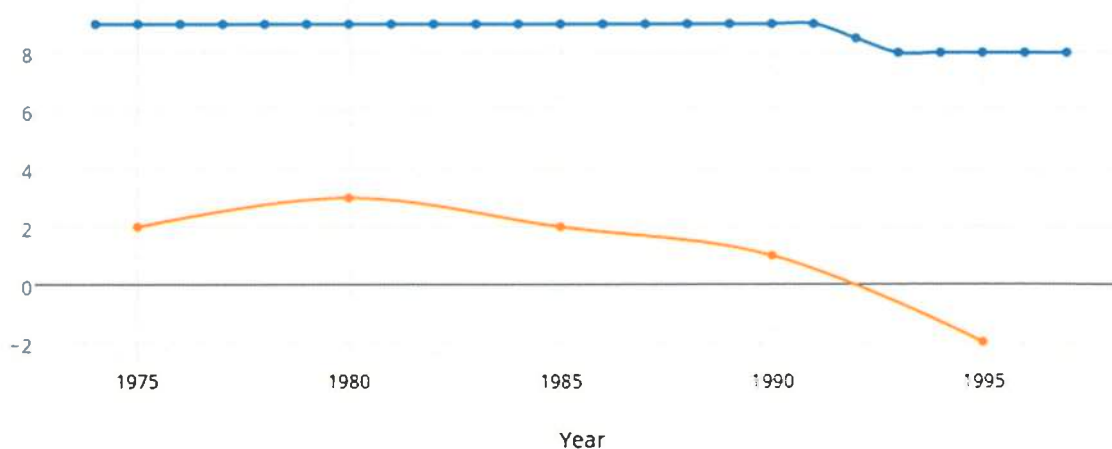
¹⁸ Calculations by Emma Strother. Adjusted economic freedom levels to fit a -10 to +10 scale from a 0 - +10 scale. This means that an original score of 0 is an adjusted score of -10, an original score of +0.5 is an adjusted score of -9, an original score of +1 is an adjusted score of -8 etc.

Table 3.2: Regime Trend Levels and Economic Freedom Levels in Venezuela (1974-1997)

| Year | Regime Trend Level | Economic Freedom Level | Year | Regime Trend Level | Economic Freedom Level |
|------|--------------------|------------------------|------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1974 | 9 | - | 1986 | 9 | - |
| 1975 | 9 | 2 | 1987 | 9 | - |
| 1976 | 9 | - | 1988 | 9 | - |
| 1977 | 9 | - | 1989 | 9 | - |
| 1978 | 9 | - | 1990 | 9 | 1 |
| 1979 | 9 | - | 1991 | 9 | - |
| 1980 | 9 | 3 | 1992 | 8.5 | - |
| 1981 | 9 | - | 1993 | 8 | - |
| 1982 | 9 | - | 1994 | 8 | - |
| 1983 | 9 | - | 1995 | 8 | -2 |
| 1984 | 9 | - | 1996 | 8 | - |
| 1985 | 9 | 2 | 1997 | 8 | - |

Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

Figure 3.2: Graph of Regime Trend Levels (Blue) and Economic Freedom Levels (Orange) in Venezuela (1974-1997)



Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

Table 3.2 and Figure 3.2 quantify Venezuelan political economy from 1974-1990. Politics remained democratic, while market freedom was relatively low and further reduced over time. These rating scales come from institutions outside the influence of the Venezuelan national government, reducing bias. These trends also appear in Freedom House ratings from this time period.¹⁹ This exercise provides a structure for analyzing the changing political-economic climate of Venezuela from 1974-1997 through social policies, control over institutions, and government prioritization of social welfare.

Government Control: Social Policies, Institutions and Welfare

Departing from the idea of the “political darling,” scholars and policymakers have argued that Venezuelan in the pre-Chávez era was characterized by “decaying liberal democracy since the 1970s... [through which] one of the first successful ‘pacted’ transitions in Latin America—turned into a rigid ‘partyarchy’ in the 1980s... [in which] Acción Democrática and the Social Christian Party... dominated the political field.”²⁰ Yet according to Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, “in the 1980s the old pacted democracy entered into a deep social and political crisis, leading to political decentralization and reform, which allowed... the entry of new political actors; and *party fragmentation* permitted [the] new political force [of Chávez]... to consolidate power.”²¹ This scholarly debate on the extent to which the pre-Chávez era was characterized by increasing party consolidation or political fragmentation illustrates a political-economic

¹⁹ Freedom House, “Declining Democracy: A Return to the Iron Fist,” *Freedom in the World 2015 Report* (Washington, DC: Freedom House, 2015).

²⁰ Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), 4.

²¹ Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), 4-5. Emphasis added.

climate perilous to public programs. Whether central party unification pushed electoral competition between two parties to the top of the national political agenda, or disagreement within parties led to inconclusive decision-making, the national government did not focus on public spending, causing widespread unrest from socially excluded Venezuelans.

Despite relatively stable *levels* of public spending in the years leading up to Chávez's election, *fiscal priority*, or the share of social expenditure within total public funds, sharply declined in 1974 and in 1980 due to budgetary pressures.²² Free market economic reforms by Presidents Pérez and Caldera in 1989 and 1996 respectively were blocked by warring political factions and implementation roadblocks.²³ Thus, the time period was characterized by controversial government economic policies and consistent tension between hands-off and hands-on social policies.

In terms of the Venezuelan national government's relationship to the arts in this time period, individual artist stipends, museums, conservatories, and theaters were all well-funded under the administrations leading up to Chávez.²⁴ In 1977, the Venezuelan Office of the President and the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura (CONAC),²⁵ signed Decree No. 2093 to "promote, endorse, dignify and exalt the conservation of artistic, historical, literary, archaeological, and documentary heritage of the nation for present and

²² Ricardo Hausmann and Francisco Rodríguez, *Venezuela Before Chávez: Anatomy of an Economic Collapse*, (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), civii.

²³ Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), 5.

²⁴ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

²⁵ National Council of Culture. Translation by Emma Strother.

future generations.”²⁶ This document included provisions to support cultural industries, reward creativity with national prizes, and invest in human resource programs as agents of cultural development.²⁷ The Venezuelan National Gallery of Art opened to the public in 1976,²⁸ and the most prominent theater in the country for symphonies, operas, ballets, and plays—the Teresa Carreño Theater in Caracas—opened in 1983.²⁹ Taken together, national government support for the arts was multifaceted in this era.

El Sistema Implementation Pre-Chávez: 1974-1997

The following is a brief history of the interconnected rise of youth orchestras for social change across my empirical cases of Venezuela and Chile, which lead ultimately to the formation of Venezuela’s Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar (FMSB),³⁰ commonly known as El Sistema,³¹ and Chile’s Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles (FOJI).³²

²⁶ Consejo Nacional de la Cultura and Ministerio de la Secretaria del Presidente, “Decree 2093,” (Caracas: March 22, 1977). Translated by Emma Strother.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Galería de Arte Nacional, “Institución: Su Historia,” (Caracas: 2013), http://vereda.ula.ve/gan/?page_id=448.

²⁹ Teatro Teresa Carreño, “Historia,” (Caracas: 2012), http://www.teatroteresacarreno.gob.ve/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3:historia&catid=37&Itemid=264.

³⁰ The Simón Bolívar Music Foundation, formerly the Fundación del Estado para el Sistema Nacional de las Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Venezuela (FESNOJIV), the State Foundation for the National System of Youth and Child Orchestras.

³¹ The System. Translation by Emma Strother.

³² Children and Youth Orchestra Foundation. Translation by Emma Strother.

In 1964, musician, activist, and educator Jorge Peña Hen founded the Children's Orchestra of La Serena (COLA)³³ in northern Chile. This pioneering ensemble included principles of social inclusion and poverty alleviation among its core values.³⁴ Peña Hen appeared well-invested in developmentally appropriate education for children, innovative composition, and musical excellence. For example, he composed a children's opera for his youth ensembles to perform in 1966.³⁵ When a coup d'état put General Augusto Pinochet in office in 1973, Peña Hen was murdered by the Caravan of Death, a Chilean military police squad.³⁶ Three of his closest colleagues fled to Venezuela and inspired the work of a youth orchestra in Carora.³⁷

The following is the official history of El Sistema in Venezuela—maintained by organization leadership in speeches³⁸ and interviews,³⁹ and described by an organization-sanctioned academic in a work published by El Sistema's press office.⁴⁰ José Antonio

³³ Orquesta Sinfónica de Niños de La Serena (OSNLS). I use the English translation and acronym for ease of reading.

³⁴ Alexandra Carlson, *The Story of Carora: The Origins of El Sistema*, (Boulder: University of Colorado, 2013); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 65.

³⁵ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 137.

³⁶ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Democracy, and Music Education in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (2014).

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Eduardo Cedefio, address at "El Sistema Winter Symposium 2015," (Philadelphia: Curtis Institute, 2015); José Antonio Abreu, "The El Sistema Music Revolution," *Acceptance Speech for the TED Prize*, (Vancouver: 2009); José Antonio Abreu, *Right Livelihood Award Acceptance Speech*, (Stockholm: 2001).

³⁹ Frank di Pollo, interviewed by Stanford Thompson, February 22, 2010, notes; José Antonio Abreu, informal meeting with El Sistema Fellows, February 2010, video recording.

⁴⁰ Chofi Borzacchini *Venezuela en el cielo de los escenarios*, (Caracas: Fundación Bancaribe, 2010).

Abreu devised the innovative idea of a youth orchestra promoting social inclusion in 1975. His first rehearsal consisted of eleven students in a garage (or sometimes an abandoned lot) in Caracas. The organization rapidly grew from there: spreading community music schools called *núcleos* across the country, training its own teachers and instrument artisans, persevering despite the lack of Venezuelan musical opportunities at the time, and offering a domestic alternative to professional orchestras overrun with European musicians.⁴¹ Historians, music scholars, and activists have disputed this narrative, providing critical information and perspectives on the global spread of youth orchestras as a means of social change.⁴²

In 1975, José Antonio Abreu launched what would become the most famous organization of youth orchestras for social change amidst growing popularity of musical ensembles targeting poor children across Venezuela. Leading the charge, the Orquesta Experimental de la Orquesta Sinfónica de Venezuela⁴³ was founded in 1970—with the vision of musical excellence for children of low socioeconomic status—at the José Angel Lamas Conservatory where Abreu had studied.⁴⁴ Similar youth orchestras existed in

⁴¹ Chefi Borzacchini *Venezuela en el cielo de los escenarios*, (Caracas: Fundación Bancaribe, 2010); FMSB, *Historia*, (Caracs: Prensa FundaMusical Bolívar, 2013), <http://fundamusical.org.ve/category/el-sistema/historia/>.

⁴² Alexandra Carlson, *The Story of Carora: The Origins of El Sistema*, (Boulder: University of Colorado, 2013); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Ludim Pedroza, "Of Orchestras, Mythos, and the Idealization of Symphonic Practice: The Orquesta Sinfónica de Venezuela in the (Collateral) History of El Sistema," Unpublished Manuscript.

⁴³ Experimental Orchestra of the Venezuelan Symphony Orchestra. Translation by Emma Strother.

⁴⁴ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 64; Ludim R. Pedroza, "Of Orchestras, Mythos, and the Idealization of Symphonic Practice: The Orquesta Sinfónica de Venezuela in the (Collateral) History of El Sistema," Unpublished Manuscript.

Carora (inspired by the work of Jorge Peña Hen) and Trujillo at the time, and at least five major Venezuelan conservatories offered a range of musical degrees free of charge.⁴⁵

José Antonio Abreu has confirmed the Chilean connection in interviews from the 1990s, but it is not part of the story he tells at conferences, in documentaries, or with acceptance speeches, especially in light of the recent explosion of El Sistema-inspired programs around the world.⁴⁶ In the Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio* in 1995 (before the election of Chávez) he stated "we received a significant contribution from Chilean teachers. They played the role of instigators of a new concept of music education. Because of this, our ties to you [Venezuelans to Chileans] are very deep."⁴⁷ Thus, the history of El Sistema shifts in memory over time.

El Sistema's original constitution does not mention social change. Advocates and critics of the organization agree that the goal of social inclusion was officially added during the 1990s as a means to maintain political support for the project in the face of Chávez's socialist administration which had significantly cut arts funding.⁴⁸ Abreu as a leader has been intimately aware of Venezuelan political realities since El Sistema's inception, due to his work in the Venezuelan Congress (1959-1964) and his service as

⁴⁵ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 64.

⁴⁶ Alberto Arvelo, *Dudamel: Let the Children Play*, Documentary Film, (Caracas: 2010); Alberto Arvelo, *Tocar y Luchar*, Documentary Film, (Caracas: 2006); Chefi Borzacchini, *Venezuela en el cielo de los escenarios*, (Caracas: Fundación Bancaribe, 2010); José Antonio Abreu, Informal meeting with El Sistema Fellows, February 2010, Video recording; José Antonio Abreu, *Right Livelihood Award Acceptance Speech*, (Stockholm: 2001); José Antonio Abreu, "The El Sistema Music Revolution," *Acceptance Speech for the TED Prize*, (Vancouver: 2009); Tricia Tunstall, *Changing Lives: Gustavo Dudamel, El Sistema, and the Transformative Power of Music*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012).

⁴⁷ Cecilia Valdes Urrutia, "Entrevista con Jose Antonio Abreu: En la Cruzada Musical," *El Mercurio*, (Santiago: January 15, 1995), sec. E "Artes y Letras." Translated by Alexandra Carlson.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 184-185.

Minister of Culture and President of the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura⁴⁹ (1983-1993).⁵⁰

These additional details imply a degree of political manipulation in the rise of El Sistema's popularity and the subsequent re-writing of its history.

Taken together, the history of youth orchestras for social change across Chile and Venezuela reveal complex connections between the two countries and the tremendous potential for national political economy to impact program survival and success. Given the global spread of El Sistema-inspired programs, it is crucial to understand the effects of these cases' divergent paths. Additionally, an increasing trend in international organizations supporting music for social change suggests that the cross-country perspective is more relevant than ever before. The Inter-American Development Bank funds the Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar.⁵¹ A joint program from El Sistema and the United Nations High Commission on Refugees strives to integrate Colombian refugees into Venezuelan society through ensemble music.⁵² The World Bank has constructed the Afghanistan National Institute of Music as a socioeconomic development project.⁵³ Thus, the study of how music programs affect social change differently across national contexts is timely.

In the pre-Chávez era, El Sistema was an arts program, emerging from a

⁴⁹ National Council of Culture. Translation by Emma Strother.

⁵⁰ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 43.

⁵¹ Inter-American Development Bank, Project VE-T1038, "National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela," (Washington, DC: IDB, June 24, 2013).

⁵² United Nations High Commission on Refugees, "Barlovento—El Sistema Youth Orchestra," (November 28, 2014), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JJFOYTicqhl>.

⁵³ Leopold Remi Sarr, Interview by Emma Strother, "World Bank Support for the Afghanistan National Institute of Music," (January 15, 2015).

movement of increasingly popular youth orchestras for social change across Venezuela. Its principal goals appear to be musical, and in the extent to which social change was incorporated, it was based on changing the demographics of Venezuelan orchestras, not on alleviating poverty or increasing social inclusion.⁵⁴ Across this era, El Sistema orchestras rose in numbers, increasingly beating out competition for arts funding.⁵⁵ The youth orchestras also travelled abroad, acting as a cultural export for the first time.⁵⁶ Concurrently to this trend, José Antonio Abreu served in the Venezuelan national government as Minister of Culture and President of the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura⁵⁷ (1983-1993).⁵⁸ This connection between the Venezuelan national government and the leadership of an arts for social change program has built the foundation for how El Sistema implementation reacts to changes in Venezuelan political economy.

El Sistema Social Goals: Founding Constitution, Interviews, and Speeches

El Sistema's founding documents did not mention social inclusion or poverty alleviation when they were initially signed in 1979, nor when they were amended for the first time in 1996.⁵⁹ The only social statements in these documents are rather circuitous,

⁵⁴ Decree 3093, (Caracas: Gaceta Oficial de la República de Venezuela, February 20, 1979); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 164; Decree Nro. 44, Tomo 11, Prot. 1 (Caracas: Oficina Subalterna del Primer Circuito de Registro del Departamento Libertador, October 15, 1996).

⁵⁵ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ National Council of Culture. Translation by Emma Strother.

⁵⁸ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 43.

⁵⁹ Decree 3093, (Caracas: Gaceta Oficial de la República de Venezuela, February 20, 1979); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 164; Decree

as the organization aims to “[train] the country’s human resources in the area of music” and “[secure] a significant future for Venezuelan musical youth.”⁶⁰ Thus, the initial social goals of El Sistema appear bound by the professional musical world, and primarily concerned with changing the demographics of Venezuelan orchestras. They make no mention of the extra-musical benefits of an El Sistema education that have become trademarks of the organization’s public image and requests for funding in the Chávez+ era.⁶¹

According to interviews from Geoffrey Baker’s year of ethnographic research in Venezuela between 2010 and 2011, the first El Sistema participants describe the orchestras as a fundamentally musical project, in which “social and political changes subsequently led to a shift in rhetoric.”⁶² When I interviewed Eduardo Cedeño, one of the original El Sistema students, he declined to comment on his experience of rehearsals or performances in this time period.⁶³

El Sistema’s constitution was reformed a second time in 2011, with two significant changes. First, the name of the organization was changed from the *Fundación del Estado para el Sistema Nacional de las Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Venezuela*

Nro. 44, Tomo 11, Prot. 1 (Caracas: Oficina Subalterna del Primer Circuito de Registro del Departamento Libertador, October 15, 1996).

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 164

⁶³ Eduardo Cedeño, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 22, 2015). Full Interview in Appendix A.

(FESNOJIV)⁶⁴ to the Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar.⁶⁵ This shift demonstrates El Sistema's growing recognition of the socialist revolution. Whereas the original name was tied to the Venezuelan state regardless of administration, this name is tied to a particular image of the Chávez+ era. Second, administrative control over the organization was transferred from CONAC to the Office of the President, adding practical significance to this symbolic trend.⁶⁶ Thus, the transitions in El Sistema's constitution over time hint at the organization's institutional embeddedness within the national government, with significant repercussions for its social mission.

Statements from Abreu and other El Sistema leadership on the organization's social goals dating back to this time period are extremely hard to find. Despite a wealth of narratives which place Abreu's unique vision at the forefront of the program's success,⁶⁷ he has no legal trace of founding El Sistema in Venezuela, and his name does not appear on founding documents.⁶⁸ The vast majority of Abreu's statements on El Sistema in this time period are commemorative accounts in speeches and interviews that

⁶⁴ The State Foundation for the Venezuelan National System of Children and Youth Orchestras. Translation by Emma Strother.

⁶⁵ Decree 8078, (Caracas: Gaceta Oficial de la República de Venezuela, March 1, 2011).

⁶⁶ Decree 8078, (Caracas: Gaceta Oficial de la República de Venezuela, March 1, 2011).

⁶⁷ Chefi Borzacchini, *Venezuela en el cielo de los escenarios*, (Caracas: Fundación Bancaribe, 2010); Mary Lou Falcone, Public Relations Agent of Gustavo Dudamel, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Washington, DC: The Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 2013); Tricia Tunstall, *Changing Lives: Gustavo Dudamel, El Sistema, and the Transformative Power of Music*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012).

⁶⁸ Decree 3093, (Caracas: Gaceta Oficial de la República de Venezuela, February 20, 1979); Decree 8078, (Caracas: Gaceta Oficial de la República de Venezuela, March 1, 2011); 164; Nro. 44, Tomo 11, Prot. 1 (Caracas: Oficina Subalterna del Primer Circuito de Registro del Departamento Libertador, October 15, 1996).

he has conducted after the election of Chávez.⁶⁹ Taken together, El Sistema's social intentions pre-Chávez were grounded in the competitive world of professional classical music, rather than attracting domestic and international support with social inclusion.

SOCIALISM AND DECREASING DEMOCRACY

Venezuelan Political Economy Chávez+: 1998-2015

Hugo Chávez's administration—beginning with his election in 1998 and ending with his death in 2013—produced a dramatic shift in Venezuela's political economy through constitutional reform, nationalization of major industries such as petroleum, and the disappearance of multiple-party, regularly contested elections.⁷⁰ The political discourse on constitutional reform in the Chávez+ era prioritizes social welfare over free market forces which arguably increase inequality. According to Chávez in 2002, a primary goal of his socialist policy was to “overcome [the] type of democracy that only responds to the interests of the oligarchical sectors.”⁷¹ This mindset was appealing to many Venezuelans because it suggested firm anti-corruption, but it also placed Chávez's

⁶⁹ José Antonio Abreu, Informal meeting with El Sistema Fellows, February 2010, Video recording; José Antonio Abreu, *Right Livelihood Award Acceptance Speech*, (Stockholm: 2001); José Antonio Abreu, “The El Sistema Music Revolution,” *Acceptance Speech for the TED Prize*, (Vancouver: 2009); Alberto Arvelo, *Dudamel: Let the Children Play*, Film, (Caracas: 2010); Alberto Arvelo, *Tocar y Luchar*, Film, (Caracas: 2006).

⁷⁰ Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁷¹ Hugo Chávez, interviewed by Marta Harnacker, taken from: *Hugo Chávez: Un Hombre, Un Pueblo*, (Caracas: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2002).

ideology in opposition to democracy.⁷²

As the Chávez administration progressed, policies in the name of the public good were implemented with decreasing contestation or transparency.⁷³ This trend suggests decreasing accountability from the Venezuelan executive to the people over the course of Chávez's administration. This trend has only become more firmly entrenched through the first years of Chávez's chosen successor, President Nicolás Maduro.⁷⁴

Measuring Political and Economic Freedom

To help justify my categorizations of Venezuelan political economy across the Chávez+ era I provide numerical evidence—using Polity IV and Economic Freedom Network scales—in Table 3.3 and Figure 3.3. I adjust the original economic freedom levels to fit the negative ten to positive ten scale, making the data comparable over time.⁷⁵ Data is not yet available for 2015 at the time of writing this thesis.

⁷² Maxwell A. Cameron and Flavie Major, "Venezuela's Hugo Chávez: Savior or Threat to Democracy?" *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 36, No. 3, (Washington, DC: Latin American Studies Association, 2001), 255-266.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Miriam Kornblith, "Chavismo After Chávez?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, No. 3, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 47-61.

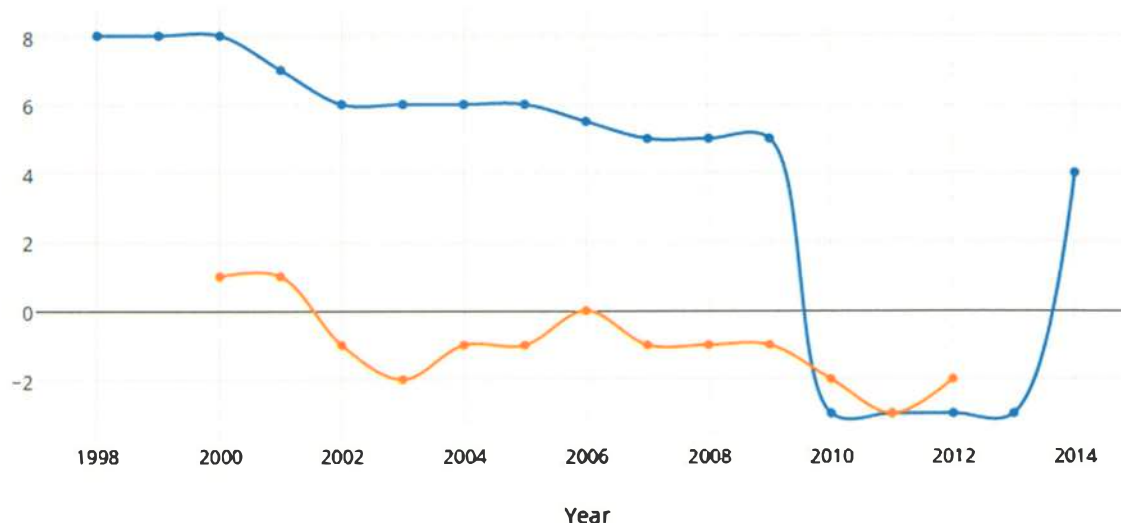
⁷⁵ Calculations by Emma Strother. Adjusted economic freedom levels to fit a -10 to +10 scale from a 0 - +10 scale. This means that an original score of 0 is an adjusted score of -10, an original score of +0.5 is an adjusted score of -9, an original score of +1 is an adjusted score of -8 etc.

Table 3.3: Regime Trend Levels and Economic Freedom Levels in Venezuela (1998-2014)

| Year | Regime Trend Level | Economic Freedom Level | Year | Regime Trend Level | Economic Freedom Level |
|------|--------------------|------------------------|------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1998 | 8 | - | 2007 | 5 | -1 |
| 1999 | 8 | - | 2008 | 5 | -1 |
| 2000 | 8 | 1 | 2009 | 5 | -1 |
| 2001 | 7 | 1 | 2010 | -3 | -2 |
| 2002 | 6 | -1 | 2011 | -3 | -3 |
| 2003 | 6 | -2 | 2012 | -3 | -2 |
| 2004 | 6 | -1 | 2013 | -3 | - |
| 2005 | 6 | -1 | 2014 | 4 | - |
| 2006 | 5.5 | 0 | 2015 | - | - |

Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

Figure 3.3: Graph of Regime Trend Levels (Blue) and Economic Freedom Levels (Orange) in Venezuela (1998-2014)



Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

Table 3.3 and Figure 3.3 quantify Venezuelan political economy from 1998-2014. These rating scales are from institutions outside the influence of the Venezuelan national government, reducing bias. Political freedom has generally decreased, with a dramatic drop in 2010 and only partial recovery by 2014. The downswing in 2010 may be due to parliamentary elections which enforced the consolidation of disparate political parties into the United Socialist Party of Venezuela, dramatically reducing political debate. The upswing in democratic freedom ratings in 2014 may be due to the death of Hugo Chávez and subsequent elections in Venezuela which did not include him for the first time since he took office. Yet the election of Chávez's preferred successor Nicolás Maduro casts serious doubt that the process was free, fair, or contested.⁷⁶ Market freedom has remained consistently low over time, with an overall downward trend. In the next section, I unpack the social policies, increasing government control over institutions, and national framing of social welfare that can help explain these aggregate trends.

Government Control: Social Policies, Institutions, and Welfare

In analyzing Chávez and his chosen successor Maduro's treatment of social welfare through policies and institutions, I first include this overview of the Chávez administration's context and structural impact from *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*.

⁷⁶ Miriam Kornblith, "Chavismo After Chávez?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, No. 3, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 47-61.

[Chávez] transformed a frail but nonetheless pluralistic democracy into a hybrid regime, an outcome achieved in the context of a spectacularly high oil income and widespread electoral support. Hybrid regimes are political systems in which the mechanism for determining access to state office combines both democratic and autocratic practices... specifically, such regimes display the following features. Government negotiations with opposition forces are rare. Die-hard loyalists of the government are placed at top-level positions in state offices... thereby undermining the system of checks and balances. The state actively seeks to undermine the autonomy of civic institutions. The law is invoked mostly to penalize opponents but seldom to sanction the government. The incumbent changes and circumvents the constitution. The electoral field is uneven, with the ruling party making use of sinecures that are systematically denied to the opposition.⁷⁷

According to this description, the decline of democracy in Venezuela has been facilitated by direct interventions on the part of the state, seeking to increase executive authority. These interventions decrease meritocracy in bureaucracy, legal checks on government offices and institutions, and free speech in civil society. The general goal to eliminate political opposition leads the government to mold the parameters and missions of its public programs in a particular way. The Venezuelan government makes loyalist appointments, lowers accountability for the allocation of public funds, and spends vast resources on public morale through government-sponsored media and government-dispersed optimism.⁷⁸ The fact that FMSB is currently under the executive and funding authority of the Venezuelan Office of the President helps to cement the connection

⁷⁷ Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chavez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), 1.

⁷⁸ David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

between the expansive, hands-on nature of government policies and FMSB implementation.

El Sistema Implementation Chávez+: 1998-2015

I conceptualize the process of FMSB program implementation in the Chávez+ era through the mechanisms of the organization's social mission, rehearsal and performance procedures, and definition of success. These mechanisms shape how FMSB understands social change, how the organization operates on a daily basis, and what constitutes El Sistema's success in the eyes of the organization and its funders. Thus, I begin to unpack the puzzle of El Sistema's explosive global success despite a lack of impact studies.

El Sistema Social Goals: Mission Statement, Interviews, and Speeches

The Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar mission statement reads as follows at the time of writing this thesis.⁷⁹

The Simon Bolivar Musical Foundation is a social endeavor of the Venezuelan State dedicated to the pedagogical, occupational, and ethical rescue of children and youth, by means of collective musical instruction and practice, devoted to training, prevention, and recovery with the country's most vulnerable groups, due as much to their ages as to their socioeconomic situations.⁸⁰

As the organization's official intent, this text is the authoritative statement on how FMSB frames its purpose regarding musical training and social change. These words are

⁷⁹ Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar, "Misión y Visión," (Caracas: Prensa FundaMusical Bolívar, 2013), <http://fundamusical.org.ve/category/el-sistema/mision-y-vision/>.

⁸⁰ Ibid. Original Text: "La Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar constituye una obra social del Estado Venezolano consagrada al rescate pedagógico, ocupacional y ético de la infancia y la juventud, mediante la instrucción y la práctica colectiva de la música, dedicada a la capacitación, prevención y recuperación de los grupos más vulnerables del país, tanto por sus características etáreas como por su situación socioeconómica." Translation by Emma Strother.

carefully chosen to succinctly state FMSB's vision, and thus reveal elements of the organization's priorities and outlook. As a comment sanctioned by organization leadership and the Venezuelan national government, it exemplifies an appropriate description of public arts program social goals in accordance with FMSB's political-economic context.

A close reading of FMSB's mission statement reveals the following key aspects of the logic behind El Sistema implementation. First, El Sistema is a "social endeavor," before it is a music program. This point is consistent with interviews, speeches, promotional videos, and documentaries, and it is one of the official refrains of the organization's narrative in the Chávez+ era.⁸¹ The Venezuelan State's explicit ownership of FMSB's social mission emphasizes the dependent link between Venezuelan political economy and the organization's program implementation.

The diction that follows portrays FMSB's target participant group with a dangerous lack of ethical values, education, and employment. The paradigm of the benevolent state providing social services to the disadvantaged and downtrodden masses is typical of Venezuela's increasingly socialist, decreasingly democratic political economy since the Chávez administration.⁸² The terms "prevention" and "recovery"

⁸¹ Alberto Arvelo, *Dudamel: Let the Children Play*, film, (Caracas: 2010); Alberto Arvelo, *Tocar y Luchar*, film, (Caracas: 2006); Eduardo Cedeño, address at "El Sistema Winter Symposium 2015," (Philadelphia: Curtis Institute, 2015); Frank di Pollo, Interview by Stanford Thompson, February 22, 2010, notes; José Antonio Abreu, informal meeting with El Sistema Fellows, February 2010, video recording; José Antonio Abreu, *Right Livelihood Award Acceptance Speech*, (Stockholm: 2001); José Antonio Abreu, "The El Sistema Music Revolution," *Acceptance Speech for the TED Prize*, (Vancouver: 2009); "Residencia de 'El Sistema,'" *Festival de Salzburgo*, promotional video, (Salzburg, Austria: 2013).

⁸² David Post, *Children's Work, Schooling, and Welfare in Latin America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, Perseus Books, 2001); Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America:*

portray musical training as an intervention, removing participants from their perilous communities and uplifting them through exposure to classical music. This mindset simplifies and devalues the rich cultural complexities of FMSB's targeted communities, and places western classical music above folk traditions in a hierarchy of culture. FMSB's overwhelming use of European classical works in its pedagogy is one of the most widespread critiques of the organization.⁸³

Taken together, the Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar mission statement is an illustration of how political economy directly shapes the public arts program. From the language of moral values, education, vulnerability, and occupying the poor, to the mechanism of widespread state intervention, FMSB's mission statement reflects the image of a guardian state protecting poor children and youth through a standardized process.

El Sistema founder José Antonio Abreu has won prestigious prizes, positioned his program in the Office of the President, secured funding from international development banks, and inspired a global movement of arts for social change programs, all through masterful public relations.⁸⁴ In lectures and interviews, FMSB leaders exhibit strikingly unified rhetoric from their understandings of El Sistema's overarching goals to specific,

Political Change in Comparative Perspective, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁸³ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

⁸⁴ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Inter-American Development Bank, Project VE-T1038, "National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela," (Washington, DC: IDB, June 24, 2013); José Antonio Abreu, "The El Sistema Music Revolution," *Acceptance Speech for the TED Prize*, (Vancouver: 2009); José Antonio Abreu, *Right Livelihood Award Acceptance Speech*, (Stockholm: 2001).

repeated metaphors for the organization's social mission. According to José Antonio Abreu, "[El Sistema] is a human development program, not an artistic program... Culture for the poor cannot be a poor culture... We don't want to sign an agreement because an agreement is done through practice."⁸⁵ This statement appeals to Abreu's audience through emotional catch-phrases, dismisses the value of cultural traditions born from poverty and social adversity, and suggests reluctance to form binding agreements. Thus, Abreu's discussions of El Sistema often walk a fine line between universalism and vagueness.

According to Adam Johnston, music director of the California-based Incredible Children's Art Network—in an address to a group of US scholars in Venezuela in 2010—El Sistema youth orchestras create economic growth through the following mechanisms. "Start a nucleo, create a conservatory, start a local orchestra, pay them a liveable wage, level of the orchestra will be so high that rich folks will support it, [sic] perform all over the world, and bring money back into the program."⁸⁶ Contrary to the popular belief that participating in an orchestra provides a child with key competencies to increase her academic achievement, her employability, and her social status, the process Johnston describes operates completely within the world of professional music and relies completely on elite and foreign support. Thus, the goal of uplifting disadvantaged youth appears to function within class structures rather than change Venezuelan society.

⁸⁵ José Antonio Abreu, "The El Sistema Music Revolution," *Acceptance Speech for the TED Prize*, (Vancouver: 2009)

⁸⁶ Adam Johnston, informal talk with El Sistema fellows, recorded notes in Stanford Thompson, "El Sistema 2010," *Travel Journal*, (Caracas: 2010), 58.

According to Frank di Pollo, one of the founders of El Sistema in Venezuela, “Abreu was the captain and could see the course. The others just kept rowing... Show people how to teach + be [sic]... Creating a militia, but not for the military.”⁸⁷ This image implies that Abreu’s leadership is decisive and authoritative, and that the colleagues who surround him provide the necessary labor to carry out his ideas. Furthermore, according to scholars Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, the Chávez+ era has exhibited a “heavy and unconcealed militaristic bent... the military is present in the cabinet, in the management of the ever-growing number of state-owned enterprises, and in *running subnational government programs*.”⁸⁸ Thus, the creating a militia motif—which also appears in promotional videos⁸⁹ and speeches⁹⁰—aligns with Venezuelan political economy. The goal of “show[ing] people how to... be” illustrates El Sistema’s intent to change the identities of its participants. This idea is well suited to the program’s direct connection to military imagery.

Taken together, these quotes from El Sistema leadership imply that the organization has a deeply unified vision which contrasts with the global perception of what El Sistema represents. Rather than attempting to change society, El Sistema Venezuela’s rhetoric appears to include many of the same non-democratic ideas as the broader political-economic context in which it has flourished.

⁸⁷ Frank di Pollo, Interview by Stanford Thompson, February 22, 2010, notes.

⁸⁸ Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011). Emphasis added.

⁸⁹ “Residencia de ‘El Sistema,’” *Festival de Salzburgo*, promotional video, (Salzburg, Austria: 2013).

⁹⁰ Eduardo Cedeño, address at “El Sistema Winter Symposium 2015,” (Philadelphia: Curtis Institute, 2015).

El Sistema Operations: Rehearsals and Performances

To understand the extent to which political context influences the daily operations of Venezuela's FMSB, I analyze observations of El Sistema rehearsals and performances. The observations of rehearsals come from the travel journal of Stanford Thompson on his 2010 trip to Venezuela.⁹¹ On this trip—sponsored through an El Sistema fellowship program that was funded by a TED prize⁹²—he observed thirty five núcleos over the course of three months.⁹³ This thesis contains the first analyzation of Thompson's personal, hand-written account. Thompson is now the Board Chair of El Sistema USA, a network of El Sistema-inspired NGOs in the United States, as well as Founding and Artistic Director of Play On, Philly! one of the country's most well-established El Sistema-inspired programs. The observations of a performance are my own, after attending a Carnegie Hall concert of the most prestigious FMSB ensemble, the Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra in 2012.

El Sistema Rehearsals: 2010

Stanford Thompson's observations of rehearsals in núcleos across Venezuela reveal the following trends in the organization's daily operations.⁹⁴ Limitations to El Sistema pedagogical approaches stem from prioritizing crowd-control over musical education. At the same time, social goals are often placed in diametrical opposition to

⁹¹ Stanford Thompson, "El Sistema 2010," *Travel Journal*, (Venezuela: 2010).

⁹² José Antonio Abreu, "The El Sistema Music Revolution," *Acceptance Speech for the TED Prize*, (Vancouver: 2009).

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Stanford Thompson, "El Sistema 2010," *Travel Journal*, (Venezuela: 2010).

musical goals. The overarching allocation of resources seems linked to broader organizational politics rather than FMSB's social mission. These trends are based on limited observations, and do not describe FMSB conclusively. Yet this account does call into question the idea that El Sistema Venezuela promotes social change without controversy, and thus supports the need for more rigorous studies of the organization as a whole.

Thompson's observations highlight a tension between controlling núcleo classrooms and providing students with musical training. This struggle often limits a teacher's ability to encourage student development. On discipline in Venezuela's first and oldest núcleo at La Rinconada, Thompson notes that "teachers were very strict and demanding... Most students didn't seem to be engaged, but there [were] no disciplinary problems."⁹⁵ This example provides evidence for discipline at the expense of student involvement. Similarly in a núcleo at Santa Cruz de Mora, "the kids really didn't seem to be having a good time, but the teacher seemed to have good control."⁹⁶ The prevailing arts for social change logic argues that increased discipline is a driver of achievement, yet a lack of passion and enjoyment lowers success rates.⁹⁷ A social mission of uplifting underserved students conflicts with daily operations occupied by crowd-control.

Thompson's journal notes a lack of musicality in some núcleo ensembles, where students seemed to have cultivated a particular sound, rather than the ability to adapt. In

⁹⁵ Ibid., 56.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 65.

⁹⁷ Rosanna Breen and Roger Lindsay, "Different Disciplines Require Different Motivations for Student Success," *Research in Higher Education*, Vol. 43, No. 6, (New York: Human Sciences Press, 2002), 693-725.

his opportunities to guest-teach, Thompson concludes that “brass players [had] one volume and style,”⁹⁸ “[students did] not ha[ve] a hard time with the notes, but [rather] the basic concepts of playing a listening to each other,”⁹⁹ and “these kids should be playing at a much higher level.”¹⁰⁰ This trend throughout his comments contradicts the conventional wisdom that El Sistema’s work builds group cohesion and cooperation through ensemble training. Thus, the realities of rehearsals in Venezuelan núcleos sometimes undercut the underlying goals of an El Sistema education.

Thompson also makes several observations about the tradeoffs between musical and social goals, and the ways in which an El Sistema education may not be suited to social change. On the pursuit of social inclusion through ensemble playing, Thompson observes, “the orchestra played a few pieces for us and we saw... students at different levels trying to play together... this strategy is hard to monitor. In most cases, the students that can’t keep up really don’t play.”¹⁰¹ In this example, inclusion in the orchestra is a disservice to less-advanced musicians without sufficient support to improve. The pedagogical technique of having as many children as possible in one orchestra is justified through the underlying foundation policy of social inclusion, yet this practice highlights a student’s lack of skill rather than giving him or her the tools to perform successfully. These negative connotations of inclusion question the

⁹⁸ Stanford Thompson, “El Sistema 2010,” *Travel Journal*, (Venezuela: 2010), 66.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

organization's portrayal of an obvious connection between musical inclusion and social inclusion.

Several of Thompson's notes raise doubts regarding the link between El Sistema participation and academic achievement. In his discussion of traditional Venezuelan education Thompson notes, "70% of students were not completing high school, but they were great musicians... Half of the Simón Bolívar Orch[estra] is in the university. [A] good relationship with the school... allow[s] kids to miss classes [for] weeks at a time. It takes them 7 years to [complete] the five year university program. This is flexible."¹⁰²

While Thompson's tone appears positive about the flexibility of academics for El Sistema students, this observation calls into question the global claim that public arts programs accelerate academic achievement. When an El Sistema education competes for time and energy with traditional education, musicians have to work longer and harder than their peers to achieve the same academic goals in a country where higher degrees are often directly linked to employability and social mobility. Thus, El Sistema in Venezuela may ultimately create a group of professional musicians—which must include some and exclude others by nature—rather than inspiring all students to reach their full academic and professional potential.

In a counter example, Thompson's journal includes an account of visiting a núcleo in which "90% of the [1,200] kids [were] very poor... They give many performances in the schools + communities [sic] to let people know. Students also do community service."¹⁰³ This núcleo serves an underprivileged community as a whole. It encourages students to help their neighbors, rather than rescuing or separating them from

¹⁰² Ibid., 57-58.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 59.

their families or communities. It combines social and musical goals. Thus, the national organization's individual schools exhibit a range of priorities and strategies, which influence participants' lives differently.

El Sistema Performance, 2012

The Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra (SBSO) is the most prestigious ensemble affiliated with Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar. The group's second performance at New York City's Carnegie Hall (2012) met with sold-out audiences and enthusiastic critical acclaim.¹⁰⁴ The program was Mexican composer Carlos Chávez's second symphony *Sinfonia india*¹⁰⁵ (1935), Cuban composer Julián Orbón's *Tres versiones sinfónicas*¹⁰⁶ (1953), and Mexican composer Silvestre Revueltas' *La noche de los Mayas*¹⁰⁷ (1939), with encores of Mexican Arturo Márquez's *La conga del fuego nuevo*,¹⁰⁸ Venezuelan Pedro Elías Gutiérrez's *Alma Llanera*,¹⁰⁹ and American Leonard

¹⁰⁴ Anthony Tommasini, "Young Venezuelans Exude Confidence to go with their Passion: Gustavo's Simón Bolívar Symphony at Carnegie Hall," *The New York Times*, (New York City: Music Review, December 13, 2012), C6; Brian Wise, "Gustavo Dudamel Leads the Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra at Carnegie Hall," *National Public Radio*, (December 11, 2012); Naomi Lewin, "Carnegie Hall Live: The Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra of Venezuela," *WQXR*, (New York City: December 10, 2012); Paul Pelkonen, "The Sistema Works: The Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra of Venezuela Returns to Carnegie Hall," *Superconductor*, (New York City: December 11, 2012).

¹⁰⁵ Indigenous Symphony. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹⁰⁶ Three Symphonic Variations. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹⁰⁷ Night of the Mayas. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹⁰⁸ New Fire Conga. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹⁰⁹ Soul of the Plains. Translation by Emma Strother.

Bernstein's "Mambo" from *West Side Story*.¹¹⁰ Even before the performance began, I was struck by an electric atmosphere I had not observed at countless classical music concerts.

Audience members wore jackets and face paint in Venezuelan national colors. A huge Venezuelan flag waved from the first row of the highest balcony. A woman sitting in the audience at orchestra level shouted "Oye Gustavo, vamos!"¹¹¹ at the world-renowned conductor when it took him several minutes to set up the final encore. Incredibly fast-paced tempos, musician choreography—including spinning basses and trumpets, bows thrown in the air, and dancing while playing—and the emotionally engaged audience was more reminiscent of a sporting event than a classical music concert.

That concert in Carnegie Hall was my introduction to the possibility—through highly moving and spectacular performance—that music could change the world. It is important to critically examine this concert—from repertoire choices to musician behavior to effect on the audience—as I unpack how El Sistema achieved celebrity status, drew international attention to poverty alleviation through orchestral music training, and ignited a global movement of 241 El Sistema-inspired projects in 55 countries.¹¹²

Advocates and skeptics of El Sistema agree that the organization appeals for domestic and international funds through moving, theatrical performances in place of

¹¹⁰ *Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra of Venezuela Program*, Gustavo Dudamel: Musical Director and Conductor, (New York: Carnegie Hall, Stern Auditorium, December 10, 2012).

¹¹¹ "Hey Gustavo, let's go!" Translation by Emma Strother.

¹¹² Sistema Global, "El Sistema Programs Worldwide," (2014). <http://sistemaglobal.org/el-sistema-global-program-directory/>

robust evaluations of social impact.¹¹³ According to critics, these funds disproportionately support splashy, elite concert tours while neglecting children in rural program sites¹¹⁴ and trapping players of more distinguished orchestras in stressful, inflexible, and expendable professional music careers.¹¹⁵ The SBSO Carnegie Hall concert was presented as an illustration of the program's social impact. According to the Carnegie Hall website, Dudamel's residency "Focus[ed] on his native country's influential El Sistema social-action educational program... thrill[ing] audiences worldwide with their ecstatic energy and contagious enthusiasm."¹¹⁶ Thus, intangible qualities of the SBSO's performances are equated to its social outcomes.

Funding to bring the SBSO to New York City spanned public and private sectors across five countries and four continents. In addition to major American private foundations and the National Endowment for the Arts, the concert was funded by the Consulate General of Brazil in New York, the Tourism Ireland Corporation, and the largest banks in Venezuela and Japan.¹¹⁷ This diversity exemplifies the range of actors supporting the public face of El Sistema. It also implies that the program has a talent for

¹¹³ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 268-269; Igor Toronyi-Lalic, "Sceptic's Sistema," *Classical Music*, (London: Rhinegold Publishing, June 30, 2012); Igor Toronyi-Lalic, "Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra, Dudamel, Royal Festival Hall," (London: *The Arts Desk*, June 27, 2012); Jonathan Govias, "The Five Fundamentals of El Sistema," *Canadian Music Educator*, (August 17, 2011).

¹¹⁴ Labeled núcleos, Spanish for "cores" or "centers," in FMSB and the vast majority of El Sistema-inspired programs around the world. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹¹⁵ Eric Shieh, "'Our Grain of Sand:' Notes on Venezuela's El Sistema," Unpublished Manuscript; Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹¹⁶ Carnegie Hall, "Gustavo Dudamel: Voices from Venezuela," *Voices from Latin America*, (2012), <http://www.carnegiehall.org/LatinAmerica/Venezuela/>.

¹¹⁷ *Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra of Venezuela Program*, Gustavo Dudamel: Musical Director and Conductor, (New York: Carnegie Hall, Stern Auditorium, December 10, 2012).

attracting widespread attention through performance, thus creating concrete funds for further performance.

The Carnegie Hall concert repertoire appears to challenge a negative perception of El Sistema orchestras as a colonial project in which “Venezuelan and Latin American pieces now tend to be slipped in as a final part-piece or encore, a kind of exotic icing on a European cake.”¹¹⁸ The program proper consisted entirely of Latin American classical music from the twentieth century. Yet the only Venezuelan piece of the evening was a well-known national folk song, unfurled at the end of the concert—along with many more Venezuelan flags from the balcony—seemingly for dramatic effect.

Iconic American composer Aaron Copland was Julián Orbón’s teacher at Tanglewood, and critics have described Orbón’s *Tres versiones sinfónicas* with “Copland-esque harmonic and rhythmic touches.”¹¹⁹ Additionally, Orbón won the 1954 Juan José Landaeta Prize at the first Latin American Music Festival in Caracas.¹²⁰ Thus, this repertoire choice reveals complex ties between Venezuela, Cuba, and the United States in the 1950s, rather than simply celebrating a Latin American composer. Similarly, Mexican composer Carlos Chávez began writing his *Sinfonia india* during his first tour as a conductor in the United States.¹²¹ Finally, Silvestre Revueltas studied at two American conservatories, St. Edwards University in Austin, Texas and the Chicago College of

¹¹⁸ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 288.

¹¹⁹ Jack Sullivan, “Julián Orbón *Tres versiones sinfónicas*: About the Work,” *Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra of Venezuela Program*, (New York: Carnegie Hall, Stern Auditorium, December 10, 2012).

¹²⁰ Orbón Manuscripts, *The Lilly Library Manuscript Collections*, (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2000).

¹²¹ Houston Symphony, “A Salute to Mexico’s Independence,” *Houston Symphony Blog*, (Houston: September 7, 2010).

Music.¹²² The program was thus as much a study of United States influences on Latin American composition as it was on the classical traditions of the region.

The SBSO 2012 Carnegie Hall concert illustrated masterful showmanship from a talented professional orchestra with high energy. References to the organization's social mission in the program notes and short speeches between the pieces implied that the performance itself was an act of social change. It was certainly different from the average classical music concert in terms of demographics, audience engagement, and popularity. Yet these changes represent breaks from orchestral concert tradition, not challenges to Venezuelan society. This crucial distinction lies at the heart of El Sistema's institutional resistance to social evaluation. At the same time, perfecting the public, international face of El Sistema has contributed widely to its enormous popularity around the world.

EFFECTS OF POLITICAL-ECONOMIC CONTEXT ON EL SISTEMA IMPLEMENTATION

In the pre-Chávez era, public programs competed for government funding and administrations did not prioritize social welfare. This situation shaped El Sistema orchestras as music programs without poverty alleviation or social inclusion goals. CONAC was enthusiastic about El Sistema as an arts organization, and pre-Chávez administrations supported a wide range of artistic endeavors.¹²³

In contrast, facets of Venezuela's political economy in the Chávez+ era—particularly low public accountability for national government spending, high executive power and control over institutions, and large participant groups in public programs—

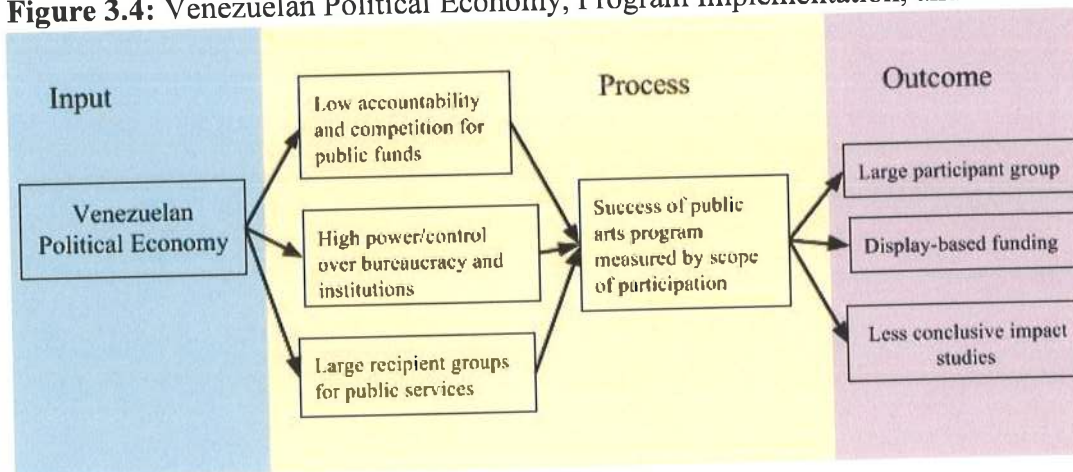
¹²² Roberto Kolb Neuhaus, "Silvestre Revueltas: Tale of Unforgivable Oblivion," *Peermusic Classical*, (2000).

¹²³ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

have directed FMSB's definition of success to be based on scope rather than impact. Chávez and his successor Maduro have framed El Sistema as a symbol of Venezuelan cultural vibrancy and socialism. Findings from this chapter suggest that El Sistema's large participation group (officially there are 620,000 children and youth currently enrolled),¹²⁴ funding based on performances and anecdotal evidence, and impact studies which lack rigor or objectivity, are the results of Venezuelan political economy.

Figure 3.4 structures the process of El Sistema implementation and social impact within the broader context of Venezuelan political economy. This figure is my original conceptualization of inputs, process, and outcomes. It is important because it provides a framework for understanding the links between my broad analytical categories.

Figure 3.4: Venezuelan Political Economy, Program Implementation, and Outcomes



To explore the influences at play in Figure 3.4, I analyze El Sistema impact studies and leaders' statements on the social impact of the organization. I focus on the extent to which political-economic context factors influence how the global arts for social change movement interprets El Sistema's impact. Evaluative reports do not exist in a

¹²⁴ Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar, "Impacto Social y Cultural," (2015). <http://fundamusical.org.ve/category/el-sistema/impacto-social/>.

vacuum. Their conclusions are part of a larger process in which political-economic context influences how a public arts program interprets and affects social change.

Findings from Impact Studies: Quantitative Evidence

The Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar has undergone two impact studies over its 40-year lifespan.¹²⁵ The first was conducted by a team from Universidad de los Andes in Mérida from 1999-2003.¹²⁶ It is a quantitative study, which demonstrates correlation, but not causation with regards to El Sistema participation and various social benefits.¹²⁷ Scholars have critiqued this study for design weaknesses and a lack of documented evidence.¹²⁸ The text of the entire study is not publicly available.

The first study measuring the “social benefits” of arts education programs in English—according to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) Research Department—employs a simple cost-benefit analysis of FMSB to examine the impacts of the program on academic achievement, employability, social capital, and socioeconomic profile.¹²⁹ The IDB used this study to justify \$150 million of funding for FMSB, and many advocates and scholars consider it grounds for the expansion of El Sistema-inspired

¹²⁵ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013); Diana Hollinger, “Instrument of Social Reform: A Case Study of the Venezuelan System of Youth Orchestras,” dissertation, (Phoenix: Arizona State University, 2006).

¹²⁹ José Cuesta, *Music to My Ears: The (Many) Socio-Economic Benefits of Music Training Programs*, (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank Research Department, 2008), 4.

programs.¹³⁰ It begins with a baseline survey of 840 students (ages 3-17) and 500 parents, representing fifteen community centers across six Venezuelan states, from October to December of 2006.¹³¹ Table 3.3 organizes baseline findings comparing the treatment group (participants in FMSB programs) and a control group (non-participants).¹³²

Table 3.3: FMSB Participation and Social Change Indicators from Cuesta, Oct. - Dec., 2006

| Social Change Indicators: | Percent Increase/Decrease of FMSB Participants Compared to Non-Participating Peers: |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Daily primary and secondary school attendance: | + 7.9% |
| Decrease in primary and secondary school dropout: | - 19.5% |
| Formal employment of youth aged 14 and older (defined by social security and/or written contracts): | + 28.2% |
| Participation in community activities: | + 22.2% |
| Notification of parents/guardians of behavioral problems at school: | - 10.1% |
| Students living below the poverty line: | - 9.9% |

Source: José Cuesta, *Music to My Ears: The (Many) Socio-Economic Benefits of Music Training Programs*, (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank Research Department, 2008), 2. October - December, 2006, 15 community centers across six Venezuelan states. Cuesta uses these findings to broadly calculate the socioeconomic benefits of participation in FMSB according to this equation in which y_c and y_{tr} = school dropout ($i = s$) and "victimization" ($i = v$) for control and treatment groups respectively; b_t = unitary monetized benefit; n_t = projected additional program participants each year; C_t = expected annual total cost of program; and d = discount factor (12%).

$$\text{Social Net Present Value} = \sum_{t=0}^N \sum_{i=s,v} \frac{[(\bar{v}_i - \bar{v}_s) \cdot n_t \cdot b_t] - C_t}{(1+d)^t}$$

¹³⁰ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹³¹ José Cuesta, *Music to My Ears: The (Many) Socio-Economic Benefits of Music Training Programs*, (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank Research Department, 2008), 2.

¹³² Ibid. Percent changes calculated by Emma Strother.

Using the preceding equation of social net present value, Cuesta comes to the conclusion that the socioeconomic benefits of participation in FMSB “exceed their costs [in domestic and international program funding] by USD 56 million.”¹³³ He therefore argues that funding cultural programs with social change goals increases capital at a higher rate than spends capital.¹³⁴

While Cuesta’s 2008 study is the beginning of an important trend in quantitative empirical research of public arts programs with social change goals, it lacks utility in determining the extent to which participation in such programs affects economic development and social change. Cuesta insufficiently defines several key terms for the purposes of his study, including victimization, social capital, and participation in community activities. He does not discuss his process for locating and selecting survey subjects, or why he chose to study certain community centers connected to FMSB.

Cuesta makes broad claims about the “public saving” benefits of funding FMSB in the future, based on social rather than economic indicators. This detail is significant because it reveals a narrow focus. A rigorous discussion of public saving does not ignore economic factors. His study reveals correlation, not causation, and members of his control group were ten percent more likely to be living in poverty than members of his treatment group.¹³⁵ This discrepancy implies that a range of intervening variables associated with relatively high socioeconomic status may be influencing the positive results of his treatment group.

¹³³ Ibid., 1-3.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 4.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 2.

Cuesta's study does not track every social indicator he observes to even a hypothetical outcome. According to Cuesta himself, "More research is required to improve the precision of our estimates as well as to include additional social benefits such as the increase of social capital or improvement in the employability of beneficiaries, suggested as relevant by our baseline indicators."¹³⁶ The study's limited team and timeframe contributed to inconclusive results. Furthermore, El Sistema leadership was intimately involved in the evaluation process. Cuesta personally thanks El Sistema leaders—including José Antonio Abreu—"for their involvement in specific parts of the analysis and comments to earlier versions."¹³⁷ This statement suggests deep researcher bias. Scholars and policymakers need more studies comparing how public arts programs affect economic development across countries and institutions to determine best practices for funding and advocating the arts as social change.

Government Officials, Nationalism, and El Sistema: Qualitative Evidence



Source: WQXR, El Sistema conductor and international celebrity Gustavo Dudamel and President Hugo Chávez, in Caracas, "Gustavo Dudamel Conducts Bolivar Orchestra at Chávez Funeral," February 12, 2011.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 4.

¹³⁷ Ibid., "Acknowledgements," iii.

According to Andrés Izarra, Minister of Communications and Information under Chávez, Minister of Tourism under Maduro, and former President of the nationalized telephone company Telesur, “the government doesn’t see [funding El Sistema] as an expense but as one of the strategies for overcoming poverty.”¹³⁸ This statement positions El Sistema as a national government public policy and claims ownership of its implementation. It condenses the orchestra’s social goals into ‘overcoming poverty,’ making them vague and impossible to measure. The idea of ownership intensifies in speeches made to members of the orchestra. According to President of the National Assembly Diosdado Cabello, El Sistema represents “the beautiful homeland that is being built with Bolivarian socialism.”¹³⁹ This comment downplays over twenty years of El Sistema in Venezuela before the election of Chávez, and ties the success of the orchestras directly to Chávez+ political reforms.

In a letter to El Sistema musicians at the Salzburg music festival in 2013, Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro directly compares the work of El Sistema to the Revolutionary Battle of Taguanes that culminated in Venezuelan independence.¹⁴⁰ He makes the leap in logic from social inclusion to socialist revolution by claiming that “El Sistema is the vibrant and sublime breath of our revolution and of its profound social spirit.”¹⁴¹ Maduro describes the youth orchestras with militant imagery throughout the

¹³⁸ Daniel J. Wakin, “Music Meets Chávez Politics, and Critics Frown,” *The New York Times*, (New York: February 17, 2012).

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ “Residencia de ‘El Sistema,’” *Festival de Salzburgo*, promotional video, (Salzburg, Austria: 2013).

¹⁴¹ Ibid. Original statement: “El Sistema es aliento vibrante y sublime de nuestra revolución y de su profundo espíritu social.” Translated by Emma Strother.

letter, but his most striking example connects the foreign tour to a military campaign. He states, “you [El Sistema youth orchestra musicians] are carrying out another Campaña Admirable in Salzburg.”¹⁴² The Campaña Admirable, or Admirable Campaign refers to military operations in 1813 which marked a turning point in the Venezuelan War of Independence.¹⁴³ Maduro thus transforms El Sistema youth orchestras into cultural exports and ambassadors of Venezuelan ideals, linked to nationalism for the common good and socialist revolution.

Taken together, statements from government officials politically purpose El Sistema’s social goals. Officials build dependence between El Sistema and the national government through the mechanisms of censorship, molded institutions, state control over popular perceptions through the media, and decreased democracy. These statements suggest the deeply entrenched influence of Venezuelan political economy on how El Sistema affects social change.

In this Venezuelan case, program success pre-Chávez was largely defined musically. The existing social goals had more to do with changing the demographics of professional orchestras in Caracas than with alleviating poverty or increasing social inclusion across the country. Program success in the Chávez+ era is defined by number of participants, and outreach scope. The majority of human and material resources remain in Caracas. The organization’s social change goals are kept intentionally vague for its political survival. Moving performances and narratives have inspired a global movement of music for social change programs. At the same time, it is impossible to understand the

¹⁴² Ibid. Original Statement: “Ustedes están realizando otra Campaña Admirable en Salzburgo.” Translated by Emma Strother.

¹⁴³ Augusto Mijares, *La evolución política de Venezuela, 1810-1960*, (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 2004), 58.

social change impact of El Sistema Venezuela without objective and systematic impact studies.

In the Chávez+ era, El Sistema’s spectacular performances are framed as symbols of nationalist fervor and socialist revolution. The technical proficiency of these performances have garnered international fame, which leads in turn to greater visibility and funding from international organizations. This process incentivises the pursuit of excellent musical performance above all else. What is lost in this cycle is the ability of FMSB to improve the lives of its students, what is supposed to be the organization’s main goal. Table 3.4 compares El Sistema between my chosen Pre-Chávez and Chávez+ time periods.

Table 3.4: Comparing El Sistema Pre-Chávez and Chávez+

| | Pre-Chávez | Chávez+ |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Social Goals | Change the demographics of professional music, provide a Venezuelan alternative to largely European professional symphony orchestras | Rescue poor children from poverty, uplift them through music, “culture for the poor should not be a poor culture,” call this goal social inclusion |
| Program Structure | Youth orchestras based in Caracas | Youth orchestras around the country, but the majority of resources and talented musicians go to Caracas |
| Rehearsals and Performances | Little information in print, some original musicians claim that social inclusion was not involved | Highly competitive, long hours, stand-by-stand tests, and replaceable musicians |
| Definition of Success | Increasing participation | Increasing participation and visibility of the orchestras, domestically and internationally—many young, talented musicians playing on stage in a large, coordinated ensemble is a symbol of national vibrancy and socialism |

CONCLUSION

Findings from this chapter suggest that political-economic context shapes El Sistema's implementation and how we interpret its social impact. While El Sistema in the Pre-Chávez era sought to provide a national alternative to largely European symphony orchestras, El Sistema in the Chávez+ era focuses on social inclusion by rescuing vulnerable children. As social welfare has become more inextricably linked to increased government control over Venezuelan institutions, El Sistema has adopted a social justice perspective for political survival.

My study builds off of—and critically differs from—the work of other El Sistema critics. For example, Geoffrey Baker and I converge on the point that national politics matter to public art programs. Yet my study takes political context a step further by theorizing the interplay between political economy, arts program implementation, and social change. While Baker claims that El Sistema does not likely alleviate poverty or foster social inclusion, my findings suggest that cross-site, longitudinal impact studies will determine the extent to which El Sistema in Venezuela meets its social goals.

The next chapter examines the extent to which Chile's political-economic context influences the implementation and social change impact of youth orchestras from 1964-2015. The Chilean case provides the opportunity to examine a similar arts for social change program across socialist democracy, free market dictatorship, and free market democracy in a different country. This comparison increases the weight of my findings by providing additional evidence in a structured analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL-ECONOMIC CONTEXT, ARTS PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION, AND SOCIAL CHANGE: CHILE

My favorite aspect of participating is that these orchestras involve a lot of musicians from around the country, which means you connect socially to diverse people from different backgrounds. It helps [us] to be more conscious of we have and what we don't.

-Patricio, FOJI violinist, interview and translation by Emma Strother

This chapter examines the extent to which political-economic context influences youth orchestra implementation and social change impact in Chile. Together with my Venezuelan case, studying Chile allows me to cover the range of political economies introduced in Chapter One, Table 1.2—adding examples of socialist democracy, free market dictatorship, and free market democracy. I explore how youth orchestras in Chile vary over time and in comparison to El Sistema.

First, I apply my Arts for Social Change Context Framework to the Chilean youth orchestra movement. I divide my case timeframe (1964-2015) into three political-economic eras: increasingly socialist democracy before the Pinochet dictatorship, free market authoritarianism during the dictatorship, and the transition to free market democracy after the dictatorship. Thus, my pre-dictatorship period covers the administrations of Eduardo Frei Montalva and Salvador Allende (1964-1973). My second period covers the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1990). My post-dictatorship period covers administrations from Patricio Aylwin through the second term of Michelle Bachelet (1990-2015). This time period includes the reintroduction of youth orchestras for social

change through the Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile (FOJI)¹ under the Ricardo Lagos administration in 2001.

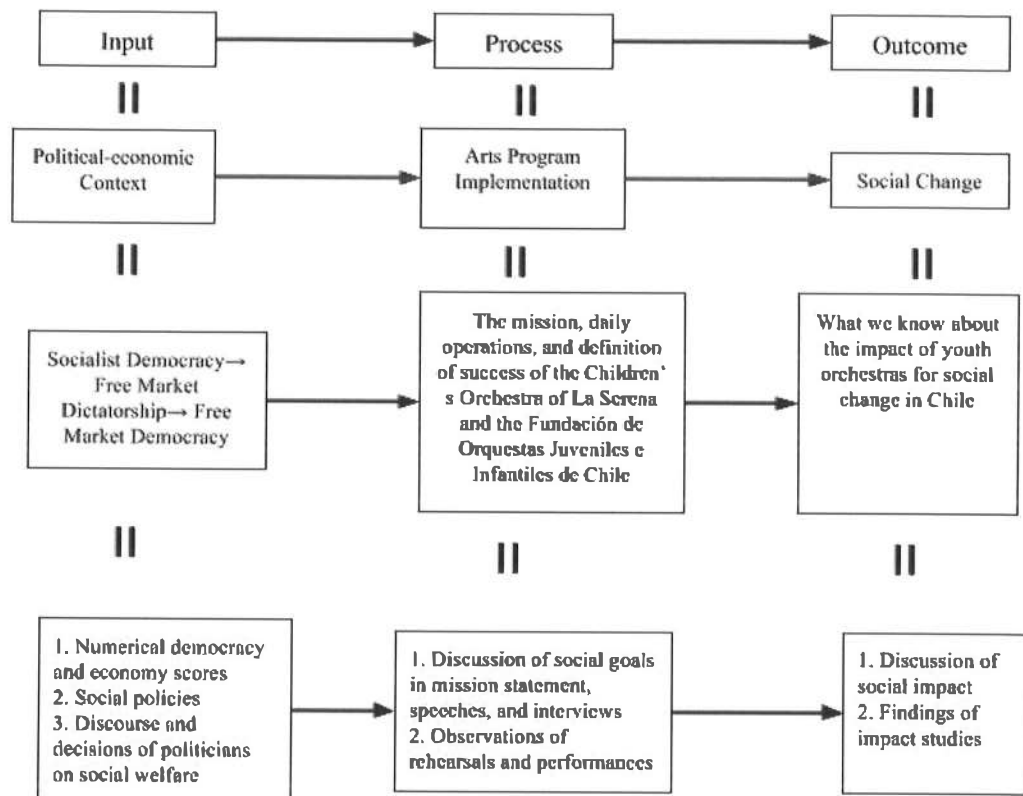
Second, I examine political-economic context and the implementation of youth orchestras for social change within each time period. Thus, I compare Jorge Peña Hen's Children's Orchestra of La Serena to FOJI. Third, I use process tracing as triangulation of evidence—analyzing quantitative and qualitative accounts to determine the effects of Chilean political economy on the social change impacts of the country's youth orchestras. Throughout, I compare the implementation of Chilean youth orchestras for social change and how we interpret their impact to my study of El Sistema in Venezuela.

MY CONTEXT FRAMEWORK IN THE CHILEAN CASE

In this chapter, I investigate the extent to which Chilean youth orchestra implementation has changed with variations in political-economics over time. In turn, I examine the extent to which this process shapes how we interpret the social change impact of the orchestras. Figure 4.1 applies these relationships to my Arts for Social Change Context Framework in the Chilean case. I understand that inputs, processes, and outcomes are interrelated, but for the analytical purposes of this thesis it is necessary to separate them. From the top row to the bottom, here are my designated analytical categories, my conceptualizations of these categories in terms of public arts programs, these concepts applied to the Chilean case, and how I operationalize each.

¹ Foundation for Youth and Child Orchestras of Chile. Translation by Emma Strother.

Figure 4.1: Arts for Social Change Context Framework Applied to Youth Orchestras for Social Change in Chile



To apply this framework across political-economic contexts, I divide my case into pre-dictatorship, dictatorship, and post-dictatorship time periods. I understand political and economic labels as fluid categories on scales. For the purposes of this thesis however, I organize political-economic shifts according to Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Chilean Political-Economic Context (1964-2015)

| | Before Pinochet Dictatorship (President Eduardo Frei→ President Salvador Allende: 1964-1972): | Pinochet Dictatorship (1973-1990) | After Pinochet Dictatorship (President Patricio Aylwin→ President Michelle Bachelet: 1990-2015) |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Politics: | Democracy | Autocratic | Transition back to Democracy |
| Economics: | Free Market→ Socialist | Free Market | Free Market |

Socialism under the democratically-elected President Salvador Allende spurred violent response from the Chilean military (aided by the CIA) in a military coup in 1973.² Domestic and international forces also put pressure on the Pinochet regime to hold a national plebiscite in 1988 which sent him out of office by 1990.³ In the post-Pinochet era, Chile has transitioned back to democracy, sustaining free market economic policies.⁴ The Allende government prioritized social programs, yet the dictatorship was predatory against many Chilean citizens and opened national markets to foreign investment and competition.⁵ Since 1990, Chile's political economy has become increasingly democratic and welfare-oriented, prioritizing free market economics, but also providing a range of

² Harold R. Kerbo, "Foreign Involvement in the Pre-Conditions for Political Violence: The World System and the Case of Chile," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 22, No. 3, (New York: Sage Publications, 1978), 363-391; Jonathan Haslam, *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende's Chile: A Case of Assisted Suicide*, (London: Verso, 2005); Paul E. Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977).

³ Carlos Huneeus, *El régimen de Pinochet*, (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000).

⁴ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁵ Carlos Huneeus, *El régimen de Pinochet*, (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000); Paul E. Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977).

social programs to citizens.⁶ Presidential administrations promoting a range of political ideologies have held office since the end of the dictatorship, demonstrating that elections in this democratic era are contested and reflect public will.⁷

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Chilean Political Economy (1964-1973)

The Eduardo Frei (1964-1970) and Salvador Allende (1970-1973) administrations exhibited overarching trends of increased socialist economic policies and government control. National government spending demonstrated social welfare and rising executive intervention: from tax reforms, to land redistribution, to nationalization of major industries.⁸ Public spending on housing, education, and healthcare dramatically improved the lives of many Chileans.⁹ Yet the rapid economic transition under the Allende government led to decreased imports and increased inflation.¹⁰ US President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger—fearing financial losses to American transnational companies—took advantage of this situation to orchestrate a CIA-led coup overthrowing Allende with the help of the Chilean armed forces on September 11,

⁶ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁷ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁸ Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

1973.¹¹ Taken together, Chilean political economy in this time period demonstrated both the desire to overcome structural inequality through national government reforms and the increasing political polarization that would lead to violent backlash and widespread human rights violations under the Pinochet dictatorship.

Measuring Political and Economic Freedom

To help justify my categorizations of Chilean political economy across the pre-Pinochet era I provide numerical evidence—using Polity IV and Economic Freedom Network scales—in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2. I adjust the original economic freedom levels to fit the negative ten to positive ten scale, to make the data comparable over time.¹²

¹¹ Jonathan Haslam, *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende's Chile: A Case of Assisted Suicide*, (London: Verso, 2005); Lubna Z. Qureshi, *Nixon, Kissinger, and Allende: US Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile*, (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2009); Paul E. Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977); Ricardo Lagos, Former President of Chile, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Providence: Brown University Watson Institute, April 17, 2012); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

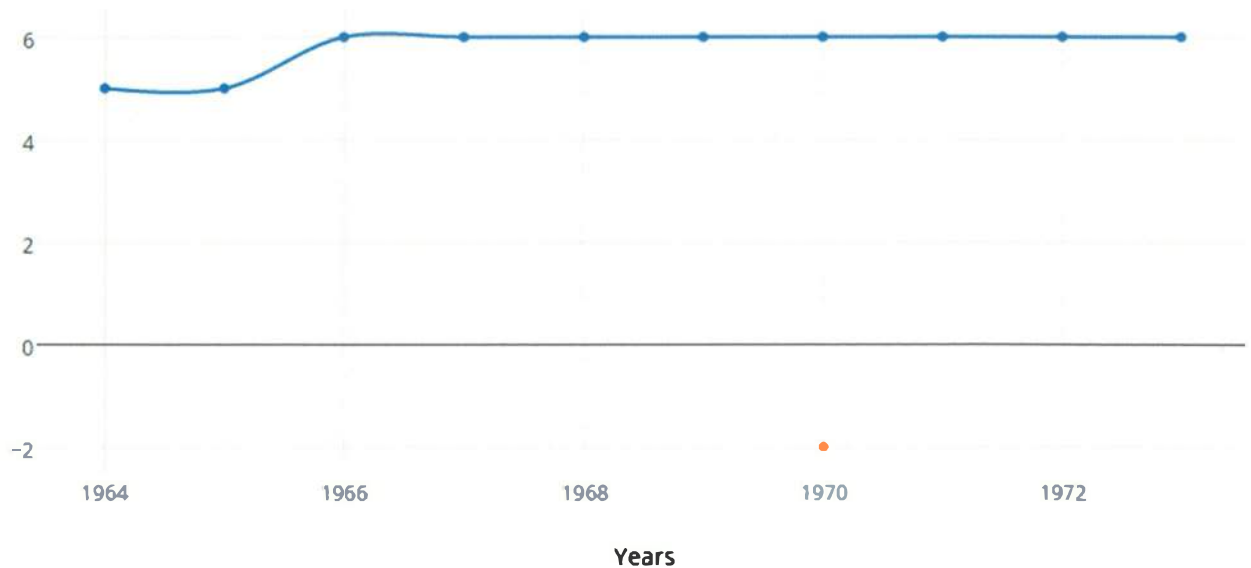
¹² Calculations by Emma Strother. Adjusted economic freedom levels to fit a -10 to +10 scale from a 0 - +10 scale. This means that an original score of 0 is an adjusted score of -10, an original score of +0.5 is an adjusted score of -9, an original score of +1 is an adjusted score of -8 etc.

Table 4.2: Regime Trend Levels and Economic Freedom Levels in Chile (1964-1973)

| Year | Regime Trend Level | Economic Freedom Level |
|------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1964 | 5 | - |
| 1965 | 5 | - |
| 1966 | 6 | - |
| 1967 | 6 | - |
| 1968 | 6 | - |
| 1969 | 6 | - |
| 1970 | 6 | -2 |
| 1971 | 6 | - |
| 1972 | 6 | - |
| 1973 | 6 | - |

Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

Figure 4.2: Graph of Regime Trend Levels (Blue) and Economic Freedom Levels (Orange) in Chile (1964-1973)



Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2 quantify political economy in Chile from 1964-1973. Democratic freedom initially increased and remained high and stable until the coup, while economic freedom was limited. These rating scales come from institutions outside the influence of the Chilean national government, reducing bias. This exercise provides a structure for analyzing the changing political-economic climate of Chile from 1964-1973 through social policies, control over institutions, and government prioritization of social welfare.

Government Control: Social Policies, Institutions, and Welfare

From the formation of the Republic of Chile in 1826 through the first half of the 20th century, the country was led by a series of democratically-elected presidents.¹³ Chile is not as resource-rich as its neighbors—with the notable exception of copper reserves in the north.¹⁴ Furthermore, it is geographically isolated by the Atacama Desert to the north, Antarctica to the south, the Pacific Ocean to the east, and the Andes Mountains to the west.¹⁵ By the 1960s, these conditions had contributed to building a society with echoes of aristocracy, widespread inequality, and high barriers to class mobility.¹⁶ From 1958-1964 President Jorge Alessandri imposed strict economic austerity policies, making

¹³ Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁴ Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Theodore H. Moran, *Multinational Corporations and the Politics of Dependence: Copper in Chile*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

¹⁵ National Geographic, *Atlas of the World*, tenth edition, (New York: 2014).

¹⁶ Peter P. Houtzager and Marcus J. Kurtz, “The Institutional Roots of Popular Mobilization: State Transformation and Rural Politics in Brazil and Chile, 1960-1995,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42, No. 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile’s Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

structural inequality more deeply entrenched.¹⁷ Against this backdrop, the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva was elected president in 1964,¹⁸ under the reform slogan “Revolution in Liberty.”¹⁹ His administration encouraged redistribution of wealth through land reform, progressive taxes, and increased government spending on housing, education, and agriculture.²⁰

Through Eduardo Frei’s public policy campaign, wages as a percent of gross national product (GNP) rose by 9%, agricultural wages—effecting the majority of the population at the time—increased in absolute terms by 40%, and total enrollment in education by 46%.²¹ By 1970, public spending accounted for 46.9% of GNP.²² Yet Frei experienced overwhelming pressure from liberals to alleviate poverty more substantially and efficiently, while conservatives reacted to his public spending and tax reforms with alarm.²³ This social climate set the stage for the political-economic polarization of the Allende Presidency and the Pinochet Dictatorship.

¹⁷ Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁸ Alan Angell, "Chile since 1958," *Latin America Since 1930: Spanish South America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, Vol. 8, *Cambridge History of Latin America*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁹ *Revolución en Libertad*. Translation by Emma Strother.

²⁰ Barry Ames, "The Politics of Public Spending in Latin America," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (Chicago: Midwest Political Science Association, 1977), 149-176; Gonzalo Izquierdo, *Historia de Chile*, (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1990).

²¹ Alan Angell, "Chile since 1958," *Latin America Since 1930: Spanish South America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, Vol. 8, *Cambridge History of Latin America*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

In 1970, Salvador Allende—the leader of the Popular Unity coalition²⁴ from the Socialist Party of Chile—became the first democratically-elected president with Marxist ideology in Latin America.²⁵ His political-economic reforms, the Chilean Path to Socialism,²⁶ accelerated land redistribution, put education and healthcare under public administration, and nationalized the banking and copper mining industries.²⁷ Allende raised the minimum wage for blue collar workers by 37-41% and for white collar workers by 8-10%; despite increased inflation in 1972-1973, wages still rose in real terms over the course of Allende’s administration.²⁸ Thus, the national government prioritized raising the standard of living for Chile’s lowest classes in this time period. In terms of social spending, the Allende administration valued the mechanism of class mobility through education, raising secondary school enrollment by 13% and university enrollment by 89% through government subsidized scholarships.²⁹ Taken together, the Allende administration exhibited more socialist economic policy and government intervention on behalf of social mobility than Chile had ever experienced before, while maintaining

²⁴ Unidad Popular. Translation by Emma Strother.

²⁵ Gonzalo Izquierdo, *Historia de Chile*, (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1990); Paul E. Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

²⁶ *La vía chilena al socialismo*. Translation by Emma Strother.

²⁷ Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²⁸ Rudiger Dornbusch and Sebastian Edwards eds., “The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America,” (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

²⁹ James W. McGuire, “Chile: The Pinochet Paradox,” *Wealth, Health, and Democracy in East Asia and Latin America*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

democratic institutions.³⁰ At the same time, internal class conflict—encouraged by the CIA, fearing losses to American investment—culminated in a military coup and the president’s suicide on September 11, 1973.³¹

Children's Orchestra of La Serena: Implementation (1964-1973)

Jorge Peña Hen’s Children's Orchestra of La Serena (COLA)³² and subsequent Escuela Experimental³³ inspired a range of public music schools that were the first to promote universal access to music through free education and musical instruments in Latin America.³⁴ The central tenets of Peña Hen’s educational philosophy were the following. First, musical training should be available to all Chileans, regardless of socioeconomic status.³⁵ He sought an alternative model in a time when musical conservatories were only located in the capital and purely open to elite students.³⁶

³⁰ Lubna Z. Qureshi, *Nixon, Kissinger, and Allende: US Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile*, (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2009); Ricardo Lagos, Former President of Chile, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Providence: Brown University Watson Institute, April 17, 2012); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

³¹ Jonathan Haslam, *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende's Chile: A Case of Assisted Suicide*, (London: Verso, 2005); Lubna Z. Qureshi, *Nixon, Kissinger, and Allende: US Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile*, (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2009); Paul E. Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977); Ricardo Lagos, Former President of Chile, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Providence: Brown University Watson Institute, April 17, 2012); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

³² Orquesta Sinfónica de Niños de La Serena (OSNLS). I use the English translation and acronym for ease of reading.

³³ Experimental School. Translation by Emma Strother.

³⁴ Alexandra Carlson, “Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 65-87; Lina Barrientos Pacheco, “Escuela Experimental de Chile: Jorge Peña Hen, una experiencia para compartir,” *Primer Seminario Internacional de Educación Artística*, (La Serena: Universidad de La Serena, 2007).

³⁵ Alexandra Carlson, “Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College

Second, he believed that traditional education and musical education were inextricably linked. Peña Hen encouraged academic achievement in his participants with university scholarships from the Ministry of Education and by teaching general education to younger students in his schools.³⁷ Peña Hen's model was centered around the idea that ensemble education, in contrast to individual music education, could build responsibility, discipline, teamwork, and concentration, qualities that extended beyond music into other disciplines and work.³⁸ This theory was based upon Peña Hen's experiences studying music, performing, conducting, and teaching.

Third, he was committed to the idea that educating children with music would benefit their families and communities as well.³⁹ He prioritized community outreach, arguing that educating children of scarce resources would democratize access to music across Chile.⁴⁰

School of Music Press, 2014), 65-87; Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001); "Se Celebra el Centenario del Conservatorio Nacional," *El Mercurio*, (Santiago: October 27, 1949), newsprint.

³⁶ Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001).

³⁷ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 65-87; Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001).

³⁸ Guillermo Milla Figueroa, Interviewed by Alexandra Carlson, (Santiago: August 17, 2007); Hugo Domínguez Cruzat, Interviewed by Alexandra Carlson, (La Serena: August 10, 2007).

³⁹ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 65-87; Lina Barrientos Pacheco, "Escuela Experimental de Chile: Jorge Peña Hen, una experiencia para compartir," *Primer Seminario Internacional de Educación Artística*, (La Serena: Universidad de La Serena, 2007).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

COLA Social Goals: Speeches, "Plan de Extensión Docente," and Letters

According to Jorge Peña Hen, music education in Chile during the first half of the twentieth century exhibited a “reduced, selective, classist character, which [was] conditioned by socioeconomic, cultural, and geographical factors.”⁴¹ In a speech at the first COLA performance he argued, “the first school created by the [University of Chile] in a province [outside Santiago] has special importance because it is an establishment that provides free music education, fulfilling an important cultural and educational need.”⁴² Thus, his drive to universalize music education was grounded in social change goals from inception. In contrast to José Antonio Abreu’s motivation to change the demographics of Venezuelan orchestras or rescue vulnerable children with El Sistema, Peña Hen wanted to fight socioeconomic discrimination and break down class barriers with youth orchestras. Peña Hen’s educational philosophy document *Plan de Extensión Docente*⁴³—which formed the rhetorical foundation for his orchestras and public school—unpacks this social change mission in three specific goals.

Firstly, Peña Hen wanted to provide children from underserved backgrounds with enough musical education that a critical mass of them could attend musical conservatories.⁴⁴ At the same time he endorsed a rounded education of general subjects in

⁴¹ Jorge Peña Hen quoted by Alexandra Carlson, “Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 69.

⁴² Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001). Translated by Alexandra Carlson.

⁴³ Teaching Extension Plan. Translation by Emma Strother.

⁴⁴ Alexandra Carlson, “Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 65-87; Lina Barrientos Pacheco, “Escuela Experimental de Chile: Jorge Peña Hen, una experiencia para compartir,” *Primer Seminario Internacional de Educación Artística*, (La Serena:

conjunction with music education, so that students might choose from a variety of careers.⁴⁵ One might argue that this outlook supported rather than challenged traditional education systems in Chile. Yet comparing program implementation between socialist Chile pre-Pinochet and socialist Venezuela Chávez+, Peña Hen's cooperation with existing institutions fostered academic achievement more than El Sistema which has often kept musicians from attending school, especially at the university level.⁴⁶

In this vein, Peña Hen secondly advocated for conservatory musicians playing in paid ensembles to offset the costs of their education.⁴⁷ He argued that this approach would help make conservatories more widely accessible across social classes, and would give students more opportunities to share music with their communities.⁴⁸ This model differs from Venezuela's by simultaneously encouraging student success and community outreach. While El Sistema musicians in the Chávez+ era are often paid, their professional lives exist in a world apart. They have a separate system of orchestras from the rest of the country, they are not encouraged to join outside ensembles, and the most talented musicians are dedicated to foreign tours.⁴⁹

Universidad de La Serena, 2007); Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001).

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁴⁷ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 65-87; Lina Barrientos Pacheco, "Escuela Experimental de Chile: Jorge Peña Hen, una experiencia para compartir," *Primer Seminario Internacional de Educación Artística*, (La Serena: Universidad de La Serena, 2007); Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Thirdly, Peña Hen envisioned basic education for children in primary school in which music was integrated into and indivisible from the other subjects.⁵⁰ He thus advocated musical training as an interdisciplinary method of building competencies. Emphasizing the link between musical skills and skills in other subjects further differentiates the work of Jorge Peña Hen in Chile from the work of José Antonio Abreu in Venezuela.

A final difference between the goals of Peña Hen and Abreu is the level of self-reflection and flexibility exhibited by each. In a letter to his colleague Lautaro Rojas, Peña Hen writes the following.

Our ideal was to have a professional orchestra, surrounded by the ballet and opera, but no. We need to organize an educational plan so that our children gain access to music... we need to focus on children... so that they, alongside their families, learn music. These children need to bring this musical message home, so that the whole family is involved. This also means that families with fewer resources can have access to music.⁵¹

Peña Hen's ability to admit that his prior ideas were wrong, and his willingness to change them in favor of a less elite, more community-focused approach sets COLA apart from El Sistema. First, this letter demonstrates a degree of re-evaluation that isn't present in the official history of El Sistema. In El Sistema literature, José Antonio Abreu is consistently described as a genius with a wonderful idea that remained constant as the

⁵⁰ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 65-87; Lina Barrientos Pacheco, "Escuela Experimental de Chile: Jorge Peña Hen, una experiencia para compartir," *Primer Seminario Internacional de Educación Artística*, (La Serena: Universidad de La Serena, 2007); Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001).

⁵¹ Letter from Jorge Peña Hen, Quoted by Lautaro Rojas Flores, Interviewed by Alexandra Carlson, (La Serena: August 9, 2007).

organization expanded.⁵² The differences between how social goals are discussed Chile and in Venezuela reveal a more specific and adjustable approach to goal-setting in Chile. This finding is important because it suggests that COLA's goals were more closely related to changing Chilean society than El Sistema's. FMSB social goals in Venezuela's socialist Chávez+ era focus on rescuing vulnerable children from poverty while they are young, rather than changing societal structures or participants' lives into adulthood.⁵³

COLA Operations: Rehearsals, Performances, and the Escuela Experimental _____

Available information about rehearsals and performances in COLA significantly differs from accounts of early El Sistema. I juxtapose COLA to the initial stages of El Sistema rather than El Sistema in the socialist Chávez+ era to avoid analysis that would result from comparing any newly-founded organization to a well-established one, and to focus on the programs themselves. While some students in the original El Sistema orchestras have reported that social change was not discussed,⁵⁴ and others have declined

⁵² Alberto Arvelo, *Dudamel: Let the Children Play*, Documentary Film, (Caracas: 2010); Alberto Arvelo, *Tocar y Luchar*, Documentary Film, (Caracas: 2006); Chefi Borzacchini, *Venezuela en el cielo de los escenarios*, (Caracas: Fundación Bancaribe, 2010); José Antonio Abreu, Informal meeting with El Sistema Fellows, February 2010, Video recording; José Antonio Abreu, *Right Livelihood Award Acceptance Speech*, (Stockholm: 2001); José Antonio Abreu, "The El Sistema Music Revolution," *Acceptance Speech for the TED Prize*, (Vancouver: 2009); Tricia Tunstall, *Changing Lives: Gustavo Dudamel, El Sistema, and the Transformative Power of Music*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012).

⁵³ Alberto Arvelo, *Dudamel: Let the Children Play*, Documentary Film, (Caracas: 2010); Alberto Arvelo, *Tocar y Luchar*, Documentary Film, (Caracas: 2006); Chefi Borzacchini, *Venezuela en el cielo de los escenarios*, (Caracas: Fundación Bancaribe, 2010); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); José Antonio Abreu, Informal meeting with El Sistema Fellows, February 2010, Video recording; José Antonio Abreu, *Right Livelihood Award Acceptance Speech*, (Stockholm: 2001); José Antonio Abreu, "The El Sistema Music Revolution," *Acceptance Speech for the TED Prize*, (Vancouver: 2009); Tricia Tunstall, *Changing Lives: Gustavo Dudamel, El Sistema, and the Transformative Power of Music*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012).

⁵⁴ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

to comment about their experiences,⁵⁵ students of Peña Hen make more specific observations. According to Hugo Domínguez, a student and colleague of Peña Hen, the conductor's rehearsals included discussion of teamwork, concentration, and discipline.⁵⁶ Another former student, Guillermo Figueroa remembers, "He taught us discipline, responsibility... he taught us how to work in a team,"⁵⁷ While these accounts are by no means comprehensive, they reference specific aspects of human development. I have not been able to find comparable accounts of early El Sistema rehearsals, apart from official histories whose legitimacy has been called into question by scholars and policymakers.⁵⁸ More comprehensive interviews of early COLA and El Sistema students are needed before we can produce conclusive findings on the extent to which social change goals were incorporated into the orchestras' operations in comparative perspective.

The first COLA orchestra was comprised of one hundred students from five public schools in La Serena.⁵⁹ One third of the incoming class came from low-income

⁵⁵ Eduardo Cedeño, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 22, 2015). Full interview in Appendix A.

⁵⁶ Hugo Dominguez Cruzat, Interviewed by Alexandra Carlson, (La Serena: August 10, 2007). Translated from Spanish by Alexandra Carlson.

⁵⁷ Guillermo Milla Figueroa, Interviewed by Alexandra Carlson, (Santiago: August 17, 2007). Translated from Spanish by Alexandra Carlson.

⁵⁸ Alexandra Carlson, *The Story of Carora: The Origins of El Sistema*, (Boulder: University of Colorado, 2013); Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Ludim Pedroza, "Of Orchestras, Mythos, and the Idealization of Symphonic Practice: The Orquesta Sinfónica de Venezuela in the (Collateral) History of El Sistema," Unpublished Manuscript; Ricardo Lagos, Former President of Chile, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Providence: Brown University Watson Institute, April 17, 2012).

⁵⁹ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 80.

backgrounds.⁶⁰ In contrast, scholars have argued that the original El Sistema orchestras were comprised mostly—if not entirely—by middle income children from the same neighborhood in Caracas.⁶¹ Reaching young people outside the capital city was crucial to Peña Hen’s vision of universal music education.⁶² His base in La Serena intentionally reached students who were socioeconomically and geographically excluded from life in Santiago.⁶³

When COLA performed for the first time in Santiago, Peña Hen drew special attention to the fact that the orchestra was located at the first University of Chile institution outside the capital.⁶⁴ According to his colleague Lautaro Rojas, the most striking element of the performance was that “Jorge Peña demonstrated that children with less than one year of study could play an adequate repertoire, and play it with spirit, and get joy from the music.”⁶⁵ This comment suggests that the orchestra valued a positive

⁶⁰ Ibid., 80.

⁶¹ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela’s Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Ludim Pedroza, “Of Orchestras, Mythos, and the Idealization of Symphonic Practice: The Orquesta Sinfónica de Venezuela in the (Collateral) History of El Sistema,” Unpublished Manuscript.

⁶² Alexandra Carlson, “Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014); Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001).

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001). Translated by Alexandra Carlson.

⁶⁵ Lautaro Rojas Flores, Interviewed by Alexandra Carlson, (La Serena: August 9, 2007).

experience for children over musical excellence in its operations. In El Sistema orchestras by contrast, musical excellence has consistently been a major priority over time.⁶⁶

Jorge Peña Hen capitalized on the success of COLA's first concert in Santiago to petition the Chilean government for money to create a public primary school in La Serena based on his educational philosophy.⁶⁷ The school was the first in Latin America to provide free classical music training as well as musical instruments.⁶⁸ Students attended general education classes in the morning and music classes in the afternoon.⁶⁹ This approach suggests the interconnectivity of music and general academic achievement in Peña Hen's model as well as his desire to overcome class barriers to education. The Escuela Experimental inspired the creation of a similar school in Osorno in southern Chile in 1967, and three more in Antofagasta, Copiapo, and Ovalle in northern Chile in 1969.⁷⁰ This spread of orchestral schools suggests the growing popularity of the Peña Hen model during the Frei and Allende administrations.

The COLA Santiago performance also critically affected systems of traditional music education in Santiago conservatories. According to Alfonso Letelier, Rector at the largest national university at the time, "we were compelled to renovate the outdated

⁶⁶ Letter to El Sistema Orchestras from President Nicolás Maduro, read aloud by Minister of Education Héctor Rodríguez Castro in "Residencia de 'El Sistema,'" *Festival de Salzburgo*, promotional video, (Salzburg, Austria: 2013).

⁶⁷ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 72.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁷⁰ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014).

concepts and customs of our music education, amateur and professional alike.”⁷¹ The fact that traditional conservatories were inspired to change based on the work of a youth orchestra suggests a greater degree of connectivity and mutual goals between the public arts program and state institutions. In contrast, traditional conservatories and El Sistema orchestras have often been placed in diametric opposition due to competitive funding and ideological differences.⁷² While the Children’s Orchestra of La Serena was created as an alternative to traditional music education, it sought to work together with official institutions rather than along a parallel track.

Taken together, the implementation of COLA and the Escuela Experimental provides evidence for Jorge Peña Hen’s drive to break social barriers to education and community music throughout Chile.

FREE MARKET DICTATORSHIP

Chilean Political Economy (1973-1990)

The Pinochet Dictatorship—bookended by a military coup in 1973 and a national plebiscite voting the regime out of office in 1988—produced low social welfare and high state control over institutions.⁷³ Democracy was suspended until 1988, and political

⁷¹ Elizabeth Cortés Mendoza, *Jorge W. Peña Hen: Vida y Obra*, (La Serena: Universidad de La Serena, 1994).

⁷² Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela’s Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁷³ Alan Angell, "Chile since 1958," *Latin America Since 1930: Spanish South America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, Vol. 8, *Cambridge History of Latin America*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Barry Ames, "The Politics of Public Spending in Latin America," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (Chicago: Midwest Political Science Association, 1977), 149-176; Carlos Huneeus, *El régimen de Pinochet*, (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000); Gonzalo Izquierdo, *Historia de Chile*, (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1990); James W. McGuire, "Chile: The Pinochet Paradox," *Wealth, Health, and Democracy in East Asia and Latin America*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Peter P. Houtzager and Marcus J. Kurtz, "The Institutional Roots of Popular Mobilization: State Transformation and Rural Politics in Brazil and Chile, 1960-1995," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42,

dissenters experienced widespread human rights violations including exile, imprisonment, torture, forced disappearance, and execution.⁷⁴ “Enemies of the state” were also assassinated abroad through the covert international pact Operation Condor.⁷⁵ Pinochet provided the “Chicago Boys”—a group of Milton Friedman-trained economists from the University of Chicago—with a captive economy on which to test extreme neoliberal policies.⁷⁶ The following evidence suggests that Chilean political economy during the dictatorship created profound socioeconomic inequality from a combination of free market policies and autocracy.

Measuring Political and Economic Freedom

To help justify my categorizations of Chilean political economy across the Pinochet dictatorship I provide numerical evidence—using Polity IV and Economic Freedom Network scales—in Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3. I adjust the original economic

No. 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁷⁴ Amnesty International, “Chile: Concerns on Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment,” *Implementation of the United Nations Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*, (New York: 2004); Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, “Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation,” Vol. 1, No. 2, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993); Cristián Correa, “Waterboarding Prisoners and Justifying Torture: Lessons for the U.S. from the Chilean Experience,” *Human Rights Brief*, Vol. 14, No. 2, (Washington, DC: American University Press, 2007); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁷⁵ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁷⁶ Gonzalo Izquierdo, *Historia de Chile*, (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1990); James W. McGuire, “Chile: The Pinochet Paradox,” *Wealth, Health, and Democracy in East Asia and Latin America*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

freedom levels to fit the negative ten to positive ten scale, to make the data comparable over time.⁷⁷

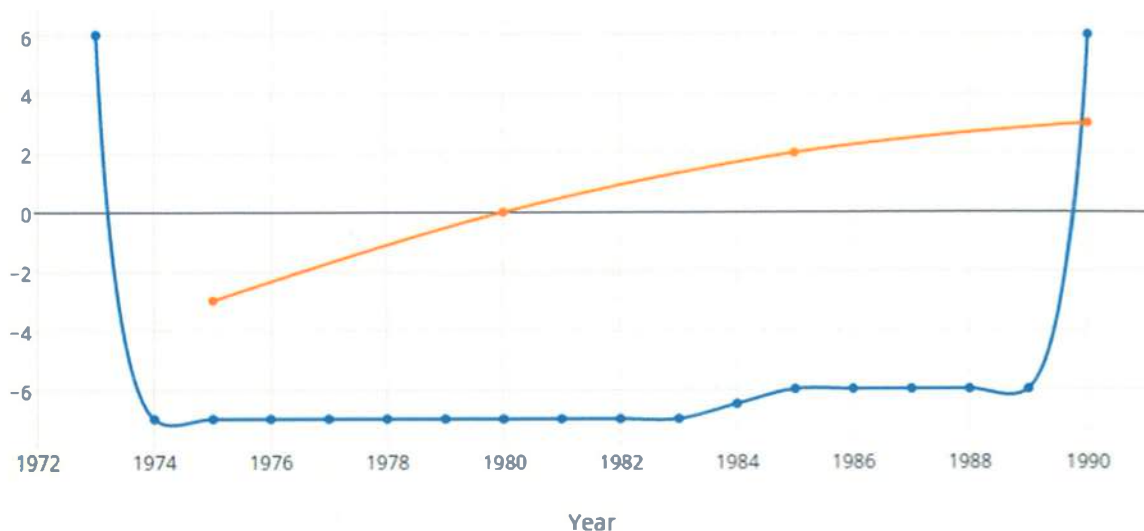
Table 4.3: Regime Trend Levels and Economic Freedom Levels in Chile (1973-1990)

| Year | Regime Trend Level | Economic Freedom Level | Year | Regime Trend Level | Economic Freedom Level |
|------|--------------------|------------------------|------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1973 | 6 | - | 1982 | -7 | - |
| 1974 | -7 | - | 1983 | -7 | - |
| 1975 | -7 | -3 | 1984 | -6.5 | - |
| 1976 | -7 | - | 1985 | -6 | 2 |
| 1977 | -7 | - | 1986 | -6 | - |
| 1978 | -7 | - | 1987 | -6 | - |
| 1979 | -7 | - | 1988 | -6 | - |
| 1980 | -7 | 0 | 1989 | -6 | - |
| 1981 | -7 | - | 1990 | 6 | 3 |

Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

⁷⁷ Calculations by Emma Strother. Adjusted economic freedom levels to fit a -10 to +10 scale from a 0 - +10 scale. This means that an original score of 0 is an adjusted score of -10, an original score of +0.5 is an adjusted score of -9, an original score of +1 is an adjusted score of -8 etc.

Figure 4.3: Graph of Regime Trend Levels (Blue) and Economic Freedom Levels (Orange) in Chile (1973-1990)



Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3 quantify political economy in Chile from 1973-1990. Democracy was replaced by autocratic rule during the dictatorship and restored—with a majority “no” vote in a 1988 national plebiscite—by 1990. Economic freedom increased across the Pinochet regime, largely due to the dictator’s US-influenced neoliberal economic policies. Yet this economic freedom built an upper-middle class of Pinochet supporters rather than leading to prosperous lives for most Chileans.⁷⁸ These rating scales come from institutions outside the influence of the Chilean national government, reducing bias. This exercise provides a structure for analyzing the changing political-economic climate of Chile from 1973-1990 through social policies, control over bureaucracy and institutions, and government attitudes towards social welfare.

⁷⁸ Carlos Huneeus, *El régimen de Pinochet*, (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Government Control: Social Policies, Institutions, and Welfare

After Chilean military forces and the CIA overthrew the Allende government with the September 11, 1973 coup, the junta declared a rotating presidency with General Augusto Pinochet in the first term.⁷⁹ He formally banned all leftist political parties involved in Allende's Unidad Popular, outlawed the 1925 Chilean Constitution, and declared political activity in recess.⁸⁰ Widespread imprisonment, torture, and executions followed.⁸¹ According to NGO and international organization reports, between 1,200 and 3,200 Chilean citizens were killed during the dictatorship, 30,000 tortured, and 80,000 imprisoned.⁸² In a 1980 corrupt national plebiscite, the Pinochet regime reformed the Chilean Constitution, constructing a legislature of military personnel and extending Pinochet's term by eight years.⁸³

⁷⁹ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 29.

⁸⁰ Carlos Huneeus, *El régimen de Pinochet*, (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000).

⁸¹ Amnesty International, "Chile: Concerns on Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment," *Implementation of the United Nations Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*, (New York: 2004); Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, "Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation," Vol. 1, No. 2, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993); Cristián Correa, "Waterboarding Prisoners and Justifying Torture: Lessons for the U.S. from the Chilean Experience," *Human Rights Brief*, Vol. 14, No. 2, (Washington, DC: American University Press, 2007); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁸² Amnesty International, "Chile: Concerns on Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment," *Implementation of the United Nations Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*, (New York: 2004); Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, "Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation," Vol. 1, No. 2, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993); Cristián Correa, "Waterboarding Prisoners and Justifying Torture: Lessons for the U.S. from the Chilean Experience," *Human Rights Brief*, Vol. 14, No. 2, (Washington, DC: American University Press, 2007).

⁸³ Constitute Project, *Chile's Constitution of 1980 with Amendments through 2012*, Translated by Anna I. Vellvé Torras, Adela Staines and Jefri J. Ruchti, (Getzville, New York: William S. Hein & Co. Inc., 2012); Javier Couso, "Trying Democracy in the Shadow of an Authoritarian Legality: Chile's Transition to Democracy and Pinochet's Constitution of 1980," *Wisconsin International Law Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 2,

Economically speaking, Pinochet allowed the “Chicago Boys”—a group of young academics trained in the Milton Friedman ideology of economic neoliberalism at the University of Chicago—the freedom to experiment with the national market without the checks and balances of democracy.⁸⁴ Companies that had been nationalized by Allende were re-privatized and 30-40% of redistributed land was sold.⁸⁵ Pinochet’s economic policies earned him the political and fiscal support of the US government and international organizations, and the phenomena were intimately linked. Just two days after the coup d’etat, a classified White House cable conveyed the message that “the U.S. Government wishe[d] to make clear its desire to cooperate with the military Junta and to assist in any appropriate way.”⁸⁶ Less than a month later, the US granted \$24 million of international aid to government of Chile.⁸⁷ From 1973-1976 the Inter-American Development Bank provided \$237.8 million in aid.⁸⁸

A global recession in 1980, over-extended creditors, and rapid devaluation of the Chilean peso stimulated a crisis in 1982 that shrunk the economy by 15% and dramatically rose prices.⁸⁹ In an attempt to balance the budget, Pinochet cut pensions by

(Madison: University of Madison Press, 2006), 394-414; Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile’s Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁸⁴ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile’s Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 39.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁸⁶ Classified White House Cable, (Washington, DC: September 13, 1973).

⁸⁷ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile’s Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 31.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

10% and privatized education.⁹⁰ Unemployment reached 30%.⁹¹ The percentage of Chileans living below the nationally determined poverty line fell from 17% before the coup (1969) to 45% at the height of the dictatorship (1985).⁹² In August of 1986, state police discovered a stockpile of weapons smuggled into Chile on Cuban boats by the armed wing of the Communist Party, and Pinochet survived an assassination attempt a month later.⁹³ The regime used these circumstances as an excuse to further prey on citizens.⁹⁴ In 1988, Pinochet announced his second national plebiscite under international pressure and underestimating the ability of Chileans to peacefully mobilize against him.⁹⁵ Political cooperation amongst all remaining dissidents and a powerful “No” media campaign defeated the dictator with 54.7% of the popular vote.⁹⁶ President Patricio Aylwin of the Christian Democrat Party assumed office in 1990.⁹⁷

⁹⁰ Ibid., 8.

⁹¹ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Alejandro Foxley, “Lessons from Chile’s Development in the 1990s,” *Development Challenges in the 1990s: Leading Policy-Makers Speak from Experience*, Tim Besley and N. Roberto Zaghera eds., (Washington, DC: The World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2005), 132.

⁹² Ricardo French-Davis, *Economic Reforms in Chile: From Dictatorship to Democracy*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 193.

⁹³ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 67-68.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 71.

⁹⁵ Carlos Huneeus, *El régimen de Pinochet*, (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁹⁶ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 103.

⁹⁷ Gonzalo Izquierdo, *Historia de Chile*, (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1990).

Taken together, Chile's political economy during the Pinochet dictatorship illustrates the profound cost of autocracy combined with extreme free market policies on social welfare. With severely limited political and civil society checks to Pinochet's ideology, the Chilean people suffered the loss of public spending, rising poverty, and widespread human rights violations.

Ramifications of the Pinochet Dictatorship for COLA

In 1972, conservative music professors in La Serena led an anti-Peña campaign to return to traditional conservatory training.⁹⁸ The newspaper *La Tribuna*⁹⁹ published an article accusing Peña Hen of smuggling arms back from a concert tour in Cuba for socialist insurgency and brainwashing his students.¹⁰⁰ Peña Hen resigned as president of the Escuela Experimental in December of that year.¹⁰¹ He was taken prisoner by the Chilean army just eight days after the coup d'état.¹⁰² He was executed by firing squad on October 16, 1973 and buried in a mass grave.¹⁰³ His death was announced to the Chilean public on the radio.¹⁰⁴ According to professor Hans Stein of the University of Chile, the

⁹⁸ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 79.

⁹⁹ The Tribune. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth Cortés Mendoza, *Jorge W. Peña Hen: Vida y Obra*, (La Serena: Universidad de La Serena, 1994), 14.

¹⁰¹ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 79-80.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 80.

period that followed was “anti-musical because the musical institutions that had been the fruits of 150 years of previous labor in Chile were destroyed.”¹⁰⁵

The fact that Jorge Peña Hen’s work to increase the universality and equality of musical education was such a threat to the Pinochet dictatorship that Peña Hen was imprisoned and executed by national military police demonstrates the profound consequences of political-economic context on public arts programs. Peña Hen may not have been officially affiliated with a political movement, but his work to break down socioeconomic barriers to the arts made a powerful political impression, and his death was a top priority of the new regime.¹⁰⁶ According to musical education historian Alexandra Carlson, “Peña’s visions of equality and justice were politicized and subsequently equated with socialism and treason.”¹⁰⁷ Thus, the polarization and disregard for social welfare that characterized Chile’s political economy after Pinochet’s rapid rise to power precipitated Peña Hen’s death.

FREE MARKET DEMOCRACY

Chilean Political Economy (1990-2015)

Following the Pinochet dictatorship, Chile has elected a series of relatively liberal presidents—with the exception of Sebastián Piñera.¹⁰⁸ The range in political ideologies of

¹⁰⁵ Hans Stein, “Testimonies: Visiones de 30 Años de Música en Chile,” Alejandro Guarello and Carmen Peña eds., *Resonancia*, Vol. 7, No. 12, (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 2003).

¹⁰⁶ Alexandra Carlson, “Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁰⁸ Taka Yamaguchi, “Chile’s Leaders Since 1990,” *Washington University Political Review*, (St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University Press, 2011).

Chilean presidents since the end of the dictatorship demonstrate that elections in this democratic era have been contested and reflective of public will.¹⁰⁹ These administrations have generally increased public spending, particularly in education and health.¹¹⁰ Accountability in public spending has grown; for example the national government declared free public university education by 2016 in response to demands of the student rights movement.¹¹¹ Simultaneously, Chile has retained much of its neoliberal economic policy throughout its transition into the global economy as a democracy.¹¹²

Measuring Political and Economic Freedom

To help justify my categorizations of Chilean political economy across the post-Pinochet era I provide numerical evidence—using Polity IV and Economic Freedom Network scales—in Table 4.4 and Figure 4.4. I adjust the original economic freedom

¹⁰⁹ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (Santiago: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹¹⁰ Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹¹¹ Anthony Esposito, "Chile's Bachelet prepares next phase of education reform," *Reuters*, (Santiago: January 27, 2015); Cesar Guzman-Concha, "The Students' Rebellion in Chile: Occupy Protest or Classic Social Movement?" *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural, and Political Protest*, Vol. 11, No. 3-4, (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2012).

¹¹² Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Henry Veltmeyer, James Petras, and Steve Vieux, *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, (Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company Ltd, 1997); Jordi Díez and Susan Franceschet eds., *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America*, (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Peter H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

levels to fit the negative ten to positive ten scale, to make the data comparable over time.¹¹³ Data from 2015 was not available at the time of writing this thesis.

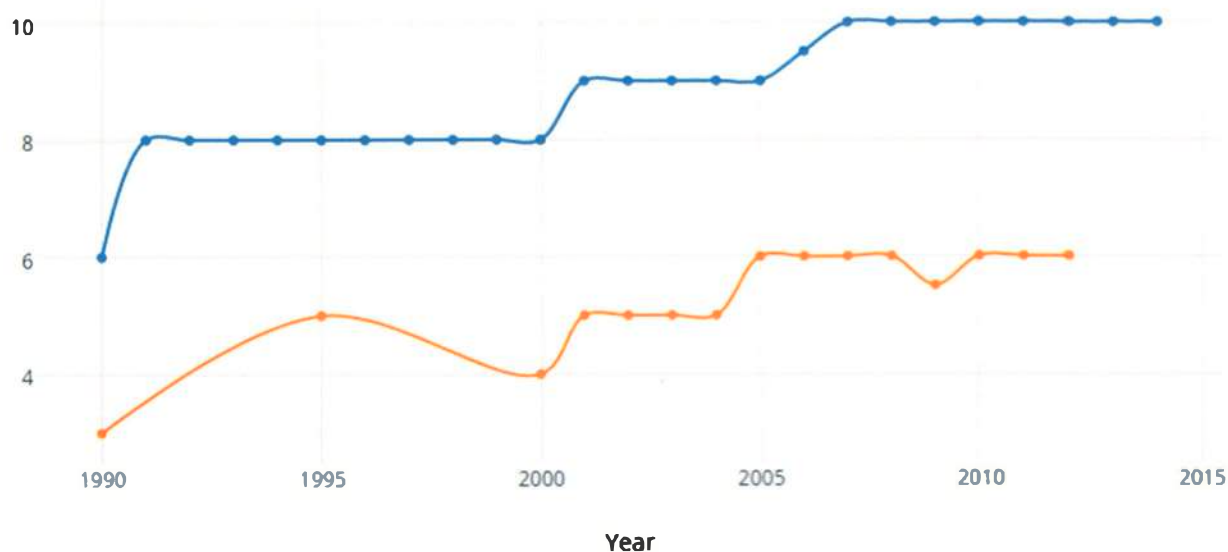
Table 4.4: Regime Trend Levels and Economic Freedom Levels in Chile (1990-2014)

| Year | Regime Trend Level | Economic Freedom Level | Year | Regime Trend Level | Economic Freedom Level |
|------|--------------------|------------------------|------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1990 | 6 | 3 | 2003 | 9 | 5 |
| 1991 | 8 | - | 2004 | 9 | 5 |
| 1992 | 8 | - | 2005 | 9 | 6 |
| 1993 | 8 | - | 2006 | 9.5 | 6 |
| 1994 | 8 | - | 2007 | 10 | 6 |
| 1995 | 8 | 5 | 2008 | 10 | 6 |
| 1996 | 8 | - | 2009 | 10 | 5.5 |
| 1997 | 8 | - | 2010 | 10 | 6 |
| 1998 | 8 | - | 2011 | 10 | 6 |
| 1999 | 8 | - | 2012 | 10 | 6 |
| 2000 | 8 | 4 | 2013 | 10 | - |
| 2001 | 9 | 5 | 2014 | 10 | - |
| 2002 | 9 | 5 | | | |

Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. "Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

¹¹³ Calculations by Emma Strother. Adjusted economic freedom levels to fit a -10 to +10 scale from a 0 - +10 scale. This means that an original score of 0 is an adjusted score of -10, an original score of +0.5 is an adjusted score of -9, an original score of +1 is an adjusted score of -8 etc.

Figure 4.4: Graph of Regime Trend Levels (Blue) and Economic Freedom Levels (Orange) in Chile (1990-2014)



Sources: James Gwartney et. al. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2014 Annual Report*; Monty G. Marshall et. al. “Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013. Scale from -10 to +10.

Table 4.4 and Figure 4.4 quantify political economy in Chile from 1990-2014.

Democratic and economic freedom gradually grew in Chile, with some setbacks, after the end of the Pinochet dictatorship. These two rating scales are from institutions outside the influence of the Chilean national government, reducing bias. This exercise provides a structure for analyzing the changing political-economic climate of Chile from 1990-2015 through social policies, control over bureaucracy and institutions, and government attitudes towards social welfare.

Government Control: Social Policies, Institutions, and Welfare

On October 14, 1988, the resistance parties involved in the “No” campaign to remove Pinochet from office—called the Concertación¹¹⁴—declared themselves a

¹¹⁴ Coordination. Translation by Emma Strother.

coalition.¹¹⁵ Delegates affiliated with this coalition have won the majority of elections in Chile since the end of the dictatorship.¹¹⁶ Negotiating with the National Renewal Party that had supported the dictatorship,¹¹⁷ the Concertación abolished the constitution article which banned leftist political parties, changed the makeup of the Senate, and eliminated the National Security Council (largely military personnel) to re-establish civil executive authority.¹¹⁸ Pinochet remained officially in power until March 11, 1990.¹¹⁹

Moderately left-leaning Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin won the 1990 elections with 54.7% of the popular vote.¹²⁰ His Minister of Finance Alejandro Foxley was deeply embedded in international institutions, simultaneously serving on the Board of Governors of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank during his term.¹²¹ Foxley reinvigorated the Chilean economy, increasing government savings to

¹¹⁵ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 106.

¹¹⁶ Taka Yamaguchi, "Chile's Leaders Since 1990," *Washington University Political Review*, (St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University Press, 2011).

¹¹⁷ Carlos Huneeus, *El régimen de Pinochet*, (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 108.

¹¹⁸ Peter P. Houtzager and Marcus J. Kurtz, "The Institutional Roots of Popular Mobilization: State Transformation and Rural Politics in Brazil and Chile, 1960-1995," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42, No. 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 109.

¹¹⁹ Ricardo Lagos, *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 107.

¹²⁰ Simón Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile: 1808-2002*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹²¹ Alejandro Foxley, "Lessons from Chile's Development in the 1990s," *Development Challenges in the 1990s: Leading Policy-Makers Speak from Experience*, Tim Besley and N. Roberto Zagher eds., (Washington, DC: The World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2005), 131-153.

prepay public debt and raising taxes for corporations and upper-class income brackets.¹²² During Aylwin's administration, public spending on social programs rose by 32% and total poverty dropped from 40% at the end of the dictatorship to 28% in 1994.¹²³

The following administrations—Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (Eduardo Frei Montalva's son), Ricardo Lagos, Sebastián Piñera, and two, nonconsecutive terms of Michelle Bachelet—have demonstrated increased democracy, and the application of free-market policies to regional blocs for international trade. President Frei Ruiz-Tagle signed free trade agreements with several Central American countries, Mexico, and Canada, and facilitated Chile entering MERCOSUR,¹²⁴ the World Trade Organization, and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation.¹²⁵ His administration increased public spending on education, training, and credit support programs.¹²⁶ President Ricardo Lagos increased the level and autonomy of public spending, instituting the first comprehensive healthcare reform aimed at universal access beyond World Bank recommendations.¹²⁷ President Lagos entered into free trade agreements with the European Union, South Korea, China,

¹²² Ibid., 135.

¹²³ Ibid., 135-136.

¹²⁴ Mercado Común del Sur. Common Market of the South. Translation by Emma Strother. Chile is an Associate Member.

¹²⁵ World Leadership Alliance, "Frei Ruiz-Tagle, Eduardo: President of Chile 1994-2000," (Madrid: Club de Madrid, 2007).

¹²⁶ Anil Hira, *Ideas and Economic Policy in Latin America: Regional, National, and Organizational Case Studies*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 88.

¹²⁷ Eduardo Missoni and Giorgio Solimano, "Towards Universal Health Coverage: The Chilean Experience," *World Health Report*, Background Paper 4, (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2010).

New Zealand, Singapore, and the United States.¹²⁸ His wife First Lady Luisa Durán resurrected the idea of youth orchestras for social change when she founded the Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile (FOJI) in 2001.¹²⁹

Sebastián Piñera was the first conservative president since the end of the dictatorship, with ties to the National Renewal Party, and the first billionaire sworn into Chilean office.¹³⁰ Piñera's administration experienced widespread public unrest on diverse topics from a law that labels Chile's indigenous Mapuche population terrorists, to the fight for free university education, to privileging commercial over civil interests in the Chilean-Peruvian Maritime Dispute.¹³¹ Michelle Bachelet of the Socialist Party has served two terms as President of Chile, preceding and following Piñera.¹³² Among support for a slew of social programs, Bachelet enacted legislation to protect subcontracted workers in 2006, to guarantee pensions for the poorest 60% of Chileans in 2008, and to provide comprehensive social services to vulnerable children under the age of 6 in 2009. In response to widespread student protests, Bachelet created the

¹²⁸ Office of the United States Trade Representative, "Chile Free Trade Agreement," (Washington, DC: Executive Office of the President, 2014).

¹²⁹ FOJI, "Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile: Historia," (Santiago: FOJI, 2014).

¹³⁰ Emmanuelle Barozet and Jaime Fierro, "Clase Media en Chile 1990-2011: Algunas implicancias sociales y políticas," (Santiago: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2011); Larry Rohter, "Chile is ready to elect a president unlike any other," *New York Times*, (New York: January 15, 2006).

¹³¹ Ian Anthony Randall, "In Chile, Explaining Massive Protests Entails Remembering the Past," *Dissent*, Vol. 58, No. 4, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

¹³² Eduardo Woo, "Michelle Bachelet: Primera mujer presidenta y primer presidente reelecto desde 1932," *Biobio Chile*, (Santiago: December 16, 2013).

Superintendency on Education and the Quality Agency in 2009, and Chile will have free higher education by 2016.¹³³

Taken together, Chile's transition back to democracy after the dictatorship has exhibited upward trends in social spending and increased government accountability to the public. At the same time, Chile's neoliberal economic policies have remained as the country enters the global economy as a democracy.

Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile: Implementation (2001-2015)

The Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile was created by First Lady Luisa Durán in 2001, and it remains in the Office of the First Lady at the time of writing this thesis.¹³⁴ The organization consists of 190 community schools engaging 12,000 children and youth on average each year.¹³⁵ It works closely with national educational institutions, providing opportunities for its students to study in Santiago and perform in national and international festivals.¹³⁶ The orchestra's target audience is young

¹³³ Ryan Dube and Robert Kozak, "Chile's President Announces Education Reform Package," *Wall Street Journal*, (New York: May 19, 2014).

¹³⁴ Javiera Parada, Cultural Attaché from Chile to the United States, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Providence: Brown University Watson Institute, October 10, 2014); Luisa Durán de la Fuente, Former First Lady of Chile, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Providence: Brown University Watson Institute, October 15, 2013).

¹³⁵ Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, "Jefa de Estado asiste al 13° Aniversario de la Fundación Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles," (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 2014).

¹³⁶ Paula Rosales, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 20, 2015). Full Interview in Appendix C; Patricio Velásquez Cárdenas, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 24, 2015). Full interview in Appendix F; Rodrigo Aros, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 26, 2015). Full interview in Appendix E; Samir Barrientos, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail (Providence: March 24, 2015). Full interview in Appendix D.

people aged 5-18.¹³⁷ Taken together, the work of FOJI represents the legacy of Jorge Peña Hen's educational and social philosophy in Chile's post-Pinochet era.

FOJI Social Goals: Mission Statement and Interviews

While the majority of Post-dictatorship Chilean presidents as well as presidents Chávez and Maduro in Venezuela have social-oriented administrations, there is a clear distinction between the purposes of their public arts programs. The mission statement of the Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile reads as follows at the time of writing this thesis:

To elevate the social, cultural, and educational development of the country, offering opportunities through which orchestras made up of children and youth from across Chile can improve their quality of life.¹³⁸

This statement differs from the mission statement of the Venezuelan Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar as of 2013 in several key ways. The FOJI mission statement applies to "children and youth from across Chile," rather than "the country's most vulnerable groups," as in FMSB.¹³⁹ FOJI President Walter Valdebenito has confirmed that his goals as president of the organization include, "to strengthen regional orchestras according to a development plan adjusted to the reality of each region."¹⁴⁰ This outlook

¹³⁷ FOJI, "Nuestra Misión," (Santiago: FOJI, 2014).

¹³⁸ FOJI, "Nuestra Misión," Original Text: "Elevar el desarrollo social, cultural, y educacional del país, brindando oportunidades para que niños y jóvenes de todo Chile integren orquestas, pudiendo así mejorar su calidad de vida." Translated by Emma Strother.

¹³⁹ FOJI, "Nuestra Misión" (Santiago: 2014); Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar, "Misión y Visión," (Caracas: Prensa FundaMusical Bolívar, 2013).

¹⁴⁰ Walter Valdebenito, President of FOJI, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Santiago: FOJI Headquarters, June 5, 2014). Full interview in Appendix B.

reveals a greater willingness for flexible policies and a focus on social inclusion across socioeconomic classes and geography, rather than isolating and rescuing the poor as in the case of El Sistema. Regional adaptability is noteworthy because it demonstrates prioritization of participants and attention to their circumstances. In Venezuela by contrast, El Sistema uses an overarching model, without testing the assumption that it is applicable to the country as a whole.¹⁴¹

According to former FOJI students, “there existed an ideal of inclusion in the music world, regardless of region of origin or social class,”¹⁴² and diversity among participants was positive aspect of playing in the orchestras.¹⁴³ Thus, diversity of participants appears more important in post-Pinochet Chile than exclusively targeting poor populations, as in Chávez+ Venezuela.

In this vein, the FOJI mission statement does not include the language of “rescue” or “prevention” found in the El Sistema 2013 mission statement.¹⁴⁴ In the Chilean organization there is no clear assumption that the country’s poor populations need to be extracted from their communities. Rather, the FOJI mission acknowledges that national social, cultural, and educational development are linked.¹⁴⁵ This perspective demonstrates a more holistic approach to child development in FOJI, in which students are closely

¹⁴¹ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁴² Rodrigo Aros, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 26, 2015). Full interview in Appendix E.

¹⁴³ Patricio Velásquez Cárdenas, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 24, 2015). Full interview in Appendix F.

¹⁴⁴ Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar, “Misión y Visión,” (Caracas: Prensa FundaMusical Bolívar, 2013).

¹⁴⁵ FOJI, “Nuestra Misión” (Santiago: 2014).

connected to their families, communities, and schools rather than at-risk because of them, as in FMSB.

According to President Valdebenito, a major goal of FOJI is “promoting a social commitment to the community and creating spaces for development.”¹⁴⁶ This community outreach social change model specifically differs from how El Sistema leaders frame their social goals. According to Eduardo Cedeño, “the mission [of FMSB] is to change one child at a time.”¹⁴⁷ Thus, the two organizations seek change with different units of analysis, with FOJI considering students’ social backgrounds and home lives. Taking the COLA project of La Serena as its inspiration, FOJI focuses on providing music education to children outside the capital city. Yet former students have conflicting observations about FOJI’s geographic allocation of resources. According to Samir Barrientos, “FOJI has always allocated more resources to Santiago, in many cases pushing aside the remaining regions. This produces great inequality of opportunity.”¹⁴⁸ Yet according to Paula Rosales, “the mission of the foundation... was to reach every corner of the country.”¹⁴⁹ These differing opinions suggest that more comprehensive, comparative studies are needed to determine how the organization impacts the lives of children from different parts of Chile.

¹⁴⁶ Walter Valdebenito, President of FOJI, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Santiago: FOJI Headquarters, June 5, 2014). Full interview in Appendix B.

¹⁴⁷ Eduardo Cedeño, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 22, 2015). Full interview in Appendix A.

¹⁴⁸ Samir Barrientos, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail (Providence: March 24, 2015), Full interview in Appendix D.

¹⁴⁹ Paula Rosales, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 20, 2015), Full Interview in Appendix C.

FOJI Operations: Rehearsals, Performances, and Scholarships

Participation in Chile's FOJI often leads directly to other pursuits, whereas participation in Venezuela's FMSB is more likely an all-consuming project. According to former FOJI students, they rehearsed 3-5 hours a week, attending full ensemble rehearsals, sectionals, instruction by musical instrument, and music theory classes.¹⁵⁰ This range of subjects suggests that FOJI provides a more comprehensive music education than FMSB, which focuses almost exclusively on large ensemble rehearsals.

A FOJI youth orchestra from Chile's tenth region¹⁵¹ performed an evening, outdoor concert in the main square of Ancud—on the Greater Island of the Chiloé Archipelago off the coast of far southern Chile—on February 16, 2014. Sixty students—playing stringed, woodwind, brass, and percussion instruments—engaged an audience of roughly 200 people for an hour. Without paper programs or advertising, the crowd seemed to gather once they heard the music, with very few people having prior knowledge of the concert, including myself. The conductor recognized the achievements of ten of his students from the archipelago, to enthusiastic applause. Two local television stations filmed the performance. The repertoire consisted of several opera overtures, including *Barber of Seville* and *Carmen*, a simplified arrangement of Mozart's Symphony No. 40 first movement, and several orchestral arrangements of Chilean folk dances.

¹⁵⁰ Paula Rosales, interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 20, 2015), Full interview in Appendix C; Patricio Velásquez Cárdenas, interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 24, 2015). Full interview in Appendix F; Rodrigo Aros, interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 26, 2015). Full interview in Appendix E; Samir Barrientos, interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail (Providence: March 24, 2015), Full interview in Appendix D.

¹⁵¹ Chile is divided horizontally into twelve regions, akin to states or provinces. Chiloé is part of the tenth region, also known as the lake district, for its distinctive mainland feature.

I observed key similarities and differences between this FOJI orchestra and the Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra of FMSB. The FOJI orchestra consisted of younger musicians, aged 11-17, as opposed to SBSO musicians who were 18-30 years old.¹⁵² The outdoor setting was less formal, entrance was free, and thus the concert connected more closely to the community at large. The pieces performed were arranged to suit advancing players rather than a professional orchestra. Local pride in the children's accomplishments was evident from musicians' families in the audience, public recognition of the ensemble's achievement from the conductor, and the presence of local television reporting in a remote area. Taken together, the concert in Ancud demonstrated the FOJI process of educating young musicians and engaging their broader communities through classical and folk music and ensemble performance.

Former FOJI students have credited the organization with fueling their desire to attend university and providing them the means to live near top national music conservatories.¹⁵³ FOJI awards 1,500 scholarships annually.¹⁵⁴ In contrast, FMSB often encourages its musicians to leave school and become professional El Sistema musicians, or to enroll in a longer track—attending fewer classes and more rehearsals daily—graduating at least one year later than their peers.¹⁵⁵ Rather than provide academic

¹⁵² FOJI conductor's speech at outdoor concert, (Ancud: Chiloé Festival Musical, February, 2014); *Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra of Venezuela Program*, Gustavo Dudamel: Musical Director and Conductor, (New York: Carnegie Hall, Stern Auditorium, December 10, 2012).

¹⁵³ Paula Rosales, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 20, 2015), Full Interview in Appendix C; Patricio Velásquez Cárdenas, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, (Providence: March 24, 2015). Full interview in Appendix F.

¹⁵⁴ Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, "Jefa de Estado asiste al 13° Aniversario de la Fundación Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles," (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 2014).

¹⁵⁵ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

scholarships, El Sistema pays its musicians directly,¹⁵⁶ creating an isolated market for public arts and social change that is highly competitive and hierarchical due to regular auditions and the direct link between talent and income. It is important to highlight this contrast because a major justification for international funding of public arts programs is that music education increases academic achievement.¹⁵⁷ Yet the Inter-American Development Bank has chosen to fund FMSB rather than FOJI.¹⁵⁸ This choice of funding may occur because FMSB has greater international media celebrity.

EFFECTS OF POLITICAL-ECONOMIC CONTEXT ON CHILEAN YOUTH ORCHESTRA IMPLEMENTATION

Chilean political economy has supported public arts programs during periods of democracy. In the pre-dictatorship era, Jorge Peña Hen's work to expand access to music education was enthusiastically complimented and funded by the increasingly socialist Chilean national government. The connection between Peña Hen's work and Chilean political-economic climate proved fatal to the conductor after the coup d'état. With the reemergence of Peña Hen's educational philosophy through the work of the Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles, the Chilean national government again supports public arts programs. Yet national free-market economics combined with democracy means high competition for public funding. Thus, FOJI experiences a more rigorous standard for proving that their organization has a positive impact on participants' lives.

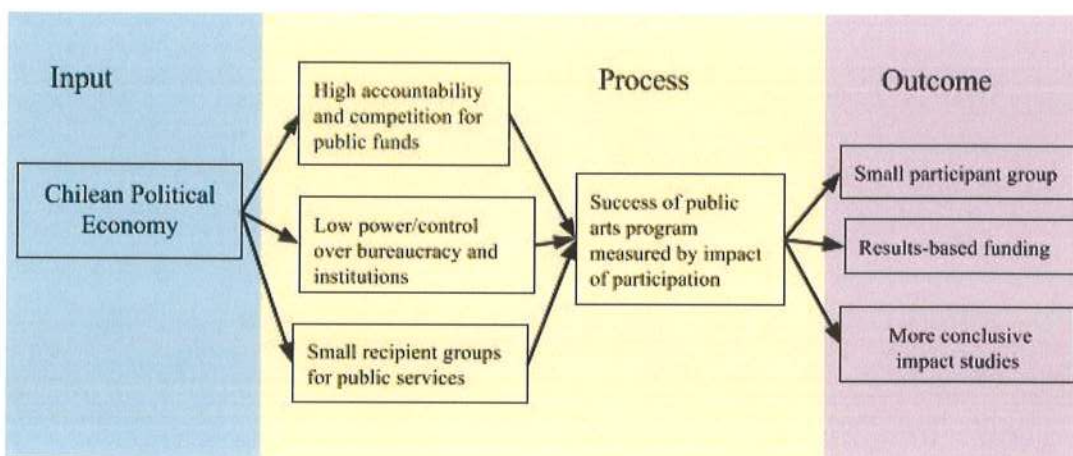
¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, *El Sistema and Sistema-Inspired Programs: A Literature Review of Research, Evaluation, and Critical Debates*, (San Diego: Sistema Global, 2013).

¹⁵⁸ Inter-American Development Bank, Project VE-T1038, "National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela," (Washington, DC: IDB, June 24, 2013).

Figure 4.5 depicts the process of FOJI implementation and the orchestras' social outcomes within the broader context of Chilean politics and economics. This figure is my original conceptualization of Chilean political-economic inputs, process of arts program implementation, and social outcomes. It is important because it provides a framework for understanding the links between my broad analytical categories.

Figure 4.5: Chilean Political Economy, Program Implementation, and Social Outcomes



To explore the influences at play in Figure 4.5, I analyze Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles impact studies and leaders' statements on the social impact of the organization. I focus on the extent to which political-economic context factors influence what the global arts for social change movement knows about FOJI's impact. Evaluative reports do not exist in a vacuum. Their conclusions are part of a larger process in which political-economic context influences how a public arts program affects social change.

Findings from Impact Studies: Quantitative Evidence

According to President of FOJI Walter Valdebenito, "two [FOJI] impact studies have been conducted, one in 2007 ([by the] Arauco Foundation) and the other in 2009 ([by] Alberto Hurtado University). Both signal[ed] the foundation as a protecting factor,

developing psychosocial abilities of its members which improve their self-esteem, academic performance, and interpersonal relations.”¹⁵⁹ This account suggests that at least two external impact studies have found participation in FOJI to be a positive influence psychologically, academically, and socially.

The Arauco Foundation revisited its 2007 impact study with a more detailed report in 2011: *Affective Aspects and Social Attributes to Participation in the Curanilahue Orchestra*.¹⁶⁰ In 2007 and in 2011, the Arauco Foundation tested children in a FOJI orchestra and in a control group of children from similar socioeconomic backgrounds. In 2007, Arauco researchers found that students in the FOJI group scored higher on a *Self-Esteem TAE*¹⁶¹ test, and answered a questionnaire titled, *My Opinions and Interests About the Place Where I Live*¹⁶² with more positive comments as compared to the control group.¹⁶³ In 2011, they added higher scores among FOJI students on the *Scale of Resilience SV-RES*¹⁶⁴ test to these findings.¹⁶⁵ These tests focus on how a child perceives herself and her environment, and in turn, how this perception shapes her reaction to socioeconomic vulnerability. Thus, the reports indicate that this FOJI

¹⁵⁹ Walter Valdebenito, President of FOJI, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Santiago: FOJI Headquarters, March 5, 2015). Full interview in Appendix B.

¹⁶⁰ Graciela Lucchini, Blanca Cuadrado, and Pedro Quiroga, “Aspectos Afectivos y Sociales Atribuibles a la Participación en la Orquesta de Curanilahue,” (Santiago: Fundación Arauco, 2011). Translated by Emma Strother.

¹⁶¹ El test Autoestima TAE. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹⁶² Mis opiniones e intereses sobre el lugar donde vivo. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹⁶³ Graciela Lucchini, Blanca Cuadrado, and Pedro Quiroga, “Aspectos Afectivos y Sociales Atribuibles a la Participación en la Orquesta de Curanilahue,” (Santiago: Fundación Arauco, 2011).

¹⁶⁴ Escala de Resiliencia SV-RES. Translated by Emma Strother.

¹⁶⁵ Graciela Lucchini, Blanca Cuadrado, and Pedro Quiroga, “Aspectos Afectivos y Sociales Atribuibles a la Participación en la Orquesta de Curanilahue,” (Santiago: Fundación Arauco, 2011).

orchestra helps to uplift its participants' quality of life. We need more comprehensive impact studies of diverse FOJI orchestras to further test the statistical likelihood that these positive FOJI experiences are not due to random chance.

In 2007, President Michelle Bachelet from the political left did not interfere with the Arauco Foundation study. In 2011, the researchers were able to continue testing and publish their report despite the lower prioritization of social welfare from President Sebastián Piñera of the political right. This situation illustrates the relative autonomy of academia from national government policies and the desires of FOJI leadership. I make this observation in contrast to the Venezuelan case in which José Cuesta thanked El Sistema leadership and the National Ministry of Culture for contributing to his report.¹⁶⁶

The Arauco Foundation report exhibited more rigorous methodology than the José Cuesta report on El Sistema orchestras in Venezuela. While the Cuesta report included a larger subject group, the Arauco report included control groups of the same socioeconomic background and a more in-depth discussion of possible statistical and researcher biases. The Arauco Foundation's support for FOJI orchestras was conditional on the positive findings from their impact study. In contrast, the Inter-American Development Bank authorized funds for El Sistema even though the Cuesta report is, by its own admission, far from comprehensive. Taken together, the procedures involved in studying FOJI's impact value outside parties, methodological rigor, and longitudinal timeframes more than those measuring FMSB. We still need more comparative studies across timeframes and regions of Chile to understand the extent to which the organization meets its stated social goals.

¹⁶⁶ José Cuesta, *Music to My Ears: The (Many) Socio-Economic Benefits of Music Training Programs*, (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank Research Department, 2008).

Chilean Government Officials, COLA, and FOJI: Qualitative Evidence

National government political-economic policy under the Jorge Alessandri administration factored significantly in the foundation of the Children's Orchestra of La Serena. Alessandri's austerity policies cut musician's wages and jobs, and the first symphony orchestra outside Santiago¹⁶⁷ lost government funding.¹⁶⁸ These losses prompted Jorge Peña Hen to create an alternative, employing music teachers and promising a better future for music students in 1964.¹⁶⁹

The Eduardo Frei and Salvador Allende administrations both supported Jorge Peña Hen's Children's Orchestra of La Serena and Escuela Experimental through funding, taxation and public spending policy, and rhetorical endorsement.¹⁷⁰ According to Juan Gómez Millas, in a statement after attending a COLA concert, "All children should have access to what is happening in La Serena, it is truly marvelous."¹⁷¹ This favorable opinion suggests that the national government was both enthusiastic about the program and open to helping it expand. In 1966, the Frei administration instituted

¹⁶⁷ La Orquesta Filarmónica de La Serena. The La Serena Philharmonic Orchestra. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹⁶⁸ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014).

¹⁶⁹ Lina Barrientos Pacheco, "Escuela Experimental de Chile: Jorge Peña Hen, una experiencia para compartir," *Primer Seminario Internacional de Educación Artística*, (La Serena: Universidad de La Serena, 2007).

¹⁷⁰ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014); Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001).

¹⁷¹ Juan Gómez Millan, Minister of Education, quoted in Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001).

national funding for COLA through the Ley de Espectáculos¹⁷² which taxed tickets to high-end performances and gave the revenues to public programs to increase access to the arts.¹⁷³ The Allende government funded COLA tours in Peru, Cuba, and Puerto Rico through the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Exterior.¹⁷⁴

Dictator Augusto Pinochet terminated Jorge Peña Hen's work, ordering the conductor executed by the national military police force.¹⁷⁵ Despite his lack of official political affiliation,¹⁷⁶ the act of developing youth orchestras with goals of social inclusion and democratic access to music was so threatening to the autocracy that Peña Hen was executed before a host of well-established political dissidents.¹⁷⁷

After the Pinochet Dictatorship, the educational philosophy of Jorge Peña Hen and the work of COLA and the Escuela Experimental was revived through the Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles, created by the national government.¹⁷⁸ Government officials have connected the mission of FOJI to Peña Hen's legacy and expressed their

¹⁷² Law of Shows. Translation by Emma Strother.

¹⁷³ Alexandra Carlson, "Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014), 78.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁷⁷ Miguel Castillo Didier, *Jorge Peña Hen (1928-1973): Músico, maestro, y humanista mártir*, (Santiago: Edición del autor, 2001).

¹⁷⁸ FOJI, "Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile: Historia," (Santiago: FOJI, 2014); Javiera Parada, Cultural Attaché from Chile to the United States, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Providence: Brown University Watson Institute, October 10, 2014); Luisa Durán de la Fuente, Former First Lady of Chile, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Providence: Brown University Watson Institute, October 15, 2013).

support for the program through funding and discourse.¹⁷⁹ According to FOJI President Valdebenito, “The Foundation receives contributions from the State, through the National Council on Culture and the Arts (CNCA), which are fundamental to the Foundation’s operations... funds coming from CNCA comprise 95% of the budget.”¹⁸⁰ This close connection between government support and program survival means that the organization must demonstrate fulfilling its goals in order to stay operational.

According to José Weinstein, Chilean Minister of Culture in 2003, “Jorge Peña had the intuition that it was possible to redefine boundaries, to tear down the barriers that had determined Western art music should be reserved for the cultured elite of our country.”¹⁸¹ This interpretation of Peña Hen’s philosophy suggests national government support for universalizing access to the arts and improving quality of life across socioeconomic backgrounds by fighting class-based exclusion.

On May 29, 2014, FOJI celebrated its 13th anniversary with a concert at the Presidential Palace La Moneda, featuring a 75 piece symphony orchestra of musicians aged 10-18.¹⁸² Former First Lady Luisa Durán and President Michelle Bachelet were in

¹⁷⁹ Alexandra Carlson, “Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014); Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, “Jefa de Estado asiste al 13° Aniversario de la Fundación Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles,” (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 2014); Walter Valdebenito, President of FOJI, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Santiago: FOJI Headquarters, June 5, 2014). Full interview in Appendix B.

¹⁸⁰ Walter Valdebenito, President of FOJI, Interviewed by Emma Strother, (Santiago: FOJI Headquarters, June 5, 2014). Full interview in Appendix B.

¹⁸¹ José Weinstein, quoted and translated in Alexandra Carlson, “Inundating the Country with Music: Jorge Peña, Music Education, and Democracy in Chile,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Ithaca: Ithaca College School of Music Press, 2014).

¹⁸² Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, “Jefa de Estado asiste al 13° Aniversario de la Fundación Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles,” (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 2014).

attendance.¹⁸³ In a speech at the concert, President Bachelet stated, “orchestras are, in a way, the reflected image of what we want to achieve as a society. A mirror of the participation that we want, where we find difference and diversity, where participation is fundamental, where we learn the value of solidarity and mutual support.”¹⁸⁴ In this way, President Bachelet ties the mission and work of FOJI to the national government’s idea of what Chilean society should value and reflect. As Chile is a democracy with a president from the Socialist party, this national vision includes cooperative learning and inclusion of people from different backgrounds. Bachelet’s speech suggests that public arts programs expand in a free market economy with a socialist executive.

Table 4.5 compares Chilean youth orchestras between the pre-Pinochet, Pinochet Dictatorship, and post-Pinochet time periods.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, “Jefa de Estado asiste al 13° Aniversario de la Fundación Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles,” (Santiago: Gobierno de Chile, 2014). Original Text: las orquestas son, de algún modo, la imagen reflejada de lo que queremos lograr como sociedad. Un espejo de la participación que queremos, donde nos encontramos en la diferencia y la diversidad, donde la participación es fundamental, donde aprendemos el valor de la solidaridad y el apoyo mutuo. Translation by Emma Strother.

Table 4.5: Comparing Youth Orchestra Implementation Pre-Pinochet, Pinochet Dictatorship, and Post-Pinochet

| | Pre-Pinochet | Pinochet Dictatorship | Post-Pinochet |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Social Goals | Universalize access to music education, break down barriers to higher education, encourage community music outside Santiago | Perceived as a threat to the regime | Social inclusion, conceptualized as decreasing socioeconomic discrimination and breaking down barriers to social mobility |
| Program Structure | Started in La Serena, with COLA and the Escuela Experimental—when the idea expanded to other cities it maintained focus on the local | Peña Hen executed by state police just eight days after the coup d’etat | Schools across the country, but FOJI is based in Santiago, and some participants report that the majority of resources are allocated to the capital |
| Rehearsals and Performances | The first public school with free music education and musical instruments—Peña Hen discussed with students how discipline and teamwork could help them outside of music | - | Intensive rehearsal schedule, but accommodates academics, students have a range of classes including ensemble rehearsals, music theory, and individual instrument instruction |
| Definition of Success | Increasing access to music education, community outreach, and students from low socioeconomic backgrounds in higher education | - | Increased self-esteem, positive attitudes about community, academic performance, and resilience among participants |

Table 4.6 compares aspects of the design, structure, social goals, and discourse on Venezuelan and Chilean youth orchestras as of 2013-2014.

Table 4.6: Comparing Aspects of Venezuelan and Chilean Art for Social Change as of 2013-2014

| | Venezuela | Chile |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Funding | Venezuelan Office of the President, Inter-American Development Bank | Chilean National Council on Culture and the Arts, private donations |
| Definition of social inclusion | Large ensembles of young people | Universalize access to music education, break socioeconomic barriers to higher education and class mobility |
| Social change unit of analysis | The individual student | The student, and by extension their family and community |
| Geographical focus | Majority of resources and talent clearly concentrated in Caracas | Some accounts suggest an egalitarian approach focused across the country. Others claim inequality of opportunity in favor of musicians in Santiago. |
| Program v. traditional academics | The most talented El Sistema musicians are paid salaries, encouraged to leave school or graduate late to spend more time/energy on El Sistema orchestras | The most talented FOJI musicians are given scholarships and stipends to attend national conservatories, participate in international festivals, and receive advanced degrees |
| National Government Discourse, 2013-2014 | “El Sistema is the vibrant and sublime breath of our revolution.” -Nicolás Maduro, 2013 | “Orchestras are, in a way, the reflected image of what we want to achieve as a society. A mirror of the participation that we want, where we find difference and diversity, where participation is fundamental, where we learn the value of solidarity and mutual support.” -Michelle Bachelet, 2014 |

CONCLUSION

Varying degrees government power and prioritization of social welfare effect public arts program implementation differently over time and across countries. Distinct combinations of political-economic context factors play out in program designs, social goals, daily operations, definitions of success, and procedures for measuring impact. For example, while COLA in the pre-Pinochet era was based in northern Chile and sought to

expand local access to music beyond Santiago, FOJI in the post-Pinochet era exhibits tension between regional outreach and concentration of resources in the capital. While El Sistema in the Chávez+ socialist era values young people to cultivate an image of national vibrancy, COLA in the Pre-dictatorship socialist era provided for its students' futures outside the organization. While El Sistema in Venezuela has sought to expand the number of participants by rescuing poor children, the Chilean movement has sought to break the class barriers to music education through community engagement. These findings are important because they affect our understanding of program evaluation. A public arts program functions by deciding and enacting 1) what aspects of society it targets changing, 2) how it runs on a daily basis, and 3) how it defines success. This process molds the program's interpretation of what social change means and how it is measured in outcomes. Thus, it is insufficient to focus on outcomes without understanding context.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Perhaps the principle and lasting value of El Sistema... is putting the idea of social action through music on the international public agenda.

-Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*

Context matters to global arts for social change. Public arts programs do not work in a vacuum. To understand these programs and their outcomes we must go beyond evaluative studies that assume similarities in program design, structure, and pedagogy across locations and over time. My longitudinal, cross-national study of two music for social change movements in Venezuela and Chile offers evidence that combinations of political regimes and economies affect how public arts programs are considered and designed. In turn, how a program functions affects its interpretation and measurement of social change.

Public arts programs are often framed as models for one another. Yet they are not uniform, calling into question the role of models in the global arts for social change movement. The intensity and scope of government control, social welfare policy, and competition for public funds affect programs' social goals, daily operations, definitions of success, and impact study procedures.

In Table 5.1, I compare the youth orchestras in my case studies by country, timeframe, and political-economic context. I sort key points regarding program design, social goals, rehearsals and performances, structure, funding, and impact accountability.

In this table, we can observe the complex changes in arts program implementation and impact based on political economy, domestic context, and time period.

Table 5.1: Comparing Youth Orchestras for Social Inclusion across Country, Time, and Political-Economic Context

| | Democracy | Decreasing Democracy and Dictatorship |
|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Free Market | <p><u>Venezuela, Pre-Chávez</u> <i>-An arts program, no mention of changing Venezuelan society</i> <i>-Domestic alternative to professional orchestras of Europeans</i> <i>-Program begins in Caracas</i> <i>-Funding from National Council on Arts and Culture (CONAC)</i></p> <p><u>Chile, Post-Pinochet</u> <i>-Results-based, competitive funding means rigorous impact studies</i> <i>-Tension between Santiago headquarters and resources to other regions</i> <i>-Cooperation with traditional institutions</i> <i>-1,500 scholarships awarded annually to help highest achieving students pursue higher education</i> <i>-Funding from National Council on the Arts (CNCA) and private sector</i></p> | <p><u>Chile, Pinochet Dictatorship</u> <i>-The work of Jorge Peña Hen in La Serena is such a threat that he is slandered in local newspapers, forced to resign, and executed by national military police at Pinochet's command</i></p> |
| Socialist | <p><u>Chile, Pre-Pinochet</u> <i>-Social inclusion means universalizing access to music education, encouraging community music outside Santiago, breaking down class barriers to higher education, and fighting socioeconomic discrimination</i> <i>-Escuela Experimental is the first public school in Latin America to provide free music education, general subjects, and musical instruments</i> <i>-Music is inextricably linked to achievement in other areas</i> <i>-National government funding from Education and Defense Ministries</i></p> | <p><u>Venezuela, Chávez+</u> <i>-Social inclusion means as many participants as possible</i> <i>-Display-based funding discourages rigorous impact studies</i> <i>-Majority of resources allocated to spectacular performances, facilities in Caracas, and world tours</i> <i>-Students can progress from beginner to professional in the parallel musical world of El Sistema, without attending traditional music institutions</i> <i>-Highest achieving students are paid salaries through a highly competitive, hierarchical system</i> <i>-Funding from the Office of the President</i></p> |

Table 5.1 demonstrates that the framing and operations of a public arts program are inextricably linked to country context, economics, politics, and era. Thus, it is not

useful to compare public arts programs by a static set of outcome criteria. Rather, we must understand how societal, political, and economic context factors create different public arts programs. My findings provide additional evidence for a key body of literature arguing that international development strategies must consider the domestic or local in their implementation strategies. Yet while that body of literature focuses on culture, belief systems, and traditional practices, I hold these variables constant, concentrating on political economy.

My findings have the following implications for our understanding of the global arts for social change movement.

- **Visionary individuals often shape public arts programs.** Jorge Peña Hen in Chile and José Antonio Abreu in Venezuela have provided inspiration and direction for decades of public arts program growth, through charismatic leadership and carefully crafted founding narratives. The fact that individuals are important to public arts programs matters because it reveals the power of actors to affect domestic social change. Neither Peña Hen nor Abreu were international figures. Despite their dramatically different fates at the hands of non-democratic regimes, youth orchestras in both Venezuela and Chile as of 2015 credit the social visions of these men with motivating their work. If individuals were not important, it might be easier to construct similar models of public arts programs around the world.
- **Public arts programs can be purposed to meet political goals.** Contrary to the conventional view that public arts programs are an apolitical means of social change, my research suggests that politics matter. Prioritization of social welfare,

control over institutions, and competition for public resources shape the degree to which a national government supports the arts as social change in funding and discourse. In some non-democratic regimes—where an executive has more leverage and control—there is a greater need and opportunity to use public arts programs to legitimate or bolster regime interests. El Sistema performances demonstrate youth, vibrancy, and collectivity that administrations in the Chávez+ era have claimed to symbolize national socialism in Venezuela. By contrast, music educators can be killed by the state for their social change goals in extreme free market dictatorships. In Post-Pinochet, democratic Chile the revival of youth orchestras celebrates the legacy of social inclusion work before the dictatorship, symbolizing the endurance of social welfare. Political economy molds these programs to a greater degree under President Michelle Bachelet because she was elected largely based on her promise to expand public programs.

- **We need to rethink universalist approaches to public policy and social change.** There is no unified model for public arts programs. Individual programs are mutations of models, based on politics, economics, and place in time. If models are not static, then we cannot evaluate them as if they are. We must dig deeper to understand how context affects public programs. It is ironic that the El Sistema model—most admired and replicated internationally—experiences some of the highest degrees of political control based on its particular national context.

This study is a focused microcosm, but it has implications for policy evaluation at large. Social programs around the world increasingly attempt to mitigate the effects of the free market global economy. Global inequality is greater than ever before, wealth creates

wealth more than ever before, and policymakers are enthusiastic about creative ways to combat these trends. My study uncovers new similarities and differences in public programs across countries and over time. These findings are shaped by political economy, and they have consequences for our understanding of social change impact. While there is value in the global spread of universal ideals in human rights, healthcare, education, antidiscrimination, and peace, we must reassess the idea that a standardized plan will increase social inclusion, alleviate poverty, or combat inequality in the same way around the world.

The contribution of my new Arts for Social Change Context Framework is that it allows us to unpack complexities in the relationships between program goals, operations, and impact as national context or individual actors change. Impact studies that only examine outcomes are insufficient to help national governments and international organizations make informed funding decisions. Small sample sizes, short time frames, unaddressed biases, lack of precise measurements, and inconclusive results prevail throughout such studies. Policy evaluations value numerical results, but there are costs to ignoring context. As we develop global plans and standards for mitigating inequality—at international banks, in diplomatic initiatives, and through the United Nations Millennium Development Goals—we must holistically understand the inputs, implementation, and outcomes of public programs in order to adjust strategies for different contexts. Future studies must build upon my framework, testing its legitimacy in other cases.

Using the arts to build peace, fight discrimination, encourage solidarity, and uplift people from all walks of life is a beautiful, inspiring idea. Yet approaching public arts programs with an uncritical eye impedes our study of the very mechanisms we find so

promising. To explore the full potential of global arts for social change, we must seriously consider how programs vary based on context.

APPENDIX A: EDUARDO CEDEÑO INTERVIEW

Eduardo Cedeño, one of the first El Sistema students and Conductor at Musical Minds, an El Sistema-inspired Program in Indiana. Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, March 22, 2015.¹

1. How do you understand the social and musical mission of the Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar exactly?

The mission is to change on child at a time. Then create a synergy (Orchestra) where all the students share their learnings with each other. The other tier is the one the student take home changing the social environment of the home. El Sistema teaches them the sense of been someone.

2. How is program effectiveness evaluated?

I believe that the program is evaluated in the long run. All of us that started in 1975 are today better off as people in the community and Globally. We became good musicians and ambassadors of the system.

3. What types of support does the organization receive from the political establishment? How important has this support been for the organization's growth?

El Sistema in Venezuela is supported mostly by the Government.

4. Which arguments have been the most persuasive for raising funds and other support?

It creates positive social change.

5. Where do the foundation's funds come from? What is the process of allocating funds?

Here again the foundation funds mostly comes from the government of Venezuela.

6. Does the foundation submit an annual report to funders? Is this report public?

I don't have an answer for this question. I am not so sure weather the reports are public like in USA.

7. Could you tell me about your experiences in an early El Sistema youth orchestra?

[No comment]

¹ Text from the e-mail is in no way altered, including grammar, spelling, and capitalization. Given a choice between English and Spanish, Eduardo Cedeño preferred to be interviewed in English. His native language is Spanish.

APPENDIX B: WALTER VALDEBENITO INTERVIEW

Walter Valdebenito, Director Ejecutivo de la Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile. Entrevistado por Emma Strother a través de e-mail, 5 de junio 2014, y 5 de marzo 2015.

1. Según usted, cuales son las metas centrales de la Fundación con respecto a la música, y la vida social de los participantes y sus comunidades?

Recuperar el espíritu fundacional de la institución, impulsando el compromiso social con la comunidad y creando espacios de desarrollo. Fortalecer a las orquestas regionales mediante un plan de desarrollo ajustado a la realidad de cada región. Desarrollar un programa que beneficie a las orquestas comunales. Fortalecer el área social orientada a niños de escasos recursos y en situación de vulnerabilidad. Ampliar nuestra temporada de conciertos a comunas con menos acceso a la cultura, abriendo espacios para la ciudadanía. Fortalecer el área de capacitación con más y mejores espacios de formación.

2. Cómo mide la Fundación el impacto de su trabajo? Según usted, en que consiste este impacto? Hay alguien en la FOJI (o una oficina) que mide el impacto? Alguien fuera de la Fundación ha medido el impacto?

Se realizaron estudios el impacto los años 2007 (Fundación Arauco) y 2009 (Universidad Alberto Hurtado), los que miden la implicancia del Programa en áreas específicas. Ambos señalan a la Fundación como un factor protector que desarrolla las habilidades psicosociales de sus integrantes y que mejora su autoestima, rendimiento académico y relaciones personales.

3. Cuales tipos de apoyo recibe la FOJI del establecimiento político chileno y cuánto aporta este apoyo al crecimiento de la fundación?

La Fundación recibe aportes del Estado a través del Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes (CNCA), los cuales son fundamentales para el funcionamiento de la Fundación.

4. Cuales argumentos han sido los más exitosos en la recaudación de fondos para sus programas?

La Fundación recauda un porcentaje de fondos en el sector privado para ello se expone la misión de FOJI que es la siguiente "Elevar el desarrollo social, cultural, y educacional del país, brindando oportunidades para que niños y jóvenes de todo Chile integren orquestas, pudiendo así mejorar su calidad de vida."

5. De dónde vienen los fondos públicos para su programa? Cuál porcentaje del presupuesto operacional proviene del gobierno de Chile? Un ministerio nacional confirma su presupuesto? Cuál es el proceso de asignación de fondos?

Los fondos provienen del Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes corresponden a un 95% del presupuesto, la asignación de los fondos es ratificado por el Ministerio de Hacienda, los fondos se asignan mediante la firma de un convenio entre las partes interesadas en dicho documento se compromete la realización de actividades, debiendo rendir dicho presupuesto, en lo que refiere a actividades ejecutadas y beneficiarios.

6. La FOJI escribe un informe anual? Este informe es público?

Sí, se publican Estados Financieros que son publicados en la web institucional, cumpliendo de esta forma con la Ley de Transparencia.

Walter Valdebenito, Executive Director of the Foundation of Children and Youth Orchestras of Chile. Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, June 5 2014 and March 5 2015. Translated from Spanish to English by Emma Strother.

1. According to you, what are the central goals of the Foundation with respect to music and the social lives of the participants and their communities?

To recover the founding spirit of the institution, promoting a social commitment to the community and creating spaces for development. To strengthen regional orchestras through a development plan adjusted to the reality of each region. To develop a program that benefits community orchestras. To strengthen the social aspect, oriented towards children with scarce resources and in vulnerable situations. To extend our concert season to communities with less access to culture, opening spaces for the people. To strengthen training in more and better centers.

2. How does the Foundation measure the impact of its work? According to you, what does this impact consist of? Is there someone (or an office) at FOJI measuring impact? Has someone outside the Foundation measured its impact?
Two impact studies have been conducted, one in 2007 (Arauco Foundation) and the other in 2009 (Alberto Hurtado University), that measure the implications of the program in specific areas. Both signal the Foundation as a protecting factor, developing psychosocial abilities of its members which improve their self-esteem, academic performance, and interpersonal relations.

3. Which types of support does FOJI receive from the Chilean political establishment, and how much does this support contribute to the growth of the Foundation?

The Foundation receives contributions from the State, through the National Council on Culture and the Arts (CNCA), which are fundamental to the Foundation's operations.

4. Which arguments have been most successful in fundraising for your programs?

The Foundation raises a percentage of funds from the private sector, for which we display FOJI's mission, which is the following. "To elevate the social, cultural, and educational development of the country, offering opportunities through which orchestras made up of children and youth from all over Chile can improve their quality of life."

5. Where do public funds for your programs come from? What percentage of the operational budget comes from the Chilean government? Does a national ministry confirm your budget? What is the process of allocating funds?

The funds coming from the National Council on Culture and the Arts comprise 95% of the budget. The allocation of funds is ratified by the Treasury. Funds are allocated through an agreement signed by concerned parties. In said document we commit to the fulfillment of activities, what we must pay according to the budget, and what we recount of executive and recipient activities.

6. Does FOJI write an annual report? Is this report public?

Yes, Financial Statements are published on the institution's website, complying with the Law of Transparency.

APPENDIX C: PAULA ROSALES INTERVIEW

Paula Rosales, ex alumna en una orquesta de la Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile. Entrevistada por Emma Strother, a través de e-mail, 20 de marzo, 2015.

1. Usted empezó su educación musical en una orquesta de la Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile?
Comencé a tocar en una orquesta catastrada por la Fundación de orquestas. Mi orquesta se llamaba Orquesta Sinfónica infantil de Rengo. VI Región del Libertador Bernardo O'higgins.
2. Cómo escogió usted su instrumento musical?
A la edad que entré a estudiar no tenía muchas opciones porque tenía 5 años y mi estatura no alcanzaba otro instrumento que no fuera el violín.
3. Que estudia usted ahora? O en qué trabaja?
Ahora estudio Violín en la Universidad Católica de Chile la carrera Licenciatura en música mención Violín.
4. Cómo escogió usted una carrera en música?
Al haber empezado a tan temprana edad a estudiar violín el gusto por la música siempre estuvo y no me imagine otra vida sin la música por lo que quise perfeccionar y decidí entrar a la universidad.
5. Los directores o los profesores discutían la misión social de la Fundación con los alumnos?
Los profesores entregaban siempre lo mejor para tener alumnos destacados y a medida del tiempo me fui dando cuenta de la misión de la fundación, que era llegar a cada rincón del país e impartir la música y ayudar a los niños y jóvenes de escasos recursos que no siempre tienen el acceso a la música y menos a instrumentos musicales y era esto lo que ofrecía la fundación.
6. Cuántas horas cada semana practicaba usted con la orquesta? Cuántas conciertos tenían ustedes cada año?
Teníamos solo un ensayo de orquesta a la semana más la clase particular del profesor de instrumento y más una clase de teoría musical y teníamos pocos conciertos en el año en ese entonces, hoy la cosa ha cambiado y ha crecido el interés musical y los conciertos han ido aumentando.
- 7.Cuál era su aspecto favorito de participación en las orquestas de FOJI?Cuál era su aspecto favorito menos de participación?

Una de las cosas que me gustaban era el compartir con más niños que estaban en el mismo sentir que yo, el gusto por la música y se veía como un juego a esa edad y fue creciendo mi gusto por la música. Y una de las cosas que no me gustaban mucho era ocupar los sábados que eran días de descanso pero que igual había que hacerlo.

8. Usted tiene algunos comentarios más sobre sus experiencias con FOJI?
Los comentarios aparte siempre han sido buenos debido a que hay muchas opciones a becas y beneficios que ayudan a los estudiantes. Ha sido una gran creación para impartir cultura que es importante para el crecimiento a nivel país.

Paula Rosales, former student in a FOJI youth orchestra, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, March 20, 2015. Translated from Spanish to English by Emma Strother.

1. Did you begin your musical education with an orchestra in the Foundation for Youth and Child Orchestras of Chile?

I began to play in an orchestra affiliated with the orchestra Foundation. My orchestra was called the Children's Symphony Orchestra of Rengo. Sixth Region of the Liberator Bernardo O'Higgins. [Reference to the state, or region in the case of Chile, in which the orchestra operated]

2. How did you choose your musical instrument?

At the age that I started studying I didn't have many options because I was five years old, and at my height I couldn't reach an instrument other than the violin.

3. What do you study now? Or what is your work?

I now study violin at the Catholic University of Chile, a Bachelor's [Licenciatura] in Music focusing on the violin.

4. How did you choose a career in music?

Starting to study the violin at such a young age, I always had a liking for music, and I can't imagine another life without music, for that reason I wanted to improve and decided to enter the university.

5. Did conductors or teachers discuss the social mission of the Foundation with students?

The teachers always devoted their best to having students who stood out and, with time, I realized that the mission of the foundation was to reach every corner of the country, and to provide music, and to help children and youth with scarce resources that don't always have access to music, much less to musical instruments, and this was what the foundation offered.

6. How many hours a week did you practice with the orchestra? How many concerts did you have each year?

We had only one orchestra rehearsal a week plus a class with a specific instrument instructor as well as a music theory class, and we had few concerts in a year at that time, today things have changed and interest in music has grown, and [the number] of concerts has been on the rise.

7. What was your favorite aspect of participating in a FOJI orchestra? What was your least favorite aspect of participating?

One of the things that I liked was to share my love of music with other children who felt the same way I did, and what seemed like a game at that age grew into

my love of music. And one of the things that I didn't like very much was being busy on Saturdays, which were days of rest but we still had to [rehearse].

8. Do you have any more comments about your experience with FOJI?
Otherwise, [my] comments have always been good owing to the fact that there are many options for scholarships and benefits that help students. It has been a great creation to provide culture which is important for growth on a national level.

APPENDIX D: SAMIR BARRIENTOS INTERVIEW

Samir Barrientos, ex alumno en una orquesta de la Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile. Entrevistada por Emma Strother, a través de e-mail, 24 de marzo, 2015.

1. Usted empezó su educación musical en una orquesta de la Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile?
Sí, comencé mis estudios musicales en una orquesta catastrada por la fundación de orquestas juveniles e infantiles de Chile. Específicamente, en la Orquesta Sinfónica Infantil del colegio Felmer Niklitschek, en Puerto Varas.
2. Cómo escogió usted su instrumento musical?
Para ser lo más sincero posible, me acerqué al cello de la nada. Me gustaba el violín, pero en cuanto se me dio la oportunidad de estudiar violoncello, lo hice de una manera muy instintiva. Siempre me ha gustado la música y apenas tuve la oportunidad de estudiarla seriamente, lo hice.
3. Que estudia usted ahora? O en qué trabaja?
En este momento, estudio licenciatura en música con mención en violoncello en la Pontificia Universidad. Además me desempeño (beca) como cellista de la Orquesta de Cámara del Teatro Municipal de Santiago.
4. Cómo escogió usted una carrera en música?
Escogí estudiar Música, porque realmente me apasionaba y deseaba profundamente que ésta sea mi forma de vida.
5. Los directores o los profesores discutían la misión social de la Fundación con los alumnos?
Los profesores discutían muy levemente el rol social de la FOJI, porque seguramente no tomaban mucha conciencia de este punto.
6. Cuántas horas cada semana practicaba usted con la orquesta? Cuántas conciertos tenían ustedes cada año?
Se practica aproximadamente tres horas a la semana, sin contar los ensayos de fila y los ensayos extras. Con este ritmo de estudio, se lograban realizar entre 12 y 15 conciertos al año.
7. Cuál era su aspecto favorito de participación en las orquestas de FOJI? Cuál era su aspecto favorito menos de participación?
Mi aspecto favorito de la participación en el mundo FOJI, era básicamente tener clases de cello, porque me gustaba avanzar mucho. También me gustaba ser

participe de los conciertos. Un aspecto que siempre he encontrado negativo de la FOJI, Es la mala elección de los profesores que no instruyen bien a los alumnos, realizándoles un gran mal para su formación.

8. Usted tiene algunos comentarios más sobre sus experiencias con FOJI?
La FOJI siempre ha entregado más recursos a Santiago, dejando muchas veces a un costado, a las demás regiones. Esto produce una desigualdad gigante de oportunidades.

Samir Barrientos, former student in a FOJI youth orchestra, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, March 24, 2015. Translated from Spanish to English by Emma Strother.

1. Did you begin your musical education with an orchestra in the Foundation for Youth and Child Orchestras of Chile?

Yes, I began my musical studies in an orchestra registered by the foundation of youth and children's orchestras of Chile. Specifically, in the Felmer Niklitschek College Children's Symphony Orchestra in Puerto Varas.

2. How did you choose your musical instrument?

To be perfectly honest, I was drawn to the cello from the beginning. I liked the violin, but as soon as they gave me the opportunity to study cello, I did it in a really instinctive way. I have always liked music and scarcely had I had the opportunity to study it seriously than I did.

3. What do you study now? Or what is your work?

Right now, I'm getting a degree in music with a focus on cello at the Catholic University. In addition, I am carrying out (a scholarship) as a cellist with the Chamber Orchestra at the Municipal Theater of Santiago.

4. How did you choose a career in music?

I chose to study music, because really I was passionate about it and I deeply wanted this to be my way of life.

5. Did conductors or teachers discuss the social mission of the Foundation with students?

The teachers barely discussed the social role of FOJI because surely they weren't very aware of it.

6. How many hours a week did you practice with the orchestra? How many concerts did you have each year?

Practices were approximately three hours a week, not including sectional rehearsals and extra rehearsals. Studying at this rate, we were able to perform between 12 and 15 concerts a year.

7. What was your favorite aspect of participating in a FOJI orchestra? What was your least favorite aspect of participating?

My favorite aspect of participating in the FOJI world was basically to have cello classes, because I really liked to advance. I also really liked to be involved in the concerts. An aspect that I've always found to be negative about FOJI is the bad

choice of teachers who don't instruct the students well, doing their training a great disservice.

8. Do you have any more comments about your experience with FOJI?
FOJI has always allocated more resources to Santiago, in many cases pushing aside the remaining regions. This produces great inequality of opportunity.

APPENDIX E: PATRICIO VELÁSQUEZ CÁRDENAS INTERVIEW

Patricio Velásquez Cárdenas, ex alumno en una orquesta de la Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile. Entrevistada por Emma Strother, a través de e-mail, March 24, 2015.

1. Usted empezó su educación musical en una orquesta de la Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile?
Si, yo comencé mis estudios gracias a una orquesta de la Foji.
2. Cómo escogió usted su instrumento musical?
Mi papá es profesor de música, entonces él lleva un violín a mi casa y me gusta al instante, desde ese momento mi interés por el violín.
3. Que estudia usted ahora? O en qué trabaja?
Actualmente estoy en el último año de Interpretación musical en Violín en la Universidad Católica.
4. Cómo escogió usted una carrera en música?
Escogí esta carrera por la satisfacción que me da hacer música, es algo que en verdad me llena al momento de tocar, me emociona y siento que así puedo llegar a distintos lugares del mundo y así conocer personas con muy diferentes historias. A futuro me gustaría enseñar acá en Chile todo lo que algún día afuera Aprenderé para mejorar la educación musical en mi país.
5. Los directores o los profesores discutían la misión social de la Fundación con los alumnos?
Misión Social propiamente tal, la verdad es que no. Pero por deducción e intuición con las actividades que se realizaban en este movimiento, se daba por entendido.
6. Cuántas horas cada semana practicaba usted con la orquesta? Cuántos conciertos tenían ustedes cada año?
En el año 2013 estuve en la Orquesta Nacional Juvenil de Chile y teníamos 3 ensayos a la semana de 2 horas y media o 3 horas. Los conciertos fueron alrededor de 10 o 12.
- 7.Cuál era su aspecto favorito de participación en las orquestas de FOJI? Cuál era su aspecto favorito menos de participación?
El aspecto favorito de ser partícipe en una orquesta de la Foji es que esas orquestas conocen a muchos músicos del país lo cual hace que te relaciones socialmente con diversas personas de distintas clases sociales. Ayuda a ser más

consciente de lo que tenemos y de lo que no. Vemos lo que nos falta como país e institución como Foji.

8. Usted tiene algunos comentarios más sobre sus experiencias con FOJI?
Entre otras y las mejores experiencias que he tenido gracias a la Foji fue que gracias a esta institución, pude postular a un Festival de Música de Cámara Internacional Música Mundo que se realiza en Belgica, donde pude ser representante de Chile en el Festival y así me becaron con estudios en ese país con el Profesor Leonid Kerbel. He participado dos años en este festival y es muy probable que este sea mi tercer año, además de viajar cada 3 meses a tener clases en Bélgica con el profesor anteriormente nombrado.

Patricio Velásquez Cárdenas, former student in a FOJI youth orchestra, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, March 24, 2015. Translated from Spanish to English by Emma Strother.

1. Did you begin your musical education with an orchestra in the Foundation for Youth and Child Orchestras of Chile?

Yes, I began my studies thanks to a FOJI orchestra.

2. How did you choose your musical instrument?

My father is a music teacher, so he brings a violin home and I like it instantly, from that moment I am interested in the violin.

3. What do you study now? Or what is your work?

Right now I'm in my last year of Musical Performance on Violin at the Catholic University.

4. How did you choose a career in music?

I chose this career for the satisfaction that making music gives me, it's something that really fulfills me from the moment I play, it moves me and I feel like in this way I can go different places around the world and meet people with really different stories. In the future I would like to teach here in Chile, everything that one day I will learn from the outside world, to improve musical education in my country.

5. Did conductors or teachers discuss the social mission of the Foundation with students?

The social mission itself, not really. But intuitively and with dedication for the activities that they were working on in this movement [the social goals] were understood.

6. How many hours a week did you practice with the orchestra? How many concerts did you have each year?

In 2013 I was in the National Youth Orchestra of Chile [a FOJI orchestra] and we had three rehearsals a week of 2.5-3 hours each. There were around 10-12 concerts.

7. What was your favorite aspect of participating in a FOJI orchestra? What was your least favorite aspect of participating?

My favorite aspect of participating is that these orchestras involve a lot of musicians from around the country, which means you connect socially to diverse people from different backgrounds. It helps [us] to be more conscious of we have

and what we don't. We see what we lack as a country and as an institution such as FOJI.

8. Do you have any more comments about your experience with FOJI?

One of the best experiences I've had thanks to FOJI was that thanks to the institution, I could apply to an International Chamber World Music Festival that happened in Belgium where I was the representative from Chile in the Festival and they awarded me with the chance to study in that country with Professor Leonid Kerbel. I have participated in this festival for two years, and it's very probable that this will be my third year, in addition to traveling to Belgium every three months to take classes with the previously mentioned Professor.

APPENDIX F: RODRIGO AROS INTERVIEW

Rodrigo Aros, ex alumno en una orquesta de la Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile. Entrevistada por Emma Strother, a través de e-mail, March 26, 2015.

1. Usted empezó su educación musical en una orquesta de la Fundación de Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Chile?
Sí.
2. Cómo escogió usted su instrumento musical?
A mi me recomendaron tocar violín porque respecto de otros instrumentos era el que más se adecuaba a mi tamaño.
3. Que estudia usted ahora? O en qué trabaja?
Sí, estudio Interpretación musical mención Violín.
4. Cómo escogió usted una carrera en música?
Mientras aprendía de mi instrumento cuando pequeño se generó un gran interés por hacer de esto mi carrera.
5. Los directores o los profesores discutían la misión social de la Fundación con los alumnos?
Si, existía un ideal de inclusión al mundo musical independiente de la región de origen o de su clase social.
6. Cuántas horas cada semana practicaba usted con la orquesta? Cuántas conciertos tenían ustedes cada año?
Eran alrededor de 5 horas de ensayo semanal y más o menos 4 o 5 conciertos anuales.
- 7.Cuál era su aspecto favorito de participación en las orquestas de FOJI?Cuál era su aspecto favorito menos de participación?
Disfrutaba mucho del tipo de repertorio orquestal, el trabajo que hacían sus directores los desafíos que nos planteaban.
8. Usted tiene algunos comentarios más sobre sus experiencias con FOJI?
[Ningún comentario]

Rodrigo Aros, former student in a FOJI youth orchestra, Interviewed by Emma Strother over e-mail, March 26, 2015. Translated from Spanish to English by Emma Strother.

1. Did you begin your musical education with an orchestra in the Foundation for Youth and Child Orchestras of Chile?
Yes.
2. How did you choose your musical instrument?
They recommended that I play the violin because compared to other instruments it was the most suited to my size.
3. What do you study now? Or what is your work?
Yes, I study Musical Performance with a focus on Violin.
4. How did you choose a career in music?
While learning my instrument when I was young, great interest in doing this as my career grew.
5. Did conductors or teachers discuss the social mission of the Foundation with students?
Yes, there existed an ideal of inclusion in the musical world regardless of region of origin or social class.
6. How many hours a week did you practice with the orchestra? How many concerts did you have each year?
There were around 5 hours of rehearsal weekly and more or less 4 or 5 concerts yearly.
7. What was your favorite aspect of participating in a FOJI orchestra? What was your least favorite aspect of participating?
I really enjoyed the type of orchestral repertoire, the hard work of the directors, and the challenges they posed to us.
8. Do you have any more comments about your experience with FOJI?
[No comment]

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