

Current situation and challenges of Higher Education in Latinamerica and the Caribbean

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Higher education¹ at an international level has experienced deep transformations since the mid XXth century up until now. From the traditionally structured Humboldtian University, articulated around research, the view now is in transit towards a dynamic space with a growing area of professional and scientific research training. This space – as with all emergent phenomena within higher education - has diffuse frontiers bordering the surrounding social, political and economic dynamics; it is also, institutionally heterogeneous, massive and prone to universality, and it remains in a process of transformation that is as yet incomplete.

These changes are deep and hold multiple dimensions. To understand them in a dynamic and global sense, they are usually interpreted within the context of new patterns of modernization of contemporary capitalism. More concretely, the transit from an industrial to a postindustrial society, and the emerging “knowledge society”. These emerging structures are linked to the expansion of the market and social spaces that were previously unaffected , as a

consequence of the recent welfare crisis and growth of the neoliberal politics.

Primarily, new forms of higher education are a key aspect within the post-industrial society, where knowledge, science and technology are core. The progress towards a widespread higher education is an example of this transit (Bell, 2006; Brunner, 1990). Qualified jobs are not exclusive to a small group, but a general condition within these societies. Therefore, there is no clear definition of the disciplinary frontiers described classically. Furthermore the division between practical and theoretical knowledge becomes relative. The productive function of knowledge and its distribution – within scientific research, cultural and intellectual elaboration in a general sense, and professional training - does not match anymore the institutional limits of the university. In addition, the current transformations of higher education are based upon the increasingly significant presence of market production logic of knowledge (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004; Verger, 2008b).

¹ Formal education leading to profesional or technical degrees of at least two years of study. This exludes the non formal education oriented to work (working training).

After the so called “neoliberal turn”, the state slowly withdrew social services extended previously during the welfare period (“Compromise State” in Latin America), inclusive of the suppliers that introduced certain market logistics. A considerable discussion regarding privatization of social services is a feature of the present (FMI, 2004; Gentili, Frigotto, Leher, & Stubrin, 2009; Walford, 2011). The problem of commercialization of higher education and science, and the expansion of an economic rationality towards post-secondary education, are prevalent topics of analysis within the main literature concerned, within both fields of observation and critique (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004; Verger, 2008b).

These processes have driven the secularization of higher-education practices. Thus, the internal challenges could be addressed, namely the tensions between the past and its traditions, modernization and commercialization, and also some external challenges, mainly, the effective contribution to the arrival of the “knowledge society”.

Given the centrality of knowledge in society, these challenges are no longer a problem of the experts but rather form constituents of current general social problems. As the world has progressed, specialized knowledge is more valuable than ever. At this mid-point within the transformation of knowledge – including forms of production and distribution – many relevant conflicts arise within the current society. The comprehension of higher education is then increasingly more important as an aid to understanding current sociological phenomena.

The forces that drive these changes are dynamic and heterogeneous. Besides market driven forces (private investment,

search of profitability in different areas), different advances in technology and increasingly widespread incorporation into education are happening, implying that more students of popular upbringing (by “popular” we mean traditional working class, likely to be without higher education with regard to previous generations), women, and native population are now participating. However, the desired effects have not been fully produced, especially in the developing countries.

The contemporary discussion about higher-education makes it compulsory to understand the emergent dynamics with the aim of producing elaborate policies oriented towards public interest, and thus, to make the most of this potential within developing countries. This axis of debate has been central for some international organisations, especially for UNESCO (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009).

When the Latin American situation is analysed, it is useful to begin by outlining the specific nature of modernisation within this area (Cardoso & Faletto, 1981). During most of the XXth century, higher-education in Latin America and the Caribbean was developed broadly by the state. The public universities of Latin America, created and reformed post-independence during the years of national construction, evolved during the XXth century into macro-universities. Big national institutions constituted by the Humboldtian ideal of organisation. This granted authority over not only professional training, but also the societal extension, understood as the reciprocity between society as financiers and chief beneficiaries of the university through the state.

It was believed that this past method of organisation was – and still is to a large extent- the clearer institutional expression of the Latin American capacity for intellectual reflection, scientific production, and creation of an independent and unique culture.

In terms of enrollment, these institutions concentrated principally - although complemented with confessional universities, and with some private philanthropic initiatives or corporative initiatives - in the technical-professional area, with financial dependence upon the state in most cases. The public macro-universities were an important factor of social mobility, particularly for the middle class (or middle sector of society), although still highly selective and exclusive.

The crisis of the Latin-American developmentalist model, together with the appearance of a neoliberal agenda at an international level since the XXth century, has questioned this institutional arrangement of public service based upon state contributions. The more advanced attempts of modernization of public universities in the developmentalist context were seemingly exhausted during the unfinished reforms at the end of the 60's by the crisis of this society model (Arocena & Sutz, 2000). Nowadays, the industrial impetus of the past century, despite unceasing in many cases, has given protagonism to other economic dynamics, in which the service activities take an important role. The postindustrial changes, like the extension of knowledge and the decline of the classic disciplinary divisions, occurred then, in the context of a crisis of public universities and a change in direction towards neo-liberalism (Mollis, 2010).

The expansion of higher-education in Latin America. The promise of social mobility.

The expansion of higher-education systems is a global trend sustained throughout the last decades. While this expansion can be viewed, the promise of inclusion into the working segment is also extended, associated to secure positions of welfare (Bell, 2006; Gouldner, 1980). The promise of mobility is consubstantial to the “knowledge society”, whereby the more significant cultural images are viewed as the expansion of the middle sectors to constitute the majority social category. The forces of the institutions and of the subjects, that pressurize and protect access to new positions, mold to a great extent the changes in the current tertiary systems.

In the first world, the expansion of tertiary education occurred early –in the middle of the XXth century- whereas in the developing countries started in the 70's. That drive slowed down in the continent with the crisis of the 80's, recovering the rhythm in the 90's and in the 2000's decade with increasing energy.

In fact, the gross rate of enrollment² in higher-education within the continent did not surpass 15% in any country during the 70's. The tertiary systems were associated to the elites and the upper middle classes. In all Latin America there were little more than 1.5 million students. But towards 2008, the number was almost 20 million. The growing gross rate of enrollment has further increased at the end of the last decade, into 6.8% in the entire Region (Brunner & Ferrada Hurtado, 2011).

² Indicator determined by the relation between the total number of enrolled students and the cohort of 18-24 years in each country.

In any case, these numbers hide a high heterogeneity. While some countries have recently become close to a gross coverage similar to the developed world, Chile and Argentina are examples, in most of the national cases – with few exceptions - the expansion of higher-education has not become such a widespread system. Moreover, the experiences, of Mexico and Brazil, with huge public macro-universities – the UNAM and the USP, for example- have still produced high levels of social exclusion and relatively low coverage where population is considered.

Despite there is not a linear relation between economic growth and tertiary expansion, in general, countries with a medium level of development achieved earlier, tertiary expansion followed more rapidly. Argentina and Uruguay, for example, experienced growth before the increase of coverage; Chile and Colombia experienced it later.

It is known broadly that the expansion of educational opportunities does not benefit equally the population (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2009). Latin America is not an exception. The region itself carries an important problem in the form of early dropout rate for post-secondary education (Brunner, 2008), and because of the asymmetric distribution of the cultural capital and its affect upon access systems –in the form of standardized testing- the entry to higher education tends to reproduce the inequities of post-secondary exit. Thus, the main recipients of the expansion have been the high and middle-high societal sectors.

The participation of the poorest quintile in higher-education in 2009 fluctuated between 27% and 2% among the countries in the region (Brunner & Ferrada Hurtado,

2011). In most cases it was less than 10%. Thus the expansion of tertiary education in Latin America has developed in a context of profound inequalities. The pattern of inequalities varies according to the tension between public and private that is related to the early or late enrollment growth.

Entry and the unequal completion of the degrees are not the only problem. At the same time as coverage in tertiary education increases, the subsequent incorporation with resultant working structures is not necessarily accomplishing the promise of social mobility and inclusion of the subjects within postindustrial society dynamics.

Although within the continent, the tertiary sector plays a relevant role in the economy, and an important increase in professionals within the working structure is taking place. Since the 1980's the spurious character of economic tertialisation (outsourcing) was discussed (Weller, 2004). Indeed, there are postindustrial modernization patterns equivalent to those of the developed countries, but its weight, extension in society, character, and heterogeneity are specific to the Latin-American process (Boccardo, 2012). The medium sectors of the region are the social category that increases the most, but they have high levels of heterogeneity between and within countries (OCDE, 2010).

It is not by coincidence that the dominant analysis on social inequalities in the past decades centered on poverty, has given protagonism to the problem of characterization of middle sectors (Franco, Hopenhayn, & León, 2010). The Latin-American middle class tend to impersonate images of postindustrial welfare realization and also of the old inequalities. In their interior, important dilemmas incubate and

act to determine social cohesion within the region. Consequently more pressure is put upon higher-education systems that give qualifications which help to maintain those positions. This has been particularly relevant in the Chilean experience, In Chilean society due to an acute social inequality marked by the concentration of income and the absence of universal social rights guaranteed by the state, commercialized education based on state subsidies constitute virtually the only chance of social promotion (mobility). From that tension, a widespread student movement emerged that has deep political consequences (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014; Ruiz Encina, 2012). In the experience of other nations where the state social policies still exist, where higher participation of non-qualified workers is maintained, the conflicts centered around education lead less often to intense or broad social action. In an intermediate variant, in Mexico and Colombia the adoption of neoliberal policies motivated important students' movements in this and the previous decade.

In summary, the expansion of the tertiary education has produced a heterogeneous panorama that combines social exclusion/ inclusion in context of significant inequalities. Within this dynamic, the different groups, classes or social actors pressure the higher educational systems to obtain advantages regarding their integration strategies, considering the general trend of economic outsourcing. From that pressure and the specific ways available to organize and direct it in each system, forces emerged that have shaped their development, and the credentials that give or take away opportunities in terms of social mobility and equal distribution.

Changes in the institutional dimension of higher-education.

Increased heterogeneity and privatization.

In the early years of educational expansion, the old university systems were inclusive of new social sectors, in the context of the developmentalist model. The main mechanism of incorporation into higher education was through collective action and applied pressure to the state. The response of the state was through political decisions that affected the funding of institutions. In countries that experienced a later raise in coverage – as in the case of Chile, Brazil, and Peru - the dynamism of the private sector was to a larger extent, contributing to expand market logistics on the interior of higher-education systems inclusive of subject formats. Currently, on the one hand, the Chilean situation places the state university as a minor position in terms of resources and enrollment; on the other hand, in the Argentinian case, the state institutions are central within the higher-education system.

The superposition of both processes – late expansion and turn towards neo-liberalism - leaves Latin-America as a region with the highest presence of private higher-education in the world (48.2%) (Brunner & Ferrada Hurtado, 2011). Within the Latin-American case, the state still an important supplier of higher-education, and the most important in many of its countries. However the private sector, during the 90's and the 2000's was the more dynamic actor within the expansion. The actions of the private sector allowed the emergence of new institutions leading to a heterogeneous panorama of universities, both private and publicly

administered. In many cases the system acted to increase the distinction of the elites compared to institutions that were more open socially, to entities of vocational formation oriented to disadvantaged sectors. Although those poles have a rich intermediate zone.

Nonetheless, the dynamism of the private sector did not constitute hegemony over the old public system, not qualitatively or quantitative. Most of the countries have an enrollment rate base mainly in the traditional institutions. Even in the last 5 years, the policies of some governments have accelerated the growth of state institutions, as in Venezuela – where the state concentrates on initiatives within tertiary expansion - or in Brazil, where the state and the private sector share the responsibility and action. This new development of state orientated higher-education is linked to the return of popular-national policies in countries like Brazil, Venezuela and Uruguay. In general, and also at a global level, it is described as a retirement, or at least a relativization of the educational privatization (Altbach et al., 2009; Bonal & Verger, 2012).

The majority of private dynamism and of state led initiatives have until now until focused upon bachellor degree programs. Referring to the classical professional (CINE 5A), that is consubstantial to the fact that the main beneficiaries of the 90's and 00's expansion were the medium and high sectors. However, in the last decade it appears the expansion of "technical higher education" (CINE 5B) has gained relative notoriety. This is related to a more global process of enhanced training and preparation of the working force, whose

institutionalization moves away from the old idea of "vocational education" to modern ideas such as "skills training" and "continuing education". Within the international organisations, the problem of skills for work has gained relevance. The OECD has defined a strategy of *skills policies* (OECD, 2009), and UNESCO has included the problem of working skills in its strategy of *Education for All* (UNESCO-EPT, 2012).

In post-secondary education, programs awarding degrees different to bachelor degrees started to increase, and are framed as part of an increasingly general trend. This is also related to institutional diversification, with the emergence of institutions offering only this type of degree. The growth of relative participation of institutions has accelerated in the last 5 years throughout the region (with the exception of Uruguay and Venezuela). These types of institutions are generally private; Chile and Peru show the highest rates of enrollment in this kind of programs (CINE 5B) regionally speaking, close to 40% of the total (Brunner & Ferrada Hurtado, 2011).

Because of the unequal growth of enrollment, the vacancies are filled mainly by vulnerable social sectors and mature students. These programs do not always result in insertion into good jobs post-graduation, because of quality and occupational structure, therefore jobs are more frequently allocated to students graduating with a more diverse panorama of skills training.

Higher-education, science and research. The gap that is reproduced.

Two important features of the current transformations in higher education at a global level are the emphasis on creation of scientific programs, and training of scientists, professionals and technicians. Those features constitute a key supply for the new economy, as also strong cultural images of the emergence of the knowledge society.

In Latin America (and the rest of the world), the crucial center of scientific production was, until the second half of the XXth century, the Research University. From there on the private sector started to gain a more determinant role, redefining the frontiers of knowledge oriented to higher interdisciplinary and complementarity between basic and applied research. Nowadays, only 11% of research and development in developed countries is done by the state. The business circle funds almost 70% in this area (BID, 2010).

Additionally, there has been an increase in so called “advanced human capital”. The experts multiply the given centrality of knowledge within the contemporary social dynamics, and concentrate power and determination over wide areas. Such tendencies have loosened the rigidity of national frontiers, such that an international space for high student mobility has been created, especially at the postgraduate level (Atria & Lemaitre, 2013). Postgraduate training and international mobility represent characteristic features of the new experts and of the so called “technocracies” (Bell, 2006; Gouldner, 1980).

Unfortunately, in the creation of science and in the training of the “advanced human capital”, Latin America is still behind. The scientific and cultural dependence is maybe increasing, considering the numbers of experts trained in the first world institutions. While in the United States in 2006 there were 18 doctorates per 100.000 residents, in Latin America the number was close to 3. Those numbers hide a high heterogeneity. Brazil and Mexico are the leaders in the concentration of doctorates (5 and 3 respectively in the same scale), but in countries like Venezuela, Paraguay and Uruguay the numbers are lower, less than 1 per 100.000 (BID, 2010).

Across the region, the axis of scientific production and the training of scientists is the public sector. Not only do the national universities provide most of the doctoral training, but, in a general way, the public sector funds more than 60% of the Research and Development (BID, 2010). Within this context, and especially in the last years, the private sector has increased its participation in research and development in countries like Chile, México and Brazil. However, it is still not in line with the general development of the public sector.

Regarding scientific publications, Latin America has shown an accelerated increase since the 90's, but considering the setback in the beginning, this has allowed Latin America marginally to be the region of the developing world with more publications, still very far from the central countries. On average the OCDE has 1 scientific publication per capita, whereas, in Latin America in 2003 the indicator was 0,1. Again, the average encompasses a

significant heterogeneity. Chile, Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil are the leaders in scientific production in the region, and in the lower positions are countries Peru, Paraguay, Bolivia and Haiti (BID, 2010).

The higher- education policies: quality, equity and funding.

Traditionally in Latin America, the policies for higher-education coincided with the public university of humboldtian inspiration. This institution was both supplier and holder of the public faith regarding validity of given knowledge and the authority on science; in some cases, also over the professions. The transformations of higher-education tend to change this: public faith and universities evolve to different things. The raise of new private suppliers (many of them lucrative) and the need of more efficient academic processes, forced the state(s) to design new policies. Mainly it has been directed towards quality assurance, which aims to give coherence to the emergent space of higher-education and to orient it to public ends (Lemaitre, 2004; Mollis, 2010).

The development of quality measurement of higher-education has been explained as a rationalization imperative in the presence of a situation that is increasingly complex and heterogeneous (Brock, 2007; Osorio, 2005). Globalization is a source of technological and political transformations forcing comparison between graduated students beyond national frames. In a more general way, the idea of quality would help to link education with skills acquired within the study of each subject, giving rise to an education space that is rational and multicultural (Altbach et al., 2009).

During the 90's, when the expansion of the tertiary enrollment was active most significantly, the issue of quality was concentrated almost entirely upon public policy. At a global level, the possibility of measuring objectively academic production has been a controversial topic (Harvey & Green, 1993). On the one hand, some defend this process as a consubstantial part of contemporary modernization (EUA, 2007; Lemaitre, 2004); however, there are critical voices that link it essentially to the commercialization of knowledge (Robertson & Dale, 2013; Verger, 2008a).

There have been attempts in the continent to build – with different levels of solidity –, systems of accreditation and quality assurance that allow for coordinated management of heterogeneous institutions. The norms and the supervision are framed in new institutions with the aim of evaluating suppliers, to ensure their quality and to promote a culture of information, compliance, transparency and responsibility.

A second axis of changes has been the funding policy. The lower the relative support of the state to the universities, the higher the rate of fees imposed upon the students and higher still is the need to diversify funding sources. Higher-education moves from a generally elitist model, free and funded by the state, to a widespread system with direct payment. At an international level, some practices have emerged, called “academic capitalism” (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004). Despite that in Latin America the public contribution had increased in absolute terms between 1985 and 2005, going from the 3,9% to the 4,8% of the average GDP of the region (Riveros, 2008), given the relevance

of the public sector in the register and in scientific production, the so called “advanced human capital”, the state funding has been meager. Furthermore, in relative terms, the public expenditure in higher-education decreased in most of the countries of the region during the last decade. The lack of resources has generated a widely discussed crisis of the old public universities, and has produced a higher individual debt within the population (Arocena & Sutz, 2000; Brunner & Uribe, 2007; Mollis, 2010).

The public resources are scarcer; therefore their use must be justified. A growing concern within the societies is about the real effects of higher-education – and the public contributions that it receives - regarding efficacy and efficiency. In addition to the policies of quality outlined previously, the contribution to social cohesion was examined. Impact studies concerning tertiary education and social mobility (Atria, Franco, & León, 2007; Franco et al., 2010; Gumpert, 2007) have formed the basis of discussion regarding access policies over the last five years. Installments of “affirmative action” in Brazil and Chile, are prime examples. The systems of access to higher-education have also included installments of other methods specifically created to provide social plurality to the higher educational register. All cases considered, this discussion is incipient, and the policy instruments are still in their early stage. Standardized testing still is the main selection mechanism.

In conclusion, the transformations carried out by the policies of quality, funding and access have had different results, as the systemic level reforms has not been accompanied with institutional reforms (Mollis, 2011).

Thus, different funding systems and ways of property survive accompanied by a huge heterogeneity of sizes and purposes. The higher-education systems of Latin America are far from becoming articulated spaces. Hence, although the public-private axis is relevant, it is not the only one. Therefore, it is difficult to articulate the current systems of higher education, and even more, to orient them towards public purposes, not only for the differences of property, but also for the plurality of programs and knowledge areas.

The challenges of higher-education in Latin America post 2015

The development of the knowledge society is not similar in all the countries. In this transition, new gaps are generated and new dangers of exclusion emerge as new opportunities appear, regarding collective and individual welfare. To take advantage of these opportunities is a challenge of the region as a whole; the efficacy of such efforts is determined mainly by the equity and quality of its educational systems, their scientific and technological production, the degree of democratic determination over cultural production of sophisticated institutions, and by the capacity of their economies to create value and to innovate through a work force that is properly trained. The contribution of higher-education systems in Latin America to access the information society is fundamental, which implies a renovation of the role of the state and the public institutions within the Latin-American path towards knowledge society. To move forward in this direction, the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean should take substantial

transformation initiatives in their systems of tertiary education.

The first challenge of the tertiary education systems of the region is to assure social justice in their expansion. That implies a constant reflection regarding the type and scale of the affirmative action policies developed up to know. This then moves the discussion to a previous point: should higher-education be a right, as it is in the primary and secondary levels? The countries of the region should discuss democratically this issue and from that discussion technical instruments should emerge, regarding positive discrimination, student support and reduction of the dropout rate.

The second challenge is to generate an independent capacity for scientific and technological advancement and production. This may imply the increase and strengthening of scientific production and to promote applied research in close relation to productive development. Therefore a strengthening of initiatives to improve and expand training in basic science – usually considered non-profitable programs - and to promote the development of research institutions with a critical group of scientists able to collaborate. It is a challenge that due to its scale, it is hard to address in an isolated way, so international and regional cooperation in higher-education should be intensified. Learning from the experience of the European Union implies going beyond the standardized comparison indicators to promote market competence, and building concrete mechanisms of scientific cooperation on a regional scale.

It is important to emphasize on the institutional challenge regarding this matter.

The countries of the region have in their public research universities a fundamental base for this process. Those universities will be their main instruments of knowledge creation as they have been historically, thus, they should be strengthened in their own right. This does not prevent the support to private research universities as being compromised with the generation of public goods; neither to link the tertiary institutions with different productive sectors.

An additional challenge that the higher-education systems face is to connect more effectively and to be more open towards their own societies. The traditional compromise about “outreach” should be renewed. The promise of the post-industrial society implies that this horizon has a higher relevance than before (Arocena & Sutz, 2000). For example, establishing a close relationship between public universities and the school system: the tertiary institutions could do a lot for the schools improving initial teacher training, collaborating in the design of the curriculum, supporting the schools placed in areas of high difficulty of teaching, and producing relevant research to face the challenges of the school systems. In other areas, similar working fields could emerge, like in the field of the data nets, internet infrastructure, digital television, communication and information media, and work training on any scale. It is also advisable to collaborate between public institutions, looking for a better link between needs and opportunities of the communities where they are inserted.

Finally, the higher-education systems need to coordinate themselves internally and to become linked to other social spheres, as they require more rationalization and

transparency towards society. The concern regarding efficacy and efficiency does not suggest curtail the autonomy of institutions, but to use their working potential to as an incentive create public policy instruments that allow the society to orient them towards public ends. From this perspective, the accreditation and evaluation systems that have been built are still in debt.

Higher education in the post 2015 agenda

2015 will be an emblematic year for the world's agenda. That year the countries will report their advances regarding the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDG) and also regarding the *Goals of Education for All* (EFA). The agencies of United Nations are contributing to organize the world's debate for a joint agenda to direct action towards human development. To fight inequalities in all their dimensions is becoming in the center of all the worldwide efforts in all the development areas.

As the leader of the world's agenda in favor of *Education for All*, UNESCO has followed the goals in a systematic way. Thus, in the recent meeting organized in Muscat, Oman, May of 2014, the aims were established to advance post 2015 on the guarantee of the right to education were defined for all countries.

In addition, the intergovernmental *Open Working Group* (OWG) of *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDG), created by the

United Nations in January 2013 adopted a proposal of 17 aims and 169 goals that will be presented in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in September 2014, and after that an intergovernmental process of consultation will be initiated, becoming an important contribution in the development agenda post 2015.

In the frame of the future "*Sustainable Development Goals*" that the countries will approve in 2015 in the United Nations General Assembly and in the educational goals that the UNESCO will pursue to support this world's aim, Higher-education is a central concern.

Post-2015 Chart

Final declaration of the World Meeting about EFA 2014: Muscat Agreement

Overarching aim: Ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030 as the overarching goal of the post-2015 education agenda.

Goal 4: By 2030, at least x% of youth and y% of adults have the knowledge and skills for decent work and life through technical and vocational, upper secondary and tertiary education and training, with particular attention to gender equality and the most marginalized.

Goal 7: By 2030, all countries allocate at least 4-6% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or at least 15-20% of their public expenditure to education, prioritizing groups most in need; and strengthen financial cooperation for education, prioritizing countries most in need.

Open Working Group Proposal for the Sustainable Development Goals

Objective 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all

4.3 By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university.

4.4 By 2030, increase by [x] per cent the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship.

4.5 By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations.

4.7b By 2020, expand by [x] per cent globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering and scientific programs, in developed countries and other developing countries



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