FELICITAS ACOSTA

3. SECONDARY EDUCATION POLICIES IN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA

A Historical Comparative Analysis

PRESENTATION

By means of a comparative historical methodology, this work sets out to analyse the process of expansion of secondary education in Europe and Latin America. To do so, it considers the characteristics of this expansion in some countries in those regions with particular emphasis on two issues: the historical configuration of secondary schools' institutional models and the most recent policies aimed at those schools.

Similarities can be found between the configuration of the educational systems in Western Europe and some Latin American countries (particularly those in the Southern Cone: Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile). In both cases, the systems took shape with the enactment of mandatory primary school education laws. The creation of secondary schools circuits, related to socioeconomic status, accompanied this process. During the post-war period, expansion of secondary education took place in Europe. In Latin America, this process ensued at a different pace and did not get underway until a few decades later.

In both cases, however, policies to expand secondary education have come against problems when it comes to adjusting classic secondary education institutional models to fit the social sectors with recent access to this level of education, these problems often mean increased dropout rates and the decreased graduation rates. Western European countries adopted different strategies, among them comprehensive schooling, to address this problem. Most countries in Latin America, on the other hand, still face very basic problems of expansion (infrastructure, completion of previous educational levels, teacher training, among others). Nevertheless, some recent policies are similar to those found in some European countries, which raises the question of the causes for similar political actions in such different regions. Policy comparisons that bear in mind the historical problems of secondary education expansion are helpful to provide a better understanding of these similarities as well as the effects on educational systems.

The chapter is organized in tree sections. In the first one, conceptualizations around the problem of the expansion of secondary education are presented. The second section introduces an overview of the development of the secondary school

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in European and Latin American countries. This overview serves as platform for the comparison of recent policies towards secondary education developed in the third section. Some concluding remarks are presented at the end of the chapter considering possible effects on historical problems of schooling.

CONCEPTUALIZATIONS: THE EXPANSION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL AND THE INSTITUTIONAL MODEL

This section sets out to conceptualize the historical process by which secondary school became a crucial item on the agenda of change in educational policy. Our argument revolves around the existence of problems common to Western educational systems specifically in relation to the expansion of secondary schools and their institutional model.

It is possible to identify three aspects pertinent to the emergence of this problem. The first is related to changes in economic structure and the labor market, and their effect on the expansion of schooling (training of human resources and/or containment of youth unemployment). The second is bound to demographic transformations, specifically the growth of the young population and the need to expand institutions geared to the social regulation of that population. The third aspect, which is of an institutional systemic nature, is linked to the ways educational systems expanded (the extension of the school career) as well as certain characteristics of the organization of secondary schooling associated with the trouble of ensuring successful school careers for all students.

Policies for the expansion of secondary schooling have historically faced problems related to adjusting institutional models to address the new social sectors that have gained access to this level of education. Studies performed for the IIPE UNESCO in 2010 (Acosta, 2011a) and OEI/EUROSOciAL (2013) confirmed the existence of problems common to the Western world as a whole related to the massification of secondary schooling, on the one hand, and its format, on the other: certain characteristics of the organization of secondary school appear to hinder the ability of all students to enjoy successful secondary school careers. New policies and reforms grasped the disconnection between mandatory education (forced expansion) and format. In this work, the problem is reformulated in terms of expansion, on the one hand, and institutional model, on the other.[1]

This work is based on the hypothesis that there has been a process of internationalization of ideas and models in the configuration of educational systems in general and the secondary school in particular. The concept of internationalization, as developed by Schriewer (2002, 2011), refers to the process of transnational migration, expansion, and reception, a process constructed historically in a range of logics of appropriation determined by deep cultural structures (Caruso & Tenorth, 2011, p. 16). At the same time, it assumes the global expansion of transnationally standardized educational models and the persistence of various networks of socio-cultural interconnection (Schriewer, 2011, p. 72). Here we will analyse these two

aspects of the process of internationalization—global models and socio-cultural networks—through an analysis of the configuration of the secondary school.

The following processes of internationalization are the basis for this analysis of the configuration of the educational system and secondary schools:

- The triumph, in the late 19th century, of a school format based on the variables of nationalization, simultaneity, graduality, and new positions (teachers and students)
- The shaping of educational institutions and systems for which systematization and segmentation served as the matrix during processes of configuration (Mueller, Ringer, & Simon, 1992)
- The configuration of the secondary school as an institution with a distinct role in the process of educational segmentation based on two considerations: its own institutional model (an organizational form—the grammar of schooling—a pedagogical form—the localization of this grammar—and an institutional history—secondary school as an institution that partakes of the practice of humanist colleges), and the expansion of the secondary school on the basis of models of institutions deemed decisive (Steedman, 1992).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN WESTERN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA: AN OVERVIEW

This section will provide a brief historical overview of the development of the secondary school in European and Latin American countries. It will also summarize the main tendencies for change in keeping with two distinct agendas, one geared to the expansion of secondary school and one geared to changes and emerging trends incorporated into the existing educational agenda (specifically, young people envisioned as vulnerable population and what that entails for the design of "socio-educational" policies).

In response to the common problem of expansion, states formulate goals on the basis of pre-existing situations (regarding the expansion of the educational system as well as traditions and particular sets of circumstances) such that the challenges are not always the same. In European countries, the problem would seem to revolve around the demands of new populations (immigrants, for instance), whereas most Latin American countries still grapple with the most basic problems of expanding secondary school (problems of infrastructure, student completion of earlier levels of schooling, teacher training, and others). Regardless of how much progress has been made, the educational policies of a number of countries in the Latin American region are geared to these issues.

Latin American countries today are faced with the challenge of furthering the expansion of secondary school and enabling the bulk of the young people enrolled to enjoy successful school careers. These countries and their states, then, are engaged in a process of expanding schooling that began decades ago in central countries.

A series of hypotheses on the dynamic of the expansion of secondary school in central countries is proposed on the following pages in order to then analyse the situation in Latin America. On the basis of a seminal model of configuration, secondary schools in central countries are understood to have experienced two distinct moments of expansion with distinct strategies. The first, which ensued after World War II, entailed comprehensive reform. The second, which set in during the eighties, entailed focalized policies aimed at specific problems (the exclusion of the immigrant population, for instance).

As earlier works have argued, the behavior of secondary schools in Latin American countries can be understood in the framework of the tendencies discussed above. This means that educational systems in Latin America must tackle simultaneously the most basic problems that come with the expansion of secondary schooling (problems of infrastructure, student completion of earlier levels of schooling, teacher training, and others) as well as structural problems (altering the institutional model).

Secondary School in Western Europe: Continuities and Changes

As Savoir, Bruter and Frijoff point out (2004) the term "secondary education" first appeared at the turn of the 19th century, when some European states began to build public educational institutions. Indeed, at that moment public education was increasingly visible as a tool of the State. Nonetheless, an overview of the history of education indicates the existence of certain earlier educational practices and discourses that left their mark on the ultimate configuration of what came to be secondary education. This process can be seen in Argentina as well.

The institutional model for secondary education consisted of humanist colleges. These took shape in the 15th century, though their roots lay in earlier educational practices like the 11th century cathedral schools and liberal art schools of the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, each of which had its own characteristics depending on the context. A series of institutional changes directly linked to the emergence of new functions for education took place from the 16th to the 19th centuries, changes that ultimately influenced the configuration of secondary education.

Secondary education's origin is associated with a function that education tended to perform in the process of giving shape to modern educational systems: the propaedeutic function of the educational system, its cultural function in terms of general education, its social function originally geared towards the instruction of elites, and its political-economic function in terms of coordination with the needs of the modern State.

According to Muller (1992, p. 40), during the late 19th and early 20th centuries what had been a diverse group of vaguely defined schools gradually became a highly structured system of precisely delimited and functionally interrelated educational institutions. Indeed, the limits between existing institutions were more precisely defined, and curricula and requirements for degrees were more meticulously specified. The functional relations between the different parts of the system were more fully articulated.

In the late 19th century, the status of existing educational institutions was similar in most of the more advanced European states: elementary schools; gymnasiums, grammar schools and lyceum schools; and universities. There was no connection whatsoever between these sorts of institutions. Young people from the most privileged classes were generally speaking educated in their homes with private tutors and then went to the university. The young people in the rising bourgeoisie entered grammar schools or gymnasiums—which were paid, selective and offered a humanistic classical curriculum (general education)—to then practice liberal professions or to become government officials. Not all of them attended university; indeed, less than one percent of the population (and until 1914 only 3–4 % of age group) did (see Schneider, 1982; Anderson, 2004, p. 97).

As schooling became more widespread thanks to the expansion of elementary schools, there was growing pressure from middle social sectors to further their education after elementary school. Two processes took place at that juncture: State intervention that was able to position a certain type of educational institution as the model (the grammar school, the gymnasium, the lyceum school); and the binding of this type of institution to the ability to enter the university (in fact, those institutions prepared students to take exams that certified the end of one educational cycle and the possibility of being granted access to another).

In other words, once regulation had been imposed for the sake of expanding mandatory elementary education, the dynamic entailed differentiating on the basis of secondary education not only in terms of the number of years of schooling but also specific curricula that prepared students to occupy different positions in the social world (the university, the world of work). According to Viñao (2002, p. 44), the formation of educational systems implied a double process of systematization and segmentation, that is, of internal coordination and vertical as well as horizontal differentiation.

As indicated above, this first configuration affected only a very small percentage of the population: in Western Europe, the secondary schooling rate was 2.15% for the period from 1870 to 1910 and 5.7% from 1920 to 1940. Kaelbe (2011) adds that even until the 1950s 10-35% of the age group attended secondary schools. Educational systems, then, were structured on the basis of a matrix characterized by selectivity and segmentation.

It was in the spirit of the post-War period that laws were passed making secondary schooling mandatory and, in some cases, free of charge. This was the context in which secondary education took a mass scale; it was the moment in which capitalist democracy efficaciously fashioned an imaginary around the relationship between school and social mobility. These were the “golden 30s” when the West produced full citizenship for the vast majority of the population. Educational systems formed part of the mechanism of what was called the wage society.

In 1975, 35% of young people between the ages of ten and nineteen in Western Europe were in secondary schools and 13% of those between the ages of twenty and twenty-four attended university (some countries like England reached 50%

enrollment rates; Schneider, 1982). Kaelbe (2011) highlights that by the 1970's the European secondary school attendance rate had reached 66%. Thus, during the "golden 30s," the school and educational systems became the guarantors of social cohesion since the combination of education and employment enabled many to ascend on the social scale.

The First Indication of the Limits of the Segmented Matrix: Comprehensive Reforms

As a hypothesis, we suggest that at present secondary schools are the product of the intersection of two major tendencies that respond to the challenge of expansion: the tendency towards the continuity of the institutional model of elite humanist schools versus the tendency towards rupture that comprehensive schools enacted in the context of the expansion of the secondary school.

From 1960 to 1980, attempts were made to adjust the traditional structure of the secondary school so that it would be "more suited" to this process of expansion. These changes included the comprehensive schools in Great Britain, the *collège* in France and, at the end of this period, Mandatory Secondary Education (ESO, for the acronym in Spanish) in Spain. These schools involved a common general education for all students who entered secondary school. They eschewed the early segregation of children into schools with different modalities, and they gave rise to a flexible curriculum through the system of electives whereby students could decide some of the subjects they would study over the course of their school career. In this framework, over the course of a fifteen-year period more than 50% of the population of the relevant age was brought into secondary school in countries like France and England.

The crisis of the welfare state in the mid 1970s found countries in Central Europe as well as the United States in a process of universalizing post-primary education. Economic stagnation and the employment crisis that followed years of economic abundance did not alter this spectacular increase in enrollment. In any case, and despite the universalization of secondary education, the important role that certain educational institutions would play as models for secondary-level education as a whole is evident throughout the long process by which secondary schools took shape. According to Weiler (1998), the attempts at inclusion through comprehensive schools have been partly successful, in the cases of Sweden and the United Kingdom, for instance; in other cases, as in Germany and France, they have largely failed.

This means that, to a large extent, the expansion of secondary education in Europe took place on the basis of the total or partial change of the institutional model. The importance of the institutional change is relative due to the range of mechanisms of social selection operative even in comprehensive schools. Regarding this question, Weiler's (1998) hypotheses could be appropriate: "The modern State is basically incapable of putting into practice major reforms due to its structural commitment with the status quo in terms of the distribution of power and prestige" (p. 72).

It is nonetheless the case that the rapid expansion of secondary education began to be conceived in terms of the destructuring of certain issues, such as a rigid curriculum.

Over the course of a fifteen-year period more than 50% of the population of the relevant age was brought into secondary school (see OECD, 2011).

When the period of economic prosperity came to an end in the mid-seventies, the main challenges faced by society as a whole and by the educational system in particular consisted of absorbing the social and cultural impact of the redirection of production and of the reformulation of the welfare state, as well as incorporating immigrants from former colonies. Efforts along these lines involved encouraging study and concern with difference and how to approach it.

Economic stagnation, growing unemployment, and problems with integrating new flows of immigrants—all items on the agenda of a globalized world—ensued in a context where comprehensive educational reform and the universalization of post-primary education was a reality in almost all countries in the European community.

In Europe, upper secondary level education (ISCED 3A or 3B) is seen as the minimum level of education young people should achieve in order to make a successful transition to the labour market. However, at the moment one out of every seven young Europeans leaves the education system without having the skills or the qualifications seen as necessary for active participation in today's knowledge-based economy (Nehala & Hawley, 2012).

Early school leaving has therefore become one of the biggest public policy priorities in Europe. In 2001, European ministers of education decided to set a target – within the strategic framework for education and training – to reduce the rate of early school leaving from 17.6% in 2000 to 10% by 2010. This target was not met; in 2010, the rate of early school leaving in the European Union stood at 14.1%.

Therefore, governments decided to raise the importance of this issue by lifting the 10% target on early school leaving to be one of the five headline targets for the European Union to achieve by 2020 (stipulated in the Europe 2020 strategy for 'smart, sustainable and inclusive growth'). At the same time, the Member State governments committed themselves to setting their own national targets on the reduction of early school leaving (taking into account the starting point in each country) and drafting comprehensive strategies to address early school leaving by the end of 2012.

Currently, in those countries the rate of upper secondary school enrollment is on the rise: by 2002, 75% of the population between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four had a high school degree, whereas, according to OECD data, the rate was just over 60% in those between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four. This data is important because it speaks of a high graduation rate from secondary school, a situation that, as we shall see, differs from that of Latin America.

Secondary Education in Latin America: Between Global Tendencies and Local Scenarios

It is widely known that educational systems in Latin America have operated and continue to operate at a pace different from their counterparts in central countries. It would seem that the origin of many of these differences lies in how the region

took part in the Enlightenment's emancipation project and the consolidation of the modern State.

There are commonalities between how educational systems took shape in countries in Latin America and in Europe. As Ossenbach has pointed out (1997), after the emancipation of the metropolis, public education was handled at the municipal level. It was not until the wars after independence had come to an end that central states began to take charge of primary education pursuant to the notion of common education where the State defined itself as the educating State. Thus, educational systems in Latin America contributed to both the forming of the nation through a process of social and cultural homogenization and to the emergence and development of the middle classes.

Puigróss (1994) sums up the main characteristics of the junctures between the modern educational system and Latin American societies:

- Introduction of the French model of a centralized State-run schooling system during the second half of the 19th century.
- Production of multiple combinations at the juncture between the centralized education system and the specific cultural, political, and educational features of local communities.
- Shaping of citizenry according to a single mold (homogenization) with unequal results: modern education's goal of homogenizing society by means of public schooling was not met.
- Five groups of countries according to the historical context for the development of their educational systems:
  - Argentina, Uruguay, Chile (albeit to a lesser extent): small indigenous populations in the 19th century coupled with large influx of European immigrants; a wide segment of the population participated in education; socio-economic differences more important than cultural differences.
  - Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Peru: large indigenous populations; due to a weak and monolingual State, the peasant and mining masses did not take part in the educational system; failure to impose cultural unity across the nation.
  - Mexico and Costa Rica: early development of an educational system that grew in conjunction with State hegemony, a system that included cultural instruction and the subordination or outright elimination of peasant and/or working class cultures. Brazil: later development of the educational system (not until 1930); difficulty providing widespread access until the 1990s; diverse cultural matrix.
  - Cuba and Nicaragua under the Sandinistas: educational transformation that included all social sectors in the modern educational system; educational and cultural centralization (high-quality training and authoritarian characteristics of the modern educational model). The process in Nicaragua was curtailed.

In terms of the project of homogenization that gave rise to national integration as the distinctive matrix of modern educational systems, there are two main traits that distinguish the configurations of those systems in Latin America from their

European counterparts: the precarious connection, until the fifties if not later, between the configuration of the educational system and economic development; a striking disparity within the Latin American region regarding the consolidation and expansion of educational systems.

The first of these traits tended to diminish starting in the fifties pursuant to developmentalist economic policies. This shift enabled the consolidation of educational systems in some Latin American countries and their significant expansion in others, as the massification of educational systems was taking place in central countries. The second trait—intra-regional disparity—persisted as many clusters of the population continued not to have access or to have significantly different access to schooling.

Regional differences were also marked by educational configurations of a hybrid nature that took shape with the massification of educational systems. In the countries of the Southern Cone where the system was modernized early on, primary school education was organized and expanded relatively quickly. The early development of secondary schooling was characterized by rapid expansion in volume and a significant pre-university bent. Thus, while these countries experienced a first great expansion in the middle of the 20th century, that expansion—unlike its European counterpart—took place on the basis of a middle-level educational system with little capacity for structural change; the secondary school's institutional model proved equally resistant to change (there was no comprehensive reform).

The second great expansion took place in the late eighties. It was partly an attempt to respond to the criticism, formulated initially by some authors in the seventies, that educational practices had ceased to be meaningful with the weakening of the State's role in the provision of schooling. The criticism also addressed the apparent inability of pedagogical theories to provide the actors in the educational system with guidance (Braslavsky, 1999). In some countries in Latin America, a process of economic and social disintegration that required changes in policies in all areas and spheres of schooling also beset this second moment.

After a *lost* decade, the educational reforms of the nineties placed the problem of change to the educational system back on the political agenda. Albeit with disparate results and educational segmentation due to the prevailing neo-liberal orientation, the region was, by 2000, more homogenous in terms of the universalization of basic education. Thus, the problem of providing mass-scale access to secondary schooling took center stage in debates on education.

The current situation. At present, the transition between primary and secondary levels of education is fluid. In the vast majority of the countries in the region, the rate of transition from primary to secondary school is high, with an average regional rate of 93.5% (UNESCO, 2011).

Regional heterogeneity is evident in other educational indicators. The percentage of children to receive some schooling ranges from 72% to 97% (SITEAL, 2008, 2010) and the percentage that attends secondary school fluctuates tremendously within countries according to socio-economic level. The regional average for this

second rate ranges from 93.6% amongst a country's wealthiest children to 78.9% amongst its poorest. The countries where the gap between the rich and the poor is the smallest are Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Chile, and Colombia, with gaps of around 5%. Guatemala and Honduras, meanwhile, are at the other extreme with gaps of over 30 percentage points (UNESCO, 2012).

Lastly, and in keeping with the aforementioned limited capacity for structural change that lay at the origin of the creation of mid-level schooling, relatively extensive access to education does not seem to have altered the internal selection processes at the foundational matrix of the educational system. After the age of thirteen, the proportion of students that drops out of school increases steadily. Generally speaking, those who drop out at that age do so before they have finished primary school or, if they have finished primary school, they have not done so on schedule. After the age of thirteen, dropping out and repeating years become so widespread that almost half of adolescents between the ages of seventeen and eighteen (the age when, theoretically, secondary school should be completed in most Latin American countries) are not in school. Only 32% of all young people between the ages of seventeen and eighteen have completed middle school (SITEAL, 2010).

Another relevant indicator is repetition rate, which brings with it a change in the course of students' school careers. On the basis of a regional average of 5.9%, this rate did not drop in the last decade. Failure rates are coupled with a high and sustained dropout rate in secondary school. In the eighteen countries with comparable data, the average dropout rate in secondary school dropped by less than two percentage points from 2000, when it stood at 17.8%, to 15.5%, the rate in 2010. In other words, each year one of six students drops out of secondary school in Latin America and the Caribbean. The exception is Bolivia, where the dropout rate plummeted from 41% to 12% over the last decade.

According SITEAL (2013), there are currently five categories of countries in the region in terms of the massification of the educational systems:

- Countries with high rates of enrollment in primary and secondary school: Argentina, Chile, and Peru. The problem for these countries is keeping students in the final years of secondary school.
- Countries with high rates of enrollment in primary school and mid-level rates of enrollment in secondary school: Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, and Panama. The problem for these countries is late access to secondary education and low completion rates.
- Countries with high rates of enrollment in primary school and low rates of enrollment in secondary school: Paraguay and Uruguay. The problem is falling behind in primary school and dropping out before secondary school is started.
- Countries with mid-levels of enrollment in primary school and secondary school: the Dominican Republic and El Salvador. The problem is falling behind at all levels.
- Countries with mid-levels of enrollment in primary school and low levels of enrollment in secondary school: Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. The problem is that primary education in these countries is not universal and access and completion

of secondary school extremely limited (only one quarter of the population between the ages of twenty and twenty-two has finished secondary school).

A comparison of the situations of these groups of countries at the time the region's educational systems were configured and at present evidences significant changes, particularly in those countries where that configuration was late and non-inclusive. The comparison of these groups of countries at these two moments attests to the triple challenge facing the region.

First, the challenge of solving historical problems related to access and coverage, infrastructure, and the professionalization of teachers pursuant to the first great expansion. Second, the ability to effectively include all school age children and enable them to complete their school careers, a problem that dates back to the second great expansion and that could be linked to the institutional model. Third, the provision of quality knowledge that enables the development of human resources with skills relevant to the contemporary world, a problem particularly pressing in these times (if their use as an indicator were accepted, the results of PISA would evidence this challenge).

The historical and contemporary heterogeneity of educational systems in Latin America may well be one of the reasons that those systems have failed to formulate major agreements or common goals that would have a clear impact on the educational policy agenda. The Organization of American States' so-called Education Goals for 2021 call for basic and upper-level secondary school enrollment and completion rates of 40% and 90% respectively.

For that to happen, the studies performed on secondary school education and the experience of educational reform in the recent decades indicate that a policy geared to expanding secondary school must take into account specific historical configurations, the heterogeneity of contexts even within a single country (urban versus rural), and problems specific to the massification of secondary school, chief among them a revision of the institutional model.

COMPARING POLICIES FROM DIFFERENT SCENARIOS

The public policy responses can however be grouped into three broad categories:

- Strategic level responses to address the problem;
- Preventive strategies; and
- Reintegration strategies to re-engage those who have already dropped out.

There are two categories of programs for secondary schools of interest for our purposes: programs geared to "keeping the school career on track" and programs geared to "re-enrollment." The former employ the notion of "keeping the school career on track" rather than, for instance, preventing failure because, for reasons outlined in the section of this paper that addresses the historical configuration of secondary school, it envisions the problem to lie in the institutional model and the solution, at least in part, to lie in institutional adjustments that would enable schools to retain, rather than expulse, students. This category encompasses programs geared

to accompanying schooling by means of devices that attempt to bridge the gap between the student and the school organization.

The second category includes those programs aimed at promoting the re-enrollment of students in the formal educational system in general and in secondary school in particular by means of alternative spaces connected to existing institutions or by means of the creation of new types of educational options. Table 1 shows the general characteristics of recent programs towards secondary education.

The beginning of this paper addressed the convergences and divergences in the processes of configuration and expansion of educational systems in Latin America and in countries in Europe that experienced early modernization. A common matrix bound to the homogenizing project of the modern school was identified, but differences due to hybrid configurations part and parcel of the region were identified as well. In terms of the expansion of secondary school, that heterogeneity meant that, despite major obstacles to changes in the institutional model, some systems were able to advance more quickly than others.

The expansion of secondary school is currently on the policy agenda of all the countries in the region. As stated above, how the issue is formulated varies insofar as the concern is not only keeping school careers on track (an issued faced by the countries that experienced the massification of education in the sixties) but also ensuring access to and developing of educational options pertinent to the contemporary world.

The heterogeneity of the situations that require attention as well as the diverse histories of local educational configurations is evident in the cases studied. The programs discussed below contain commonalities and differences. The commonalities are related to the problem of access and staying in secondary school. As Finnegan points out (2007), the shared framework of the programs is to ensure at least twelve years of schooling, hence the emphasis on access and the completion of secondary school.

The following characteristics are evident in policies and programs geared to young people (on the basis of Acosta, 2013; Finnegan, 2007):

- Binding secondary school expansion to goals related to the extension of social rights.
- Expansion of secondary school in the framework of broadening the right to education and effectively managing to deliver that right.
- Binding non-specialized secondary school to training for the world of work.
- Focus on populations whose transition between primary and secondary school tends to be interrupted, on sectors with high secondary school dropout rates or high rates of older attendance or attendance not in synch with the educational career.
- Flexibilization of the secondary school institutional model (in terms of curriculum and academic regimen).
- Creation of support and aid mechanisms in secondary schools to further enrollment and staying in school.
- Development of and experimentation with alternative educational formats or formats that are complementary to (and capable of being combined with) existing secondary schooling.
- Contextualization of schooling options according to the local environment.

Table 1. Programs under comparision. General features

Category / *Case*	*Keeping school career on track*				*Re enrollment to secondary school*			
	Period	*Target population*	*Areas for intervention*	*Lines of action*	*Period*	*Target population*	*Areas for intervention*	*Lines of action*
Programa de refuerzo, orientación y apoyo PROA (Spain)	2005 and continues	Escuelas de la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria (ESO; between 500 and 600 schools by 2012)	*Improve achievement *Promote changes on pedagogical support *Involve families and environment on keeping school career on track	*School support program at ESO *Tutoring and support program for students in secondary education				
Micro-lycées (France)					2000 and continues	Dropout youth between 16 and 25 with 6 months at 2nd degree or one year left to finish the bac	*Geographical enclave *Work on socialization modes imported to school in order to become students	*Co building of time and spaces for teachers and students (sale commune, reference) *Reduction of student teacher ratio (10 to 1) *Flexible time tables

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued)

Category Case	*Keeping school career on track*				*Re enrollment to secondary school*			
	Period	*Target population*	*Areas for intervention*	*Lines of action*	*Period*	*Target population*	*Areas for intervention*	*Lines of action*
School completion program SCP (Ireland)	2002 and continues	Children and youth between 4 and 18 years in risk of dropping out. Contracts with 224 secondary schools	*Keep youth within school system until upper secondary education certificate or equivalent *Bring together all actors involved (family, school, youth, community, legal institutions) *Provide extra support to prevent educational disadvantage	*Inside school support *After school support *Outside school support *Vacation support (Collaborative work, focus on drop outs or possible drop outs, bottom-up)				
Strategy for reducing school drop out (Holland)	2007 and continues	Regions and secondary schools	*Dropout prevention *Finantial incentives to schools (‘no cure, no pay’)	*Personal education number *Digital absence portal *Care measures *Career orientation				

Escuelas de Re ingreso EdR (CABA, Argentina)					2004 and continues	Drop out youth between 16 and 20 (8 new schools)	*Educational inclusion *Creation of new institutional offer *Flexibilization of institutional model	Localized school planning with changes in: *Curriculum *Academic *regime* *Organization
Liceo para todos LPT (Chile)	2000–2006 Some areas continue	Schools with students at risk (424 liceum)	*Improve achievement and dropout rates *Promote pedagogical innovation and institutional capacities	*Scholarships *Academic restitution *Institutional plans *School-community relationship				
Programa aulas comunitarias PAC (Uruguay)					2006 and continues	Drop out or at risk youth between 12 and 15	*Re enrollment at liceum *Promote pedagogic innovation	*Certificate for basic cycle *School life support *Bridge "spaces" to enter liceum

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued)

Category *Case*	*Keeping school career on track*				*Re enrollment to secondary school*			
	Period	*Target population*	*Areas for intervention*	*Lines of action*	*Period*	*Target population*	*Areas for intervention*	*Lines of action*
Programa Impulso a la universalización del Ciclo Básico PIU (Uruguay)	2008 and continues	Schools with highly vulnerable and at risk students liceos)	*Improve learning *Improve grade promotion	*Tutors *Social aid (school materials) *Psychosocial attention for students				

Source: Original table from programs documents

- Development of programs based on schools and other local organizations (generation of institutional capacity).

Beyond these common elements, there are certain divergences, many of them linked to a specific educational configuration. A re-categorization of the cases studied would yield four groups:

- Extensive retention modality: Programs that devise strategies to keep all students in secondary schools. Cases: Aapnuval Holland.
- Segmented retention modality: Programs that devise strategies geared to supporting vulnerable groups, specifically to keep them in secondary schools. Cases: PIU, LPT, PROA, SCP.
- Re-enrollment in/adaptation of the non-specialized secondary school: Programs that facilitate re-enrollment in secondary school by "adapting" the educational device. Cases: PAC, Micro Lycées.
- Re-enrollment in the educational system: Programs that create institutional alternatives within the formal educational system. Case: EdR.

As indicated by Terigi (2012), these four groups fall into two categories: those that entail extensive policies and those that involve intensive policies for the expansion of secondary school and changes or adjustments to the institutional model. As, once again, Terigi points out, the extensive policies (programs like PMI) can be readily generalized but they do not alter fundamentally the schooling device. What these policies aim to do, rather, is to perfect the device in order to keep students in school and their educational careers on track.

Due to their small scale, intensive policies (in this case, programs like CESAJ, PAC, and EdR) allow for greater experimentation and innovation in changes to the academic regimen, in support and follow-up modalities, and in curriculum. These policies are aimed at altering—in the sense of rendering more flexible—the schooling device to work around the issues at the crux of problems like falling behind and dropping out.

If the policy categories are grouped not only according to type of policy (that is, extensive or intensive) but also according to approach to change of the institutional model (perfecting it or altering it), we would find at one extreme extensive programs geared to student retention and, at the other, programs that propose an alternative modality; the programs in the first group do not propose fundamental change to the institutional device but, as we move to the other extreme, that concern grows more central.

The table below (Table 2) exemplifies the aforementioned program types and combinations thereof, with one case per group and one per policy type. The alternative modality is not included given that, by definition, it cannot form part of the formal educational system:

The experiences analysed attest to different ways of approaching the problem of expanding secondary school and its institutional model, from the perfecting of

Table 2. Programs between intensive and extensive policies

Policy type	*Extensive*			*Intensive*
Effect on institutional model Features	*Extensive retention modality (Aapnuval, Holland)*	*Segmented retention modality (PIU-Uruguay, LPT- Chile, PROA-Spain, SCP-Ireland)*	*Re enrollment by adapting educational device (PAC-Uruguay, Micro lycée-France)*	*Re enrollment in the educational system by altering educational device (EdR-CABA, Argentina)*
Aim	Improve school device efficiency	Improve school device efficiency towards at risk students	Change school devices to assure re enrolment or certification	Change school devices by creating an alternative offer
Strategies	*Students follow up by means of data base	*Scholarships *Remedial support programs *Tutoring *Family and community bonding with schools	*Bridge spaces *Smaller institutions and classes *Work on modes of socialization and school socialization *Changes on academic regimes	*Changes on academic regimes *Non graduated *Personal trajectories *Tutoring
Implementation and resources	Focalised	Focalised	Focalised	Focalised

Source: Original table

the modern format of the schooling device to its total (or near total) alteration. A consideration of the commonalities of the two approaches yields a list of aspects pertinent to conceiving policies aimed at "modifying" the institutional model:

- General modifications:
  - Appointing teachers to work outside the strict classroom context (teachers who work a certain number of hours for the institution as a whole, teachers or counselors who provide extra-scholastic support or make-up classes, advisors (a figure that already exists));
  - Appointing school staff dedicated to effecting change in the school or institutional culture ("agents of change");
  - Assembling teams of technicians from the federal and/or local government geared to counseling, supporting, and working with actors at schools;
  - Overall review of the curriculum to design alternative schooling career options and parallel programs that do not fail to provide shared knowledge.
- Specific modifications:
  - Greater flexibility of academic devices: course hours, forms of attendance, curriculum options, making up previous courses while attending the classes that correspond to the next year's level;
  - Offering courses and programs that capture students' interest;
  - Allocation of funds for developing extra-curricular programs geared to retaining students at risk of dropping out;
  - Focus on:
    - Keeping the school career on track (preventing students from disengaging);
    - Key moments in the educational career, especially the transition between primary and secondary school and between secondary school and later study or employment options (preventing school from becoming irrelevant to a student's greater project).

CLOSING REMARKS

The historical and comparative approach presented at the beginning of this chapter provided a basis for comparing recent programs geared towards secondary education in different regions. The basic problem was formulated in terms of the tension between expansion and institutional model. The analysis of the above mentioned programs, together with the historical matrix underlying the configuration and expansion of secondary education offer at least four cutting cross issues to be considered for future policies.

Effects on Social and Pedagogical Segmentation

Educational systems take shape around two dynamics: systematization and segmentation (Viñao, p. 40). As institutions began to work in concert to configure

educational levels, those geared to secondary instruction grew more diverse. With the creation of parallel paths of schooling according to the future occupation of the student and his or her social background, secondary schools have, historically, been marked by segmentation. While mandatory secondary schooling has contributed to certain commonalities at that level, the production of circuits of schooling continues to increase fragmentation in the educational system, albeit by other means. The cases analysed are not immune to that risk, one faced by all policies geared to secondary education. There is also a risk of socio-economic segmentation in policies based on the identification of students in contexts of social and educational vulnerability, policies that propose alternatives aimed specifically at those groups (LPT and EdR). One undesired effect of policy interventions might be creating what are, in effect, "schools for the poor." The formulation of curricular alternatives (extra-curricular support, making up credits, efforts to even out educational levels) geared to students with academic difficulties can also present a risk of educational segmentation. As the case studies indicate, teachers often associate those alternatives with students' background, assuming that the poorest students are the ones who participate in those alternatives. This is presented here not as inevitable, but as a possible effect to be avoided.

Effects of Focalization: New Stigmatization

Due to the aforementioned risk, focalized policies could produce new labels that can become stigmas. And, unlike the earlier case where a school or system might be subjected to the risk, in this case the student would be the one burdened by a label. Scholarship programs, for instance, run this risk since certain students are identified as needy. There is a tendency to forget that behind that scholarship there is a subject trying to survive in adverse conditions. Any educational alternative that distinguishes between groups (by school or within a school) also produces stigmas, and secondary schools have a particularly long history with a dynamic of selecting and relocating students according to "merit." The cases analysed must find a way of offsetting this risk of the modern school. Certain policies identify a type of subject and label that subject ("not bright enough"). It can be very difficult for the student to break out of that circle. Once again, this is a possible effect that must be taken into account in focalized policies. It is essential, then, to ask the question "what new practice and what new stigma may be produced?"

Effects on the Teacher's Work: Overburdening and New Demands

The cases analysed reflect a diagnosis and a precise goal, as well as an array of strategies to deal with the problems detected. Most of those strategies involve the work of teachers and, hence, may entail overburdening them as they have to deploy these new strategies in addition to performing their daily work. Furthermore, some of these policies (LPT, EdR) revolve around pedagogical innovation to obtain better results with students that tend to fail. This means, as analysed in the case descriptions,

that teachers must learn new ways to tackle their work. Significantly, overburdening is a result of a greater range of tasks and of new types of tasks, and this second factor affects one of the cores of teacher training, mainly how, on a practical level, teachers make decisions when they are actually engaged in teaching. As a result, policies of this sort must be accompanied by appropriate support mechanisms and technical aid. Most of the cases analysed address this issue. Crucial is awareness of the demand: it is not a question of requesting more dedication on the part of teachers but, rather, of teaching differently which requires appropriate strategies.

Effects on Pedagogical Work: Educational Limitations of the Remedial Strategy

As discussed, one common issue addressed by all the cases discussed is reinforcement of basic skill areas (language and math). From the perspective of educational policies, a focus on these areas may serve to reinforce the idea of a basic mandatory education at the cost of neglecting the integral formation of the subject. There is a risk that these policies be reduced to a remedial strategy that limits the potential of the educational project. It is true that, in terms of basic knowledge, secondary schools today play the role that was played by primary schools in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It is equally true, though, that for most of the young people who attend secondary school in Latin America, that institution constitutes their only contact with literary culture and with cultural worlds with which they would otherwise have no experience. It is crucial, then, that efforts to conceive of policies that fortify truly essential basic knowledge do not neglect other desirable aspects of the secondary school experience.

NOTE

[1] In this work, the concept of institutional model encompasses organizational form (the grammar of schooling), pedagogical form (locating that grammar in a given academic regimen), and the institutionalization of secondary school as historical form (decisive institutions in the framework of process of educational systematization). See Acosta (2013).

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