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Aspirations, transitions and social inequalities in Chilean society

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Social reproduction and higher education

Aspirations, transitions and social inequalities in Chilean society

Carlos Palma Amestoy

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law

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Abstract

After the implementation of the 1980s' educational reform in Chile which promoted neoliberalisation in the sector, higher education underwent significant transformations. Deregulation and privatisation boosted the expansion and diversification of the system. Although these changes entailed an increase in the participation of youth from different social groups, research in the area has noted that the reproduction of social inequalities continues to be one of the main features of the system. In line with this scholarship, this research deepens the understanding of the process of social reproduction in connection with higher education. Particularly, this thesis sheds light on *how* higher education is implicated in the reproduction of social inequalities in Chile. In so doing, it starts with Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Social reproduction, hence, is understood by applying Bourdieu's conceptual triad made up of *capital*, *field* and *habitus*. Crucially, it is argued that social reproduction should be grasped through 'double reading' analysis, which requires grasping objective and mental structures separately, so as to understand the interplay between them. Adopting methodological eclecticism, this thesis shows first, drawing on a Multiple Correspondence Analysis, the state of relationships between higher education institutions and the main stakes and struggles orienting the *field of institutions of higher education*; then, it examines, through the analysis of forty-six qualitative interviews with secondary school students from different social classes, the process of formation, shaping and reinforcing of subjective aspirations towards higher education; and finally the *homology* – and instances of *mismatch* – between both dimensions is assessed and the action of different agents that help to reinforce this correspondence is investigated. Overall, this thesis concludes that there is a clear *homology* between the structure of the *field*, students' positions in *social space* and pupils' subjective aspirations, but there are also instances of *mismatch* which trigger both self-blame and system critique among students.

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Author’s declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: *Carlos Palma Amestoy* DATE: *28-10-2020*

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INTRODUCTION

In October 2019 thousands of people throughout Chile took to the streets to protest against the structural inequalities and the accumulation of systematic abuses in the country (Garcés, 2019). Just a few days before the Chilean uprising started, the president declared that the country was a 'true oasis' in the Latin American region due to its political and economical stability. However, the events beginning on October 18 certainly came to reveal a different picture. Doubtless, structural inequalities are one of the main issues affecting Chilean society. Indeed, among the OECD countries, Chile presents the largest income inequality measured by the Gini coefficient (OECD, 2015). According to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, wealth in the country is highly concentrated. In 2017, the richest 5 per cent of households owned 52.8 per cent of the net wealth of the country while the richest 1 per cent accounted for 26.5 percent. Contrarily, the poorest 50 per cent of the population held just 2.1 per cent (ECLAC, 2019: 58).

Inequalities are not only economic, however. The United Nation Development Programme published in 2017 an extensive report in which diverse dimensions of the problem are examined. The report identifies what they call six nodes of reproduction and transformation. Among them, education appears as one of the most relevant factors explaining the reproduction of social inequalities in the country (PNUD, 2017). Indeed, education in Chile has become a contested field in the last few decades. The backdrop to these struggles has been the consolidation of neoliberalism which, from Pinochet's dictatorship, has served to promote competition, deregulation, marketisation and privatisation in different domains of society. One of the main targets of neoliberal policies has been the educational sector. In this context, students have emerged as prominent political actors who have made visible a latent and widespread social unrest in Chilean society. No wonder that secondary school students were the ones who started the revolt in October 2019, when they called for fare-evasion on the Metro after a fare-hiking (Garcés, 2019). Likewise, more than a decade before, in 2006, secondary school students were also those who stood up against what they experienced as a highly unequal educational system (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013); and only five years after these events, in 2011, a massive higher education student movement broke into the political arena demanding structural changes in education and particularly in the higher education sector (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013; Bellei et al., 2014).

Paradoxically, with the return of democracy in 1990, the country has shown significant transformations in the higher education area. Along with the consolidation of a diversified system, and in line with worldwide tendencies (Marginson, 2016), the number of students in the sector notably grew. From about 245,000 students in 1990, the enrolment in the area reached near to 1,180,000 students in 2017. Likewise, youth from the different household income quintiles have importantly increased their participation in the sector (Espinoza and González, 2013; PNUD, 2017). However, inequalities still persist. Indeed, the proportion of young people who enter higher education coming from the lowest social backgrounds is still markedly lower than the proportion of those coming from advantaged positions. From the 2000s onwards, nonetheless, youth coming from deprived families have increased their participation faster than those from privileged groups (Orellana, 2011; PNUD, 2017). The latter could be taken as a positive improvement in the area. Nevertheless, the diversification of the system has not only enabled its expansion and the incorporation of different social groups but also its social segmentation (Orellana, 2011) and institutional stratification (Brunner, 2015). In other words, insofar as the system has been able to incorporate more students from different social backgrounds, there has also been a greater institutional differentiation, which ultimately has served to socially segment the population of students and graduates. This condition then has entailed a socially differentiated allocation of individuals in the labour market depending on the higher education institution from which they graduated (Ruiz and Boccardo, 2014; PNUD, 2017). The apparent democratisation of higher education based on meritocratic tenets, therefore, has been truncated by the action of diverse mechanisms which maintain the reproduction of social inequalities instead.

The purpose of this thesis is to deepen the understanding of the process of reproduction of social inequalities in connection with higher education. In particular, it seeks to grasp precisely how higher education in Chile is implicated in social reproduction. The latter is understood here using Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual triad of *field*, *capital and habitus*. This means that what is reproduced is a position in the *social space*, that is to say, a location within a relational space structured, chiefly, by the differentiated distribution of different types of capital. It also means that to comprehend reproduction it is crucial to grasp the very process by means of which *habitus* – an embodied system of structured and structuring dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990) – is formed and shaped. This requires separately examining objective structures and subjective structures and the interplay between both dimensions.

Thus, this thesis has specific sub-aims. On the one hand, it seeks to shed light on the state of relationships between higher education institutions in the country. The state of objective relationships between institutions determines what is termed the *field of institutions of higher*

education (Bourdieu, 1996a) in which diverse stakes, interests and struggles governing the field are deployed. Bourdieu himself analysed this field for the case of France and more recently other researchers in different contexts have advanced knowledge in the area (e.g. van Zanten and Maxwell, 2015; Börjesson et al., 2016; Börjesson and Broady, 2016; Baier and Schmitz, 2020). In this case, the aim is mapping this field, including its constitutive stakes and struggles, for the case of Chilean higher education. On the other hand, this thesis aims to grasp the process by means of which subjective aspirations towards higher education are formed, shaped and reinforced; and how this process is marked by individuals' class positions. Research, particularly in the last few decades in the frame of the 'cultural turn' in class analysis (Devine and Savage, 2005), has thoroughly explored the subjective dimension involving the process of transition from the school to higher education (e.g. Reay et al., 2001, 2005; Ball et al., 2002; Archer et al., 2003; Tarabini and Ingram, 2018). Again, the objective here is to establish the classed subjective aspirations – how they are formed, shaped and reinforced – of those pupils who are in the process of transition from the school to a new stage of life in the Chilean context.

Social reproduction is then assessed by examining the interplay between objective and subjective structures and the degree of correspondence – and instances of mismatch – that can be established when both dimensions are juxtaposed. Thereby, following Bourdieu's main epistemological principle, this research contributes to the understanding of the problem of social reproduction focusing neither exclusively in the objective dimension of the problem nor in its subjective side but addressing the interplay between both domains. Herein is where *reproduction*, *misrecognition* and *symbolic violence* become fully visible.

The prominence of meritocratic values in the country, hopes that families put on higher education and the importance that the latter has on individuals' allocation in the labour market and potential rewards (material and symbolic) makes grasping how higher education serves social reproduction fundamental for understanding current and future social and political processes in the country. In this sense, this thesis raises a warning flag against persistent social inequalities which are triggering an increasing sense of suffering, disillusionment and malaise in neoliberal Chile. Ultimately, this research has been motivated by the end of denaturalising, uncovering and making manifest the social injustices shaped and reinforced by higher education and the education system as a whole. Under this condition, structural changes in the area become imperative.

Chapter One sets out the theoretical ground from which this thesis is built up. Bourdieu's theoretical approach is the cornerstone on which the argument orienting this research is articulated. Thus, Bourdieu's theory is deployed to theoretically comprehend the process by means of which higher education serves the reproduction of social inequalities. Furthermore,

conceptual elements to situate this discussion within a neoliberal context are developed. Overall, it is argued that Bourdieu's theory is most robust when it is employed comprehensively. For this reason, the fundamental conceptual triad made up by *capital*, *habitus* and *field* is articulated within a coherent and comprehensive theoretical framework which includes critical and constructive additions to Bourdieu's theory.

Chapter Two moves onto the empirical case. It delves into the main transformations of Chilean higher education in the last few decades. In so doing, socio-political circumstances and the main educational policies implemented in the country are critically examined. The main aim is to shed light on the process of formation of the current structure of the higher education field. This chapter, furthermore, helps to comprehend the connections between transformations in higher education, processes of neoliberalisation in the country and changes in the Chilean class structure.

Chapter Three contains a literature review which includes two main sections. The first part is dedicated to critically evaluating, through a Bourdieusian lens, research focused on Chilean higher education and social inequalities. It shows its main developments as well as its gaps and limitations in explaining how reproduction is achieved in the country. The second part examines how empirical research in other contexts has addressed the problem of social reproduction involving higher education and how researchers have advanced Bourdieu's conceptual framework. In so doing, this section sheds light on some concepts and tools which may become helpful to fill some gaps in the Chilean higher education research. Furthermore, it is noted that this literature also manifests a fundamental split between research which brings to the foreground the subjective dimensions involved in social reproduction and research which focuses mainly on the dynamics of the objective structures.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological approach adopted in this thesis. It establishes epistemological and disciplinary stances to then explain the chief methodological decisions made during the research process. Importantly, this research draws on a research strategy which considers two main stages. In line with the theoretical framework, each of them corresponds with grasping the objective and subjective structures, respectively. The methods employed in each of these phases, it is explained, include the use of quantitative techniques (i.e. Multiple Correspondence Analysis) and qualitative techniques (in-depth semi-structured interviews).

Chapter Five is the first analytical chapter. It starts by examining the objective structures of the Chilean field of institutions of higher education. Through a Multiple Correspondence Analysis, students and higher education institutions are positioned in a relational space according to

different properties associated with different forms of capital. Drawing on this representation of the state of power relations between institutions, the main and most notable stakes, interests and struggles orienting the field are analysed.

Chapter Six moves into the subjective dimension involving the process of transition from the school to a new stage, in particular, to higher education. The chapter focuses on how pupils' subjective aspirations are formed, shaped and reinforced. The analysis is made considering three theoretical classes. Thereby, it shows the most notable differences between social groups located in different regions of the social space. It is argued that in the dominant class, higher education and university appear as the natural pathway; in the intermediate class the possibility of higher education is experienced as a social demand; and in the dominated positions aspirations are marked by uncertainty.

Chapter Seven examines the interplay between objective structures and mental structures with the aim of grasping the process of social reproduction involving higher education. This is addressed from three different angles. First, by assessing the structural homology formed by both dimensions; second, by examining the school effect and other institutional strategies and practices on the reinforcing of pupils' aspirations and conditions of possibility in the transition to higher education; and third, by exploring the consequences of structural mismatches between students' subjective aspirations and objective possibilities.

CHAPTER ONE

Social reproduction and higher education: Bourdieu's theoretical approach

In 1970, Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron published '*La Reproduction. Éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement*', which became a fundamental book in the field of sociology of education. This work focuses on the forms of reproduction underlying the educational system and explores the relationship between its structure and the structure of social class relations. This book came to feed an important debate during the 1970s and the 1980s about the role of education and the school in society, and its connections with processes of social, economic and cultural reproduction. As Giroux (1983) put it, back then, the discussion was structured around three models. Each of them was focused on three different dimensions: economic, political and cultural.

Bowles and Gintis (1976), for instance, proposed what they called the 'correspondence theory'. In this scheme, the school would mirror the division of labour and the social class structure, a condition which would help to reinforce and reproduce the structure of the capitalist economy. In a similar vein, Althusser (2001), argued that the school would operate as an 'ideological State apparatus' that, through the ruling ideology and occupying a dominant position, would secure the reproduction of relations of production. On the other hand, those on the cultural dimension, who give rise to the so-called 'new sociology of education' (Giroux, 1980) and which among its most important representative was Bourdieu, applied a 'cultural turn' to the problem. Herein, the concept of culture along with those of class relations and domination became essential to understand the process of reproduction of societies, moving away from pure economicist approaches. Thus, while the 'correspondence theory' and structural Marxists argued that the school mirrored the social division of labour, which entails that, as Willis (1983) put it, reproduction becomes a mechanical inevitability, Bourdieu's theory proposes a more complex picture of the phenomenon. Indeed, he emphasises not only economic but also cultural and symbolic factors. Additionally, he understands that the system of education had a *relative autonomy* (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990), a condition that led him to grasp the particular logic operating in it in order to reproduce the social order of a given social formation.

'*La Reproduction*' was not the first of Bourdieu's works dedicated to education. In 1964, he and Passeron published '*Les héritiers: les étudiants et la culture*', the first of various publications he dedicated to the study of this area. To a large extent, Bourdieu's oeuvre in this field should be

understood as a sociological critique of the dominant ideology that put the expansion of education as the 'democratization of schooling' and the 'schooling as a liberatory force' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979; Bourdieu, 1996a, 2000a). Certainly, for this critical sociology, the analysis of higher education occupies a special place. As DiMaggio (1979) notes, Bourdieu was one of the first scholars to draw attention to the fundamental relation between higher education and reproduction of class inequalities.

In this chapter, as the cornerstone of this research, Bourdieu's theoretical approach, as well as some significant critiques and insights to his work that makes it possible to connect higher education and social reproduction, will be presented. The chapter is structured into six sections. The starting point is the Bourdieusian understanding of social classes from which some key concepts are defined. Then, the concept of habitus and the relationships between objective and subjective structures are addressed. In the third section, the notion of modes of reproduction is presented which serves to connect the problem of reproduction and higher education. The fourth section sheds light on the idea of aspirations and how individuals are able to practically anticipate the future, to then move on the fifth section which addresses the concepts of symbolic violence and misrecognition and its connection with social reproduction and education. Finally, some theoretical insights regarding the relationship between neoliberalism and higher education are developed.

1. On social classes: social space and relational thought

Social class is a central idea in Bourdieu's social reproduction theory. Indeed, what is reproduced is a position in the social class structure. This brings us to the first essential concept to be introduced: *social space*. Social space has to be understood as a representation of the social world (Bourdieu, 1985). As Bourdieu (1998) contends, it is the universe of social relations and social positions where agents and groups are distributed according to the different types of properties or *capital* they hold.

According to Bourdieu (1986), there are three main types of capital: ec*onomic capital*, which often refers to money, although it also can be '*institutionalised'* as property rights; *cultural capital*, which can exist in three different states, that is, '*embodied'* as dispositions incorporated into the body, '*objectified'* as cultural goods of different types, and '*institutionalised*' as a form of capital that is conferred by an institution which supposes to guarantee its social value and recognition, typically, educational qualifications conferred by the educational institution; and *social capital*, which basically refers to resources associated to a network of connections. Additionally, capital can take the form of *symbolic capital*, a condition in which capital is unrecognized in its real form but is recognized as legitimate. As Bourdieu puts it, 'symbolic

capital (...) is not a particular kind of capital but what every kind of capital becomes when it is misrecognized as capital' (2000b: 242). For this reason, we could also speak of '*symbolic effects of capital*' (2000b: 242).

Bourdieu (2000a) argues that there is not a primary property or capital which by itself is able to indicate individuals' positions in social space. Along with this, secondary properties, agents' characteristics as well as the structure of relationships formed by these elements are also fundamental to establish where in the space agents are situated. This condition, hence, brings into discussion and questions the idea that individuals' position in the class structure depends on and can be grasped only by means of economic factors, either by agents' positions in the relations of production or by their occupation status. Likewise, it gives ground to think about social classes as a complex and 'complete system of relationships' (Bourdieu, 2000a: 103), which includes not only individuals' economic attributes but also cultural, social and symbolic properties, as well as personal characteristics, such us ethnicity, age or gender. Thus, Bourdieu proposes a relational approach where the central aspect to grasp agents' positions in the space is the *structure of relationships* between individuals' properties. This structure of relationships, therefore, defines relative positions and distances between agents, at the same times that each individual is characterized by the place, the relative position (temporary and permanent) and the extent of the space that the individual occupy (Bourdieu, 2000b). Additionally, agents' positions in the social space are also defined by the different positions they occupy in different *fields*, which can be defined – we will delve on this point further below – as spaces in each of which exists a particular structure of relationships between individuals' properties (Bourdieu, 1985). Social space, therefore, is a highly complex structure of relationships in which different properties (capital) – and in different dimensions (fields) – take different values or are differently recognized according to the complete structure of relationships.

Knowing the relative positions that individuals take in the social space, it is possible to construct, according to the properties they hold and the distance between them, 'theoretical classes' or 'classes on paper' (Bourdieu, 1987). In so doing, e*conomic*, *cultural*, *social* and *symbolic capital* can be regarded as the essential properties forming the structure of relationships in contemporary social formations. Bourdieu (2000a) speaks of a three-dimensional space that should be constructed to form theoretical classes. These three dimensions are: the overall volume of capital (which includes capital in its different forms), composition of capital (which considers volume differences among the different forms of capital), and time (as a way to comprehend changes in volume and composition of capital in different moments forming a trajectory). Social classes, therefore, in the Bourdieusian

perspective, are made up by individuals who share similar properties or capital. In other words, they are situated as close as possible in the social space.

Bourdieu's relational approach allows grasping not only different classes but at the same time class fractions within a class. This is so because a class is formed by individuals shearing a similar overall volume of capital but, at the same time, with variations in their capital composition. Furthermore, it is worth saying that the power that agents hold over the instrument of reproduction situates them either in dominant or dominated positions in social space, and power refers to capital in its different forms (Bourdieu, 1985). Therefore, those agents relatively rich in capital are those who are located in the dominant positions, and consequently, those who form the *dominant class*, while those relatively poor in capital are those forming the *dominated class*. In between, we could find what can be termed the *intermediate class*. In each of these groups, there are class fractions which can be identified according to the composition of their overall volume of capital.

Bourdieu's contribution to class theory, starting from the idea of social space and the different forms of capital, has allowed rethinking what is social class from a novel perspective, departing from those traditions coming from Marx or Weber (Crompton, 2008). In particular, as Devine and Savage (2005) point out, it has enabled bringing into discussion some issues related to the role of culture in class formation, a discussion already present in the scene in the 1970s but put aside during the 1980s and early 1990s. The so-called 'cultural turn' or 'new class paradigm', in which Bourdieu's work has a fundamental influence given the relevance that he puts on cultural factors – along with economic, social and symbolic ones – has allowed thinking about issues related to fragmentation, individualization, reflexivity and identities from a class perspective after a period in which the 'death of class' had been proclaimed (Savage, 2000, 2003). This, however, has not come without criticism. Savage (2000) draws attention, for example, to the issue that Bourdieu's empirical work tends to overemphasise considerations about middle-class culture and underestimate the properties and 'power' held by those from the working-class. This, nonetheless, does not deny the fact that the social space approach, as it has been exposed above, should aim to grasp the social world as a whole, that is to say, considering the whole structure of relationships between properties and agents. This entails that capital, in its different forms, takes value according to the structure of relationships of which it is part. For this reason, capital becomes power just once it is recognized as such. This fundamental consideration means that we must be extremely careful when analysing individuals and social groups in an isolated way and not forget that they are always part of a structure of relationships. Similar to Elias' relational thought, who years before contended that we should think in terms of a network of relationships in which individuals are 'continually shaping and reshaping

themselves in relation to each other' (2001: 25), Bourdieu argues in terms of 'a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions' which are defined by 'the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital)' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97). Thus, as Bennet et al. (2009) note, one of the Bourdieu's most essential achievement is his relational mode of thinking.

Another issue in Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social space has to do with the place given to multi-dimensionality and multi-positionality. Although he mentions that the 'social field can be described as a multi-dimensional space of positions' (Bourdieu, 1985: 724) in which an agent's position can be defined by her or his position in different fields; or, in a more cryptic way, he asserts that the constructed class is 'defined in an entirely theoretical way by the whole set of factors operating in all areas of practice' (Bourdieu, 2000a: 112), it is difficult throughout his work to see how they can be operationalised. The same can be said about the place given to individual's trajectories and how they can be assessed to enhance the knowledge about an agent's position in the social space at a given time. The notion of *lifeworld* developed by Atkinson (2016) can be helpful to address these difficulties. In particular, this concept suggests going from the analysis of a single field to the analysis of an individual's lifeworld, which involves taking into consideration the individual's 'routine time-space path' and 'the objects and people commonly encountered along the way' (Atkinson, 2016: 21). In other words, to account for the individuals' trajectories and the totality of the physical (things and objects) and social (people) milieu in which they carry out their practices. Knowing the individual's experiences from the lifeworld perspective, that is, through 'lifeworld analysis' (Atkinson, 2017: 6) may help to grasp how individuals are engaged in multiple fields. The question arises as to how these multiple fields in which individuals are involved may affect their subjectivities. Lahire (2011), for instance, raises the point about the consequences that the plurality of fields or social worlds have on individuals. We will come back to this point further.

2. Between the objective and the subjective structures: the emergence of habitus

Uncovering the hidden structures of the social world and the mechanisms that ensure its reproduction or transformation is, according to Bourdieu (1996a), one of the chief objectives of sociology. However, this is not a trivial operation. Indeed, to fully explain the social world, social researchers not only must be able to grasp either its *objective structures*, that is, the objective divisions of the social world; or its *subjective structures*, those internalized visions and divisions that agents apply in a given context. Researchers should also comprehend the relationship between both dimensions. This is so because while individuals struggle to impose their particular vision of the world, that is, the subjective structures they bear, in turn, agents' points of view and interests are anchored to the particular positions they occupy in the social world,

the objective structures. This relationship, where the objective conditions of the milieu feed the subjective perceptions of agents and vice versa, is what gives place to what Bourdieu identifies as the *correspondence* between both structures. This homology, which is one of the crucial elements to understand social reproduction and transformation in Bourdieu's approach, should be grasped through what is known as *habitus*.

Habitus is another key concept in Bourdieu's theory. Some scholars have labelled it as a 'black box' (Connell, 1983; Jenkins, 1992; Boudon, 1998; Jackson et al., 2007) given the difficulty to grasp it empirically. In fact, habitus is an abstract notion. For this reason, it must be understood, first and foremost, from its logical coherence. This can be achieved through its theoretical dissection. To begin with, habitus refers to a complex of *dispositions* transported by agents or individuals (Bourdieu, 2010). Habitus, therefore, is in the individuals' body in the form of internalised or embodied structures which are manifested as inclinations and predispositions of their bearers. These inclinations are materialised in practices and representations (Bourdieu, 1990). All these elements, in turn, are the product of the internalisation of the objective conditions where they spring up. Individuals' practices, therefore, are generated through habitus in relation to the particular conditions towards which those practices are necessarily adapted, producing, as a result, *lifestyles*, that is, a group of specific preferences. In other words, habitus should be understood as a way of being, as a state of the body and as a system of inclinations which trigger certain practices which configure a particular lifestyle. All these components are rooted in the objective context where they emerge, which defines their conditions of possibility. The different practices that habitus generates, Bourdieu explains, are the product of the two capacities it has: on the one hand, 'the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works'; and on the other hand 'the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products' (2000a: 170). Particularly, the latter refers to *taste*. Taste, hence, is the ability and the inclination that individuals have of appropriating 'a given class of classified, classifying objects or practices' (2000a: 173).

Pictured as internalised structures predisposing agents' practices, habitus may appear as a source of determinism. The main issue at stake in this respect is whether individuals are conscious or not of their choices and practices. Full unconsciousness, from this perspective, would mean individuals' structural determination. Indeed, agents would be mobilised by preconscious structures operating before any intention and will. To escape this, an even deeper and more systematic elaboration of habitus is necessary. Atkinson (2010a, 2010b) is helpful filling some gaps in this respect. First of all, he proposes that habitus may be assimilated to the subjective stock of knowledge. This phenomenological concept refers to accumulated past experiences which serves actors to interpret the world. This being the case, habitus would

operate by means of multiple layers, nurturing from the most automatic practices of everyday life to the more rationalised ones. Individuals' actions, therefore, may be categorised from 'completely autonomized' to 'consciously deliberated projects' (Atkinson, 2010b: 14). However, while the most conscious actions of human beings are constituted by rational elements built in terms of planned projects, they are also the product of the internalised past which is stored in agents' bodies as dispositions. Habitus, hence, should be considered a framework which opens and closes possibilities of action, being the product of individuals' processes of socialisation and past experiences. In other words, habitus is 'a product of history' which 'produces individual and collective practices' (Bourdieu, 1990: 54). Thereby, while individuals' practices and decisions are not totally determined, they do not proceed without any limitation. As McNay explains, practice is, on the one hand, 'the product of power relations that have been internalised into the body', and on the other hand, the product of 'an active engagement with social structures' (2008b: 279). For this reason, habitus has a generative capacity inscribed within the constraints where it is produced (Bourdieu, 1990, 2005a; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

A crucial point, hence, is that habitus should not be regarded as a fully hermetic system or a 'black box' which cannot be grasped in any way. On the contrary, it could be addressed either from the grasping of individuals' practices, their lifestyles or their tastes, a process that necessarily should take into consideration the understanding of the individuals' past experiences, their processes of socialisation and the historical context where habitus emerges. Past experiences, furthermore, as Lahire (2019) reminds us, not only refer to those memories that are articulated by individuals in the present, but the past is also present in things, institutions, objects and so on. Thus, although being the product of the past, individuals are not completely conscious of the 'weight of the past' (2019: 21) in their lives. Practices, lifestyles and tastes, therefore, can be considered habitus' emanations, so to speak, and therefore, landmarks of a particular habitus.

Habitus, as said previously, is what we find in between the objective structures, the milieu where practices are deployed, and the subjective structures, those mental schemes of perception and appreciation applied to the context. It is what is obtained in a continuous dialectical process where the structures nourish the agents' practices while the practices feed the structures *ad infinitum*. Thus, practices are neither entirely determined by structure nor entirely the product of individuals' free will. In the spatial representation, each habitus is linked to a position in the social space (Bourdieu, 1996a). Each class position, Bourdieu (1998) argues, is in correspondence with a *class habitus*, that is, with particular dispositions, schemes of perceptions and practices, which, in turn, are associated with certain tastes and lifestyles which

are shared by a group of individuals closely situated. This condition reinforces the idea that class can be constructed – on paper – as an objective entity in which its members not only share similar properties (i.e. volume and composition of capital), also shared are similar dispositions, schemes of perceptions, tastes and lifestyles. Accordingly, the different forms of capital that individuals hold, their volume and composition, alongside their dispositions and practices, can be considered indicators of individuals' class positions and class habitus.

On the other hand, as it was said above, the system of relationships between properties which define agents' positions in social space not only should consider capital in its different forms to define locations but also individuals' characteristics, such as gender or ethnicity. These aspects are essential part of individuals' identities that activate capital in different modes. As Reay (2004b) remarks, factors such as gender and ethnicity shape habitus. This makes, as Bottero (2010) notes, the relation between the positions occupied within the space and the viewpoints of those who occupy a given position on the space very complex – at least from the researcher's point of view. In the case of gender, in particular, Bourdieu (2001) makes the point about a gendered habitus. The differences between sexes, he argues, their bodies and sexual organs, are inserted in a system of oppositions rooted in a mythico-ritual socially constituted understanding of the world. This system of oppositions is inscribed in the objective structures from which emerge the female and the male as two opposite categories. These two categories are an arbitrary social construction that has naturalised the division of sexual labour and the sexual division of labour. This condition has been the product of a 'work of symbolic construction' (Bourdieu, 2001: 23) which has divided the universes of men and women in two relational but separate dimensions. By means of socialisation, the structures and arbitrary divisions governing the social world are inscribed in agents' bodies from which emerges particular categories of perception and appreciation of the world. In turn, these categories bring about systems of dispositions which are translated into practices. As a result, there would be a female and a male habitus. Bourdieu's logic to understand gender differences, therefore, is also nestled in the correspondence between the objective and the cognitive structures from where the habitus emerges. Thus, the arbitrary divisions governing the social world in term of gender are reinforced by the dialectical relation between the objective and the subjective structures.

The question arises as to what does habitus have to do with higher education and the reproduction of social inequalities? For now, the main point to be noted in this respect is that in the core of the strategies of reproduction, those tactics aimed to maintain social distances between individuals, lies habitus. Owing to this condition, habitus plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of the structure of power and symbolic relationship between social classes (Bourdieu, 1973a). For this reason, when Bourdieu contends that the main task of sociology is

to uncover the hidden structures and mechanisms that ensure social reproduction and transformation, it is, in fact, to grasp the different habitus and class habitus operating in a given social formation and the power relations existing among them.

3. The educational mode of reproduction

The starting point to understand Bourdieu's contribution to the problem that connects reproduction of social inequalities and higher education is what he calls *modes of reproduction* (Bourdieu, 1996a). A mode of reproduction refers to a system of relations where different forms of capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) are transmitted in order to secure certain advantages to their holders. A mode of reproduction, therefore, is conditioned to a particular capital structure, which means that the *strategies* that individuals and groups apply in their respective contexts to maintain or increase their capital accumulation depend on this structure, although also on the structure and amount of their own patrimony. Each mode of reproduction, on the other hand, is made up by a specific *system of reproduction strategies*. Among them, there are, to name but a few, '*fertility strategies*', '*inheritance strategies*', '*marriage strategies*' and '*education strategies*' (Bourdieu, 1996a: 273–4). The latter, in particular, comprises the investments, either conscious or unconscious, on cultural capital. In different times and social formations, it is possible to say, some reproduction strategies are imposed over others, which has led to the historical rise and decline of different modes of reproduction.

According to Bourdieu, today the *scholastic* or *school-mediated mode of reproduction* is dominant (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979; Bourdieu, 1996a), that is to say, all social classes – even those fractions of the dominant class rich in economic capital – make a larger use of education and cultural capital to secure or improve their position in the class structure. The increasing centrality of the education system in social groups' and individuals' strategies of reproduction is the first key factor to comprehend the relationship between higher education and the reproduction of social inequalities in contemporary societies. From here follows the fact that, while the expansion of the education system as a whole indicates its relevant position in the process of reproduction, the increasing population entering higher education in the last few decades would suggest, following the same logic, the growing importance of this level of instruction in the process.

Bourdieu affirms, hence, that in contemporary societies the dominant mode of reproduction is the one mediated by the school. This means, in other words, that cultural capital – above all in its '*institutionalised state*' (Bourdieu, 1986: 247) – has assumed a fundamental place in individuals' allocation in the social space. For this reason, it can be said, the system of education becomes a key piece in the competition between individuals and social classes. This condition

triggers what Bourdieu calls a period of '*diploma inflation'* (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979: 83), that is to say, a process which leads to the devaluation of credentials in the labour market despite boosting demand for academic qualifications. In other words, the academic qualifications that before were highly prized begin to lose their value given the overproduction of graduates. This process which, to a large extent, is behind the rapid expansion of higher education, reinforces its own logic insofar as those most affected in this equation, that is to say, those formally unqualified or in possession of lower qualifications, struggle to get a degree or a higher diploma in order to avoid a devalued condition in the labour market.

The growing demand for academic qualifications, on the other hand, gives rise to the use of varied strategies aimed to hold a privileged position in social space. According to Bourdieu (2000a), *reconversion strategies* are essential to this process. The reconversion of economic capital into educational capital by some privileged groups which historically have owed their privileged position to the economic resources they hold is a typical strategy of this type. That is to say, the increasing investment in certain recognized and valued credentials which serve them to differentiate from the newcomers in order to maintain their privileged position in the social space.

Similarly, from a Weberian perspective, Parkin (1979) suggests the use of *closure strategies*. These strategies would be aimed to limit access to certain socially valued resources which are held by a particular group to those who are not part of it. When these closure strategies are used by privileged groups, Parkin calls them *strategies of exclusion*. In line with Bourdieu, Parkin asserts that credentials and academic qualifications should be understood as one of the most socially valued assets in contemporary societies. This condition entails that qualifications are perfect resources to be subject to strategies of exclusion. This leads to 'credentialism' (Parkin, 1979: 54), that is to say, a way in which advantaged groups control and monitor the entry of newcomers to privileged positions in the labour market by means of credentials. A similar argument is raised by Collins (1979) who argues that, rather than ensuring better outputs in terms of productivity, credentials act as barriers to control the entrance of newcomers to certain positions in the labour marketplace.

Certainly, credentialism theory is helpful to understand some strategies in the higher education field, although also present some limitations. Thus, it helps to comprehend some dynamics favoured by the rapid expansion of higher education. This expansion entails the restructuration of some forms of control and monitoring, which lead to the development of new exclusionary strategies and practices. So, not only is it essential to hold a credential to access privileged positions, it is also, and more markedly over time, the holding of diplomas from certain institutions and disciplines. In line with this, Bourdieu and Boltanski also note that the increase

in the number of graduates and diploma holders have generated 'the diversification of the educational market and the development of an educational apparatus more directly adapted to the economic system' (1981: 148). Recently, Ball (2003) have added that individuals' exclusionary strategies and practices take a fundamental role in systems of education led by the market where the discourse of liberal individualism put the idea of choice at the core of the system. Therefore, the rhetoric of freedom of choice, which involves not only the freedom to choose the type of education students will attain but also the type of institution where they will get it and the kind of people they will meet, serves to hide social closure strategies.

Among the limitations, nonetheless, the most remarkable is that credentialism approaches, instead of focusing on the whole process of obtaining a credential, put their attention towards the end of the process. There is neither an explanation in relation to the mechanisms which operate in the process of selection and exclusion to certain diplomas nor about how these mechanisms are deployed. Even though Parkin points out that credentials are reached after the application of 'tests designed to measure certain class-related qualities and attributes' (1979: 55), which would indicate class prevalence in the process of selection, the scholar omits the point that the process of selection and exclusion may also imply self-selection and self-exclusion even before those exams are taken. Put it differently, while in Bourdieu's theory social class origin has effects along the whole trajectory of an individual (as we will see later), in Parkin these effects are limited to the results obtained in specific academic tests that reinforce class differences.

According to Parkin (1979), on the other hand, Bourdieu's reproduction theory would fail in understanding that, in a context of diploma inflation, reproduction is not entirely effective. Indeed, he argues, certification barriers are deployed with a high level of risk regarding diploma attainment, a condition that would affect not only working-class students but also those from the upper positions. Thereby, reproduction by means of cultural capital transmission would not be as efficient as the reproduction theorists contend. However, Bourdieu's reproduction theory tackles this point. In a context of diploma inflation, the members of the dominant classes have theoretically equal chances of obtaining higher qualifications, while access for the members of the dominated classes, although at a slower rate, also increases (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979; Bourdieu, 1996a). This condition becomes a 'structural constant' (Bourdieu, 1996a: 287) which covers higher levels of education over time, which leads to the incremental expansion of all levels of education, including higher education. Nonetheless, Bourdieu points out, the school-mediated mode of reproduction, at the same time, presents some contradictions in its operation. On the one hand, while the members of the dominant class have theoretically identical possibilities of acquiring a higher qualification, there are some of them that are sacrificed, which

means that some of its members do not obtain the necessary qualifications to maintain their position in the social space. On the other hand, it operates by denying access to dominant positions to those members of the dominated class who have got a diploma, but they do not have – given their social origin – enough economic or social capital to obtain its potential return in the labour market. The educational system, therefore, works by a statistical logic benefiting the reproductive interests of the dominant classes, at the same time that some of their members are sacrificed (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979; Bourdieu, 1996a). In so doing, the educational system becomes a scheme of fine processes of selection and elimination that operates through fuzzy paths and blurred classifications, that at the end, anyway, benefits the members of the dominant class. This condition, which tolerates certain distortion in the class structure, also increases the effectiveness of the concealment of the process of reproduction (Bourdieu, 1996a).

4. Aspirations and higher education: exclusion and self-elimination

Individuals do not remain, necessarily, in the same position in social space throughout their lives. They may take different locations according to the properties they accumulate or lose throughout time and according to the current structure of relationships between properties. Space, properties and time, therefore, define probable individuals' *trajectories*. This means that trajectories are not random (Bourdieu, 2000a). Put simply, they start from a given point opening a range of probable paths conditioned by the milieu in which they arise. On the other hand, each position in social space, as it was said above, is associated with a particular habitus. Habitus, in turn, is adapted to the specific context in which it emerges. Thus, habitus is limited by the objective conditions in which it is deployed. However, it also has a generative capacity, which means that habitus is also able to influence and change the milieu in which it emerges. This is the dialectical relationship between the objective and subjective structures. Habitus, therefore, as Bourdieu argues, operates through an 'estimations of chances' and according to 'objective potentialities' which indicate 'things to do or not to do' (1990: 53), not in a mechanical but in a creative way in relation to a range of possibilities. Individuals' trajectories, thereby, are conditioned by both the context in which they are situated and the historically constituted dispositions they hold which gives place to what appears for individuals as the '*field of the possibles*' (Bourdieu, 2000a: 110) or the *'space of possibles'* (Bourdieu, 2000b: 116). Individuals very close in social space, that is, with similar capital and habitus, will share a range of probable trajectories.

In these circumstances, individuals possess and form *aspirations*, that is, desires regarding their future practices and points of arrival. Aspirations, hence, are underpinned by the objective conditions in which they arise, which gives agents a 'sense of limit' or a 'sense of reality' (Bourdieu, 2010: 164). Thus, subjective aspirations are adjusted to their objective chances

(Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979; Bourdieu, 2000a), a condition that brings us to the interplay between objective and subjective structures, that is, to the notion of habitus. In other words, habitus shapes aspirations and excludes what is either unthinkable or impossible. Aspirations, therefore, are defined by a *practical sense* which emerges as a consequence of individuals' full involvement in the world. This condition is embodied as a 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1990: 66) and operates through 'practical anticipations' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 130) of the future.

The space of possibles, towards which aspirations are directed and attracted, is perceived, we could say, from individuals' points of view as a horizon which opens a range of options while precluding other possibilities. Bourdieu, for instance, speaks about 'closure of horizons' (Bourdieu, 2000b: 233) to refer to cases of resignation. In line with this, we could borrow Husserl's (1960) phenomenological notions of *horizon of reference* and *horizon of potentialities* to designate a range of referential and potential possibilities adjusted to each individual's practical sense. This range of possibilities, on the one hand, makes it possible to overcome a deterministic view of human behaviour, since, as McNay puts it, there is 'a range of possible responses that gives social life its spontaneous and complex character' and which gives individuals 'the space of creative agency' (2008b: 280); while, on the other hand, these practical anticipations placed in the space of possibles, as Atkinson notes, make it possible to reject the idea that 'practice is guided by thought-out plans or intentional projects of the kind versions of rational choice theory' (2019: 4). Thereby, the idea of *horizons* turns essential to understand individuals' aspirations and choices. Notions of this kind with somewhat similar roots have been applied to different domains. Thus, for instance, Hodkinson and Sparkes, apply the idea of 'horizon for actions' (1997: 34) in relation to the structures of opportunities in the labour market, while Ball et al. (2002) apply it in the context of higher education students' choices. Similarly, Archer et al. employ the idea of 'limits of possibility' (2012: 903) to make sense of how families contribute to the formation of pupils' science aspirations.

Crucially, the educational system at every stage – as well as the family and the peer group (Bourdieu, 2000b) – contributes to adjust and reinforce students' aspirations and choices by means of different mechanisms. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), while the school examination, one of the main instruments to select and exclude students at each phase of the educational pathway, fulfil the function of eliminating those students without the means to incorporate the dominant culture, some pupils remove themselves even before being examined. This *self-elimination* responds to the adjustment of their aspirations to the objective chances that they anticipate on the educational track. Put another way, individual aspirations, choices

and decisions are oriented by 'structural constraints' (Bourdieu, 1996a: 140), which means that pupils' aspirations and choices are adjusted to the objective structures where they arise.

Many authors, following the Bourdieusian framework, have noted that the institutions which mediate students' practices, that is to say, the cultural context – particularly the school – in which they carry out a significant part of their everyday life, are extremely important in shaping pupils' dispositions, tastes and aspirations. Some have called this condition either 'organisational habitus'[1] (McDonough, 1997: 156), 'institutional habitus'[2] (Reay, 1998a: 521; Reay et al., 2001: 1, 2005: 35; Ingram, 2009: 423) or 'school-specific doxa'[3] (Atkinson, 2011: 342) to refer to a particular form in which the *ethos* cultivated by the school reinforces specific types of students' practices, perceptions and aspirations. Furthermore, the school can also be regarded as a micro-field with its own logic, stakes and struggles (Atkinson, 2020). Beyond these distinctions, what is important here is to say that institutions and cultural contexts, such as the school, are fundamental in the process of shaping and reinforcing aspirations. In line with this, Bottero also calls to put special attention on intersubjectivity and how practices are influenced by agents' negotiations and 'processes of mutual adjustment and constraint' (Bottero, 2010: 16). The reciprocal influence of the peer group on pupils' aspirations can be regarded as an example of this condition.

Higher education from individuals' perspective, particularly for youth, can be considered as a potential point of arrival in the space of possibles. Following the logic established above, this potentiality is conditioned by the starting point and the position in the social space from which individuals construct their aspirations. Indeed, individuals' social origin and their current position open and limit a range of probable futures and aspirations, which may or may not include the higher education pathway. As Bourdieu and Passeron put it, individuals 'give rise to an image of higher education as an 'impossible', 'possible' or 'natural' future' (1979: 3). Accordingly, social class and class habitus play a fundamental role in individuals' aspirations and choices in the higher education sphere.

As Bourdieu (1996a) contends, the arrangement of higher education institutions can be conceived as a field, another fundamental concept in Bourdieu's theory. While social space is a representation of the social world as a whole, a field is a structured space of positions and

[1] According to McDonough, 'organisational habitus refers to the impact of a social class culture on individual behaviour through an intermediate organisation' (1997: 156).

[2] Following McDonough's premises, 'institutional habitus can be understood as a 'school effect' [that provides] a semi-autonomous means by which class, raced and gendered processes are played out in the lives of students' (Reay et al., 2005: 35).

[3] Discussing the 'institutional habitus' conceptualisation, Atkinson elaborates the idea of a *school-specific doxa* as 'an ethos which (…) is usually manifest and transmitted prepredicatively through the individual practices, policies and interactions it orients' (Atkinson, 2011: 342).

power relations with particular properties unique to that field (Bourdieu, 1993). Arguably, there is the field of politics, of religion, of education and so on. Moreover, while each field has its own properties, there are also universal mechanisms operating in them. Thus, each field is defined by specific stakes and interests which trigger specific struggles between the agents who are engaged in it. Likewise, the individuals who are part of the field are endowed with the specific habitus to recognize the laws and rules operating in the field. This condition, in which habitus and dispositions are adjusted to the field and vice versa; in which individuals, through *practical mastery*, are able to anticipate the forthcoming as well as to possess aspirations adjusted to the possibilities offered by the field, is what attracts and maintains individuals interested and 'investing' in the field. This is what Bourdieu calls '*illusio'* (Bourdieu, 1990: 66, 2000b: 20; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 98). Likewise, the experience of correspondence between the objective and subjective principles that make up the field is what brings about what Bourdieu (2010) calls *doxa*. In these conditions, the world appears as self-evident, which implies individuals' adherence to the given order and the recognition of its legitimacy, while the arbitrariness in which this order is founded is misrecognized. A field, therefore, may be compared to a game in which there are defined rules and goals that every player knows – this is *practical knowledge* – and accepts in order to be part of the game. Correspondingly, every player applies particular strategies to reach the aims imposed by the game. A field, therefore, is a dimension of objective relations where the actors involved in it exert their practices and strategies which are the product of their dispositions and the rules governing the field.

The arrangement of higher education institutions is what Bourdieu (1996a) termed the *field of institutions of higher education*, that is, the network of objective relations among the higher education establishments. In this field each institution occupies a position. In the case of France, for instance, the *grandes écoles* – the most prestigious tertiary education institutions of the country – would be in opposition to the *petit écoles* and universities. Following Bourdieu's argument, this field is in correspondence with social space, which means that the different locations of the establishments in the field are homologous to agents' social positions in the social space. Both dimensions, in turn, are in correspondence with agents' subjective structures, that is to say, their schemata of perception and forms of classification. The coherence between these dimensions – which remains hidden – helps to shape students' aspirations which lead them to choose, in the transition from the school to higher education, those institutions more adapted to their objective chances. Students' aspirations and their horizons of potentialities, therefore, are moulded in light of the field of institutions of higher education or, to put it differently, the objective conditions of the field bring about objective chances for individuals which shape their expectations in agreement with the possibilities the field provides to them.

Hence, pupils tend to choose those institutions more adapted to their aspirations while the establishments selected inculcate and reinforce those dispositions closer to students' social positions. Thus, while students appear to choose their establishments, at once, the institutions choose them. The correspondence between the field, the social space and individuals' systems of classification and categories of perception, entails that students' multiple choices result in a distribution of students in higher education ordered according to the social divisions governing the social world. Thus, students' choices end up channelling and distributing them according to the previous established social order. This condition, once again, enables the terrain for social reproduction while the power relations existing behind the process are concealed.

In line with the previous ideas, Reay et al. (2005) highlight the importance that the institutional differentiation in higher education has assumed in the process of choice in the last few decades. These scholars, for the case of the United Kingdom, point out that at the same time that selectivity works as a fundamental mechanism in the sector, status and prestige of institutions become crucial in the process of students' choice-making. Choices, therefore, would be affected by interwoven factors such as cultural and social capital, material constraints, social perceptions and *self-exclusion* (Ball et al., 2002). These elements, which are class dependant, generate different conditions and outputs on students' decisions. For middle-class young people, for example, going to university is something taken for granted, hence, it appears as a *natural* process. In contrast, working-class pupils face an unfamiliar field which entails that the decisions they make are far from automatic and are rather surrounded by *uncertainty* and *anxiety* (Reay et al., 2005).

In the case of gender inequalities, Bourdieu (2001) asserts that both individuals and institutions contribute to the reproduction of what he calls 'the masculine order'. Institutions, in particular, have played a fundamental role in maintaining this order through a 'historical labour of eternalization' and 'dehistorization' (Bourdieu, 2001: 82). Thus, the scholar argues, the family, the church, the state and the education system have been essential to reproduce gender divisions in different times and social formations. The education system, therefore, plays a crucial role as a mechanism to reproduce gender inequalities. This condition is accentuated by a period in which the school-mediated mode of reproduction has become dominant.

The number of women entering higher education in many contemporary social formations has notably increased during the last few decades. This growth has entailed for those societies significant changes in the structure of the labour market as well as in the position and roles that women take in the division of labour. Nevertheless, in spite of these significant transformations, gender inequalities persist. In the educational sector, in particular, dominant perceptions, forms of appreciation and discourses in schools, higher education establishments and disciplines

remain full of gender distinctions. For the case of higher education, for instance, Bourdieu and Passeron (1979) showed years ago some significant differences between female and male students in France. These distinctions indicate the extent of the arbitrary divisions rooted in the masculine order. For instance, back then, women were slightly less likely to enter higher education than men, a gap that was even larger within the lower social groups. This gap, however, has been significantly reduced over time, which has been understood as the feminisation of higher education. Nevertheless, this process, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) contend, may be misleadingly interpreted as a process of democratisation in terms of gender when, in reality, it should be taken as a reinterpretation of 'the traditional model of the division of labour' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990: 182). Indeed, gender differences, in terms of the disciplines students choose, become a new form of distinction but that still reproduces historical gender divisions. According to the authors, these differentiations would still respond to 'the traditional model of the division of labour' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979: 6). Parents and students, as well as other agents involved in the educational pathway, would reproduce this scheme in which women fit better in certain disciplines and degrees while men in others. Put another way, there would be a sort of socially defined feminine and masculine attributes which would predispose students' higher education choices (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Thus, while women are more likely to select, for example in the case of France, Arts disciplines, men are more likely to choose Science subjects. Again, these differences are even more marked in lower social backgrounds (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979), a condition that would indicate that gender and class habitus reinforce each other, such as other scholars have shown (see Reay, 1997; Skeggs, 1997). Moreover, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1979), the self-image regarding, on the one hand, academic and intellectual work, and on the other hand, views of the future also varies by gender, a condition which would also strengthen male and female differences. In overall, hence, there would still be differentiated areas to which men and women are more attracted, a condition that reproduces the dominant symbolic order that crystallises then in objective differences in the social world. In line with this, Reay et al. empirically demonstrate not only the importance of gender but also of ethnicity and age as fundamental characteristics that mediate class in the 'negotiations of the higher education process' (2005: 107).

The rapid expansion of higher education places individuals in a new context. On the one hand, there are more students accessing this level of education; on the other hand, there are increasingly more institutions available to receive the newcomers. In this scenario, individuals' aspirations – the possibility to get into higher education – are expanded and the idea of democratisation of higher education becomes a dominant discourse. This ideology, however,

hides its real content. As it was explained above, the process of diploma inflation entails diploma devaluation in the labour market. In practical terms, this means that, in possession of the same credential, individuals receive less than what they would have received in earlier conditions. As Honneth notes, in general, 'expectations of social recognition can alter with change in the structure of societies' (2004: 355). In other words, structural transformations in higher education should also bring changes in agents' expectations. Some of the individuals, however, would not be able to acknowledge this transformation given its velocity and their remoteness to the field. Indeed, they would expect to receive in the present what others have received in the past. Bourdieu (2000a) understand that this misperception, 'false anticipation of the future' (Bourdieu, 1990: 62) or '*allodoxia'* (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979: 156; Bourdieu, 2000a: 142) is the product of what he calls '*hysteresis of habitus*' (Bourdieu, 2000a: 142, 2010: 83) which entails the application of prior categories of perception to new objective conditions. In other words, habitus is not well adapted to the context and therefore the responses to this milieu are not adjusted to its objective requirements. As a result, individuals may present misleading expectations. The hysteresis effect in the case of education, Bourdieu (2000a) points out, will be greater insofar as agents are more remote to the logic of the educational system and are less informed about the variations in the labour market. Furthermore, it will also be responsible for the *mismatch* between agents' aspirations and the real chances they have in the field, that is, of the discrepancy between the promises of the educational system and what is actually reachable from a certain position either in the transition from the school to higher education or from higher education to the labour market.

5. Concealing its social foundation: symbolic violence, misrecognition and education

To recapitulate, in Bourdieu's theory social reproduction refers to the transmission of power (i.e. capital) between agents who are structurally close in order to keep or improve their position in social space. This has as a consequence the perpetuation of the relations of domination between social classes. Crucially, what makes social reproduction effective is the concealment of this condition. This is achieved through what Bourdieu understands as *symbolic violence*, that is to say, the imposition of meanings – or *symbolic systems* (Bourdieu, 1979) – recognized as legitimate through the concealment of the power relation existing behind it (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). In other words, the effectiveness of reproduction lies in the legitimacy that the dominated gives to the dominant order without recognizing – or by misrecognizing – its true nature: the perpetuation of the relations of domination. This is *misrecognition*. As McNay explains, it is a condition in which, due to the unequal distribution of capital and the internalisation of the hegemonic view of the world, 'the oppressed are accommodated to their oppression' (2008b: 278).

In contemporary societies, the mode of reproduction led by the educational system becomes particularly effective in exerting symbolic violence. As Bourdieu (1973a) points out, the educational system reproduces the structure of the distribution of cultural capital in a given social formation. In so doing, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that educational institutions are entrusted to transmit the culture of the dominant classes or the *cultural arbitrary*. This is possible through what the authors call *pedagogic action*, that is, the action of imposing a 'cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990: 5). The success of pedagogic action depends on *pedagogic work*, which is understood as a long process of inculcation of the principles that make up habitus. These embodied principles become durable dispositions which are able to perpetuate itself in practice.

The essential point, Bourdieu (1973a) states, is that the dominant culture transmitted by the educational system can be appropriated only by those who have the instruments which are suitable for its appropriation. These instruments refer to a particular system of dispositions that predispose children towards *symbolic mastery*, which makes it possible to acquire and incorporate the dominant culture which is delivered in abstract notions, ideas and language. These dispositions, in turn, are unevenly transferred through family upbringing. Indeed, the family, before and during the school period, plays a fundamental role in endowing children with the dispositions and symbolic mastery – in which language and abstract thought take a chief role – required for the acquisition of the dominant culture (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Thus, what can be understood as primary socialisation, following Berger and Luckmann's (1971) classical terminology, becomes fundamental to think and grasp the differences governing the social world. As these authors suggest, the first stage of socialisation, a process which entails the identification with significant others, is the most fundamental phase for individuals to become part of the social world and internalise 'society, identity and reality' (Berger and Luckmann, 1971: 153). Indeed, the essential dispositions which shape individuals' identity and practices are internalised during the early period of life. This is extremely relevant since this stage of incubation will be a key phase for the formation of habitus, symbolic mastery and future trajectories.

In line with the above, Lahire contends that the grasping of individuals' dispositions, and, therefore, their practices and aspirations, become a detailed process of reconstructing early experiences and events. As he asserts, 'dispositionalist sociology' should aim 'to uncover the incorporated past of individuals' (Lahire, 2020: 8). The family, as the primary milieu of socialisation, occupy a chief position in the process of transference and incorporation of dispositions. Family socialisation, Lahire (2017) argues, is essential because it starts from birth and is intensely conveyed. Furthermore, it remains for a long period and works as a filter with

respect to other sources of socialisation. Accordingly, the family is the first space where the limits of the possible and desirable are fixed (Lahire, 2010). Nonetheless, Lahire (2017) argues, this does not mean that the family should be understood as a homogenous universe. On the contrary, the familial milieu can present either mild or severe contradictions (e.g. parents' divorce), at the same time that it may also be affected by external sources of socialisation (e.g. pre-school), a condition which may give rise to children's heterogeneous experiences, schemes of perception and dispositions. These aspects are, in Lahire's view, fundamental since not all the dispositions forming an embodied system are equally strong. They differ depending on the conditions in which they were internalised and the circumstances in which they are actualised and activated. For this reason, each individual is 'necessarily plural in nature' (Lahire, 2003: 343–4).

While agreeing with some of the points notably remarked by Lahire, namely, with the idea that multiple dispositions can be differently activated according to the context (Lahire, 2011), it is important to remark that they still should be understood as a system of structured and structuring structures that gives individuals, to a large extent, coherence to their practices, practical anticipations and aspirations. In contemporary highly differentiated societies, individuals are fragmented not to the point that society as a whole is fragmented but up to the point that the contexts and fields in which they exert their practices are dissimilar. These contexts, and the everyday life experiences that individuals have in them, are likely to be coherent rather than purely contradictory. For this reason, we can argue, individuals face the social world as unified experiences while the dispositions they incorporate reinforce its systemic form of operation rather than erode it. In line with this, Atkinson argues that, while individuals are part of multiple fields that may even be contradictory, they 'still logically aggregate', a condition which gives them a 'unitary phenomenological sense of 'my world', 'my territory', 'my life' and so on' (2016: 27). Additionally, Bourdieu (2000b) argues, the social world is far from being a superposition of subsequent but disconnected events. On the contrary, it has a history that has an effect on subsequent generations. Thus, the social world has a 'temporal logic' that can be described as an 'order of successions' (2000b: 215), a notion which, furthermore, helps to reinforce the idea that power and privilege are transmitted from one generation to another.

Importantly, Lahire points out that, through the socialisation process, families endowed with cultural capital transmit to their children resources, such as language abilities and cultural knowledge, which families from the lower social backgrounds are not able to transfer to their kin. Even though the latter may delegate this function to the school, this institution cannot fulfil this task in the same way than the family do. In fact, children from advantaged milieus

incorporate and acquire writing and reading abilities through parents' incentives, encouragements and requirements at an early stage of their socialisation. Thus, practices such as to invite them to write during their vacations, to demand them to take notes when they answer the phone, to subscribe them to a magazine or to take them regularly to the library (Lahire, 2010: 206, 2011: 23–4), to name but a few, become fundamental in this process.

Lareau (2003) develops a similar argument. The scholar contends that individuals from different locations in social space have dissimilar types of socialisation. Thus, children from families located in privileged positions are more likely to receive the means for the acquisition of the arbitrary culture. Indeed, Lareau argues that middle-class parents are more liable to participate in a process of '*concerted cultivation*' (Lareau, 2003: 2) of their children than working-class families. The author shows, for instance, how families from the dominant positions organise and regulate different aspects of children's lives, which then allows kids to get the skills and the instruments to develop, for example, better verbal abilities, a larger vocabulary, mastery in the use of abstract concepts or greater confidence to face authority. Along with these practices and forms of transmission, it can be said, families may also exert what Lamont et al. call 'micro practices of boundary work' (2014: 587), which serve individuals and groups to construct their respective identities.

Additionally, a differentiation can be made between *active* and *passive forms of transmission* (Atkinson, 2010a). This means that while in some situations parents and relatives are aware of the activities they employ to train their children, in other occasions they are unconscious of how their practices may affect their offspring's cultural capital accumulation and dispositions development. At the same time, a subsequent differentiation can be made in terms of passive transmission (Lareau, 2003; Atkinson, 2010a). Thus, while some pre-reflexive activities between children and parents – or relatives – are focused in the use of reason in everyday life without the conscious aim of training them, other forms of passive transmission refer to meaningful and recurrent experiences, such as cultural activities which nurture children's habitus without being part of a concerted plan of cultivation. Furthermore, it is worth adding that, in the view of Lareau and Weininger (2003), cultural capital is not only the knowledge cultivated in 'highbrow' cultural spheres but also those skills and competence to properly interact with institutions. These abilities would give to their holders certain advantages that, moreover, can also be transferred from one generation to another.

In general terms, following Bourdieu's approach, those individuals belonging to a dominant position in social space, and whose habitus has been shaped through certain forms of socialisation developed in particular familial conditions, are those who will be able and will be better prepared to acquire and incorporate the dominant culture transmitted by the educational

system. This culture is then reinvested and converted by these agents in particular forms of capital – typically, institutionalised cultural capital such as academic qualifications and diplomas – in order to secure their privileged position in the social space. For this reason, institutions of education, at every stage, reinforce, consecrate and reproduce social class inequalities. The chief operation of the school and higher education institutions, therefore, is to convert social hierarchies – that is to say, the different positions that individuals occupy in social space given their respective properties (power and capital which are also mediated by identity characteristics) – into academic hierarchies – the different positions they take in the educational field given the instruments to incorporate the arbitrary culture and the symbolic mastery they hold. In other words, the educational system performs the transformation of inherited capital (in its different forms) into educational and academic capital, a mechanism that gives legitimacy to the social order it reproduces while conceals the power relations it perpetuates.

To fully understand the process of social reproduction through education, furthermore, we should also consider the forms of classification that operate within the educational system. Bourdieu (1996a) explains how this process works in the case of academic classification. The scholar equates the educational institution to a machine which transforms implicit socially hierarchized products (hierarchies and positions in the social space) into explicit products academically hierarchized (hierarchies and positions in the educational field). Thus, this machine performs the necessary operations of cognition and evaluation to give way to a correspondence between the entry social classification of individuals and the exit academic classification of students. In so doing, mental structures that classify students' outputs – or academic judgments – are essential. These cognitive structures put in place a system of principles of vision and divisions which operates as the basis of an 'academic taxonomy'. This taxonomy, in Bourdieu' words, is 'a neutralised and misrecognizable, in other words, euphemized, form of the dominant taxonomy' (1996a: 36). As Naidoo explains, it is 'organised according to the hierarchy of qualities commonly ascribed to the dominant group' (2004: 459). The effectiveness of educational reproduction rests in the fact that the agents involved in the field of education are not aware of the *homology* between social properties and academic judgments. This homology, which implies the homology between social space and the field of education, remains hidden. Thereby, social properties are transmuted into academic positions while inherited capital is transformed into academic capital. This process, Bourdieu argues, is in turn inscribed in the correspondence between the objectives structures of the field – which involves the division into establishments, disciplines, educational tracks, and so on – and the subjective structures of the principles of vision and divisions that individuals apply to it. This

‘relation of immediate proximity between objective structures and embodied structures’ (Bourdieu, 1996a: 38), brings us back to the idea of habitus, a system of structured and structuring structures which orients individuals’ practices, lifestyles, tastes and aspirations.

6. Neoliberalism and higher education: some conceptual elements

Exploring the field of higher education not only involves examining the objective relationships between properties involved in the field but also taking into account those symbolic forms that affect it. In this respect, processes of neoliberalisation carried out during the last few decades (Harvey, 2005, 2006) appear as one of the most fundamental factors when the question is about the conditions in which fields have been shaped. Put another way, a deep examination of higher education in contemporary societies – in particular the case of Chile – should not leave aside the fact that neoliberalism has become the ideological framework and the dominant discourse in many social formations.

Due to the fact that processes of neoliberalisation in different countries and regions of the world show diverse characteristics (Larner, 2000; Harvey, 2005; Ong, 2007; Brenner et al., 2010), it is difficult to define what neoliberalism is, how this is deployed and which are its geographical and institutional scopes. In fact, neoliberalism does not only entail changes at the level of economy but at the same time is associated with essential political and institutional transformations which, in turn, affect individuals’ subjectivities and practices. This condition has led to different interpretations and approximations of the phenomenon. What seems to be clear, therefore, is that there is not only one definition of neoliberalism. As Wacquant (2012) puts it, while some authors understand it from a purely economic perspective in which the market logic is raised as an unquestionable and inflexible conception, others have taken it as a flexible political rationality. Likewise, while some have put particular attention to its national implications, others have focused rather on its global scope. Hence, neoliberalism seems to be a ‘multi-vocal and contradictory phenomenon’ (Larner, 2000: 21) which present a complex body of principles guiding its actions.

In our case, in order to comprehend its relationship with higher education, neoliberalism will be considered as a *symbolic system* which pervades not only the economic but also those political and institutional dimensions that shape society. Although this definition might not exhaust all the dimensions and issues that the neoliberal phenomenon comprises, it allows us to address the point that neoliberalism, as a structured symbolic system, exerts a structuring power in society which allows it, through symbolic violence, to act as an instrument of domination (Bourdieu, 1979). Neoliberalism, therefore, understood as part of the dominant symbolic

system promoted by some fractions of the dominant class, would become a constitutive part of the dominant culture and an 'economic common sense' (Bourdieu, 2005b: 10).

Having said the above, what is important in this section is to comprehend which are the fundamental tenets guiding neoliberalism as a transnational force in order to connect them with the recent transformations in higher education. First of all, neoliberalism is structured upon the utopian ideas of market freedom and market self-regulation, ideas that work as strong political and economic discourses from which processes of neoliberalisation have been deployed (Bourdieu, 2004; Brenner et al., 2010). From this chimera, different principles are derived. One of the most essential tenets refers to the role given to the state: its *withdrawal* and shrinkage (Bourdieu, 2005b; Harvey, 2005; Wacquant, 2010). This means its abstention from several domains, including some decision-making spheres and some dimensions where the regulatory function is performed. The withdrawal of the state, hence, joins with a second principle: *deregulation* (Harvey, 2005; Wacquant, 2010). Although typically deregulation refers to the economic domain in terms of the role that the market fulfils in optimising individuals' economic exchanges, given the fact that the market logic begins to embrace different spheres of society – and these different spheres start to be taken as pure markets – deregulation starts to be claimed by the neoliberal forces in different areas of society, such as health, housing, pensions and education. Paradoxically, at the same time that the withdrawal of the state from different social domains is claimed, by the same token, the state is in charge of regulating these processes. Wacquant understands this deregulation task of the state as a 'reregulation aimed at promoting 'the market' or 'market-like mechanisms' (2010: 213). Thereby, rather than its withdrawal, the state assumes a new regulatory function which remains hidden under the prevailing idea of its retreat.

Privatisation and the idea that the private sector is more efficient is another principle imposed in neoliberal times. On the one hand, it rests on the belief that the optimal exchange and allocation is better achieved in a context of *competition* when the agents involved defend their private interests. On the other hand, privatisation is also supported by the idea that private management, given its flexibility and autonomy, is better prepared to face competitive environments. These ideas, furthermore, underpin the transference of public services to the private sector, which leads to the conversion of public goods into commercial ones and the users into client or consumers (Bourdieu, 2005b). As Harvey (2005) contends, deregulation, privatisation and competition, it is believed, is the perfect triad for an efficient and productive condition.

Individuals, as opposite to collectives, are also essential pieces in the neoliberal arrangement. *Individual freedom* and *individual responsibility*, as two faces of the same coin, become cultural

tropes (Wacquant, 2010, 2012) in neoliberal times. Indeed, while individuals would reach their freedom in the marketplace in the form of freedom of choice, at the same time they would be responsible for both their actions and their lives (Harvey, 2005). This condition, as governmentality approaches have noted (Hilgers, 2011), leads individuals to espouse the market logic to become entrepreneurs of their own being and their own individuality.

All the previous tenets which are part of the core of the neoliberal creed respond to a system of opposite classifications which becomes part of the common sense forming the neoliberal doxa: market/state, private/public, individual/collective and flexible/rigid, to name but a few. They are part of those symbolic forms governing the neoliberal world. The introduction of neoliberalism beyond the economic sphere indicates the triumph of this symbolic system which begins to parasitize different dimensions of the social world. In this process of 'symbolic inculcation' (Bourdieu, 2004: 29) individuals become active subjects in the legitimation of the neoliberal view of the world. In fact, the predominance of the neoliberal system of symbolic forms entails their internalisation as categories of perception and appreciation that affect individuals' dispositions and practices. As Hilgers (2013) contends, the effective implementation of neoliberalism must be accompanied by the reshaping of individuals' dispositions. Hilgers goes even further and points out that the neoliberal disposition may be understood as a generic disposition which shapes other dispositions in terms of competition and maximisation of the self. However, although the sense of this idea is reasonable, it is difficult to comprehend a disposition as an umbrella of others. Likewise, it would be difficult to separate neoliberal dispositions from other dispositions. Although we can agree, following Lahire (2011), on the plurality of individuals' dispositions, it seems to be a simplification to appreciate, on the one hand, pure neoliberal dispositions, and on the other hand, other dispositions. More accurate to our framework would be to comprehend that neoliberal symbolic forms become part of the dominant symbolic system which affects not only the context where individual act but also their processes of socialisation, which in turn, affect their dispositions, practices, lifestyles and so on.

According to Hilgers (2013), neoliberalism is deployed in a triangle made up by policies, institutions and dispositions. These three dimensions would be essential in the process of implementation of neoliberalism. Thus, such as individuals internalise neoliberal symbolic forms, institutions also incorporate these symbolic elements into their structures. The understanding of neoliberalism as a symbolic system, therefore, opens a window to explore the appropriation and incorporation of these symbolic forms by the institutions and individuals who are part of the field of higher education.

To begin with, marketisation has become a trendy notion to refer to the process of internalisation of the market-oriented logic into higher education systems. Higher education,

the neoliberal advocates estimate, would gain efficiency operating as a free and self-regulated market. This assumption rests on the belief that markets are the best coordinators for the exchange of goods and services. In this context, an essential aspect of a marketised higher education is competition. Neoliberal advocates believe that the more institutions compete with each other, the healthier the market in question will be, until the point of achieving its perfect equilibrium. Privatisation, or the entry of private actors in the market, comes hand in hand with these ideas. In fact, according to Ball (2016), the market refers to the articulation of competition, choices and privatisation. The latter takes different forms which can be summarised into two fundamental modes: '*exogenous privatization*' and '*endogenous privatisation*' (Ball, 2007: 14, 2016: 1049).

Exogenous privatisation refers to the process of transferring public services to private agents. In the case of higher education, for instance, it would entail the entering of new institutions into the sector. As Ball (2007) points out, this process is propitiated by *destabilisation*, *disinvestment* and *commodification*. Destabilisation refers to the defamation of public services in terms of its efficiency and flexibility in comparison to the private sector; disinvestment refers to the process of cutting public spending in particular areas of the public sector with the aim of replacing it by private investments; and finally, commodification refers to the transformation of social relations into marketable things (Ball, 2004).

Endogenous privatisation, on the other hand, should be understood as a subtle process in which market relations are introduced in the public sector. In the case of higher education, this can be observed in the introduction of internal competition within institutions. Neoliberal reforms, in other words, place relations of competition in the core of the establishments with the aim of increasing productivity, accountability and control within them (Olssen and Peters, 2005). This condition would affect academics, the administrative staff and students in different ways and by means of different mechanisms. Publications as a form of assessment, rankings of different types and the implementation of new forms of management are, among others, part of the neoliberal technologies and principles of governance implemented in the sector (Brown, 2015). What is at stake here is the efficiency of the system measured in terms of productivity and impact. This condition is not only materialized in objective mechanisms but at the same time, as Ball (2012) suggests, it gets into individuals' minds and souls, that is to say, their bodies and dispositions. Thus, everyone who participates in higher education is exposed to adopt the strategies and practices rooted in the neoliberal symbolic system. Ball calls this condition 'regimes of performativity' (2012: 19), where performativity is 'a moral system that subverts and re-orients us to its ends' (2012: 19).

In view of the above, what seems to define the current state of higher education systems around the world or, at least, its imminent drift in most of the countries, is the incorporation of a 'corporate culture' (Giroux, 2002) that triggers what have been defined either as 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2010) or 'neoliberal regime of knowledge' (Laval et al., 2012). This ethos refers to a state in which ideological forces led by commercial principles and values order and control the collective life by means of managerial techniques. In the case of universities, Giroux (2002) contends, this is translated into new values within the institutions such as efficiency, control and profit. The main consequence of this condition is that the limits between education understood as a public good and education understood as a private good begin to be blurred. Higher education, therefore, starts to be colonized in different domains by a business-like logic undermining its traditional role as a public sphere that prepares citizens for public and democratic life (Giroux, 2002, 2014; Brown, 2015). In this frame, students and their parents would be inclined to see higher education mainly as a way to gain a better allocation in the labour market in order to reach a higher position in the social space, while institutions start to see students only as potential consumers or customers of higher education.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, Bourdieu's theoretical framework to address the question concerning the process of reproduction of inequalities and higher education has been presented. In so doing, some essential concepts have been introduced. Among them, the fundamental triad made up by capital, habitus and field, as well as essential notions such as social space, subjective and objective structures, subjective aspirations and objective chances, symbolic violence and misrecognition. Importantly, Bourdieu's various concepts and ideas, although they can be applied independently, turn more robust when they are employed comprehensively.

As a conclusion, we should keep in mind three main aspects regarding the reproduction process and its connection with higher education. First, the role of the family through socialisation is essential for pupils' acquisition of the symbolic mastery and the instruments to incorporate the dominant culture that is recognized by the educational system. This allows the transformation of inherited capital into educational capital. Second, the mechanisms which operate in the educational institution help to divide and consecrate social differences which are then translated into academic distinctions, a condition that is misrecognized by the agents involved in the field. Third, the prior processes, from family socialisation to institutions reinforcements, create the conditions for socially differentiated aspirations and horizons of potentialities in the transition from the school to a new stage. Each of these processes helps to reinforce social reproduction throughout the educational pathway. Furthermore, the neoliberal regimes in which these processes occur and in which education systems currently operate bring new

questions to the problem of reproduction. In the following chapter, the historical context of Chilean higher education, which includes its neoliberal turn, will be addressed.

CHAPTER TWO

The field in context: transformations in Chilean higher education

Chilean higher education has transformed significantly in the last few decades. These changes have been important not only because they have affected the internal structures of the system but also because they have impacted many dimensions of society. Before understanding the current state of the field of Chilean higher education (see Chapter Five) and its implications in the reproduction of inequalities, it is important to comprehend the historical process of formation of the field. As Lahire states, 'The products of history are (...) continuously re-appropriated by the actors of the moment according to whatever new consideration they are focused on', yet, he adds, 'the present (...) is never independent of all the past which forms the conditions of possibility' (2019: 23). The following historical reconstruction does not only analyse higher education as an isolated sphere but also in relation to both the educational field as a whole and the recent historical conditions in which Chilean society has been forged.

In this chapter, the socio-political circumstances that have affected the country, as well as the main educational policies that are in the roots of the current configuration of Chilean higher education, will be critically examined. Reconstructing them will allow us to comprehend some essential ruptures and continuities in the sector. In so doing, the process of transformation of higher education, which begins with a foundational rupture triggered by the coup d'état of 1973, will be addressed. From this event, the conditions for the implementation of a neoliberal project were laid down. In this context, higher education assumed a new character in which its modernisation remained subject to market logic. Once democracy returned, neoliberal principles in education were adjusted and reinforced. This was the case during the 1990s and the 2000s until the point that the system presented its first cracks. Later in the chapter, the connections between higher education transformations, the process of neoliberalisation and changes in the Chilean class structure will be addressed.

1. First rupture: disarticulation

The coup d'état of 1973 perpetrated by the military forces in alliance with some fractions of the dominant class finished with a period of important social transformations in the country. The 1960s witnessed a process of class fractions incorporation under a dependent capitalist development scheme (Garretón, 1983). At the end of the decade, nonetheless, this model, led by the *Democracia Cristiana* party with its motto *'Revolución en Libertad'* ('Revolution in Liberty'), had begun to show some significant limitations to promote a more radical process of

democratisation. The exhaustion of the model triggered a political crisis, which finished with the emergence of a new historical project led by *Unidad Popular*. From 1970, the new government, an alliance made up of left-wing parties and political groups, sought to establish a 'non-capitalist democratisation' (Garretón, 1983: 44) as the starting point towards a socialist society. In the context of the Cold War, this process of political and social radicalisation underpinned by the promise of essential social transformations warned some fractions of the dominant class which, with the support of the United States administration, attempted to destabilise the political and social legitimacy of *Unidad Popular*'s project. Without having completed three years in power, finally, the military forces overthrew Salvador Allende's government.

In the case of higher education, there was a clear before and after the 1973 coup. From the 1950s to the early 1970s, Chilean universities, a field made up of eight institutions, experienced a process that Garretón called of 'partial modernisation' (1978: 4). This included quantitative expansion, geographical extension and the development of certain scientific and technical poles. Nonetheless, at the same time, the overall structure preserved its traditional shape. This condition, plus the wave of social transformations in the country, produced a tension which triggered the process known as '*Reformas Universitarias'* ('University Reforms'), which reached its climax between the years 1967 and 1968 (Garretón, 1978; Huneeus, 1988). According to Garretón (1978), the main elements of these reforms were based on a critique of the elitist character of university, a condition which had kept it separate from the problems of society; the fact that the internal structures of universities were not democratic and inclusive; and a critique of the traditional practices implemented in the process of student formation, which among other things was considered detached from the scientific research advances. These elements configured students' and some academic groups' demands under the umbrella of ideas such as democratisation, compromise, autonomy and pluralism for the university sector.

Not without problems, the reforms carried out during the 1960s and early 1970s were successful in what can be understood as a process of democratisation, inclusion and expansion of university. Indeed, during this time, on the one hand, there was an opening of the decision-making spaces for students, academics and administrative officers which, to a great extent, changed the structure of university governments; while, on the other hand, there was a significant increase in the number of students accessing higher education. Without changing the elitist character, enrolments in higher education grew from about 25,000 registered students in 1960 to 146,000 in 1973.

The military coup of September 1973 finished with the period of expansion and democratisation of higher education. The first stage of the new regime can be conceived as 'the phase of the terrorist dictatorship' (Moulian, 2002: 165), a period in which the main aim was to

dismantle the political, institutional and social tissue formed during *Democracia Cristiana*'s and *Unidad Popular*'s governments. Accordingly, massive repression against *Unidad Popular*'s adherents and supporters, plus the lack of a clear political and social project, marked the first years of the dictatorship. The overthrow of *Unidad Popular*, hence, dramatically transformed the landscape of universities. These institutions were seen by the coup plotters as sources of subversive agents able to stand up against power. For this reason, in a first stage, establishments were overseen and taken by the military forces (Garretón, 1978). This entailed the forced appointment of new authorities who began a process of persecution and removing of scholars, students and administrative officers; while student unions, important actors during the prior decade, were suppressed and replaced by new organisations nearer to the incoming regime. Thus, the dictatorship sought the disarticulation of the sector that, given its strong politicisation, was seen as one of the main threats to the emergent new social order. The process of modernisation and democratisation of universities thus was abruptly ended.

The terrorist stage of the dictatorship lasted several years. Between 1973 and 1980 the regime intimidated and controlled the population, particularly those in opposition to the administration, by diverse actions, such as torture, murders and disappearances. This stage, therefore, was a phase of violent disarticulation aimed to clear the way to establish the new social order which would regulate social relations in the country. Although the economic transformations conducted by neoliberal technocrats had started almost from the beginning of the dictatorship, it was just in 1977 that the Pinochet's regime began to plan the new political and social arrangements to be implemented in Chile. Thus, from 1978 the country went through a 'process of institutionalisation' (Garretón, 1983: 148) which would involve important spheres of society such as labour, health, pensions and education. In 1980, furthermore, a new constitution was enacted which can be regarded as the crystallisation of the new social order.

2. The 1980s educational reform: neoliberalisation as a foundational milestone

Once the repression had disarticulated different layers of the social tissue, those in power began to implement the historical project they had in mind for Chilean society. Although the neoliberalisation of the economy had been put in full action from 1975 through the replacement of the import substitution model and the application of monetarist reforms (Ruiz and Boccardo, 2014), the process of neoliberalisation in its political and social dimensions only started in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Education, of course, was one of the fundamental spheres in which they intervened. Thus, during the 1980s a crucial educational reform for the future of the country was implemented. According to Bellei and Vanni (2015a), by means of this new legal arrangement, the country launched a radical experiment in terms of educational policy which put market logic at the heart of the Chilean education system. This new framework was part of a

greater plan of comprehensive neoliberal transformation (Torche, 2005a), which entailed, as we will see, a rapid process of privatisation.

In the case of primary and secondary education, one of the most significant transformations was the implementation of a nationwide voucher system based on Milton Friedman's ideas and designed by the so-called 'Chicago Boys'[4] (Gauri, 1999; Cox, 2003; Torche, 2005a). This system established a mechanism based on competition in which schools should strive to attract students and their families. Thus, schools would receive a subsidy from the state per student, regardless of pupils' social origin. The key point here was that this funding was available for both public and private establishments. In other words, the system allowed the entrance of private suppliers funded by the state in an area that historically had mostly belonged to the public sector. In Ball's terms, this can be regarded as a form of 'endogenous privatisation' (2007, 2016). The argument of neoliberals was based on the idea of freedom of choice of families to opt for the most suitable schools for their children according to their preferences and values. From a Bourdieusian perspective, however, we should say that these preferences or tastes are rooted in their dispositions and positions they take in social space, which are in turn defined by capital and power. In any case, this new condition created an educational market regulated by competition between public and private subsidised schools and, on the other hand, expanded the role of private entities in the educational arena. Along with the above, given the fact that students and families should act as rational actors or rational consumers, a system aimed to assess students' school achievement was implemented with the aim of generating information about schools' performance oriented to students and families[5]. This system, nonetheless, should also be understood as a technology that facilitates accountability and control of the establishments (Olssen and Peters, 2005; Brown, 2015)

The reform also triggered other actions that modified the structure of the Chilean school system. Among them, decentralisation of the educational administration was promoted, which meant that the responsibility for the provision of public education was transferred from the Ministry of Education to municipalities. Consequently, public schools became administered by local governments. Moreover, teachers lost their status as civil servants and their profession underwent deregulation. This process led to both devaluation of teachers' salaries as well as an increase in the salary gaps between educators teaching in different types of schools (Cox, 2003).

The reform in primary and secondary school, therefore, was successful in promoting the main neoliberal tenets (see Chapter One). As we saw, under the idea of market efficiency founded in

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[4] The 'Chicago Boys' was a group of Chilean technocrats educated in *Pontificia Universidad Católica* and *Universidad de Chile,* who pursued postgraduate degrees in the University of Chicago under the influence of Milton Friedman's ideas.
[5] Students were assessed by means of the SIMCE test which was established in 1988.

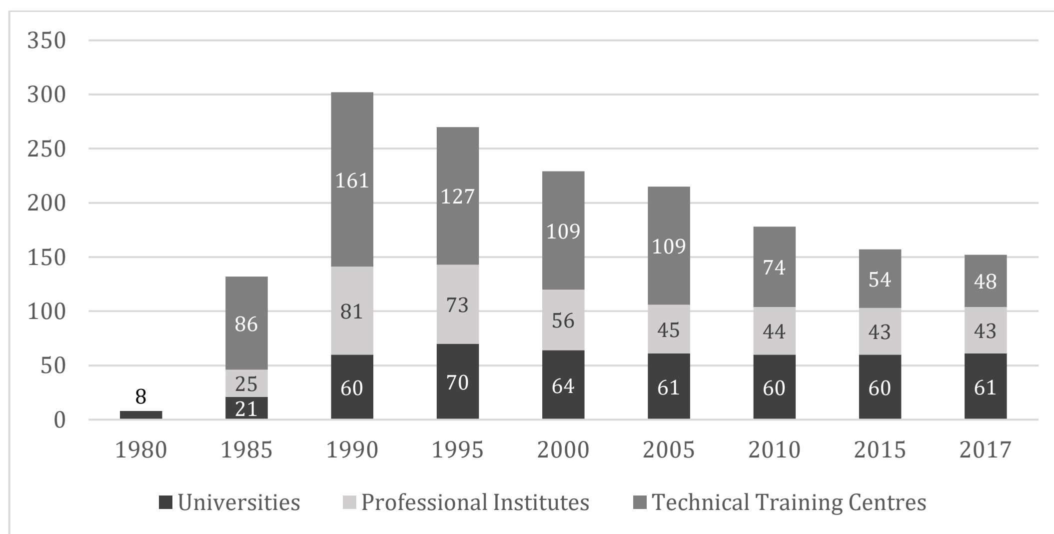
both competition between schools and freedom of choice, the process of privatisation was boosted. Indeed, the implementation of the voucher system allowed the entry of new agents to the educational arena: the private subsidised schools. They came to occupy an intermediate position between public schools, those funded exclusively by the state, and private schools, those funded completely by charging tuition fees (González et al., 2004). Particularly, the arrival of these new entities changed the condition of public schools in the educational field (Torche, 2005a). Prior to the reform the students' enrolment in public schools was almost 80 per cent (Torche, 2005a: 322), while in 1990 this proportion dropped to 59 per cent (Cox, 2012: 33). At the same time, private subsidised schools' enrolment expanded from 15 per cent (Torche, 2005a: 322) to 33 per cent in almost 10 years (Cox, 2012: 33). However, the quality of education, one of the main arguments within the neoliberal discourse to support the transformations in the field and the arrival of the new private agents, seemed not to have improved satisfactorily over time (Bellei and Vanni, 2015b).

Higher education also underwent fundamental transformations during the 1980s based on the neoliberal turn. In 1981 the military regime, in alliance with the Chilean dominant class, introduced a radical reform that laid the foundations for the current higher education system in the country[6]. This reform entailed a whole reorganisation of the sector that opened the door to a market-oriented scheme. Thus, the 1980s reform ended with a system in which the state fulfilled an important role as regulator of the sector. As Brunner (1993a) contends, this process involved three fundamental transformations. First, it favoured the deregulation of the system. This idea, supported by the belief in the notion of teaching freedom, allowed the entry of new private establishments into the sector (i.e. 'exogenous privatisation'). Indeed, the requirements for the creation of new institutions became minimal with the aim to promote competition among establishments. Second, the diversification of the sector into three types of institutions which gave place to three socially segmented higher education pathways: universities, professional institutes and technical training centres. Finally, the replacement of a public funding system for a mixed scheme which combined public and self-funding, the latter mainly through charging tuition fees to students and families. All these changes were adopted as measures to enhance the efficiency and efficacy of higher education, against the alleged rigidity and inefficiency of the public sector. Thus, the neoliberal symbolic system of opposite classifications (market/state, private/public and flexible/rigid) was successfully deployed in the sector. As a result, if prior to the reform Chilean higher education was made up of two huge public and six private universities – which we will call generically 'traditional universities' –, all of them substantially funded by the state (Brunner, 1986), once the reform was launched the

[6] The Decree of Law number 3,541 gave the military regime the faculties to restructure higher education.

number of institutions significantly increased over one decade. The two public universities, *Universidad de Chile* and *Universidad Técnica del Estado*, were fragmented into 14 public institutions established throughout the country, which meant that in total the eight traditional universities became 20; while in 1990, 40 new private universities, 81 professional institutes and 161 technical training centres were operating in the field (Bernasconi and Rojas, 2004). In other words, after the deregulation of the sector the number of higher education institutions hugely increased and diversified (see Figure 2.1), mainly by the action of private actors.

Figure 2.1: Number of higher education institutions by type of institution (1980 - 2017)



Source: Ministry of Education, SIES 2018 and Muga (1990).

The higher education financing system was also deeply transformed. A complex structure was designed that differentiated between the traditional universities and the new institutions. The main change implied that, to a great extent, traditional institutions, historically funded by the state, would have to pursue self-financing through the charging of tuition fees. In other words, they faced what is called disinvestment (Ball, 2007). Thereby, higher education stopped being free and started to be conceived rather as a service or as a private good which students and their families should pay for. On the other hand, the new law also established two types of funding coming from the state. A basic institutional fund called '*Aporte Fiscal Directo*'; and a fund based on the logic of competition between institutions termed '*Aporte Fiscal Indirecto*'. The latter would be annually distributed among the traditional universities able to attract those students belonging to the 20,000 highest-scoring in the test for the university admission[7]. In addition, students from traditional universities would have the chance to apply, in the case that they need it, to a state loan scheme, the named *Crédito Fiscal Universitario.* On the contrary, for

[7] From 1989 the number of best scores considered was extended to 27.500 and new private universities, professional institutes and technical training centres were enabled to compete for this fund (Bernasconi and Rojas, 2004; Brunner, 1993a).

the case of the new private universities, the legislation established that they should be self-financing entirely through the charging of tuition fees, leaving the responsibility of paying exclusively in the hands of students and their families (Brunner, 1993a; Bernasconi and Rojas, 2004).

During its first decade the reform had important effects in terms of diversification and expansion of higher education. The number of institutions, as we already saw, reached 302 in 1990 (see Figure 2.1) whilst its overall enrolment went up 110 per cent in ten years (Bernasconi and Rojas, 2004: 36). In other words, the process of expansion, which had been halted from 1973, had started again. However, this time the structure of the system had radically changed. Fundamentally, a radical process of privatisation had been put in action. In the case of universities, for example, the participation of private institutions in enrolment increased from 36.8 per cent in 1980 (Brunner, 1986: 49) to 50 per cent in 1990 (Bernasconi and Rojas, 2004: 37). Similarly, taking into account universities, professional institutes and technical training centres, enrolment in private institutions increased from 55.5 per cent in 1985 to 71 per cent in 1990 (Bernasconi and Rojas, 2004: 37). From the 1980s onwards, therefore, private entities, the new agents in the sector, assumed an essential position in the field of higher education institutions. Thus, a market-based arrangement was deployed. Herein, ideally, institutions would have to compete to attract students, while the latter would have to choose according to their preferences the most suitable establishments for themselves.

3. Return to democracy: adjustments and continuities

In 1990 democracy was restored and a centre-left coalition made up of various parties called *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia* was elected to government. One day before leaving power, the dictatorial regime enacted the Constitutional Law of Education (LOCE) which would be the legal framework through which Chilean education would operate during the next two decades. The LOCE, as Bellei and Cabalin (2013) note, established in a definitive way the subsidiary role of the state and the promotion of privatisation in education. In other words, this legal body was the final step – or the cherry on the cake – in materialising the educational transformations deployed in the previous decade. Likewise, it became the legal framework that would regulate higher education in its various dimensions for several years. In so doing, among other things, it established the creation of the *Consejo Superior de Educación*, an autonomous organism in charge of regulating some important aspects of higher education (Cox, 1996); and it gave official recognition to, on the one hand, universities, which were allowed to exist only as non-profit institutions, and, on the other hand, professional institutes and technical training centres, which did not have any particular restriction in that domain.

The incoming government, despite great expectations for change, had to deal, first, with the remnants of the old regime or 'authoritarian enclaves' (Garretón, 1999: 259, 2000: 159), which were anchored in the inherited institutional framework and defended by the right-wing alliance loyal to the former administration; and second with the internal divisions that slowly began to emerge within the coalition in power. In fact, while some members of the *Concertación* expected a counter-reform to strengthen public education, others supported some essential characteristics of the inherited legal structure (Bellei and Vanni, 2015a). As a consequence, the period from 1990 to 2006 – which was consecutively led by three *Concertación*'s presidents – was marked by agreements and disagreements and the continuity in the long term of the founding tenets of the neoliberal education system.

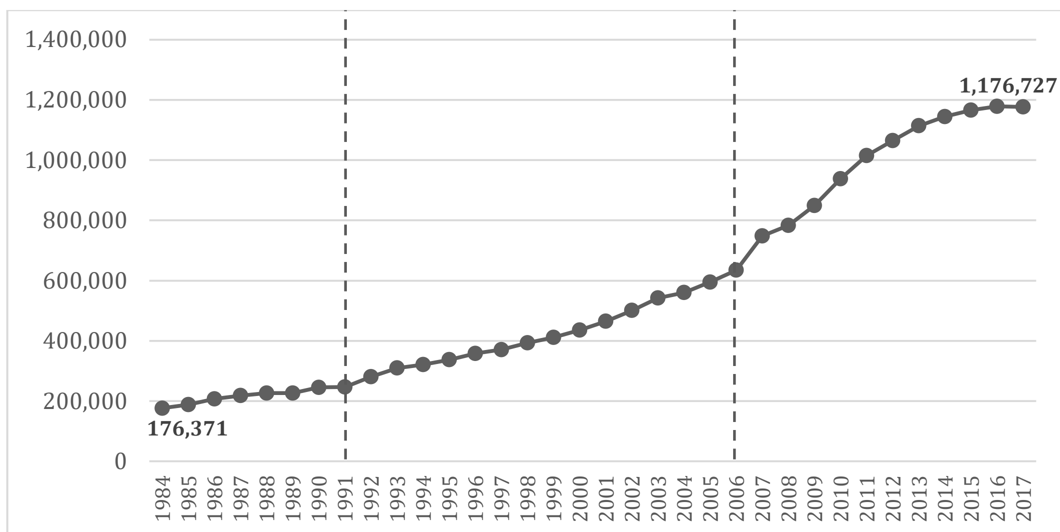
In the case of the school level, Patricio Aylwin's government, on the one hand, timidly tried to reverse some aspects of the 1980s reform. Such was the case of the promotion of a new statute for teachers, which was enacted in 1991 with the goal of regulating the deregulated teaching profession and enhance educators' job stability (Gauri, 1999; Bellei and Vanni, 2015a); and some state programmes aiming to improve the quality of education in some establishments, such as the *900 Escuelas* and the *MECE-Primaria* (Cox, 2012). On the other hand, the marketisation and segregation of the system were deepened through the implementation of the Co-financing Law in 1993, an enactment that allowed private subsidised schools and secondary public schools to charge tuition fees to students and families in addition to the subsidy they receive from the state (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013). Overall, the principles of the 1980s school reform during the first *Concertación* government remained mostly unchanged. Teaching freedom, the voucher system and the administrative decentralisation, key elements of its neoliberal configuration, continued to be the backbone of the Chilean education system.

In higher education, the situation was not very different. Chiefly, the endeavours of the new government focused on consolidating and enhancing the new architecture of the field. The structural transformations performed during the 1980s, therefore, were legitimated by the incoming administration. Nonetheless, there were some nuances. Among the initial goals of the government, for instance, two fundamental actions were made: restoring the autonomy of traditional universities; and increasing public spending in the sector, though the latter did not mean changing the financing mechanisms imposed during the military regime (Brunner, 1993a). Additionally, enhancing the legal framework as a whole became an important issue for some sectors. For this purpose, the commission called *Comisión de Estudios de la Educación Superior* was created with the aim of making some proposals in the area. However, the endeavours in this respect were not fruitful in the National Congress (Bernasconi and Rojas,

2004). Finally, the government, rather than making structural transformations in the field, opted for consolidating the market-oriented scheme inherited from the dictatorship.

The results under the new umbrella were fairly favourable in terms of figures. Public expenditure on higher education, for example, increased by 65.3 per cent from 1990 to 1995 (Cox, 1996: 35). Likewise, the scope of student financial aid, such as scholarships and loans, was significantly expanded. Besides this, the field of institutions of higher education – after 10 years of deregulation that, as we already saw, caused massive proliferation of institutions, often of dubious quality – began to show some adjustments. The number of institutions that were operating in the system fell from 302 in 1990 to 229 in 2000 (see Figure 2.1). However, the latter process did not prevent the expansion of higher education enrolment. The number of students in the sector would rapidly increase during the next decades (see Figure 2.2).

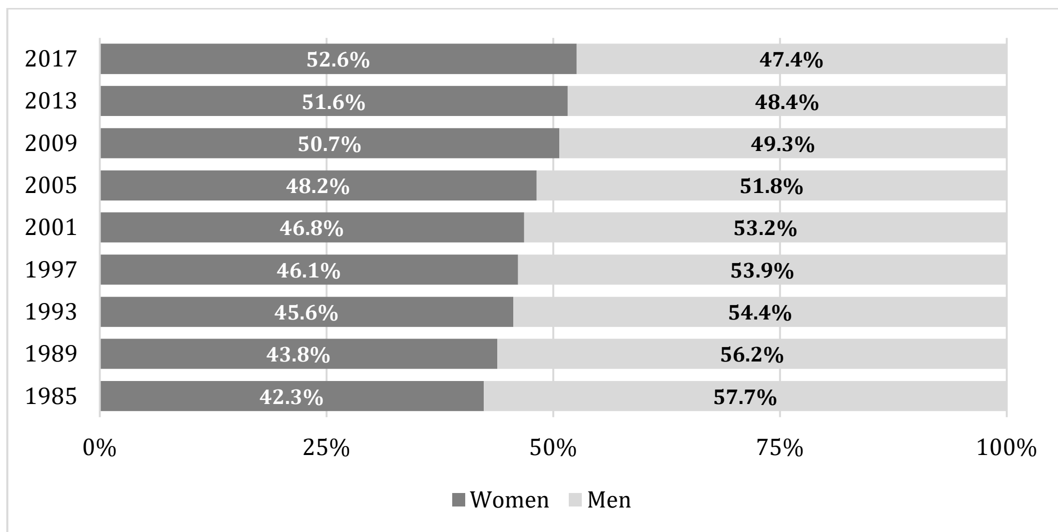
Figure 2.2: Higher education enrolment (1984 - 2017)



Source: Ministry of Education, SIES 2018.

Along with its expansion, the proportion of women in higher education also significantly increased (see Figure 2.3). The structure of the system, which was conceived as highly dependent on private institutions, would allow its future expansion, feminisation and, as some have understood it, its modernisation. Paradoxically, it was with the first *Concertación*'s government, an administration led by some of the same parties and leaders from Frei's and Allende's governments, that the project of democratisation of higher education, such as it had been conceived during the 1960s and early 1970s, was finally buried. The new structure of the field based on market logic, in the eyes of those in power, seemed to be a promissory means to give access to those historically excluded social groups.

Figure 2.3: Proportion of higher education enrolment by gender (1985 - 2017)



Source: Ministry of Education, SIES 2018.

In 1994, Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, a new president from the *Concertación*, assumed power. To some extent, this government brought new impetus to the educational agenda, particularly in the school level. In a fragile political context dominated by the idea of 'consensus' (Moulian, 2002: 42), the commission named *Comisión Nacional para la Modernización de la Educación* was convoked. This commission gathered representatives from the political, religious, social, educational and business worlds. As a result of its recommendations[8] an educational reform was implemented from 1996. Chiefly, this reform modified the primary and secondary curriculum – in 1996 and 1998, respectively – and extended the school day length. In higher education, on the contrary, there were no fundamental changes. Although there were some initiatives and adjustments, such as the failed attempt to change the legal statutes of state universities or the implementation of the *MECESUP* programme[9], it may be considered rather a period of relative stagnation in the sector that continued running under the already set policy framework.

The period from 2000 to 2006, led by Ricardo Lagos under the motto '*Crecer con Igualdad*' ('Grow with Equity'), was dominated by inertia in the educational sector and ideological struggles between the government and the right-wing opposition. Up to a point, the recent school reform had not had the expected results. The overall outcome during this period, as Bellei and Vanni suggest, was a 'reform of the reform'(2015a: 189), which focused its energies on some critical elements related to the learning process in the classroom. In other words, the discussion remained encapsulated in a technical debate, which prevented a deeper reflection on

[8] See Comité Técnico Asesor del Dialogo Nacional Sobre la Modernización de la Educación Chilena and Comisión Nacional para la Modernización de la Educación (1995).
[9] The *MECESUP* programme was aimed to improve the quality and equity of higher education.

the educational structure and its social consequences. This condition entailed a period of immobilisation and stagnation in the school system.

The process of expansion, on the other hand, had continued advancing in higher education (see Figure 2.2) as well as the increasing participation of women in the sector (see Figure 2.3). Although there had not been major reforms in the area, the inertia reached by the system through mechanisms of offer and demand was enough for this purpose. Institutions – mostly private – would continue absorbing new students. New private universities, those universities which were created once the reform was implemented, were those which have increased faster its participation (see Table 2.1). However, the structure of the system, as well as its overall enrolment growth, seemed to be, year after year, reaching its limits. Faced with this scenario, and in a context in which the access to higher levels of education seemed to be the main mechanism for individuals' upward mobility, Ricardo Lagos' government designed in 2005 a new policy in order to structurally reinforce the widening of the access. In the context of a market-oriented system, the available loan scheme up to that point – known as *Fondos Solidarios de Credito Universitario* – had presented some important restrictions. Perhaps, the most important obstacle to strengthen and expand the intended higher education market was the fact that the coverage of the loans was limited only to those students attending traditional universities. This condition excluded all the students from the new private universities and the non-university institutions, as well as, all the potential students that those institutions might attract. Additionally, policymakers estimated that the *Fondo Solidario* was in crisis since, among other things, the loan recovery rates had been low and the autonomous administration carried out by each university had generated some biases into the system (Larraín and Zurita, 2008). Thus, a new student loan scheme named *Crédito con Aval del Estado* (CAE) was launched[10]. Although in 1991 and 1994[11] prior governments had taken some actions in this respect, the CAE undoubtedly meant a deeper transformation for the sector.

[10] The system was enacted in 2005 through the Law number 20,027.

[11] In 1991 the government rescheduled student' debts and reduced the loan interest rate to 1 per cent by the enactment of the Law 19,083. In 1994 the government launched the *Fondos Solidarios de Crédito Universitario*, a policy that transferred the loans administration from the state to universities and increased the interest rate from 1 to 2 per cent by the enactment of the Law 19,287 (Bernasconi and Rojas, 2004).

Table 2.1: Enrolment percentage by type of higher education institution (1985 - 2017)

	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2017
Traditional Universities	57.8%	44.1%	45.9%	46.2%	39.1%	30%	26.2%	27.1%
New Private Universities	2.6%	7.9%	20.4%	23.3%	31.1%	32.3%	29.3%	29.4%
Professional Institutes	12.8%	16.3%	12.1%	18.5%	19.3%	23.9%	32%	31.8%
Technical Training Centres	26.8%	31.7%	21.5%	12.1%	10.6%	13.7%	12.6%	11.6%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Ministry of Education, SIES 2018.

Several actors would be involved in the new loan scheme: students from any type of higher education institution; the financial system which, by means of banks, would fund the loans; higher education institutions which would act as students guarantors during the time they were studying; and the state which would act as a guarantor of students once they graduate (Brunner, 2008). The CAE, thus, was the response given by the state – in the hands of the *Concertation* and with the right-wing opposition support – to the limits and problems presented by what was understood as a stagnant market. The state, therefore, such as Wacquant (2010) would point out, played the role of promoting the market. Viewed this way, the CAE would help to expand the volume of students (consumers) able to access higher education (the market), while private banks were invited to be part of the process in order to make more efficient the loan recovery rates. In so doing, its creators encouraged a market-like view of higher education, attracted new private agents to the sector, and reinforced the neoliberal role of the state, that is, as an agent that chiefly acts as a platform to facilitate and guide the action of private actors (Sanhueza and Carvallo, 2018).

With the help of the CAE – which was refused from the outset by some students unions and organisations – Chile reached in 2007 what Brunner (2015) calls the stage of mass higher education, in which the private sector, including educational and financial institutions, assumed an essential role. Thus, the new loan scheme gave a fresh push not only to the expansion of the system (see Figure 2.2) but also to its privatisation. Potential students found new ways of funding their studies and private institutions got a new mechanism to keep growing (see Table 2.2). On the way, banks took advantage of this opportunity to invest in what the dominant perspective understood as an educational market.

Table 2.2: Enrolment percentage in public and private higher education institutions (2007 - 2017)

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Public Institutions	22%	19,3%	15,7%	14,9%	14,7%	15,1%
Private Institutions	78%	80,7%	84,3%	85,1%	85,3%	84,9%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Ministry of Education, SIES 2018.

After the implementation of the CAE, Chilean higher education became a more attractive environment for private investors (Bellei et al., 2014) at the same time that the promise of integration through market regulations continued alive. Nevertheless, this process – alongside the whole process of marketisation of education – concealed some contradictions that gave rise, as we will see, to the malaise that would lead to the emergence of the 2006 and 2011 student movements.

4. A field of paradoxes: from expansion to contradictions

In 2006 Michelle Bachelet was elected president. With her, a fourth government from the *Concertación* assumed power. Although during the campaign the new authorities had not put special emphasis on educational issues, the emergence of a secondary massive student movement at the beginning of the period imposed a new political agenda focused on the sector. Thus, the voice of those who had not taken part in the discussion came to light. Students appeared on the scene to question an educational system which had remained, at least in its foundations, almost unaltered for approximately 25 years. Among other things, students stood up to reject for-profit interests in the educational sphere, demand free education and defend the worth of public education (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013). In other words, it was the rejection of the central principles laid down by the 1980s reform. The problem they saw was not only the privatisation and marketisation of the system per se but also some of its consequences. Among them, for example, that competition between schools and privatisation were associated with the increase of educational inequalities (Torche, 2005a; Bellei, 2009); and that, over time, the school field had turned highly segregated in socioeconomic terms (Valenzuela et al., 2010, 2014; Elacqua, 2012). In this context, it is no wonder that the anger of students shook the social and political scenario of the country. The dominant discourse of meritocracy which promoted success through personal endeavour and individual responsibility as well as the promise of a more equal society grounded on market logic had started to show its cracks.

The government reacted to the student petitions by creating a commission named *Consejo Asesor Presidencial para la Calidad de la Educación*. After six months and despite the lack of

agreements among participants on some relevant points, the commission made its recommendations. Among them was the necessity of changing the LOCE, the need to remake the institutional framework to ensure the quality of education and the idea of finishing with the selection of students at the primary level (Cox, 2012). The government, following some of these suggestions, proposed some reforms to the National Congress, which were harshly criticised, mostly by members of the right-wing parties (Bellei and Vanni, 2015a). Nonetheless, given the pressure exerted by students, the *Concertación* and the opposition reached an agreement where the main point was the replacement of the LOCE by the General Law of Education (LGE)[12].

The LGE was finally enacted in 2009. This new educational charter, among other things, increased the requirements for private schools to obtain public funding and forbade the selection of pupils from first to sixth grades in primary school establishments which were receiving a state subvention. Likewise, a Quality Assurance System would have to be implemented which would entail the creation of a Superintendency of Education and an Agency for Education Quality. On the other hand, the Preferential School Subsidy Law was set up, which in practice meant an additional voucher to the existing one for those primary school students belonging to the poorest 40 per cent of the population (Bellei and Vanni, 2015a). The latter shows that, in spite of the changes, subsidiarity and focalisation will follow being in the core of Chilean education. Notwithstanding the agreements reached in the political field, the modifications were not as deep as students expected. In fact, both competition between schools and freedom of choice – central elements of the neoliberal ideology – continued operating. On the other hand, the LGE focused only on the school level and left aside higher education. Thus, higher education would continue operating primarily under the rules fixed during the 1980s.

In 2010, after 20 years of centre-left governments, the candidate of the right-wing alliance, one of the richest businessmen in the country, Sebastian Piñera, was elected president. The wear of the *Concertación* with its electorate and with the population brought a new coalition to power. The new authorities did not hide their attachment to neoliberal principles. This condition, little by little, strained the relations between students and the government, which soon exploded in a new conflict. Again, a huge student movement arose, although this time it was led by higher education students. As Connell put it, 'In Chile, where privatization has been extreme, mass protests by university students broke out in 2011, culminating in a Santiago demonstration of nearly a million people' (2019: 139).

Several reasons may explain the origin of the 2011 conflict. According to Bellei et al. (2014), among the causes, we find the dissatisfaction of students with the condition of access to higher

[12] The General Law of Education was established by the Law 20.370 which was enacted on September 2009.

education institutions. Students from both traditional universities and new private ones perceived that the processes of marketisation and privatisation of the system had undermined the state of institutions. Both the increase in the tuition fees and, in many cases, the extremely high levels of indebtedness – as an effect of the CAE – brought great suffering to students and their families. Additionally, the scholars point out some deeper causes. Indeed, following Lemaitre and Atria (2013), they argue that the reproduction of inequalities as a result of the market dynamics of Chilean higher education had become an essential element to trigger the students' malaise. Particularly, as we will see in the next section, this process would be producing discordant expectations in relation to the dominant discourse of meritocracy and the promise of social mobility. From a different perspective, Fleet and Guzmán-Concha (2016) argue that the emergence of the student movement should be understood rather as a reaction to the material contradictions of massification of higher education and the ideological aspects involved in this process. For them, the 2011 student movement emerged fundamentally to denounce processes of domination and exploitation of students.

Although Piñera's government never agreed with students' demands, which resulted in constant struggles between the authorities and the movement, the enormous pressure the latter exerted plus the extended public support it received pushed the government to take action on the matter. Thus, the government proposed the creation of a Superintendency of Higher Education whose aim would be to supervise the performance of the institutions in the field; a public system of accreditation aimed to improve the quality of institutions; and an integrated financing system which would reduce the interest rate and exclude the participation of banks in the loan scheme (Bellei et al., 2014). However, none of these proposals would come to light during Piñera's government as such. While the two first proposals were assumed by the following government, the third one derived only in the reduction of the interest rate, but banks continued to be part of the system.

In 2014, a new government led by Michelle Bachelet assumed power. This time its agenda, pushed by the students' struggles and critiques, would be highly focused on education. Indeed, the core of the campaign was an educational reform aimed to carry out structural transformations in the educational field. Thus, with the political intention of converging with the students' demands, an educational reform was proposed which included both the school level and higher education.

The incoming government came to replace the old *Concertación*, grouping almost the same political parties in *La Nueva Mayoría.* From the beginning, however, this new coalition showed frictions and difficulties to reach common agreements among its members. Indeed, different political and ideological stances, many of them contradictory and irreconcilable with each other,

were coexisting within the new political alliance. Herein, added to the fierce resistance to any transformation of the right-wing parties and some fractions of the dominant class, the discussion over the educational reform took place. The agreements for it came to light just at the end of the period. In the meantime, the main changes in the sector were, on the one hand, the implementation of the Follow-up and Effective Access to Higher Education Programme (PACE)[13], and the incipient implementation of the Tuition-free Higher Education programme. Indeed, the students' demand for free education was translated into a policy that, in 2016, focused on those students from the poorest 50 per cent of the population in the country. Thus, following certain requirements and restrictions for the institutions (such as being an accredited establishment as well as being a non-profit organisation[14]), the state funds higher education degrees for those pupils who are enrolled in eligible institutions, regardless of whether they are public or private. In this sense, the Tuition-free Higher Education benefit in the end was not very different to a voucher scheme.

5. The neoliberal turn, Chilean social class structure and higher education

The events described above are the main political and social milestones that have reshaped, in the last few decades, the rules and stakes of both the educational field as a whole and, particularly, the field of higher education. Along with this process, important economic transformations also took place in the country. These changes have been the result of a process of deep privatisation which entailed the transfer of the weight of the economy from the state to the market (Espinoza et al., 2013). Atria (2010) distinguishes three waves of privatisation between 1973 and 1990 which importantly affected the economic and occupational structure of the Chilean social formation. They include the privatisation of firms that had been taken over by the state during the *Unidad Popular*'s government; the privatisation of productive assets previously nationalised; the privatisation of banks and financial institutions through a process which was called '*capitalismo popular*' ('popular capitalism'); and the privatization of large public enterprises, among them firms from the area of telecommunication, energy and air transport (Ruiz and Boccardo, 2014). In sum, Atria (2010) affirms, privatisation along with the deregulation of external capital flows, the opening of the economy and the implementation of a subsidiary state, significantly affected the productive sphere, the labour market and the occupational structure of the country. Some notable transformations in this respect have been the shrinking of the occupations in the rural area, the decline of the salaried occupations in the

[13] PACE is a state programme which was implemented during 2015. As Villalobos et al. (2017) point out, the programme presents two main components: (1) coaching, academic support and socio-emotional aid to vulnerable students; (2) guaranteeing a certain number of spaces in higher education institutions for those beneficiary students who fulfil specific conditions.

[14] The funding was part of a gloss in the Public Sector Budget Law, 2016. Here, the requirements for students and institutions eligibility were specified.

public sector accompanied by the increase of those in the private sector, and the decrease of the occupations in the manufacturing industry followed by an important growth of the posts in the service sector.

In line with the above, different scholars have pointed out that the structural transformations of the last few decades have importantly affected Chilean class structure (Espinoza and Barozet, 2008; Espinoza et al., 2013; Ruiz and Boccardo, 2014). According to Espinoza et al. (2013: 172), among the changes, there has been an increasing heterogeneity in the overall structure as well as the emergence of what has been called a 'new middle-class', a social group whose members are mostly employed in new private firms created in areas as dissimilar as finance, commerce, education and health, in addition to self-employed workers and those in outsourced services. Furthermore, these scholars argue, the greater part of the population, around 47 per cent, is still part of the 'popular classes', while around 43 per cent would belong to the 'middle-classes', which includes the 'upper-middle class' (2013: 179). At the same time, an important fraction of the members of the middle-class presents considerable instability in their trajectories and a reduced distance with the lower locations. Some of the reasons that may explain this situation may be associated with the increasing process of labour flexibility that has strongly affected the stability of jobs (Ruiz and Boccardo, 2014), in addition to the low income received by a large proportion of the members of this social group (Espinoza et al., 2013).

The expansion of higher education has played an important role in the process of reconfiguration of the Chilean class structure. To a certain extent, the possibility of access to higher levels of education – that is to say, to institutionalised cultural capital – by social groups historically excluded brought to them, at least ideally, the possibility of access to better positions in the labour market. This, along with the reconfiguration of the productive sphere and the restructuration of the labour market, made possible a sort of reconfiguration of the class structure as well as certain fluidity (Torche, 2005b), particularly towards the lower regions of social space. This would explain the increasing importance that individuals and families confer to education as a means to ascend in the 'social ladder', a condition that, we will see later, has been reinforced by the prevalence of meritocratic discourses (Araujo and Martuccelli, 2012).

Nonetheless, as Espinoza et al. (2013) argue, the fluidity between social positions is reaching its limits. These scholars point out that in recent years the class structure has begun to present two rather closed and rigid poles in the extremes, which makes the transition from lower to intermediate positions and from intermediate to higher locations difficult. These findings, furthermore, come to feed one of the central debates around the transformation of the class structure in the country: the character of the middle-class (Espinoza and Barozet, 2008; Pérez-Ahumada, 2018). One interpretation, in this respect, has been the 'mesocratisation' of Chilean

class structure, that is to say, the significant growth of the middle-class positions (León and Martínez, 2007; Ruiz and Boccardo, 2014); while other researchers have contradicted the 'mesocratisation theory' arguing that the lowest positions are still larger (Gayo et al., 2016; Pérez-Ahumada, 2018). In particular, Gayo et al. (2016), applying a Bourdieusian approach (Bourdieu, 2000a) in which they associate occupations with cultural consumption patterns, argue – in line with Espinoza et al. (2013) – that Chilean class structure would present, rather than an increasing middle-class, two rigid poles which divide the individuals not only in terms of occupations but also between those who participate in cultural activities and those who are more inactive. In sum, the current condition of polarisation and low fluidity would come to weaken the expectations members of the intermediate and lower social groups have of being able to access the highest social positions, at the same time that indicates that education is reaching its limits as a means to give access to the most privileged locations in society.

On the other hand, the diversification of higher education has also influenced the restructuration of the class structure (Ruiz and Boccardo, 2014). While the new structure of higher education has helped to widen the access to the system to individuals coming from different locations in the social space, it also has given place to a more heterogeneous society. Indeed, social differences now would be less and less the result of the opposition between attending or not attending higher education – as it was the case for an elitist higher education – but rather a consequence of both the type of institution (either a university, a professional institute or a technical training centre) and the institution itself (according to the level of prestige and reputation – i.e. symbolic capital – of each establishment) in which individuals have obtained their diplomas. Some researchers have described the sector as a 'dual' or a 'bifurcated' higher education in which coexists an elitist and mass system (Orellana et al., 2018). Looking at the big picture this could be true. However, we should say that the field derived from the 1980s reform presents, as we will see throughout this research, a more complex structure than the 'dual' one. In fact, at the same time that the number of students becomes huge, social segmentation, stratification and divisions within and as a result of the system importantly increase. We will explore this in more detail in Chapter Five.

The limits reached by education as a means of advancing on the 'social ladder' as well as the increasing social segmentation of the field as a result of the processes of deregulation and diversification, are both elements that can be associated with the process of diploma inflation in the country and the subsequent devaluation of credentials. This condition, in which agents' expectations have increased as a results of the expansion of the system but at the same time are likely to remain unfulfilled, in addition to the burden entailed by high levels of indebtedness incurred by many students from the intermediate and lower region of the social space to pay for

higher education, are in the roots of the malaise experienced in the country during the last few years.

Araujo and Martuccelli (2012), from individuals' subjective perspectives, arrive at a similar conclusion when addressing the rising importance given to the idea of merit in contemporary Chile. First of all, they explain, Chile has become a country in which merit is highly valued. Individuals, in general, believe in the meritocratic principles orienting society. Paradoxically, however, there are two ideals from which this condition comes from. One is grounded on market logic and involves individualistic and competitive principles; while the other associates the idea of merit with the search for justice and greater levels of equality. The worth given to merit, therefore, comes from these two somewhat contradictory ideals. Different social classes, furthermore, focus more in one or another model when merit is appreciated. Thus, while in the intermediate groups competitive and individualistic principles play a preponderant role; in the lower regions of social space, merit is more often associated with tenets related to justice and equality. Education, in this context, has acquired great significance since, given the expansion of the system in its different levels, particularly in higher education, it is presented as a meritocratic mechanism which opens the opportunities to progress towards higher social positions through personal endeavour at the same time that it makes possible greater levels of equality in society. This condition, the scholars point out, has importantly increased individuals' expectations on education. The problem, nevertheless, comes out when these expectations are not met. This situation produces increasing levels of disillusionment. From individuals' perceptions, credentials would possess a particular ambiguity. On the one hand, they have become the main supporters of meritocratic principles; while on the other hand, they are also an important source of injustice. Put differently, while credentials hypothetically open the opportunities of moving to higher social positions, at the same time, in practice, they serve to limit the access to higher regions in the social space. This is reinforced in a context of diploma inflation with high levels of institutional segmentation and stratification in which credentials are significantly devalued.

In sum, the reconfiguration of the higher education system since the 1980s reform has come hand in hand with a restructuration of different dimensions of society. In particular, transformations in the productive and occupational structures, in addition to the expansion of higher education and the prevalence of meritocratic discourses, have brought the increase of individuals' expectations on education as a mechanism to access to higher positions in society, at the same time that some limits of its real potentialities have made manifest.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the transformations of education, and particularly higher education, in the last few decades. The main aim was to put the field of higher education in context. In so doing, the most essential social and political events that have taken place in the country were examined, from the process of rupture and the imposition of a neoliberal project to the implementation of some adjustments and the emergence of new social contradictions. Higher education, in this context, became deregulated. This condition triggered its expansion, diversification and privatisation. The process of widening participation in the sector, as we saw, has been achieved mainly by market-oriented mechanisms. The increasing access to higher education institutions, furthermore, has helped to stimulate individuals' expectations on education. However, in the last few years, it seems that the expansion of the access to credentials (institutionalised cultural capital) has not importantly affected the fluidity of the social class structure and individuals' objective possibilities to improve their social positions. The prior situation raises the necessity of exploring more in-depth how the process of reproduction of social inequalities through higher education takes place. The next chapter focuses on how research in higher education in Chile has developed and has addressed this problem. Furthermore, a brief review of how in other contexts research has explored social reproduction through education is also discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

Higher education research and social inequalities: Chile and beyond through a Bourdieusian lens

The reconfiguration of Chilean higher education during the 1980s entailed the restructuration of higher education research in the country. Researchers in the area had to redefine their aims to comprehend the implications and effects of the renewed system on society. Considering this scenario, the first section of this chapter identifies how research has examined Chilean higher education and how researchers have addressed the problem that connects higher education with the reproduction of social inequalities. In so doing, four different approaches, analytically grouped, are examined. This examination is made in light of Bourdieu's theoretical framework in which the interaction between the objective and subjective structures emerges as a fundamental condition to understand processes of social reproduction (see Chapter One). The rationale behind this has been to identify, through a Bourdieusian lens, some gaps and limitations in the research area. The second section, as a complement to the first, examines research carried out in other contexts. Mapping the developments of the relevant inquiry beyond Chile is a helpful way of learning how researchers in other countries, within the frame of Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, have advanced – not without limitations and gaps – the knowledge that connects higher education and the reproduction of social inequalities.

1. Research on Chilean higher education and social inequalities

This section assesses the development and state of higher education research in Chile with the aim of drawing some of its limits and gaps when addressing the problem that connects higher education and social inequalities. Basically, it is argued that research in the area has tended to focus either in the objective dimension of the problem or in its subjective side, a condition which has limited the understanding of the phenomenon. Four research strands have been grouped for analytical purposes: the institutional perspective; the social inequality approach; the comprehensive explanation; and the grasp of students' subjectivities.

1.1. The institutional perspective: towards the state-market coordination

Research on Chilean higher education during the 1980s and 1990s mainly focused on the institutional level. With the implementation of the 1980s reform, researchers in the area analysed its internal configuration with the purpose of comprehending its new institutional and legal arrangement. Additionally, after the enactment of the Constitutional Law of Education in

1990, with the return of democracy and amid an unstable political climate (see Chapter Two), higher education researchers expanded their concerns to the effects of the new legal framework. One of their main aims, in this respect, was to provide technical support for sectoral policy-makers (e.g. Brunner and Briones, 1992; Brunner, 1993a, 1993b, 1997). Thus, for example, while Brunner (1993b) describes the main changes resulting from the implementation of the new regulation, Brunner (1993a) recommends some measures which would strengthen the sector, such as the restitution of the autonomy of traditional universities and the implementation of some adjustments to its legal structure.

Later in the 1990s and during the 2000s, questions about the role of the market and the state and distinctions between public and private institutions became the core of the discussion. Scholars were concerned with some emerging problems affecting the system which showed a rapid process of expansion and diversification. Herein, researchers helped to monitor the evolution of the policies implemented in the area. The main goal was to assess the interaction between public and private agents within the sector. In fact, researchers examined how public-private coordination worked (e.g. Brunner, 1993a, 1997; Cox, 1996; Bernasconi and Rojas, 2004) and how higher education institutions were affected by the market logic (e.g. Brunner, 2004, 2009; Brunner and Uribe, 2007).

Cox (1996), for instance, points out that both the state and the market, which had adequately coupled during the first *Concertación*'s governments, performed important regulatory functions for the system. Moreover, both private and public cultures had taken complementary directions, which had helped to strengthen the sector. According to Cox, although there were still some aspects to be improved, higher education presented significant progress in comparison with the 1980s. Overall, the researcher highlights the stability of the system and endorses its process of adjustment and consolidation. Brunner (1997), without discarding the role of the market as a coordinator, makes a more critical evaluation. He argues that the market-oriented policies implemented during the military regime had created a disconnection between the private agents and the public sector. As a consequence, while private institutions had not been able to gain legitimacy, public universities had been negatively affected by market competition. Bernasconi and Rojas (2004), similarly, contend that a critical point in the area laid in the fact that traditional universities had had to operate with difficulties in a context of market coordination; while Brunner and Uribe (2007) suggest that the traditional institutions were facing a hostile environment in which their success would be associated with their capacity of adaptation to the market logic.

The institutional perspective, therefore, has mainly focused on understanding Chilean higher education from the point of view of its institutional arrangement and the role that the

interaction between the state and the market have played in its configuration. Furthermore, it has been strongly influenced by the aim of contributing to public policy decision-making in order to consolidate the expansion and diversification of the system. In so doing, this approach has understood the modernisation of the system chiefly as the improvement of the coordination between the state and the market. Brunner (2015) argues that this process of modernisation has taken place in a turbulent environment, although this condition has not halted its regular progression. He points out that the reform of the 1980s and its subsequent adjustments promoted the process of massification and diversification of the system. Thus, the scholar explains, from 2007, Chilean higher education reached the phase of universal access (Trow, 2007), which entails that the system has been successful in incorporating people coming from different social backgrounds. Nonetheless, the inclusion of students from lower social backgrounds is considered still a challenge (Bernasconi, 2015). Thus, despite the advances, Brunner (2015) reflects, there are still contradictions and tensions in the institutional, political and cultural level that have to be addressed, negotiated and solved. According to him, this situation is conditioned by the milieu in which higher education develops, which affects each institution individually and the sector as a whole.

Salazar and Leihy (2013) have called this stream of research the 'incremental path thesis' since its chief proposition suggests that higher education, from 1980 onwards, has transformed without traumatic shocks. Higher education is understood as a system in continuous and regular development and transformation. Arguably, most of the analyses here have sought to provide alternatives and recommendations – closer to mainstream policy – to enhance the system at its structural level. In so doing, scholars have privileged a macro-institutional examination focused on structural factors such as access, financing and governance. Individuals, however, do not appear in the scene or at most they appear just in the background. For this reason, there are many questions not addressed: How are individuals and different classes affected by the transformations of higher education? How have the expansion and diversification of the system affected the students and their families? Although the institutional approach has contributed to comprehending both the emerging characteristics and the transformations of what we may call the objective structures of the Chilean field of higher education, there is not much explanation regarding how higher education has particular effects on patterns of social inequality and which are the individuals' experiences and perceptions in the field. The latter remain concealed in the background.

1.2. Social inequality approach: from the institutions to the students' characterisation

Undoubtedly, Chilean higher education research has mostly been dominated by the institutional perspective. The necessity of understanding the new configuration of the field and making some adjustments to the system led researchers to focus on its formal institutional aspects. However, insofar as higher education continued to expand, new questions were raised. In particular, researchers became interested in exploring who were the students attending higher education with the purpose of assessing social inequalities within the system. This entailed moving from a discussion mostly centred in the role of the market and the state to the analysis of the institutions' social composition.

The relationship between the rapid expansion of higher education and social inequalities was addressed by scholars through the examination of statistical data. The analysis of the CASEN survey[15] was particularly fruitful for this purpose (e.g. Donoso and Cancino, 2007; Espinoza and González, 2007, 2011, 2013; Espinoza, 2008). Espinoza (2008) and Espinoza and González (2011, 2013), for instance, examining CASEN survey data collected from the 1980s onwards, point out that, in spite of the growth of the enrolment rate, the proportion of potential students entering higher education was still low. In fact, only 25 per cent of students who entered primary education in 1995 accessed higher education in the stipulated time (Espinoza and González, 2011: 283, 2013: 204), while 60 per cent of young people aged between 18 to 24 were outside the system (Espinoza and González, 2013: 211). Furthermore, they affirm, students coming from private schools – the most privileged establishments – were overrepresented while those students coming from public schools were underrepresented, a condition particularly marked in the case of traditional universities (Espinoza and González, 2011, 2013). A similar relation was found in the case of those students who belonged to the higher income families, who were overrepresented in the system, and those from the lower income family groups, who were underrepresented (Espinoza, 2008). Donoso and Cancino (2007), in line with this, contend that only a small proportion of those denominated as 'poor' – those pupils coming from households whose income is under the minimal line to satisfy their basic needs – entered higher education. This would be reinforced, they state, by the fact that in Chile the system hinders the possibility of working and studying at the same time, which means that students need economic support while they are in higher education. This condition, the scholars argue, has operated as a social filter to access the system. Additionally, some researchers note that governments' expenditure on the sector has not been enough to satisfy the demand for access of

[15] The CASEN survey is a regular instrument which has two main aims: (1) periodically knowing the situation of households and population in the country; (2) assessing the impact of public policy.

the least privileged groups (Espinoza and González, 2015), at the same time that those students from the most disadvantaged households are more likely to drop out of higher education once they get into it (Espinoza and González, 2012, 2015; Lemaitre and Atria, 2013).

The relationship between the institutional diversification and social inequalities have also been addressed by researchers in this research strand (e.g. Valdivieso et al., 2006; Donoso and Cancino, 2007; Espinoza and González, 2011). Donoso and Cancino (2007), in this respect, show some notable social distinctions according to the type of institution students attend. They draw a general picture of those students who were attending technical training centres, professional institutes and universities. Most of the students in technical training centres, they show, belonged to the lower income groups while in the case of professional institutes and universities students from different groups were more equally distributed. The latter was especially marked in public universities, while in private universities students from the higher income categories were notably dominant. In line with this, Espinoza and González (2011) point out that, while there are differences between the proportion of students coming from the lower and the higher incomes groups in both public and private institutions, public establishments have been able to reduce this gap while private universities have not. Privatisation appears as an emerging issue affecting social inequalities.

Researchers in social inequalities have also focused on characterizing non-privileged students more precisely using quantitative tools. Castillo and Cabezas (2010), for example, seek to characterise those students who were the first generation of their families attending higher education. In doing so, they compare the trajectories of students who entered and those who did not enter higher education. The results show that parents' years of schooling make a significant difference in pupils' trajectories. Indeed, among young people with parents without higher education, the higher the level of education of their parents, the larger the proportion of those students who get into higher education. Parents' expectations on children' educational achievement has an effect in the same direction. Likewise, the number of books in the household presents a similar influence, that is, the more books, the greater the proportion of students who enter higher education, a condition which would indicate the importance of cultural capital on pupils' futures. Although Castillo and Cabezas suggest that students' social origin does not completely determine pupils' trajectories, they contend that both the family composition (i.e. the presence of both parents and siblings) and familial cultural capital have important effects on their possibilities to access higher education.

In sum, questions about the relationship between social inequality and higher education became more important once the transformations of the system gave place to the diversification and expansion of higher education. Researchers, therefore, took a more critical approach in order to

describe the state of social inequalities within the system. In so doing, the analyses have fostered the debate. However, they also have some limitations. Indeed, most of the studies grouped in this perspective have approached the problem by descriptive examinations rather than explicative analysis. In other words, they have been restricted to describing statistical aggregations to establish divisions and boundaries between groups and institutions, without explaining *how* social inequalities are produced and reproduced. What is missed here is the subjective domain which is imperative to understand how social reproduction is achieved. The fact that the CASEN survey has not been created with the purpose of explaining educational differences has also narrowed the scope of the analyses. The process of codification, classification and homogenization operated by this survey, while highlighting some properties, hides others. Thus, most of the studies have been limited to describing preconceived statistical aggregations grouped by household income. Castillo and Cabezas (2010), to some extent, break with this condition since they utilise original data and introduce some explicative variables (e.g. parents' years of schooling or parents' expectations) into the analysis. Nevertheless, there still are relevant questions, belonging rather to the subjective dimension of individuals' practices, which are not addressed: What are the consequences of the structural inequalities on students' trajectories and identities? How are their perceptions shaped by the structure of the field in question? These questions become fundamental when the aim is to grasp, from a sociological perspective, the deep relationship between higher education and society.

1.3. Looking for a comprehensive explanation: higher education, social class and social change

The expansion of higher education has not only entailed quantitative changes but also qualitative transformations within the field. The incorporation of new class fractions into the system has also triggered the rise of new demands. These demands have manifested in socio-political expressions which, in turn, have stimulated and reoriented social research. This, of course, is not something new. No wonder that the student movement of 1967 and 1968 motivated the emergence of original sociological interpretations on the issue (e.g. Garretón, 1978; Brunner, 1984).

The resurgence of the student movement, hence, first in 2006 and then in 2011 (see Chapter Two), has revitalised a research area which encompasses higher education, social change and class analysis. This has been particularly fruitful for higher education research since several researchers have turned their attention to this field to understand the factors explaining not only the emergence of the student movement itself but also its connections with the transformations and increasing social malaise in Chilean society. Thereby, while some researchers have contributed by focusing on the internal characteristics, strategies and

practices of the student organisations (e.g. Cabalin, 2012; Guzmán-Concha, 2012; Salinas and Fraser, 2012; Bellei and Cabalin, 2013; Guzmán-Valenzuela, 2017; Hernandez, 2019) others have attempted to make more comprehensive examinations focusing on the relationship between higher education and class inequalities (e.g. Fleet, 2011; Orellana, 2011; Fleet and Guzmán-Concha, 2016). The latter contributions are especially relevant here since they depart from 'self-centred' inquiries which address higher education as a closed system to reframe it in the historical and social conditions in which it develops (Ruiz and Boccardo, 2014). Higher education, therefore, is understood not as isolated from society but as embedded in it. This means that the place it occupies has a relevant effect on the reproduction and transformations of the social order in which the system is placed.

Fleet (2011), in particular, seeks to explain the rise of the student movement amid the structural transformations of the country in the last few decades. The rise of the student movement, he understands, would be associated with the emergence of both a new middle-class and a fraction of intellectual workers, two groups which have expanded as a direct consequence of the massification of higher education (Fleet, 2011; Fleet and Guzmán-Concha, 2016). Furthermore, in a context of privatisation, marketisation and commodification within the sector, students would react to denounce certain forms of exploitation and domination (Fleet and Guzmán-Concha, 2016). Fleet (2011) points out that, given the fact that Chilean higher education operates according to market principles, individuals get their credentials according to the economic capital they hold. In this scheme, social class inequalities are easily reproduced. This process would be reinforced by the institutional differentiation of the system, which serves to transmit both the means to occupy a particular power position in society and the values and ideologies relative to those positions. In this scenario, Fleet argues, the new middle-class would have the pretension of exerting a reflexive control over their conditions of reproduction (i.e. over the educational system), with the aim of replacing the market principles for values of universal character. All the prior elements converge in the search for an alternative social project whose starting point would be the restitution of public education (Fleet, 2011; Fleet and Guzmán-Concha, 2016).

Fleet (2011) and Fleet and Guzmán-Concha (2016), therefore, present a well-elaborated and sophisticated sociological hypothesis. Here, the new middle-class appears as a group with a defined project materialised and led by the student movement. Nevertheless, without rejecting the content of the hypothesis, this is still in the theoretical domain. While the proposed ideas are logical and coherent, they are not inscribed in empirical work. One of the main complexities of the processes analysed lies in the fact that behind what may be called the new middle-class, there may be several class fractions which may have different interests, strategies and

aspirations. Furthermore, the extent of the growth of the middle-class is also a contested debate in the country (see Chapter Two). To understand these aspects, empirical work becomes fundamental. Particularly, without knowing the different aspirations and how they are constructed – which would also include examining how the field of institutions of higher education affects their formation – it becomes difficult to grasp the real effect exerted by higher education on individuals' practices.

In Orellana (2011) we find a different limitation but which, in the end, points towards the same direction. The researcher seeks departure from the institutional examination of higher education to integrate it into a more comprehensive analysis of Chilean society (Orellana, 2011: 131). To achieve this goal, Orellana analyses original quantitative data as well as introduces two new categories to revisit the results of the CASEN survey: on the one hand, he reclassifies households according to the occupation of the head of household, making an adaptation of Goldthorpe's class schema to the Chilean case[16]; on the other hand, he regroups higher education institutions according to Torres and Zenteno's (2011) typology of Chilean higher education institutions. These decisions allow him not only to better understand the internal transformations of the field but also to connect it with some transformations in the wider social structure.

Orellana argues that Chilean higher education has expanded in the last few decades as an 'oil stain' (2011: 90), that is to say, from the inside out. Thus, the privileged groups cover its demand earlier, to then give place to the lower social groups. This process of expansion, he contends, more than altering the social structure, reproduces relative social inequalities within society. These inequalities become clearer when the institutions students attend are observed. Thus, while a great proportion of students coming from families in which the head of the household is a manager, a professional or a technician – i.e. students who belong to the upper and middle groups – attend traditional selective universities, most of the first-generation students in higher education attend non-selective institutions. Put differently, the greater the accumulation of economic and cultural capital of families, the larger the possibilities of students attending a selective institution. Segmentation of the student population, therefore, is not only associated with the type of institution they attend (i.e. universities, professional institutes or technical training centres) but also with distinctions among establishments such as selective/non-selective, research/non-research and so on. Orellana, therefore, emphasizes the fact that while Chilean higher education has expanded, it has also socially segmented. As a consequence, insofar as the old traditional institutions – particularly *Universidad de Chile* and

[16] Orellana (2011) generates four categories: 'Managers and professionals', 'Middle level technicians and professionals', 'Employees and workers' and 'Unskilled workers'.

Pontificia Universidad Católica – incorporate students from different social backgrounds as a result of the process of expansion, the elite groups create new institutions to their own reproduction, while the subaltern groups see how their credentials devalue as the effect of the same process.

Orellana (2011), therefore, notably connects the structure of higher education with transformations at the level of the social structure. Nonetheless, Orellana's work also presents some limitations when the question is about the reproduction of social inequalities. The process of institutional segmentation he illuminates not only has effects in ordering and allocating students in objective positions in the higher education field in correspondence with their positions in the social space but also – and even before – in their subjective aspirations, strategies and practices. These aspirations, strategies and practices – in other words, what can be grasped from individuals' habitus – remain hidden when the analysis is focused only on the examination of statistical aggregations. In this sense, researching individuals' subjectivities becomes essential when the aim is to depart from mechanistic explanations of social reproduction.

1.4. The grasp of subjectivities: the individuals' voices

While most of the research on Chilean higher education has focused on its objective structures, research addressing students' subjectivities is still sparse and somewhat scattered. Nevertheless, particularly over the last few years, researchers have raised questions which involve pupils' perceptions and beliefs in the context of transition from the school to a new stage. Dávila et al. (2006), for example, drawing on Bourdieu' ideas, explore the perceptions, aspirations and expectations of young people who attend public schools, those establishments in which a great proportion of students belong to the most disadvantaged families of the country. In so doing, they note a tension between students' optimistic attitudes towards the future and the real possibilities they perceive they have to accomplish their projects. Put another way, there would be a mismatch between pupils' aspirations and expectations (Dávila and Ghiardo, 2005). Thus, while most of the pupils were 'optimistic' or 'very optimistic' regarding the future, at the same time, most of them pointed out that their possibilities of achieving their projects were rather low (Dávila et al., 2006). This tension, however, does not contradict the fact that most of them expected to enter higher education once they finished school, at the same time that most of them declared that they aspire to get into a university instead of a professional institute or a technical training centre (Ghiardo and Dávila, 2005; Dávila et al., 2006). Students' aspirations, however, were intertwined with feelings of uncertainty regarding the future. In this context, Ghiardo and Dávila (2005) point out that those pupils who aspired to get into higher education envisaged different strategies to accomplish

their projects. Indeed, while most of them declared that they will get into higher education immediately after school, some were planning to work and study at the same time, while a significant minority saw themselves working before entering higher education. Among the latter, economic restrictions would be the decisive factor behind their decisions. Dávila and Ghiardo (2011), additionally, point out that while pupils raise vocational, pragmatic and moral reasons to continue studying and 'being part of the game' (2011: 73), in the end, they feel that they will not be able to achieve their goals in each of those dimensions. Indeed, the researchers highlight the fact that students in public schools tend to see themselves in disadvantaged conditions in relation to those pupils from 'other' establishments. Structural constraints, in this account, are fundamental factors in pupils' decisions.

Sepúlveda and Valdebenito (2014), from a different perspective, found a similar situation in the case of students who attend technical-professional schools[17]. While most of them aspired, in the long term, to enter into higher education, many of them declared that their expectations, in the immediate future, were to find a job. The researchers suggest that behind students' decisions there are 'strategic adjustments' (2014: 611) in which the necessity of getting economic resources to fund their studies and support their families become crucial. Students, in this account, would be oriented by a 'pragmatic rationality' (2014: 611) which would guide their decisions along the different stages of their educational trajectories. Thus, unlike Dávila and Ghiardo (2011), researchers emphasise the rationality and flexibility of these pupils when planning and deciding their future.

Also within the domain of aspirations, González and Valenzuela (2016) focus on secondary school students who attend humanistic-scientific schools. In particular, they seek to understand, through quantitative analysis, the relationship between pupils' aspirations towards university and some motivational variables (which include, on the one hand, expectations of success regarding university studies and, on the other hand, importance, interest, cost and utility of studying). In so doing, the researchers group Chilean universities, applying Muñoz and Blanco's (2013) categorization, into five groups: research universities, massive universities, universities of accreditation, elite universities and non-elite universities. The results show that motivational variables behave differently according to the type of institutions students aspire to. Notably, motivations are lower in those students who aspire to massive universities than those who aim to elite or research institutions. Likewise, those students with lower expectations regarding their score in the test for the university admission (PSU) are those who mostly aspire to massive

[17] Technical-professional schools provide vocational education. This curriculum is oriented to the insertion of students in the labour market shortly after their school graduation. According to Sepúlveda and Valdebenito (2014: 598), 65 per cent of young people coming from the lowest income quintile attend this type of schools (see Sevilla, 2012).

universities. González (2014), drawing on the same data, investigates the most significant factors influencing students' aspirations. In particular, the researcher focuses on those aspects which bring students to consider a selective university as the first of their potential choices. Among the determinants, factors such as parents' level of education, students' school achievement and the school socioeconomic level are crucial in forming pupils' horizon of possibilities and potential decisions. In line with this argument, González and Dupriez (2017) point out that schools' strategies to prepare students for higher education, such as encouragement towards university studies, distribution of information and guidance, and support in the process of making decisions, have significant effects on the fact of being accepted into a selective institution. These factors, the researchers argue, play an even more determinant role in those more disadvantage students. Davila and Ghiardo (2005), in line with this, argue that public schools have not been able to recognise appropriately the aspirations of students coming from the lower social backgrounds. According to them, these schools constrain rather than broadening pupils' aspirations.

In a somewhat different line but in the framework of students' aspirations, some researchers have studied the factors, reasons and motivations associated with the process of higher education choices. The approaches in these cases have been varied. Some have addressed the reasons and motivations associated with the choice of particular degrees and disciplines (e.g. Blázquez et al., 2009; Avendaño and González, 2012); others have investigated the economic determinants of the process (e.g. Hernández and Paredes, 2007; Olavarría and Allende, 2013); others have focused on particular populations (e.g. Carrasco et al., 2014) and a few have attempted to draw a more general picture involving the process of decision-making (e.g. Paulus et al., 2010; Canales, 2016; Orellana et al., 2017). Among the latter, Orellana et al. (2017) seek to grasp the process of choice of higher education degrees and institutions in a more comprehensive way. Through in-depth interviews with first-year university students and parents belonging to different social classes, and taking into account gender differences, they make significant contributions to understanding this process. The first thing the researchers point out is that students in the first place choose a degree and then an institution, a condition also noted by Paulus et al. (2010). Students' choices, furthermore, would be highly influenced by gender and class. On the one hand, Orellana et al. (2017) contend, while women tend to choose those degrees closer to the handling of emotions, men select those professions connected to the administration of information and the use of machines. On the other hand, the choice of an institution would be strongly influenced by class. This means that students, according to their social class, select a university through an ideal map of institutions which determine a horizon of possibilities made up by those universities that they recognise as socially valid. The

researchers, thus, characterise ideal types of selectors. In the upper class there would be a 'traditional selector' (2017: 61) and a 'new selector'. Traditional selectors in this group would aspire to traditional and prestigious institutions and degrees – particularly *Universidad de Chile* and *Pontificia Universidad Católica* but also, in the second place, to some elite new private universities – a decision which appears as natural and in line with the social milieu that they inhabit. New selectors, instead, appear less defined. The institutions to which they aspire, nonetheless, are the same as those that traditional selectors aspire to, but in this case, they do not differentiate between traditional and non-traditional institutions. In the lower class, on the other hand, there would also be 'traditional' (2017: 68) and 'new' (2017: 77) selectors. Traditional selectors here would opt for traditional universities which are part of the Integrated System of Admission, while private universities, particularly those non-selective ones, are avoided. Differently, new selectors in the lower class break with the idea of exclusivity associated with the idea of university. In this sense, they are open to enter less prestigious institutions given the fact that their main goal is to obtain a professional degree.

Overall, therefore, research connecting Chilean higher education and students' subjectivities and aspirations has increasingly gained attention in the last few years. These studies have significantly helped to uncover some dimensions which had remained hidden in the structural analyses of the Chilean higher education system. A gap to be filled, however, is the lack of analysis of the interaction between pupils' aspirations and the objective conditions towards and in which students exert their decisions, particularly the higher education field. Frequently, the latter has been taken-for-granted. This condition has limited the explanations regarding the effect of the field on individuals' desires and decisions. The work of Orellana et al. (2017) is in the right direction to comprehend this interaction. The researchers understand that when students from different social classes make choices they construct their aspirations according to an ideal map of institutions, which helps to delimit their decisions. An important limitation, nonetheless, is that they put the spotlight on students who had already been selected by establishments, which implies that, at that point, processes of self-exclusion or self-selection have already taken place. This entails the possibility of an *ex-post* rationalisation of the process of higher education choice in order to justify and legitimate the decision they already made. Furthermore, the researchers focus only on university students – grouped in defined categories of institutions – a condition which entails a narrow view of both the field of institutions of higher education and the social space. On the other hand, there is no explanation about how aspirations towards higher education are formed, shaped and reinforced throughout students' trajectories. For this reason, university choices are described rather as pragmatic and rational decisions.

2. Higher education research and reproduction of inequalities in other contexts

In different contexts, the expansion of higher education has not occurred without the persistence of social inequalities. Over the last few decades, some researchers have addressed these issues applying Bourdieu's conceptual tools. In the United Kingdom, for instance, the cultural turn and the revival of class analysis have been fundamental in the development of the sociology of higher education. In the late 1990s, Reay pointed out that the 'transition from an 'elite' to a 'mass' higher education system remains undertheorized' (1998a: 519). The notable transformations in the field had raised new questions in a context in which reproduction of social inequalities was still the main characteristic of the system (Atkinson, 2012). No wonder that from those times on, questions related to individuals' perceptions of higher education and students' experiences in the field have increasingly gained ground. Herein, the triad made up by habitus, capital and field became fundamental to grasp complex processes which involve not only students but also their families, schools, higher education institutions among other agents. In the following, some developments and applications of this research will be examined with the aim of shedding light on those concepts and tools which may be helpful to fill some gaps in the Chilean higher education research. In so doing, it will also be noted that, as in the case of Chile, research in the area has tended to focus on either the subjective side of the problem or its objective dimension.

2.1. Higher education choices and transitions

Higher education choices and aspirations have become one of the fundamental aspects that researchers in different contexts have examined to understand the causes of social reproduction through higher education. Turning away from macro studies focused on access and the composition of the system – like the type of the social inequality approach mentioned above – this research strand, as Reay (1998a) notes, has sought to uncover the complexities underlying students' decision making practices. In so doing, Reay argues, it has been necessary to adopt a comprehensive approach which involves the several contexts in which students are engaged, such as the family, the school, the peer group as well as the consumer culture in which children have been reared.

Following Bourdieu's framework, in which choices and aspirations are underpinned by habitus, this research has been successful in understanding that the process of higher education decision making is extremely complex and not purely rational. Many factors such as class, gender, ethnicity and the interaction between them influence it. As Archer and Leathwood point out, 'classed identities are complex and, therefore, the relationship between identity and HE participation is necessarily complex and multiple' (2003: 191). Accordingly, these scholars

argue, higher education choices should be comprehended as a negotiation rather than as a rational individual process.

Research findings unmistakably show that the process of choice reproduces multiple social inequalities. In terms of class differences, Reay (1998a) argues that the family importantly impact students' decisions. For instance, the fact of having parents or other relatives with the experience of higher education makes relevant distinctions. In this sense, parents' or another family member' support and advice may make a great difference when pupils are in the stage of deciding their futures. In the United States, Lareau has applied the concepts of 'concerted cultivation' and 'accomplishment of natural growth' (Lareau, 2003) to grasp the process of choice in the transition from the school to a new stage. Lareau and Weininger (2008) focus on how families from different social backgrounds negotiate children's transitions at the end of the schooling process. They found important differences between social classes. While middle-class parents mobilise several resources in order to advise, support and prepare their offspring for the process of applying to higher education, in the case of working-class families, parental involvement is considerably lower. Lack of experience and knowledge as well as limited capacity to negotiate in the education milieu appear as important factors which leave working-class pupils in markedly more uncertain conditions compared to their middle-class peers. This, however, does not mean that parents from the working-class do not assist and help their children, but their resources and mastery are comparatively limited. In sum, the scholars conclude, while middle-class families show patterns of 'concerted cultivation' in their practices involving higher education choices, working-class parents are prone to leave this responsibility to professional educators, which can be considered an extension of what Lareau (2003) called the 'accomplishment of natural growth'.

The interaction between class and higher education choices is even more intricate. Reay (1998a) notes that the multiple unequal and differentiated experiences that students' 'supporters' and 'advisors' – either parents or other family members – have had in higher education may importantly affect pupils transitions and decisions. In fact, Reay states, class differences are not only inter-class but also intra-class. Brooks (2003) makes a similar point when investigating higher education choices of a specific group of middle-class students. The researcher notes a 'high degree of intra-class variation' (2003: 289) in relation to the knowledge that students hold of the structure and institutional hierarchy of higher education as well as of the strategies that they and their families apply in the field. This occurs in a context in which, according to Ball et al. (2002), students from privileged positions are, in general, more aware of rankings and hierarchies of institutions. Brooks (2003) adds that not only parents' own higher education experiences influence their children' decisions but also experiences that parents may have had

in other contexts, for instance, in the labour market or in the workplace. Furthermore, young people's relationships with friends and peers appear as another meaningful factor affecting their choices.

Gender differences in terms of parents' involvement have also been examined by researchers. Reay (1998b) has found that during the schooling process, parents' roles are importantly differentiated. Mothers, more than fathers, are who primarily support their children in relation to the different aspects associated with children's school life. This condition, additionally, is notably marked by class. Thus, middle-class mothers are able to deploy varied resources aimed to help their offspring. This does not mean that working-class mothers are inactive during the schooling process of their daughters and sons but the resources they hold are relatively limited and fruitless in comparison to those handled by middle-class mothers. The scholar argues that these patterns in domestic and school activities imply that social reproduction is not only classed but also gendered. As Reay put it, 'mothers (...) in particular middle-class mothers, are at the front line of social reproduction, heavily investing in terms of time and mental and emotional labour' (2005: 113). This brings us to the concept of emotional capital. As noted by Reay (2000), Allatt (1993), drawing on Nowotny (1981), defines it in terms of assets and skills which involve care, attention, love and affection. In this sense, Reay states, 'emotional capital can be understood as the stock of emotional resources built up over time within families and which children could draw upon' (2000: 572). As Ball (2003) has shown, emotional capital can be fundamental in the process of higher education decision-making. As he argues, the care and support of families, particularly mothers, is essential to make their kids 'feel involved but nonetheless clear about what is important and possible' (2003: 106–07). In line with this, Reay et al. (2005) have noted that, in general, mothers engage with their children's higher education decisions more than fathers, although they note that there are some exceptions in which different models of parents involvement are deployed. Brooks (2004) makes a point precisely in this direction. Although taken from a small sample, the scholar found some evidence of a higher paternal involvement in the process of higher education decision-making. These can be explained, she suggests, by different factors, such as the rejection of what pupils understand as an over-intrusive involvement of their mothers; and the passivity and ambivalence of some mothers in the transition process. Likewise, in some situations, the different positions that parents take in the labour market may also explain the condition in which fathers, who tend to be positioned in a location in which relevant cultural and social capital circulates, rather than mothers, who tend to occupy a marginal position in the labour market, advise their children about their higher education choices. These situations, however, should be understood just as specific cases, and therefore, it is not possible to generalise.

On the other hand, the school has been identified by researchers as another crucial influencing factor on students' higher education choices. In the United States, McDonough (1997) developed the concept of 'organisational habitus' to grasp how schools reproduce social inequalities. According to her, schools help to shape classed patterns of higher education choices, which are reinforced or challenged by the family and friends. Drawing on McDonough's notion, in the United Kingdom, Reay et al. (2001) deploy the concept of 'institutional habitus' – which has opened an interesting conceptual debate (see Atkinson, 2011, 2013; Burke et al., 2013; Ingram, 2018) – with the aim of understanding the 'school effect' on higher education choices. The scholars highlight different aspects of the school culture which are important in framing pupils' choices and which indicate certain class distinctions. Among them, the quality and quantity of advice and support delivered by the establishments; curriculum and subject opportunities offered within each school – a condition that has also been examined by Abrahams (2018) who extends Lareau's (2003) notion of 'concerted cultivation' to the school milieu terming it 'institutional concerted cultivation' (Abrahams, 2018: 1145); and connections – practical and historical – and the relative distance between schools and higher education institutions, are pointed out as mechanisms that help to channel pupils' choices, always for the benefit of the dominant groups. The evidence shows, furthermore, that the process of channelling 'contribute to a higher degree of uniformity and a narrower range of choices' (Reay et al., 2005: 52) among middle-class students who belong to privileged schools. In other words, 'middle-class students in the private schools are as equally, or perhaps more, constrained than their working-class counterparts' (Ball et al., 2002: 58). This, of course, benefits the privileged groups in the sense that they end up facing lesser uncertainty throughout the process.

In France, van Zanten (2019) has analysed some mechanisms that, under neoliberal influences, contribute to the process of channelling in the transition to higher education. These are the cases of tracking in secondary school – an educational technology that has also been examined in the United Kingdom by Archer et al. (2018) for its role in social reproduction; the increasing involvement of teachers and university professors in students' guidance and selection; and the penetration of market agencies and devices which target students in the process of transition to higher education.

On the other hand, particular attention has been paid to the aspirations and transitions of those who occupy dominated positions in social space. In general, these studies have found that students from lower social backgrounds face greater degrees of uncertainty and anxiety during the transition process. As Archer and Hutchings point out, 'HE remains a more difficult and costly 'choice' for working-class students' (2000: 555). Thus, these scholars argue, while official discourses centred on meritocratic premises in which the possibility of access to higher

education depends exclusively on academic achievement, multiple costs and risks are identified by working-class students among the main issues in the process of 'getting there'. This creates some contradictions between the practical aspects involving the process of choice and the formal dominant discourses around it.

Among the costs, working-class students indicate multiple financial and material constraints which affect their choices. Reay et al. (2005) make the point, for example, that working-class pupils are more likely to be in need of paid employment in comparison to their middle-class peers. This has a detrimental effect on the time that working-class students can devote to study, which, subsequently, affects their possibilities of choice. Likewise, the researchers note, there are material limitations associated with geographical location. Indeed, spatiality may have implications in terms of the cost of travel and accommodation which make pupils' choices more restricted. As the scholars argue, 'geography determines choice for a majority of working class students' (2005: 86).

Costs, however, as Archer and Hutchings (2000) affirm, are not only associated with financial and material aspects but also with potential losses implied in the process of negotiating individuals' cultural identity, which involve their class, ethnic and gender bonds. A good example of this for the case of geographical constraints is the work of Donnelly and Gamsu (2018) who analyse geographical mobility and higher education choices within the United Kingdom. Basically, they conclude that choices are 'woven into regional cultural and economic histories' which 'underpin patterns of student migration' (2018: 976). Thus, the researchers state, students' mobility/immobility choices are connected with patterns of social and ethnic segregation. In line with the latter, Gamsu et al. (2018) give an account of the 'racialised geographies' (2018: 15) of higher education decision making and the ethnic inequalities underpinning the higher education system in the country.

The risks and uncertainties that students from the lower social positions in social space face during decision-making often entail the feeling of being alien to higher education. Hutchings and Archer (2001) found that some working-class discourses identify higher education as 'not for them'. The reasons for explaining this situation are multiple and complex. Archer, Hollingworth and Halsall (2007), for instance, point out that some cultural values and performances of style cultivated by working-class young people may predispose them to reject the educational pathway. Higher education, in these cases, becomes undesirable and an unrealistic goal. This condition, the researchers argue, contributes to pupils' own exclusion and marginalisation, and, therefore, to the reproduction of social inequalities. Similarly, Reay et al. (2005) argue that some forms of self-exclusion are led by a 'sense of knowing their right place' (2005: 92), a practical sense which is underpinned by individuals' taste and lifestyle. Archer, Halsall and Hollingworth

(2007), in line with this, examine the interplay between class and gender in the educational field. In so doing, they show how hyper-heterosexual femininities embodied by working-class young women are put in tension with educational discourses, a condition that helps to the exclusion and self-exclusion of these women from the educational pathway. Paradoxically, while these femininities can be regarded as a valued capital in the 'field of heterosexuality' by means of performing desirable and desired identities, they, at the same time, enter into contradiction with the dominant educational discourses, positioning 'them as 'other' and as incompatible with educational success' (2007: 170).

In other situations, Archer and Yamashita (2003) observe, students limit and exclude themselves because they consider that they are 'not good enough'. These discourses, in which students 'blame themselves', occur in contexts of high individualisation and in which historically there has been an association between working-class identities and 'educational failure'. These processes, as in the cases mentioned above, are influenced not just by class but also by gender and ethnicity, and they are interwoven with dilemmas about authenticity (Reay et al., 2005).

In sum, research shows that pupils' transition from the school to a new stage and higher education choices are negotiated in a complex network underpinned by multiple factors. This condition does not undermine the fact that these processes – depending on the context – are highly classed, gendered and racialised, and reinforce patterns of reproduction of social inequalities. Without doubt, Chilean research in the area can be improved if it applies this comprehensive approach in which higher education choices are part of a complex process of multiple negotiations.

2.2. Living the field: unequal experiences in higher education

While the process of higher education choice entails diverse experiences which may trigger different forms of exclusion and self-exclusion of those pupils located in disadvantaged positions of the social space, those students coming from the lower social backgrounds who access higher education face a new context which may bring new uncertainties, difficulties, challenges and opportunities into their lives. Researchers have investigated these students' experiences with the aim of grasping, on the one hand, how they negotiate different aspects of their identities in order to 'fit in' and succeed in higher education and, on the other hand, to comprehend how the reproduction of inequalities is still at work in the new context that students face.

Being like a 'fish out of water' (Reay et al., 2009, 2010) has been one of the essential themes developed by researchers looking at students' experiences in higher education. This condition

refers to situations in which individuals' dispositions are strange to the context in which they are deployed. According to Reay et al. (2009) this mismatch can result in change and transformation – as part of a process of adaptation to the new milieu – but also in anxiety, ambivalence and uncertainty. Reay et al. (2010), for example, investigate working-class students' experiences in four higher education institutions with different social characteristics in the United Kingdom. In so doing, they focus their attention on how the respective 'institutional habitus' of the establishments exert distinctive effects on students' experiences and identities. They found that in higher education institutions associated with working-class intakes, the participants experience a sort of congruence between their own habitus and the institutional ethos, a condition which is experienced in terms of security and comfort, although, at the same time, they show lower levels of commitment as 'academic learners'. Put differently, while their class identities remain strong, their learner identities are poorly developed. This situation is the opposite in the case of those working-class students attending more elite institutions. Herein, students develop greater levels of academic commitment but, in turn, they experience important asymmetries and unfamiliarity within the field.

Certainly, working-class students who access elite establishments are particularly interesting cases because they allow us to comprehend processes of reproduction beyond the stages of choice and selection. These students have overcome, up to this point, several barriers and hindrances in the subjective and objective domains of their lives. Nonetheless, they face new challenges which may result, as research shows, in successful or flawed outcomes. Some students, for instance, can be regarded as 'strangers in paradise' (Reay et al., 2009) insofar as they deal with an alien and sometimes socially hostile milieu but, at the same time, they are able to adapt to the academic demands towards which they have developed favourable dispositions through their educational trajectories. Reflexivity or a 'reflexive habitus', Reay et al. (2009) argue, is fundamental in this process, in which students must find a balance between their working-class identities, with which they retain a sense of loyalty, and the middle-class context in which they are immersed. Similarly, Lehmann (2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2012, 2014) has studied working-class students' experiences in elite institutions in Canada. He has referred to these situations in which disadvantaged students encounter an alien context in terms of 'class dislocation' (2007: 92) or 'habitus dislocation' (2009b: 139). Lehmann (2009b), in particular, found that some students successfully approach university through what he calls 'an ethos of vocational education' (2009b: 146), that is to say, an instrumental attitude which serves them to deal with the demands of university life. The success of these students, Lehmann affirms, is rooted in their 'utilitarian concerns of employability, income and mobility' (2009b: 147). Nevertheless, students who are successful at university, Lehmann (2014) states, must still deal,

even after higher education, with a process of 'breaking up' with their social origin at the same time that they are not entirely part of the middle-class culture to which their credentials have given access to.

Working-class students' outcomes at university, however, are not always a story of success. Lehmann (2007) found that first-generation students, even those who are academically strong, are more likely to drop out of university. Issues such as 'not feeling university' or 'not fitting in' are essential aspects which trigger non-privileged students' decision of leaving higher education. The weight of their class habitus, the condition of 'cultural dislocation' (2007: 106) and the difficulties of adapting to an alien milieu, are essential factors to understand the students' search for other alternatives. Nonetheless, even within working-class first-generation students there are some distinctions. Although most of them, Lehmann (2012) points out, initially face higher education with an important degree of uncertainty, there are those who experience the university pathway with more 'commitment', which help them to succeed in the process, while others face it with greater levels of 'alienation', and, therefore, are more likely to drop out of higher education. The disconnection between their incorporated past and their present context, it can be argued, is the main reason for the latter condition. Similarly, Nairz-Wirth et al. (2017), in Austria, examine how the conflicts that arise from the interplay of different cultural domains (family, school and university) which crystallizes in non-traditional students' habitus result in their dropping out of university. Feelings of 'not fitting in', 'fears of failures', 'an increasing sense of crisis' as well as 'experiences of symbolic violence' (2017: 24) are among the main factors that trigger students' decisions. Notably, as the pupils who blame themselves for not being able to access higher education, 'blaming themselves' for dropping out of university was also among the discourses raised by these students.

In sum, the 'success' or 'failure' in higher education of students coming from disadvantaged positions in social space is affected by many factors. What is common for most of them, however, as Reay states, is that their 'academic habitus' is 'one of insecurities, ambivalence and a lack of entitlement' (2018: 532). This is valid even for those more confident and committed students who gain access to elite institutions. In fact, research shows that, on the one hand, they face higher education with greater levels of uncertainty than their privileged peers, and, on the other hand, they experience the condition of being in a context to which their habitus is not tuned. In other words, a sense of being like a 'fish out of water' (Reay et al., 2009) and 'outsiders within' university who develop an increasing sense of being 'out of place' (Reay, 2018). Students, therefore, see themselves forced to negotiate their identities in terms of class, gender and ethnicity, and find a balance between the 'old' and the 'new' cultures. They, hence, are compelled to belong to the two opposite cultural domains where they are immersed, a condition

which may originate a 'habitus tug' (Ingram, 2011) which comes with the risk of staying trapped between both dimensions without being actually part of any of them, causing suffering and guilt (Bourdieu, 1999). The lasting experience, Bourdieu argues, produced by the inadequacy between 'academic consecration and low social origin' (2007: 100) may give place to what he terms as '*habitus clivé*' or 'cleft habitus' (Bourdieu, 2006: 111, 2007: 100; Friedman, 2016) or what others have identified as 'fractured habitus' (Sayer, 2005; Fowler, 2011). Students, however, as Abrahams and Ingram (2013) point out, may draw on different strategies to cope with their 'cleft habitus'. In particular, when students are able to adapt to both opposite domains or fields, it emerges what they call a 'chameleon habitus' which would place individuals in a 'third space' (2013: 11). Similarly, Jin and Ball, drawing on research in China, speak of a 'third class', that is to say, individuals who are 'neither working- nor middle- class whose core values reside in meritocracy itself' (2020: 77). In these cases, while a sense of risk and ambivalence is likely to remain throughout the entire trajectories of these 'meritocratic subjects' who persevere in higher education without necessarily challenging social reproduction; those who decide to drop out of university reveal how social reproduction is still at work even when students have been able to reach elite institutions.

Overall, research importantly has contributed to understand students' experiences in higher education. What is missing here, however, is *how* the field of higher education institutions – i.e. the state of relationships between them – has effects on individuals' perceptions, practices and decisions.

2.3. Field analysis and social inequalities

Drawing on Bourdieu's (1996a) and Bourdieu and de Saint Martin's (1987) analysis of the field of institutions of higher education in France, some researchers have aimed to grasp the structures of this field in different social formations (e.g. Börjesson and Broady, 2016; Börjesson et al., 2016; Baier and Schmitz, 2020). In so doing, scholars have applied the principles of Bourdieu's field theory to comprehend not only the structure of relationships between properties that underpin institutions' positions but also the stakes, interests, struggles and strategies that orient and define the structure of the field. These analyses are useful to understand from a relational perspective the objective structures and the macro picture in which habitus and practices are deployed. Nevertheless, they also tend to obscure individuals' mental structures and dispositions. Put differently, while in the previous sections aspirations formation, processes of decision-making, identity negotiations and personal experiences were the main focus, leaving the field in the background as a taken-for-granted dimension, in these studies, the main concern of researchers has been to understand the objective structures of the field from a relational approach without delving into the subjective domain. The change in

perspective, however, does not alter the fact that the main aim here has also been to grasp the reproduction of social inequalities.

Börjesson and Broady (2016) examine the Swedish system of higher education applying a field analysis approach. This is an interesting case because, as the researchers point out, the educational system in the country has been characterised by its egalitarian principles and its social homogeneity. Nevertheless, from the late 1980s onwards, neoliberal educational policies, which have promoted marketisation, deregulation and internationalisation, have been put in place. In this context, the researchers raise the question about how the production and reproduction of elites are achieved in the country. In so doing, they define the space of higher education and the subspace of elite education. The scholars make it through a Correspondence Analysis (CA) in which cultural and other types of capital are mapped on the basis of students' data. Broadly speaking, they find, the field is organised in such a way that at the top of the space, where most of the affluent students are located, the traditional and the most reputed institutions are positioned; while in the lower region, where most of the students from the lower social backgrounds are situated, the regional and recently created establishments are located. At the same time, traditional and selective degree programmes, such as medicine, law and political science, are located in the upper zone of the space; while in the lower zone are programmes such as primary teacher or health care workers. Furthermore, Börjesson and Broady found that in the lower region of the space there are marked gender differences. Thus, while the lower right region corresponds to the 'male' pole in which shorter technology programmes are mostly located, the lower left region can be regarded as the 'female' pole in which teaching, nursing and social care training programmes are positioned (2016: 121). Overall, the researchers affirm, following the process of deregulation and marketisation, dominant class fractions find new opportunities and ways to reproduce their inherited privilege, a process which is traversed, we could say, by several struggles over the means of reproduction.

Additionally, Börjesson et al. (2016) applied a Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) to grasp, in the Swedish elite higher education, the interplay between embodied cultural capital (i.e. cultural practices, lifestyles and tastes) and institutionalised cultural capital (i.e. educational credentials and programmes). The researchers found that within this subspace there is a strong link between both forms of capital. Cultural tastes and lifestyles, therefore, are aligned with the programmes students choose. This is important since tastes and lifestyles can be regarded as emanations of habitus (see Chapter One), which indicates that certain dispositions, socially shaped, are in correspondence with the degree and the institution students are attracted to. As the scholars conclude, 'While the mere possession of a higher educational degree is no longer very distinctive, importance has shifted to *what* degree and from *which* educational institution'

(2016: 30). Field analysis, hence, without grasping the complexities of individuals' schemes of perceptions and appreciation in-depth, is useful to comprehend some macro tendencies governing the system.

The above findings, furthermore, can be complemented through the analysis of other related fields. These are the cases of Lidegran et al. (2020) and Forsberg et al. (2020) who, following the same logic, analyse the field of Swedish secondary education in terms of social, gender and programme differentiations. Forsberg et al. (2020) is particularly relevant here, since the researchers investigate not only the social structure of the field of secondary education in Stockholm but also the development and effects of three processes: privatization, marketisation and commodification. On the one hand, the scholars found that the field of secondary schools in the Swedish capital, to a great extent, presents a homologous shape to the structure of the field of institutions of higher education, namely, a top-down class opposition and a left to right gender division. Overall, they assert, the field presents a triangular structure in which the base is characterised by pupils' lower volumes of inherited and acquired capital and marked gender differences in terms of the specialisations that girls and boys opt for; while towards the peak of the triangle gender differences are reduced and pupils' volumes of capital considerably increase. On the other hand, the researchers note 'a proliferation of privatization', 'full-fledged marketisation' and 'strengthened commodification' (2020: 260). These transformations, however, have not prevented the social structure of the field remaining somewhat the same, although with the emergence of some specific educational market niches within the system. Field analysis, in this way, provides important tools to understand the conditions of possibility in which individuals' dispositions and aspirations are articulated, the milieu in which their practices are carried out as well as to assess some transformations in its structure.

Although without resorting to either CA or MCA, van Zanten and Maxwell (2015), with some Weberian but also Bourdieusian inspiration, make a profound analysis of the dynamics of the field of higher education institutions in France in recent years. The researchers show how the state has been fundamental in the perpetuation of educational tracks in the country which have served to the reproduction of elites. Elite education, the scholars affirm, is negotiated between the state and the dominant classes. Notably, furthermore, elite institutions actively defend their interests and form strategic alliances with the state and the dominant classes in order to maintain, on the one hand, their dominant position in the field, and on the other hand, the prevalence of a 'meritocratic consensus' that legitimates the mechanisms of reproduction of the system (2015: 88). The understanding, therefore, of the strategies, alliances and actions that the triad made up by the state, the dominant classes and the institutions is fundamental to grasp, in the macro level, the way in which social reproduction is carried out.

In short, research shows that field analysis is helpful to comprehend the social and objective structures of higher education from a macro-level perspective. Statistical techniques, such as CA or MCA, are useful tools for grasping these structures as well as agents' positions in the field. It cannot be forgotten, however, that systems of higher education in different social formations have their own history and mechanisms. For this reason, as Forsberg et al. (2020) point out, sociological and historical explanations are also fundamental to comprehend the field in context. Field analysis, therefore, does not only allow grasping the state of the field in a given moment but also the historical stakes and struggles that the agents within it maintain. Shedding light on the strategies, values and interests of the different agents involved in the field – such as the state, institutions and influential class fractions (van Zanten and Maxwell, 2015) – is fundamental to grasp processes of social of reproduction through higher education.

3. Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been seen that higher education research in Chile is a developing field of study. After the radical transformations carried out during the dictatorship, researchers started to grasp the new configuration of the system and its effect on society. Knowledge in the area has developed hand in hand with questions which have emerged as a result of its rapid expansion, diversification and privatisation in a context of extreme neoliberalisation of different spheres of society. In this scenario, Chilean higher education research had mainly been dominated by the institutional perspective. Under it, individuals and social groups, their interests and stakes, had remained somewhat concealed in the background. Nevertheless, over the last few years, researchers have started to uncover the relationship between students' positions in social space and their positions in the higher education field. How social reproduction and higher education are connected, therefore, appears on the horizon.

However, explaining how higher education reproduces inherited class positions presents some complexities. Following Bourdieu's framework, social reproduction should be grasped not only at the level of the objective structure (i.e. the social space, the field or the relationship between both) but also in the understanding of individuals' mental structures and subjectivities. As mentioned above, research in the country has recently begun to explore the latter. As researchers in other context shows, individuals' system of preferences, schemata of perception, aspirations, forms of identity negotiation and dispositions are fundamental elements involved in the reproduction of social inequalities. On the other hand, how individuals are attracted towards and by the field in question, or, put another way, what are the 'field effects' (Bourdieu, 1996a: 132) on individuals, is a crucial aspect in which research should still deepen. Research on higher education in Chile, hence, should develop these areas and frame them in a 'culturalist and relational approach of the study of class' (Méndez, 2016: 263). It is in the uncovering of the

correspondence – and potential mismatches – between the objective and the mental structures where sociology may contribute the most to the understanding of the dynamics of the social world. Higher education research in Chile – as well as in other contexts – should explore this homology more deeply. It is in the interplay between both dimensions where habitus makes visible and where agents' practices, interests and strategies in the field can be grasped and explained. In accordance with the above, the research question that orients this research is the following:

How is higher education implicated in the reproduction of social inequalities in Chile?

This can be broken down into three sub-questions:

- What is the state of the *objective relations* between higher education institutions and the main stakes, interests and struggles they maintain?
- How are individuals' subjective aspirations towards higher education formed, shaped and reinforced, and which social class distinctions are involved in this process?
- How does the interplay between objective and subjective structures reproduce social inequalities?

The analytical chapters of this thesis are a contribution in this direction by bringing together the objective and subjective dimensions. Thus, the space of objective relations between institutions which delimit students' conditions of possibility within the field will be constructed; individuals' dispositions and aspirations towards the field will be explored; and the interplay between both dimensions (homologies and mismatches) will be assessed.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

Understanding the connection between the reproduction of social inequalities and higher education entails shedding light on the two structural dimensions from which habitus emerge: objective structures and mental structures. Grasping individuals' system of dispositions, as we saw in Chapter One, becomes the most essential operation when the purpose is to understand how social reproduction is fulfilled. In this chapter, the main methodological steps to achieve this aim are described as well as the epistemological insights which underpin this investigation. The chapter begins with the epistemological foundations of the research to then address the methodological decisions involved in the research process.

1. Epistemological and disciplinary stances

To begin with, this research draws on two disciplinary and epistemological stances. First, it regards that one of the chief tasks of sociology – at least, what is understood as a 'critical sociology of domination' (Boltanski, 2011: 18) – is to shed light on the hidden structures of the social world and its mechanisms of reproduction and transformation (Bourdieu, 1996a); and, second, it understands that social phenomena are better comprehended when the interplay between the objective structures in which the social world is ordered and the mental structures which underpin individuals' practices in everyday life are grasped (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). By means of this 'double reading' (1992: 7) this research seeks to uncover and disentangle the process by means of which social inequalities are reproduced in Chilean society via higher education.

2. Methodological approach: the objective-subjective dualism, polytheism and eclecticism

Defining the methods best adapted to approaching a particular social problem is not trivial. Bourdieu referring to his investigative practice, speaks of 'methodological polytheism' (Bourdieu, 2006: 101) which, as Wacquant explains, refers to the fact that 'the array of methods used must fit the problem at hand and must constantly be reflected upon' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 30). Other researchers, inspired by Bourdieu's insights, have also applied the concept of 'methodological eclecticism' (e.g. Silva et al., 2009) which, as Devine and Heath argue, through the combination of multiple methods, 'can contribute to a much more sophisticated exploration of the sociological problems which lie at the heart of any given research strategy'

(1999: 205) as well as to the 'plausibility' and 'enhanced coherence of interpretations' (Silva et al., 2009: 313).

Following these principles, a mixed methods approach has been judged particularly helpful to address questions that involve 'double reading' analyses (i.e. objective-subjective). Broadly speaking, mixed methods can be defined as the combination of qualitative and quantitative elements, which serves the aim of understanding a given phenomenon in-depth (Johnson et al., 2007). Fries notes that this approach makes it possible to 'capture the dialogical interplay of objective social structures with subjective agency in social behaviour' (2009: 327). He argues that while the objective structures can be apprehended through quantitative methods, the subjective dimensions can be grasped applying qualitative techniques. Seen this way, the investigative process would be made up of two epistemological 'breaks'. In a first moment, quantitative techniques would allow researchers to comprehend the social phenomenon in an objective way or 'from the outside'; while in a second moment, the social phenomenon would be understood in its subjective form or 'from inside' (2009: 338). For Bourdieu (1973b) these moments are associated with two types of knowledge: *objectivist* knowledge, which refers to the construction of the objective relations; and *phenomenological* knowledge, which alludes to the understanding of individuals' primary experiences in the social world. A third moment, which is crucial to grasp the interplay between objective and subjective structures, would be associated with what Bourdieu terms as *praxeological* knowledge, which relates to the dialectical relationships between the two prior dimensions (i.e. objectivist-phenomenological). Mixed methods, hence, are particularly helpful when the intention is to explore multi-dimensional domains of social reality and study diverse types of dualisms such as the dichotomies object-subject, structure-agency or micro-macro (Mason, 2006). Likewise, its use may be justified since the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides 'complementarity' (Greene et al., 1989: 258), and 'completeness' (Bryman, 2006: 106). In other words, mixed methods allow grasping several dimensions of the phenomenon to enrich, enhance and make more comprehensive its understanding.

3. Research strategy and methods

I divided this research into two main stages. The first stage aimed to construct, mainly through the use of quantitative data, a representation of the objective structures of Chilean higher education; in particular, a representation of what Bourdieu understands as the *field of higher education institutions*. In practical terms, this space should be understood as an approximation of the positions that the institutions take in a relational space according to socially founded properties. The field of institutions of higher education, furthermore, defines the conditions of possibility for pupils' perceptions, appreciations and aspirations towards higher education. Put

another way, this field should be understood, in the context of this research, as the 'field of possibles' with regard to which students construct their 'sense of reality', 'sense of the possible' and 'sense of limits' in the transition from the school to a new stage.

In the second stage, by means of qualitative techniques, individuals' perceptions, forms of appreciation and aspirations, were examined. I moved, therefore, from the analysis of the objective structures to the subjective structures. In this case, I addressed students who were in the last year of secondary school from different regions of the social space (i.e. from different social classes and embodying different class habitus). Fundamentally, the goal here was to grasp pupils' aspirations towards higher education, how they were constructed and how they relate to the field.

Drawing on this two-stage strategy, this research, then, sought to integrate both phases in order to comprehend how both dimensions interact with each other. Integration is crucial for two reasons: from a methodological point of view, it gives sense to the use of the mixed methods approach (Bryman, 2007); and from an epistemological standpoint, it is here, in the interplay between both structures, where the theoretical hypotheses of this research – i.e. social reproduction through higher education – can be assessed. As Bourdieu states, it is this moment of integration which makes possible *praxeological* knowledge, which is concerned with 'the dialectical relationships between (…) [the] objective structures and the structured dispositions which they produce and which tend to reproduce' (Bourdieu, 1973b: 53). In line with this, the main purpose of this research was to examine, understand and interpret the interaction between both dimensions in order to grasp the dispositions guiding individuals' strategies and practices in relation to the field of higher education.

3.1. First stage: mapping the field of institutions of higher education

The main aim during this stage was to bring about an analysis of the structure of the field of higher education institutions in Chile. This involved taking into consideration not only universities, as it has often been the case in other studies (e.g. Brunner et al., 2005; Torres and Zenteno, 2011; Muñoz and Blanco, 2013), but also technical training centres and professional institutes.

3.1.1. Quantitative secondary data: selecting the data sources

The construction of the field of institutions of higher education, which should be framed as an exploratory work, was done by drawing on secondary data. The process of construction included several steps and decisions before getting the final database. Thus, after exploring different databases and checking their variables, in an iterative process of trial and error, I

decided to use data from the Ministry of Education Open Data[18] and the Service of Information of Higher Education (SIES)[19]. In particular, the former was used to construct the relational space of institutions through the application of a Multiple Correspondence Analysis; while the later was helpful as complementary information. Additionally, I established the year 2017 as the reference year, since the students who participated in the research – as we will see in the qualitative stage – were in their last year of secondary school during 2018. I presumed, therefore, that the best representation of the 'field of possibles' towards which students were constructing their aspirations during 2018 – i.e. the nearer image of the institutional arrangement pupils could have in mind when the interviews took place – was the state of the field of higher education institutions in 2017.

3.1.2. Multiple Correspondence Analysis: constructing the field

Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) is a statistical technique that, as Le Roux and Rouanet (2010) note, from the late 1970s was applied by Bourdieu to the empirical analysis of fields (e.g. Bourdieu, 1996a, 2005b, 2008). The advantage of this technique is that it enables one to make a representation of the state of relationships between defined properties of individuals or entities. Bourdieu himself highlighted 'the affinity between that method of mathematical analysis [MCA] and thinking in terms of a field' (2006: 33). Indeed, as Hjellbrekke (2019) points out, MCA is part of the family of geometric techniques which is helpful to summarise and describe information from a data matrix; to give this information a geometric representation; and to interpret the structures and associations found in the data.

Basically, to run a MCA what is needed is data from individuals or 'statistical individuals' associated with a set of categorised variables (i.e. variables with a defined number of categories or modalities) (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004, 2010). As Le Roux and Rouanet (2004) put it, individuals respond to a set of questions each of which contains a set of categories and in which each individual gives only one response per question. Categories, it must be said, do not necessarily refer to responses but also to properties or attributes. In short, for running an MCA we need individuals (e.g. persons or entities) associated with certain variables, each of which presents a finite set of categories (i.e. responses, properties or attributes), and on which individuals are associated only with one category by variable. Furthermore, as Le Roux and Rouanet assert, 'Categories may be qualitative (categorical or nominal), or may result from the splitting of quantitative variables into categories' (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2010: 34). The output of MCA is a geometric model of data in which individuals (or entities) are represented by points

[18] See http://datosabiertos.mineduc.cl/
[19] See https://www.mifuturo.cl/sies/

in a multidimensional space, and which 'summarizes the relations between the categorized variables' (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004: 179–80).

a. Getting the data

As I mentioned above, the aim in this stage was to map, through MCA, the state of relationships between institutions of higher education in 2017. I decided to take as statistical units for the analysis the students enrolled in the institutions. The rationale behind this decision was to map types of students according to selected properties to then associate them with their respective institutions with the aim of obtaining an approximation of the 'field of possibles' for students' decisions. In other words, I considered as active individuals in the model the students enrolled in each institution, and then I determined the position that each institution took in the field according to the positions that their students took in the space.

To obtain an adequate dataset for constructing the space of students, which required at least one variable indicating the social origins of students, I merged two databases: the 2016 School Enrolment database and the 2017 Higher Education Enrolment. Only those students who were in both databases were retained. What was obtained in the end was a database with those students who were in school during 2016 and entered higher education in 2017 (n = 117,467). Thus, I constructed a database containing those students who transitioned from the school (2016) to higher education (2017).

In order to assess the representativeness of the sample that I obtained, I compared the distribution of students in the 2017 Higher Education Enrolment database (2017), which includes all enrolled students, and the new database containing those students who transitioned from the school to higher education (2016 to 2017) according to two key variables: the type of higher education institution students attend and students' gender (see Appendix 1, Table A.1.1). The proportion of students in both databases in the categories of the selected variables did not present great differences. This indicates that the sample of students obtained presents a similar distribution to the whole population of undergraduate students in 2017, at least, in these key variables.

b. Active variables

Once the sample of students was determined (n = 117,467), the next step was to define the active variables to be considered in the analysis. I selected five active variables which in total presented 20 categories. Table 4.1 presents a summary of the active variables, their respective modalities, and how students are distributed in each of them. During this process, only one case was missed. In particular, this case did not present information for the variable Type of

Admission (see below an explanation of the variables). I decided to drop the case since it would not significantly affect the sample. The final sample, therefore, was n = 117,466.

Table 4.1: Active variables and categories with absolute (n) and relative (in %) frequencies

Variable	Categories	n	%
Type of School	(1) Public and Delegated Schools	41092	35.0%
	(2) Private Subsidised Schools	61479	52.3%
	(3) Private Schools	14895	12.7%
	Total	**117466**	**100%**
Cost of Tuition Fees	(1) Very Low Fees	23608	20.1%
	(2) Low Fees	23521	20.0%
	(3) Medium Fees	23613	20.1%
	(4) High Fees	23249	19.8%
	(5) Very High Fees	23475	20.0%
	Total	**117466**	**100%**
Type of Admission	(1) Selection	46685	39.7%
	(2) Regular	64121	54.6%
	(3) Alternative Admission	6660	5.7%
	Total	**117466**	**100%**
Degree Accreditation	(1) Not Accredited Degrees	37520	31.9%
	(2) Low Degrees	6148	5.2%
	(3) Medium Degrees	15981	13.6%
	(4) High Degrees	50547	43.0%
	(5) Very High Degrees	7270	6.2%
	Total	**117466**	**100%**
Institutional Accreditation	(1) Not Accredited and Low Institutions	31599	26.9%
	(2) Medium Institutions	20247	17.2%
	(3) High Institutions	43646	37.2%
	(4) Very High Institutions	21974	18.7%
	Total	**117466**	**100%**

Source: Own elaboration.

To define the active variables of the MCA, I made several decisions which in the following are explained:

Type of School

This variable refers to the type of school to which students belonged just before entering higher education. In the original database (i.e. 2016 School Enrolment) this variable comes under the name COD_DEPE2 and presents four categories: (1) Public; (2) Private Subsidised; (3) Private; (4) Delegated Administration. Under the assumption that the students who attend Public and Delegated Schools present similar socioeconomic characteristics, I decided to recode a new variable containing both categories in one. In the final database, therefore, the variable Type of Schools presents three modalities: (1) Public and Delegated Schools; (2) Private Subsidised

Schools; (3) Private Schools. This variable was taken as a proxy of students' social origin. Indeed, schools in Chile present a high socioeconomic stratification according to their type of administration. Thus, private schools, in which students must pay high tuition fees, are associated with the upper socioeconomic groups; private subsidised schools are associated with intermediate socioeconomic groups; and public schools – to which we should add the delegated administration schools – are associated with lower socioeconomic groups (García-Huidobro, 2007; Mizala and Torche, 2012). Furthermore, research has established that the Chilean school system presents high levels of segregation, a condition which is observed in each type of school and is particularly marked in the private establishments (Valenzuela et al., 2014). For this reason, in general, each type of school in the country can be associated with students' social background.

Cost of Tuition Fees

This variable refers to the annual cost of the tuition fees for first-year students. In the original database (i.e. 2017 Higher Education Enrolment) this variable comes under the name VALOR_ARANCEL and it is a quantitative variable. For this reason, I decided to recode it into a new variable of five categories, equally split up. In the final database, the variable Cost of Tuitions Fees presents five modalities: (1) Very Low Fees; (2) Low Fees; (3) Medium Fees; (4) High Fees; (5) Very High Fees. This variable informs about the cost that students (and their families) must formally pay for their respective degrees[20]. I considered it, therefore, as a measure of the economic capital required to access higher education. A limitation, however, is that not necessarily all students pay the total amount indicated by the official annual tuition fee cost. A proportion of them (usually from the lower socioeconomic groups) may have access to different scholarships and loans to fund their studies. In any case, the tuition fee cost works as an indicator for students and their families about the institutions they can afford and those they cannot.

Type of Admission

This variable refers to the mechanism by means of which students entered higher education in their first year of study. In the original database (i.e. 2017 Higher Education Enrolment) this variable comes under the name TIPO_ADMISION and presents six categories: (1) Selection; (2) Regular; (3) Inclusion; (4) Special; (5) Validation; (6) Other. 'Selection' denotes those cases in which students entered higher education by means of the Integrated System of Admission, which involves their school grades and their score in the test for the university admission (i.e. the PSU test); 'Regular' denotes those cases in which students enter higher education without

[20] In Chile, the cost of tuition fees may vary according to each institution and degree.

the necessity of the requirements demanded by the Integrated System of Admission; 'Inclusion' denotes those cases in which students access higher education by means of formal inclusive programmes (such as the case of the Effective Access to Higher Education Programme (PACE) among others); 'Special' denotes those cases in which students access higher education given their special characteristics (e.g. athlete, artist, daughter or son of a higher education teacher, among others); 'Validation' denotes those cases in which students access to their study programmes by means of the validation of prior studies; and 'Others' refers to other, not specified, mechanisms for entering higher education. Most of the students are concentrated in 'Selection' (39.7 per cent) and 'Regular' (54.6 per cent) mechanisms. Furthermore, the categories 'Inclusion', 'Special', 'Validation' and 'Other', present relative frequencies less than 5 per cent (3.1 per cent, 1.4 per cent, 0.3 per cent and 1 per cent, respectively). As Le Roux and Rouanet (2004) point out, it is recommended to dispose of infrequent modalities. A solution is to group, if possible, related modalities of the same question. In this case, therefore, I decided to group all these infrequent categories in a new category named 'Alternative Admission'. In the final database, hence, the variable Type of Admission presents three modalities: (1) Selection; (2) Regular; (3) Alternative Admission. This variable can be associated with cultural capital insofar as the process of 'Selection' considers both pupils' secondary school grades and the PSU test score, two instruments that determine the necessary cultural and academic capital (in the form of institutionalised cultural capital) to get into a selective institution.

Degree Accreditation

This variable refers to the level of accreditation of the degree in which students are enrolled. The accreditation of degrees and institutions is a process, led by the Accreditation National Commission, which seeks to assess and formally guarantee the quality of both, degrees and institutions, in the country. This process was established by law in 2006 as a voluntary procedure and it assesses institutions and degrees in different aspects of its operation. The system[21] first divides the institutions and degrees between accredited and non-accredited; and then categorises them at different levels depending on the performance they present in the assessed aspects. In this scheme of classification, the highest level that an institution and a degree may obtain is an accreditation granted for seven years. Although the system has been exposed to several cases of corruption (see Mönckeberg, 2013), which has damaged its credibility and legitimacy, it has worked as an indicator of prestige and reputation for both institutions and degrees. In the original database (i.e. 2017 Higher Education Enrolment) this variable comes under the name ACRE_CARR_NUMERO_ANIO and indicates the number of years

[21] At least until 2018, the year when the new Law of Higher Education was enacted making some changes and adjustments to the accreditation system.

of accreditation of the degree in which students were enrolled. Given this condition, I decided to recode this variable into a new variable of five categories: (1) Not Accredited Degrees; (2) Low Degrees; (3) Medium Degrees; (4) High Degrees; (5) Very High Degrees. This variable can be associated with symbolic capital insofar as the accreditation status indicates – at least ideally – not only the level of quality and reliability of the degrees but also their prestige and reputation.

<u>Institution Accreditation</u>

This variable refers to the level of accreditation of the institution in which students are enrolled. In the original database (i.e. 2017 Higher Education Enrolment) this variable comes under the name ACRE_INST_ANIO and indicates the number of years of accreditation of the institution in which students were enrolled. For this reason, I decided first to recode it into a new variable of five categories: (1) Not Accredited Institutions; (2) Low Institutions; (3) Medium Institutions; (4) High Institutions; (5) Very High Institutions. However, the category 'Not Accredited Institutions' presented a frequency less than 5 per cent (3.2 per cent). Following Le Roux and Rouanet (2004) recommendation for infrequent modalities, I decided to group it with the variable 'Low Institutions', given the fact that both refer to institutions with a poor level of (and without) accreditation. In the final database, hence, the variable Institution Accreditation presents four modalities: (1) Not Accredited and Low Institution; (2) Medium Institutions; (3) High Institutions; (4) Very High Institutions. This variable, like Degree Accreditation, can be associated with symbolic capital insofar as the accreditation status indicates prestige and reputation of the institutions.

c. Supplementary variables

Supplementary variables refer to variables which 'do not actively take part in the construction of the space' (Hjellbrekke, 2019: 56). In other words, they neither contribute to the inertia nor to an axis in the output. The main aim is to project them into the space which is already defined by the active variables. This enables one to observe how the modalities of the supplementary variable (i.e. supplementary categories), relate to each other in the already constructed space. I included four supplementary variables in the MCA:

<u>Institution</u>

The variable Institution was included in the MCA as a supplementary variable. In the original database (i.e. 2017 Higher Education Enrolment) this variable comes under the name NOMB_INST and indicates the name of the higher education institution in which students were enrolled. In total, this variable presents 130 modalities (all the categories with absolute (n) and relative (in %) are given in Appendix 1, Table A.1.2). It is important to note that while in the

2017 Higher Education Enrolment database the total number of institutions in which students were enrolled was 148, in the case of the sample considered for the MCA the number of institutions fell to 130. The institutions which did not enter into the MCA were in general small institutions which most of them, according to data from SIES, did not present new students enrolled in the first year of their study programmes. This can explain the fact that they do not appear in the sample of students considered for the analysis. In the case of the universities that do not appear in the sample (i.e. *Universidad de Arte y Ciencias Sociales ARCIS*, *Universidad del Mar*, and *Universidad UCINF*) all of them stopped their operations due to situations of corruption and bankruptcies during the preceding years. On the other hand, there are another four institutions that in 2017 did not present students enrolled in any of their study programmes at any year of study. Overall, therefore, there are 22 institutions which are not mapped by the MCA here proposed. Table 4.2 shows a summary of the total number of higher education institutions officially operating in 2017, those with at least one student enrolled, and those that finally were considered in the MCA (for details see Appendix 1, Table A.1.3).

Table 4.2: Higher education institutions (2017) (total; with at least one student enrolled; and MCA)

	HEIs in 2017	**HEIs with at least one student enrolled in 2017**	**HEIs considered in the MCA**
Technical Training Centres	48	46	38
Professional Institutes	43	41	34
Universities	61	61	58
Total	**152**	**148**	**130**

Source: Own elaboration.

Type of Institution

The variable Type of Institution was also introduced as a supplementary variable. In the original database (i.e. 2017 Higher Education Enrolment) this variable comes under the name TIPO_INST_1. It refers to the type of institution students belong to and presents three supplementary categories: (1) Technical training centres; (2) Professional institutes; (3) Universities. This variable was useful to examine the positions that students take in the space according to the type of institutions to which they belong.

Area of Degree

The variable Area of Degree was also introduced as a supplementary variable. In the original database (i.e. 2017 Higher Education Enrolment) this variable comes under the name AREA_CARRERA_GENERICA. This standardizes the area of the degree in which students are

enrolled. This variable presents 233 categories and it was useful to have an approximation of the location that the different degrees take in the constructed space.

Gender

The variable Gender was also introduced as a supplementary variable. In the original database (i.e. 2017 Higher Education Enrolment) this variable comes under the name GEN_ALU. This variable presents 2 categories: (1) Men; (2) Women.

d. Running the MCA

I performed all the process of preparation for the MCA in SPSS. For the MCA I used the R package FactoMineR (see Husson et al., 2017). The main MCA outputs are presented in Appendix 1, Table A.1.4 and A.1.5, and its analysis is made in Chapter Five. Additionally, it should be noted that Axis 1 explains a great proportion of the variance (81.74 per cent). Following this, it could be said that, on purely statistical criteria, this could be considered a uni-dimensional model. However, since the distribution of modalities on Axis 2 was readily interpretable sociologically, and since it helped make sense of the qualitative data, the decision was taken to retain and report the axis.

e. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis: grouping institutions

Once the MCA was performed, I ran a Cluster Analysis with the aim of grouping the higher education institutions, a process which helped me in the interpretation of the data. Cluster Analysis is a statistical technique which serves to classify data. According to Everitt et al., in 'cluster analysis a *partition* of the data is sought, in which each individual or object belongs to a single cluster, and the complete set of clusters contains all individuals' (2011: 5). In this case, I opted for an Agglomerative Hierarchical Clustering (AHC). Agglomerative methods start from all the individuals or objects considered in the analysis, grouping them by means of successive steps. Those individuals or objects that present most similarities are grouped together (Hjellbrekke, 2019). In the last step the data is reduced to a single cluster containing all the individuals or objects. The researcher should decide when to stop to obtain a solution with an optimal number of cluster (Everitt et al., 2011).

As Hjellbrekke points out, the axes that results from an MCA can be used as the variables for clustering the individuals or objects. Thus, each individual's or object's factor coordinate 'become a value on a variable (the axis)' (2019: 82). Those objects which present more similarities are more likely to be grouped together.

Given the fact that my analysis refers to the field of higher education institutions, I decided to group the institutions according to the coordinates that resulted from the MCA when the

variable 'Institution' is included as a supplementary variable (the coordinates used to run the AHC are given in Appendix 1, Table A.1.6). In so doing, I applied Ward's method. This works by minimizing the intra-class variance and maximizing the inter-class variance (Hjellbrekke, 2019). That is, it maintains, after every successive step, the maximum homogeneity within each cluster.

Finally, I decided to interpret six clusters. I made this decision by means of inspecting the branch lengths in the dendrogram (see Appendix 1, Figure A.1.1), which show that between four and six clusters could be considered appropriate solutions. Additionally, I plotted the coefficients from the Agglomeration Schedule (see Appendix 1, Figure A.1.2), which shows that a good decision can be made when six clusters are retained. Furthermore, I made a decision considering the sociological meaningfulness and analytical value of the solution in the given context. Figure 5.1 in Chapter Five shows how the six clusters are spatially ordered (the information of the institutions by cluster is presented in Appendix 1, Table A.1.7). It is important to remark, however, that the boundaries that have been drawn between the clusters are not real but theoretical limits. The institutions take a position in the space according to the structure of relationships formed by the properties considered in the MCA. In this sense, acknowledging the fact that there may be, from year to year, a relative – although limited – fluidity within the structure, the constructed clusters have been helpful only for the purpose of interpreting the outputs of the model and making clearer interpretations of the whole structure of the field rather than to establish fixed classes of institutions.

3.1.3. Other analytical resources

While the MCA was fundamental to grasp, in an exploratory way, the positions of the institutions in the field, its analysis was also complemented with data from the SIES, the 2017 Higher Education Enrolment database and the constructed database of students who transitioned from the school to higher education from 2016 to 2017.

3.2. Second stage: grasping students' trajectories, subjectivities and aspirations

In this stage, I focused on grasping individuals' subjectivities and mental structures. My main aim was to comprehend students' aspirations towards higher education and how these aspirations were shaped in light of the field of higher education institutions. For this reason, I decided to address students who were in the last year of secondary school, a period during which students face and experience the process of transition from the school to a new stage. In fact, this is a moment in which pupils are encouraged to think about their future but without having real certainties about it; a period in which the future may appear open and the process of making decisions is at the gates. The PSU test, furthermore, which some of them will take and whose results will influence and even determine their decisions, is close. Students at this stage,

therefore, are facing the process of decision-making while their aspirations are likely to be configured as potentialities in the horizon.

Understanding students' aspirations entailed the application of 'genetic analysis' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), which involved the reconstruction of some aspects of students' processes of socialisation and their educational trajectories, both fundamental elements to grasp individuals' embodied dispositions. Likewise, students' experiences, mode of appreciation and perceptions were addressed as well as the strategies and forms of capital that pupils (and their families) put at stake in the educational field. In so doing, I applied qualitative techniques, which are regarded as ideal to deal with complexity, richness and depth in the data (Mason, 2002). Particularly, I decided to explore students' perceptions, experiences, and schemes of appreciation through in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews. The main advantage of this method is that it enables addressing a range of dimensions and themes in a flexible way (Edwards and Holland, 2013). The process of collecting the information, however, took several steps before the interviews took place.

3.2.1. Negotiating access to students

Given the fact that the potential participants of this research were secondary school students, I decided to approach them through their educational establishments. The first step was to select the potential schools from where to recruit the interviewees. At the same time, for practical reasons, I decided to focus on the Región Metropolitana, the most populated region of the country. Thus, I started the process with a theoretical sample of eight schools to be contacted. The aim was to reach a sample of 30 students: 15 girls and 15 boys.

a. Selecting the schools

Given the fact that one of the main concerns of this research had to do with social inequalities and the representation of individuals coming from different regions of the social space, it was fundamental that the schools selected were socially diverse. To achieve this, I selected the schools according to the following criteria:

Type of School

Schools in Chile can be divided according to their administration. This condition divides the schools, basically, into four types: private schools, private subsidised schools, public schools and delegated administration schools[22]. As it was mentioned above, in general, schools present a high socioeconomic stratification according to their type of administration. For this reason, this

[22] During 2018 a new type of school emerged called Local Education Service schools. These schools represented 1.4 per cent of the total secondary school enrolment.

was an important criterion to select the participants. In 2018, 34 per cent of the students in secondary school were enrolled in public schools, 5 per cent in delegated administration schools, 50.1 per cent in private subsidised schools, and 9.5 per cent in private schools (see Appendix 2, Table A.2.1). The final sample considered students attending each type of school.

Type of Curriculum

Secondary school students in the country can be divided according to the type of curriculum they are taught in their respective establishments. There are two main types of curriculum: humanistic-scientific (i.e. academic formation) and technical-professional (i.e. vocational formation). From secondary school, students can choose between both. Thus, while the humanistic-scientific curriculum is oriented to academic knowledge, the technical-professional curriculum is oriented, particularly during the last two years of secondary school, to vocational knowledge associated with particular sectors of the economy. As Farías and Carrasco (2012) point out, in theory, the humanistic-scientific formation prepares students for higher education, while the technical-professional curriculum is oriented towards the labour market. However, they add, this is still a blurred delimitation since some technical-professional schools also prepare their pupils for higher education. On the other hand, it is important to note that, in general, the technical-professional formation is pursued by students who belong to the lower income groups of the country (Sevilla, 2012). Likewise, in 2018 only 0.1 per cent of the students attending private schools, the most privileged establishments, were enrolled in the technical-professional formation (see Appendix 2, Table A.2.2 and A.2.3). In total, during 2018, 71.4 per cent of the secondary school students were enrolled in the humanistic-scientific formation and 28.6 per cent were enrolled in the technical-professional formation (see Appendix 2, Table A.2.4). The final sample, therefore, considered students pursuing both humanistic-scientific and technical-professional formations.

Emblematic/Non-emblematic Public Schools

Among the public schools there is a group of institutions which are known as 'emblematic public schools' ('*liceos emblemáticos*'). These establishments, which used to be highly academically selective institutions, hold a long tradition, and high reputation and prestige. This prestige is rooted in their historical significance within the country (see Serrano, 2018) and, despite the academic and social stigmatization of public education (Bellei, 2015: 137), is fed by the weight and relevance that their students still maintain in public debate and their notable academic results. For these reasons, emblematic public schools are highly demanded establishments, particularly by students who belong to the lower and intermediate social

classes. The final sample considered students from both emblematic public schools and public (non-emblematic) schools.

Communes

Another criterion in the selection of the sample was the geographical zone or commune where the schools were located. Although the geographical dimension was not the main focus of this research, I also considered it as a relevant factor in the process of selection.

b. The role of gatekeepers

With the above factors in mind, I started the process by contacting gatekeepers that could help me to get access to potential schools. The first gatekeepers I contacted were my own acquaintances working in schools or with connections with certain establishments. These first gatekeepers then proposed other potential gatekeepers from other schools to me in a process similar to the snowball sampling technique (Bryman, 2012). The role of the gatekeepers was fundamental for the first contact with the institutions since this link generated certain confidence in the staff and leaders of the schools.

c. Presenting the research project

With the help of the gatekeepers, I contacted a first group of schools during March and April, 2018. After an exchange of emails and phone calls, I arranged meetings with each of the establishments in order to present the research project. These face-to-face meetings took place in May 2018. During this first round of encounters, all the contacted schools agreed to participate in the research. Although most of the participating schools were secured in this first round of contacts, the process of contacting establishments continued even during the process of interviewing with the aim of reaching a robust sample of students.

3.2.2. Sampling

Finally, 13 schools agreed to participate in the research. Among them, six were public schools (four of them emblematic establishments and two non-emblematic institutions), two were delegated administration schools (both focused exclusively in the technical-professional curriculum), two were private subsidised schools and three were private schools. Furthermore, they were located in a wide range of communes and presented varied socioeconomic characteristics (a summary of their characteristics is presented in Appendix 2, Table A.2.5). Overall, this selection allowed me to have access to a significant diversity of students. In fact, even those schools of the same type presented specific social conditions that make them different from each other, both in terms of the social and cultural characteristics of their students as well as in terms of their institutional ethos.

a. Selecting the students

Once most of the schools had agreed to participate, I constructed a new ideal sample of students in order to allocate the number of students per school I should interview. Once I defined this, I gave the schools – particularly to the person each establishment designated as responsible for the project – specific indications and recommendations to select the students which they should follow with some flexibility and pragmatism. The indications were the following:

<u>Number of students</u>

I asked the schools to select a specific number of students (between two and five). The number allocated to each school was defined in terms of the social characteristics of the institution with the aim of achieving specific proportions of students within the sample.

<u>Selection within the given frame</u>

With the aim of avoiding the arbitrary selection of either the high achievers or those who could be considered having 'higher aspirations', I emphasised the point that the idea was to take a sample of students as diverse as possible in terms of both their school achievements and their aspirations.

<u>Gender</u>

I asked the schools to select a specific number of boys and girls. The aim was to obtain a balanced sample in terms of gender. This was particularly important to assess gender differences.

<u>Area and specialities</u>

I asked the schools to select students who belonged to different areas/specialities of study. In the case of the students pursuing a scientific-humanistic formation, I asked the schools to make a balanced selection between students in the scientific area and those in the humanistic area. In the case of the students pursuing a technical-professional formation, I asked the establishments to make a balanced selection according to the different specialities they taught.

<u>Age</u>

Given the fact that pupils were in the last year of secondary school, some of them could still be under 18 years old. By law, young people aged less than 18 years in the country need the legal permission of their parents or legal tutor to take part in research. For this reason, I suggested the schools consider this point in the selection in terms of the practicalities it may imply (i.e.

obtaining an informed consent signed by the pupil's parents or the legal tutor). In the end, schools only selected pupils 18 years old or above to participate.

b. The sample

Finally, 46 students took part in the research. From them, 19 were women and 27 were men. Although I expected to get a more balanced sample in terms of gender, one of the main reasons that explains this difference was that, among the emblematic schools, three of them were schools only for men and only one was an institution exclusively for women. Although I contacted other public emblematic schools for women and they showed interest in taking part in the research, in the end, they were unable to participate given the fact that, during the fieldwork, students from those schools were striking in a context of huge feminist mobilisations. One of the measures I took to cope with this situation was to consciously pursue a balance between the voices and discourses of women and men in the analysis.

On the other hand, 37 of the participants were pursuing a humanistic-scientific formation and 9 were pursuing a technical-professional formation. These numbers were aligned with the proportion of students in both type of curriculum and I considered them adequate for the purpose of the analysis. Table 4.3 summarises the main characteristics of the sample according to the school from where students come from (for details see Appendix 2, Table A.2.6).

Table 4.3: Participants by type of school, gender and type of curriculum

Type of School	Number of Women	Number of Men	Technical-professional Formation	Humanistic-scientific Formation	Total Number of Participants
Public	4	4	0	8	8
Public Emblematic	2	8	0	10	10
Delegated Administration	4	5	9	0	9
Private Subsidised	4	4	0	8	8
Private	5	6	0	11	11
Total	**19**	**27**	**9**	**37**	**46**

Source: Own elaboration.

3.2.3. Fieldwork and interviewing

I carried out the process of interviewing between August and November 2018. Between June and July, after the first round of meetings with some of the schools, I kept in touch with the persons in charge of the process in each establishment with the aim of securing the selection of students. Furthermore, as I have asked them during the face-to-face meetings, I reminded them

that all the interviews should take place in a safe space within the school as a way to maximize the safety of students. Ideally, I asked for a silent, comfortable and not isolated (i.e. visible) space, the latter with the aim of making the students feel comfortable and safe during the conversation.

a. The interviews

I addressed the interviewing process with the idea of generating an interactional exchange of dialogue, which should take the form of a conversation with each of the students separately (Mason, 2002). Broadly speaking, my idea during these face-to-face encounters was to reconstruct some of the relevant aspects of pupils' lifeworlds (Atkinson, 2010a), which would enable me to shed light on their experiences, trajectories, categories of perception and mode of appreciation. A fundamental issue during this phase was about, as Costa et al. (2019) put it, how to capture the habitus, or put another way, how to capture those subjective elements which could help me to understand the relationship between mental structures and objective structures – particularly those linked to the field of higher education – from which habitus becomes graspable. My approach was to address those aspects which can be considered as individuals' habitus emanations, namely, individuals' tastes, lifestyles and aspiration (see Chapter One). In so doing, I asked pupils about diverse biographical events in order to grasp some fundamental elements of their habitus formation. As Lahire contends, 'sociological biography allows us to grasp the successive or combined effect of the different socialisation frameworks frequented by individuals' (2017: 2). In line with this, the interviews brought to light aspects of pupils' processes of socialisations, which included narratives about their social origin, families, friends, educational trajectories and lifestyles. Likewise, they triggered the enunciation of students' perceptions and aspirations, particularly those involving higher education. All these elements were addressed using a biographical narrative approach.

I did semi-structured interviews because this technique gave me greater levels of flexibility within an established framework to deepen those aspects that appeared as particularly relevant for the research aim. In so doing, I followed an interview schedule which was organised around six dimensions, which included questions about pupils' social origin, aspirations towards higher education, perceptions of higher education, educational trajectories, tastes and lifestyles, and expectations and aspirations towards the future (see Appendix 2, Table A.2.7). This interview schedule helped me to order the conversation while at the same time it gave me the possibility of adding contingent questions and dig deeper into themes that spontaneously came up. The average length of the interviews was one hour and nineteen minutes, where the shortest one lasted one hour and three minutes and the longest one lasted one hour and thirty-two minutes.

b. Transcriptions

In parallel to the interviewing process, I began to transcribe each of the interviews that I had already made. This was a very helpful practice, given the fact that it allowed me, as a complement to the 'active and methodological listening' (Bourdieu, 1996b: 19) that I was already performing during the interviews, to carefully listen again to the conversations and reflect on them. This enabled me to adjust, modify and enhance elements of the interview schedule as well as some modes in which I was addressing the interviewees (e.g. waiting for a longer time when the students were in silent reflecting on their answers; avoiding some ways in which I was framing some of questions in order to avoid 'social desirability' (Bryman, 2012) in pupils' answers; avoiding the introduction of some technical or 'sociological' words that were easily appropriated by the participants). This reflexive exercise helped me to gain some mastery in the process of interviewing.

c. Further information

Each of the visits I did to the different schools helped me to gain knowledge about different aspects relevant to my research. Not only the initial meetings with the leaders of the schools were useful in this sense but also those informal conversations before and after each interview with head teachers, teachers, counsellors and school staff were highly helpful and informative during this stage. Furthermore, I also visited a fair of higher education institutions with the aim of observing certain dynamics there and informally talk with some of the persons which were promoting some of the institutions.

3.2.4. Analysis

Once finished the fieldwork, I moved onto the analysis of the qualitative information I gathered. This process took different steps.

a. Class on paper

The first step was to group, applying Bourdieu's relational perspective, the research participants in three different classes: the dominant, the intermediate and the dominated (see Chapter One). This was an essential step given the fact that the analysis significantly drew on this classification (see Chapter Six and Seven). In order to allocate the students in classes, I took into considerations different pupils' properties. I first started, as planned, by separating them by the type of school to which students belonged. However, this first demarcation – although was helpful for achieving high diversity within the sample – was still very loose and not necessarily accurate to properly position each case in the social space. For this reason, I considered other relevant information about the social characteristics of the students and their families that I

collected during the interviews. In particular, parents' occupation and parents' level of education, which served as proxies of economic and cultural capital, became fundamental information to allocate them in their respective classes. The process of making groups, nonetheless, did not conclude there. I found more than one 'tricky' case to be classified, particularly those located towards the boundaries between one class and another. Yet, thanks to the rich information I obtained in the interviews, I went further to allocate these pupils. For instance, I took into account their material conditions of life; their relatives' (i.e. siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins) social characteristics (e.g. relatives' level of education and occupations; relatives' experience in higher education); the relationship students maintained with both of their parents (this was particularly helpful in situations in which one of the parents was absent) and the different schools where they studied before their current establishment. Indeed, family educational strategies and the type of school in which students were enrolled may importantly vary in different moments according to material, geographical or emotional circumstances. For this reason, I reconstructed, with some accuracy, the educational pathway of the students considering each of the school they attended, from primary to secondary school. Considering these factors, I finally allocated 11 students to the dominant class; 23 to the intermediate class; and 12 to the dominated class. It has to be said, however, that the boundaries delimiting these classes have to be understood as arbitrary limits which have been established just for the aim of this research. At the same time, nevertheless, this grouping acquired full sense in the context of this research in which the aim was to examine class distinctions. A summary with the composition of the different classes is presented in Table 4.4 (for details see Appendix 2, Table A.2.8).

Table 4.4: Constructed classes by students' type of school and gender

	Dominant Class		**Intermediate Class**		**Dominated Class**	
	Women	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**
Public	0	0	2	3	2	1
Public Emblematic	0	0	2	8	0	0
Delegated Administration	0	0	0	0	4	5
Private Subsidised	0	0	4	4	0	0
Private	5	6	0	0	0	0
Total	**5**	**6**	**8**	**15**	**6**	**6**

Source: Own elaboration.

b. Thematic analysis

Having the students grouped in classes, I did a thematic analysis of the interviews. I started this second step by re-reading the transcripts. The idea was to construct an index of the principal themes and subthemes addressed by the participants (Bryman, 2012). This process, in the beginning, was fairly straightforward given the fact that the main dimensions and sub-dimensions that I considered in the interview schedule worked well as themes and subthemes. Nonetheless, when I started the process of coding, new themes and subthemes emerged. This process, furthermore, was rightly informed by the literature in the area, which enabled me to see in the data unexpected themes.

I coded all the interviews using NVivo. Additionally, during the coding, I wrote several annotations for each case to highlight some elements and connections that I found particularly important. This was useful since, once each of the interviews was coded, I got a sort of summary of the most relevant aspect of the case. Thereby, each time that I needed to check a particular pupil, this brief summary reminded me of the key aspects of the case in question.

c. Quotes and translations

Once I organised the themes and coded each interview, I selected the most representative and meaningful quotes and I ordered them by social class. During the writing up, furthermore, I put particular attention on making a balanced selection of pupils' quotes in order to give them similar weight in the analytical chapters in terms of gender and class.

On the other hand, I analysed all the data in Spanish and then I translated the selected quotes into English. This was a challenging process insofar as some of the meaningful words and phrases within pupils' narratives were slang which did not have a specific translation into English. I attempted to translate them as close as possible to the contextual meaning students were making, and at the same time make them understandable.

3.3. Integration: understanding the structural interplay

As human beings, we perceive and experience social reality in a way in which both objective and subjective structures are united. We hardly, at least in the spontaneity of everyday life, distinguish between both dimensions. This is so since objective and subjective structures are continually nurturing each other in a dialectical process. Bourdieu refers to this condition as 'the dual process of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality' (1973b: 53). Thus, while objective structures are continually being incorporated in individuals' bodies, the objective structures are continually reshaped by the generative actions of embodied dispositions (see Chapter One). Under this condition, the order of things in the social world is

presented before us as self-evident. For this reason, social researchers, aimed to understand and interpret social reality, should break with common sense and escape from what can be understood as ‘spontaneous sociology’ (Bourdieu et al., 1991; Harrits, 2011; Atkinson, 2020). As Lahire put it, ‘The researcher’s role consists in *questioning the obviousness* of the obvious’ (2019: 44).

The two previous stages I described – mapping the objective structures of higher education and shedding light into pupils’ lifeworlds – were essential analytical phases oriented to dissect that social reality that, from the subject's point of view, appear united. The following step to complete the research process was to understand how the interplay between the objective and subjective structures shapes that reality. In other words, the reconstruction of both dimensions separately was an analytic strategy useful to examine, understand and interpret what, in everyday life, is presented as self-evident.

In order to integrate both structural dimensions – which methodologically refer to the two stages of the research strategy I adopted, and which entailed the application of quantitative and qualitative techniques – I mainly focused on the *homologies* and *mismatches* between the objective structures, that is, the representation of the field of higher education institutions created through the MCA, and the subjective structures which I grasped through students’ biographical narratives, perceptions and, above all, aspirations. The implementation of a strategy considering two stages, such as Silva et al. (2009) note, helped me to articulate and interpret the divisions of the field of higher education exposed by the MCA and understanding the aspirations, potential choices, perceptions and practices of pupils in relation to that field.

4. Reflexivity

The break with common sense cannot be accomplished if we leave out of the discussion the fact that the researcher is someone who is also socially positioned in both the social space and the scientific field. The researcher, therefore, is someone who has certain embodied dispositions attuned to the positions that she or he occupies. Researchers, hence, should take into consideration as part of their investigative practice how the incorporation of the externality in their own subjectivities as well as the conditions of possibility which make possible their research practices influence what they produce as scientific objects. This implies, as Bourdieu put it, ‘objectivating the subject of objectivation’ (2003, 2006). This means, for the social sciences, ‘taking itself for its object’ as ‘a specific form of epistemological vigilance’ (Bourdieu, 2006: 89). In this sense, it is the researcher – and the community of researchers – who has to look, by practical reflexivity, into her or his own research practice in order to deal with the epistemological and social barriers which may bring her or him back to interpretations of social

reality oriented by common sense. In other words, it is the researcher who has to objectivate her or his own position and interests, and master the relation she or he maintains with the object (i.e. mastering the subjective relation to the object). I subscribe to Bourdieu's imperative that social researchers should cultivate reflexivity as a specific disposition of their scientific habitus, in a way of incorporating a *'reflexivity reflex'* (1996b: 18, 2006: 89) which gives them 'a principle of epistemological prudence' (Bourdieu, 2006: 91).

Along the research process, I always attempted, from end-to-end, to be reflexive not only about the methodological and analytical decisions I made but also about my own position in the field that I was researching. This was particularly challenging since 'the object' of my research was situated in a field in which I myself, as a researcher, occupied a position: the field of higher education. This condition made me extremely cautious about the way in which I addressed the quantitative data of higher education institutions I analysed; or the way in which I approached my interviewees. What was at stake was avoiding pre-notions and presuppositions which could lead me to mistaken representations and conclusions.

My reflexive practice, therefore, included becoming aware that I was an alumnus of a public university in Chile, which can be considered among the most dominant institutions in the Chilean field of higher education institutions (see Chapter Five). This condition, in itself, put me in a position of privilege and power with which I had to deal during my fieldwork. This form of social distance from interviewees was increased by the fact that I was a PhD candidate in a foreign university located in a country which is usually labelled as a 'developed' or 'advanced' country. This information was not a mystery for my interviewees. They knew beforehand that I was doing a PhD in a foreign university, while some of them asked me where I had studied my undergraduate degree in Chile. I had no problem with disclosing all this information and answer the questions they asked me, although not without the fear of influencing their narratives and triggering some sort of 'social desirability' (Bryman, 2012) in their discourses. However, being open about my own trajectory, current position and motivations played the role of creating confidence in my interviewees, and, I think, did not considerably influence their narratives, perceptions and declared aspirations. I realised, furthermore, that how they approached me, the questions they asked me and their own interests in my experiences varied according to students' social class. In order to create an environment aimed at 'reducing' these distances, I always attempted, by a reflexive process before each interview, to mentally put myself in their place, which was materialised, for example, in the content of the questions I asked to them (Bourdieu, 1996b). The interviewing practice in itself and the parallel process of transcription enabled me to gain, from one interview to another, some mastery in this respect.

Gender was another aspect with which I had to deal during the fieldwork. In general, I became aware before and during the process that as a male researcher in a privileged position, the relationship that I may be able to establish during the interview process may importantly vary between boys and girls. I attempted to approach the process of interviewing with all these elements in mind in order to minimise the effect of these asymmetries. Likewise, since the research participants were young people, it was also relevant to acknowledge power asymmetries between them as youth and me as an adult (Morrow and Richards, 1996).

On the other hand, I consciously recognised my position as a newcomer in the research field in which I was entering and the implications of this condition in terms of the interests I had in being part of this 'game'. I also became aware of the theoretical foundations with which I endorsed my work, some of the critiques of this tradition, and the main epistemological and practical implications of taking this stance. In fact, as Chapter Three shows, I made a revision of both the state of the field of study in Chile and in other countries, in order, among other things, to position myself in the field and be aware of my own obstacles and where, prudently, I could contribute to it.

5. Ethical implications

This research project obtained full ethical approval from the SPAIS Research Ethics Committee from the University of Bristol. During the research process, I took measures to safeguard the integrity and wellbeing of both the research participants and the researcher. In particular, research involving young people entails a range of important ethical issues. For this reason, I framed the research within four ethical principles: respect for autonomy (i.e. being respectful with the decision-making capacities of participants); non-maleficence (i.e. avoiding causing harm to the individuals involved in the research process); beneficence (i.e. benefiting the participants and promoting their good); and justice (i.e. being respectful of participants' rights) (Allen, 2002; Beauchamp and Childress, 2013).

The participation of the interviewees was voluntary. Additionally, before starting the interview, I sought informed consent from each of them. The process of consent consisted in giving the students all the information about the aims and main aspects of the research. Likewise, I emphasized their right to withdraw at any point in time (see the informed consent in Appendix 2, Figure A.2.1 and A.2.2). Furthermore, all the arising doubts and questions were answered. Once each interview was finished, I saved the respective informant's consent in a safe place. Given that the interviewees could potentially be students between the ages of 17 and 18, I expected that some of them were minors. In these cases, in line with Chilean legislation, informed consent should be also sought from those legally allowed to consent on their behalf.

Finally, however, schools selected only students who were 18 years old or above (see Appendix 2, Table A.2.6).

On the other hand, the information produced by this research was confidential and safeguarded the anonymity of participants as well as the school to which they belonged. For this reason, the data collected during the research process was securely stored. Likewise, all the quotes use pseudonyms in order to avoid the identification of the participants and of any individual involved in the students' narratives.

Although this research did not address particularly sensitive topics, I was conscious that delicate issues may emerge from participants telling me their experiences and perceptions. Since sensitive stories were not the focus of this investigation, I attempted to avoid in-depth questions when they went beyond the research aims. The purpose was 'to avoid undue intrusion' (Morrow and Richards, 1996: 100). Likewise, because the nature of the topic could cause some anxiety in participants, each interview was made with special care and breaks were considered in the case that interviewees turned uncomfortable or tired. The aim was to prevent young people suffering any harm during the research process (Morrow and Richards, 1996). On the other hand, the interviews, as I already mentioned, took place in a safe space provided by each school. This space fulfilled all the conditions to safeguard both participants and researcher wellbeing and security.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has reflected on the main epistemological and methodological aspects involved in this research as well as it has described the main stages and decisions made along the investigative process. In the following, the analytical chapters derived from the different research stages are presented. Each of these chapters is consistent with the above outlined phases. Thereby, Chapter Five presents the structures of the Chilean field of higher education institutions; Chapter Six addresses the subjective aspects involving students' aspirations from a class perspective; and Chapter Seven examines the elements involving the interplay between the objective and subjective dimensions.

CHAPTER FIVE

The structures of the field of higher education in Chile: an exploratory relational approximation

This chapter aims to grasp the objective structures underlying Chilean higher education. This entails establishing the properties that enable placing the higher education institutions in a relational space in which dominant and dominated positions can be distinguished. This structure of relationships is what we will understand, following Bourdieu (1996a), as the Chilean field of higher education institutions. To treat this space as a field entails to grant it special properties and laws orienting its operation. Thus, the field of institutions of higher education should be conceived as a space of struggles in which the shape of the structure denotes the state of power relations among establishments. The institutions here, hold, on the one hand, specific stakes which lead them to apply certain strategies for their own benefit (in order to maintain or improve their position in the field); and, on the other hand, shared interests which make the existence of the field possible (Bourdieu, 1993). The field of institutions of higher education, therefore, is a structure of power relations between institutions in which each of them – through the strategies and actions they perform – has an effect on the others. For this reason, this field, as every field, should be understood as a dynamic and ever-changing relational space (Grenfell and James, 2004).

The analysis here proposed begins by examining the structures of the Chilean field of higher education institutions and mapping the positions that the establishments take in the space. Then, it moves to the examination of notable institutional oppositions and institutional alliances formed within the field. The third section addresses the struggles between institutions situated in the dominant region of the space for attracting the elite of the country. In the fourth section, the effects that the geographical dimension of higher education has on the structure of the field are examined. The chapter ends up focusing on the relationship between the field, degrees and the labour market.

1. The structure of the field of higher education institutions in Chile

To begin with, a Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) was performed aimed to construct the Chilean field of higher education institutions. This model was carried out, as mentioned in Chapter Four, considering a sample of students who were in secondary school during 2016 and entered higher education in 2017. The first step, hence, was to construct a representation of *the space of students* to then bring to light the field of institutions of higher education. Five active

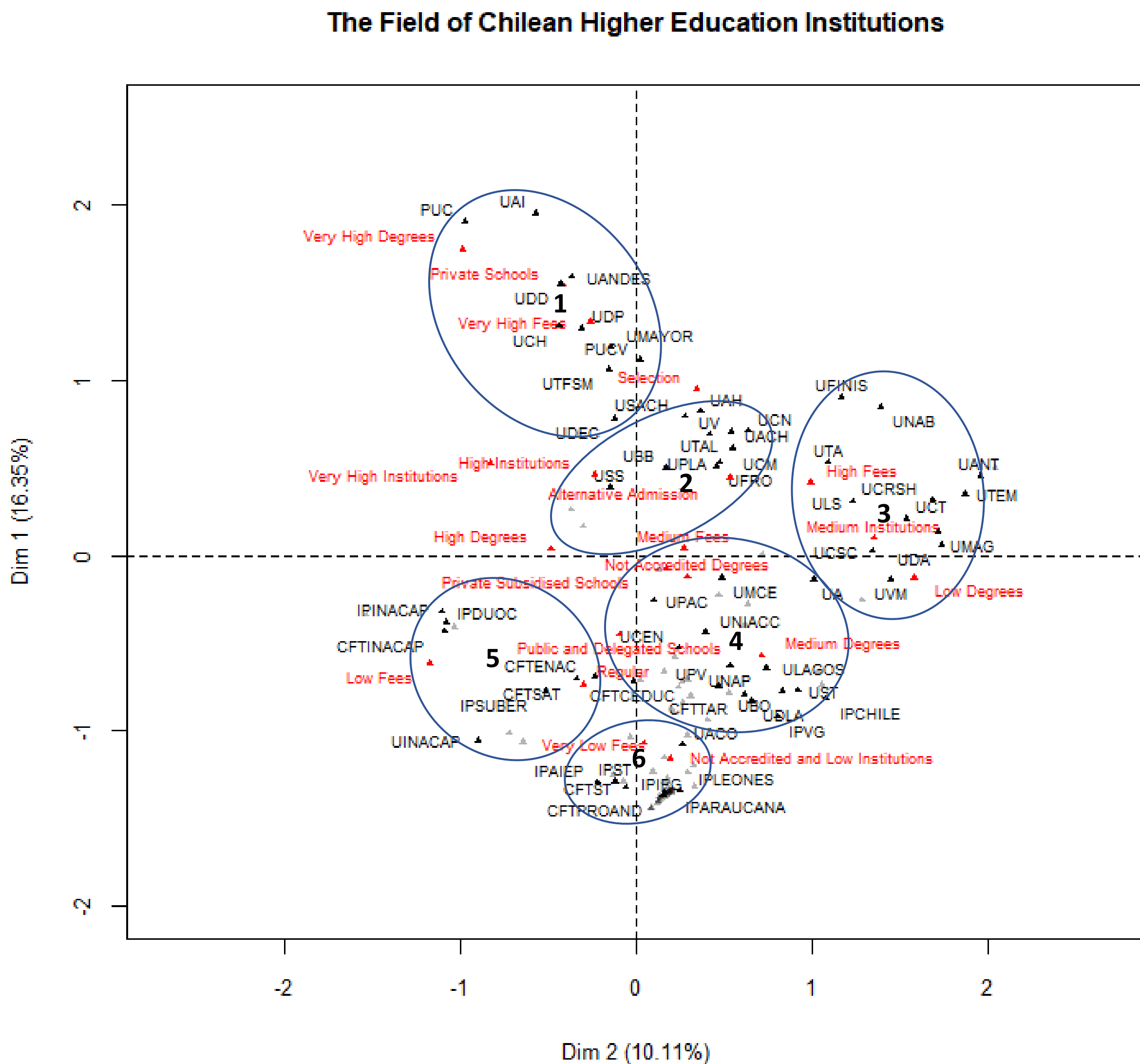
variables comprising 20 active categories were included in the model (see Chapter Four, Table 4.1).

The first two dimensions of the MCA account for 92.05 per cent of the modified rate of the inertia. Considering both, different aspects shaping the structure of the space can be noted. For the first dimension (81.74 per cent of the total inertia), the 'Cost of Tuition Fees' and the 'Type of Admission' are the most contributing variables included in the model. They form a double opposition. First, there is an opposition between those students who belong to institutions with very high tuition fees (14.41 per cent of the axis inertia) and those who are enrolled in establishments and degrees with very low cost (10.97 per cent of the inertia of the axis). This first differentiation, since it is associated with the required economic resources to access to a specific degree and institution, can be associated with the distribution of economic capital among students (and their families). Second, there is an opposition between those students who were admitted through a selective process (14.61 per cent of the inertia of the axis) and those who were admitted by a regular (non-selective) procedure (12.09 per cent of the inertia of the axis). This aspect can be associated with the distribution of cultural and academic capital among students insofar as the process of selection – framed in the Integrated System of Admission – involves pupils' PSU test scores and secondary school grades. Both mechanisms serve to determine if candidates hold the required cultural and academic capital to get into selective universities. Overall, the first axis structures the space mainly in terms of the students' volume of economic and cultural capital. Additionally, categories such as having belonged to a private school (12.33 per cent of the inertia of the axis); belonging to an institution without or with low accreditation (12.49 per cent of the inertia of the axis); and belonging to a degree with a very high level of accreditation (7.69 per cent of the inertia of the axis), are also relevant aspects configuring this dimension.

The 'Institution Accreditation' and the 'Degree Accreditation' are among the main variables structuring the second axis (10.31 per cent of the total inertia). The level of accreditation reached by institutions and degrees can be associated not only with quality but also with their prestige and reputation. The accreditation system has been especially helpful, some have argued, for those pupils and families from the lower social backgrounds facing the higher education choice-making process (Orellana et al., 2017). Nonetheless, it has been designed to orient students from all social groups. Accreditation, hence, works by making symbolic distinctions among institutions and degrees in terms of prestige and reputation. For this reason, it can be associated with different levels of symbolic capital to which students have access to. Considering these two variables, 'Institution Accreditation' and 'Degree Accreditation', the second dimension also presents a double opposition: first, between those students enrolled in

institutions with a very high level of accreditation (8.51 per cent of the inertia) and those with lower levels; and second, between those students enrolled in degrees with a high level of accreditation (6.81 per cent of the inertia) and those with lower levels. This axis, consequently, structures the space in terms of prestige and reputation of the institutions and degrees in which students are enrolled.

Figure 5.1: The field of Chilean Higher Education Institutions (2017)



Source: Own elaboration with data from the Ministry of Education, 2017.

* The institutions with an enrolment above 2.500 students in 2017 and which in the sample (2016 to 2017) present more than 150 cases has been labelled in Figure 5.1. See all the institutions per cluster in Appendix 1, Table A.1.7.

In order to map the positions that higher education institutions occupy in the space of students and construct a representation of the Chilean field of higher education institutions, the students' institutional affiliation has been added into the model as a supplementary variable. Figure 5.1

shows a general picture of the positions that institutions take in the field. In line with the characteristics above outlined, as general tendencies governing the field, first, there is a double vertical opposition between selective (upper side) and non-selective institutions (lower side); and costly (upper side) and less expensive establishments (lower side). And second, there is a double horizontal opposition between more prestigious and reputed institutions and degrees (left side) and those less prestigious and less reputed establishments and credentials (right side). Although these are not rigid rules – some institutions can be located in zones breaking these tendencies – these vertical and horizontal oppositions emerge as significant trends in the space.

Additionally, in order to help the interpretation of the MCA, the institutions have been grouped through an Agglomerative Hierarchical Clustering (AHC) into six groups. These clusters denote distinct subspaces, as Figure 5.1 illustrates, with distinctive characteristics (in Appendix 1, Table A.1.7 all the institutions per cluster are provided. In Appendix 1, Table A.1.2 all the institutions and its respective acronyms are presented). The group of institutions located in the upper left side of the field (cluster 1) is made up by selective universities which, in general, charge very high or high tuition fees to their students and, most of them, present an important proportion of students from the most privileged schools of the country. Additionally, these establishments present very high or high levels of accreditation for both institutions and degrees. Given the high level of capital (economic, cultural and symbolic capital) associated with these features, these institutions can be regarded as those that occupy the most dominant positions in the field. Some of these characteristics are intensified as we move towards the upper left corner of the space. Four institutions stand out in this zone: *Pontificia Universidad Católica* (PUC), *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez* (UAI), *Universidad del Desarrollo* (UDD) and *Universidad de los Andes* (UANDES). All of them are private universities and present the biggest proportions of students coming from private schools and the greatest proportions of students paying very high tuition fees. Considering the whole cluster, only one public institution appears within the group, *Universidad de Chile* (UCH). All the others are private universities – either traditional or new ones. The Chilean field of higher education, we may say, is dominated chiefly by private institutions, most of them recently created.

There are two other clusters (clusters 2 and 3) which are located mainly in the upper right zone of the field. An important part of these institutions are selective universities, although some of them are also non-selective establishments[23]: *Universidad San Sebastian* (USS) and *Universidad*

[23] Cluster 2 includes a technical training centre (*Escuela Culinaria Francesa*) and a professional institute (*Escuela de Cine de Chile*). Both are small institutions that in total enrolled 104 and 88 students respectively during 2017. Likewise, cluster 3 includes two relatively small professional institutes: *Instituto Profesional de Arte y Comunicación Arcos* (2,454 students) and *Escuela Moderna de Música* (967 students). It is interesting to note, that these

Viña del Mar (UVM). In comparison to the previous cluster, the establishments grouped in cluster 2 and 3 charge lower tuition fees to their students while the degrees they offer present, in general, lower levels of accreditation. Moreover, students coming from private subsidised schools, those establishments that may be identified with the intermediate social groups, are the ones who represent the greatest proportion in almost each of the institutions forming both clusters. Unlike the previous group, within these clusters there are a greater number of public universities: 13 of the universities are public institutions, while 10 are private universities – six new private universities and four traditional private ones. Furthermore, a significant part of the institutions – although not all of them – can be considered 'regional universities', that is to say, universities that are placed in a region different to the region where the capital of the country is located. This condition also marks another significant difference with the previous group, in which most of the establishments keep their main branches in the Metropolitana region (we will come back to this point later). Overall, the group of institutions grouped in cluster 2 and 3 can be regarded as close to the dominant positions, although in the shadows of those that form the cluster of the most dominant institutions.

In the lower right subspace of the field, just below the prior described groups, there is a fourth cluster (cluster 4) made up chiefly by universities, although also by some technical training centres and professional institutes. Most of the non-university establishments are small institutions with the exception of *Instituto Profesional de Chile* (IPCHILE) and *Instituto Profesional Dr. Virginio Gómez* (IPVG). This cluster is formed mainly by non-selective institutions. In fact, only five universities of a total of 19 in the group are selective establishments, all of which are public institutions: *Universidad de Los Lagos* (ULAGOS), *Universidad de Aysén* (UAYSEN), *Universidad de O'Higgins* (UOH), *Universidad Arturo Prat* (UNAP) and *Universidad Metropolitana de las Ciencias de la Educación* (UMCE). In general, most of the institutions forming this cluster are either not accredited institution or present low levels of accreditation. Moreover, most of the students who belong to these establishments pay tuition fees that are concentrated primarily between high and medium cost levels, although in some of the institutions there is a significant proportion of students who pay very low fees. These institutions, in general, present a great proportion of students who attended private subsidised schools but also, although in a smaller part, public and delegated establishments. It is interesting to note that most of the universities in this group, unlike the two prior clusters, are new private institutions. Overall, these institutions are positioned in the dominated zone of the field, which means that, within them, lower levels of symbolic, economic and cultural capital circulate.

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establishments are, essentially, institutions that teach artistic disciplines, which may be explaining their relatively high position in the field.

The cluster located in the lower left subspace of the field (cluster 5) is made up by fewer institutions. Five of them are technical training centres and five are professional institutes. Only one institution is a university: *Universidad Tecnológica de Chile INACAP* (UINACAP). Interestingly, *INACAP* in all its forms – as a university (UINACAP), as a professional institute (IPINACAP) and as a technical training centre (CFTINACAP) – is located in this zone of the field, which indicates that this conglomerate of institutions is very influential in this region of the space (we will back to this point later). In general, the institutions positioned in this area present a very small proportion of students coming from the most privileged schools, while those coming from public and delegated establishments and, above all, from private subsidised schools, represent the biggest part of their enrolment. On the other hand, the cost of tuitions fees mostly goes from medium to very low cost; while, in terms of accreditation, the cluster is divided between some establishments that present high levels for institutions and degrees and others which are not accredited. In particular, among the accredited establishments, there are some massive entities that can be considered well-reputed institutions which, on the one hand, offer diplomas that do not demand, comparatively, great amounts of economic capital; and, on the other hand, since they are non-selective institutions, do not request high levels of cultural and academic capital to get into them. These institutions are located in the dominated positions of the field.

Finally, there is a cluster located towards the bottom of the field (clusters 6). This group of institutions is made up mainly of technical training centres and professional institutes, as well as some new private universities. Most of the students in these institutions belonged to either public and delegated schools or private subsidised establishments. Likewise, most of these institutions charge very low tuition fees and, most of them, are not accredited establishments or they reached just a low level of accreditation. Moreover, all these establishments are non-selective institutions. Overall, the institutions forming this cluster occupy the most subjugated positions in the field.

On the other hand, although institutions do not tell us much about gender differences by themselves, it is possible to note some gender patterns associated with the positions that the constructed clusters take in the field. Thus, in those clusters of institutions located towards the left side of the space, the proportion of men is greater than the proportion of women (clusters 1 and 5); while in those clusters positioned towards the right side of the space the proportion of women is larger than the proportion of men (clusters 2, 3, and 4). This is interesting since, as we already know, symbolic capital is the main factor structuring the left-right opposition in the field (i.e. greater levels of symbolic capital towards the left and lower levels towards the right). In cluster 6, furthermore, where the most dominated institutions are placed, the proportion of

women is twice the proportion of men (see Appendix 3, Table A.3.1). This indicates some relevant gender differences.

To sum up, the Chilean field of higher education institutions can be divided into six clusters which occupy, as described above, five subspaces within the field. While the institutions located in the upper zones are those that are associated with greater levels of capital (i.e. economic and cultural), a condition which vertically divides the field between dominant and dominated institutions; there is also an important opposition which goes from the left to the right side which has to do with differentiated levels of accreditation of institutions and degrees. This distinction indicates dissimilar degrees of prestige and reputation between the institutions (i.e. symbolic capital).

2. Institutional oppositions: subspaces and alliances in the field

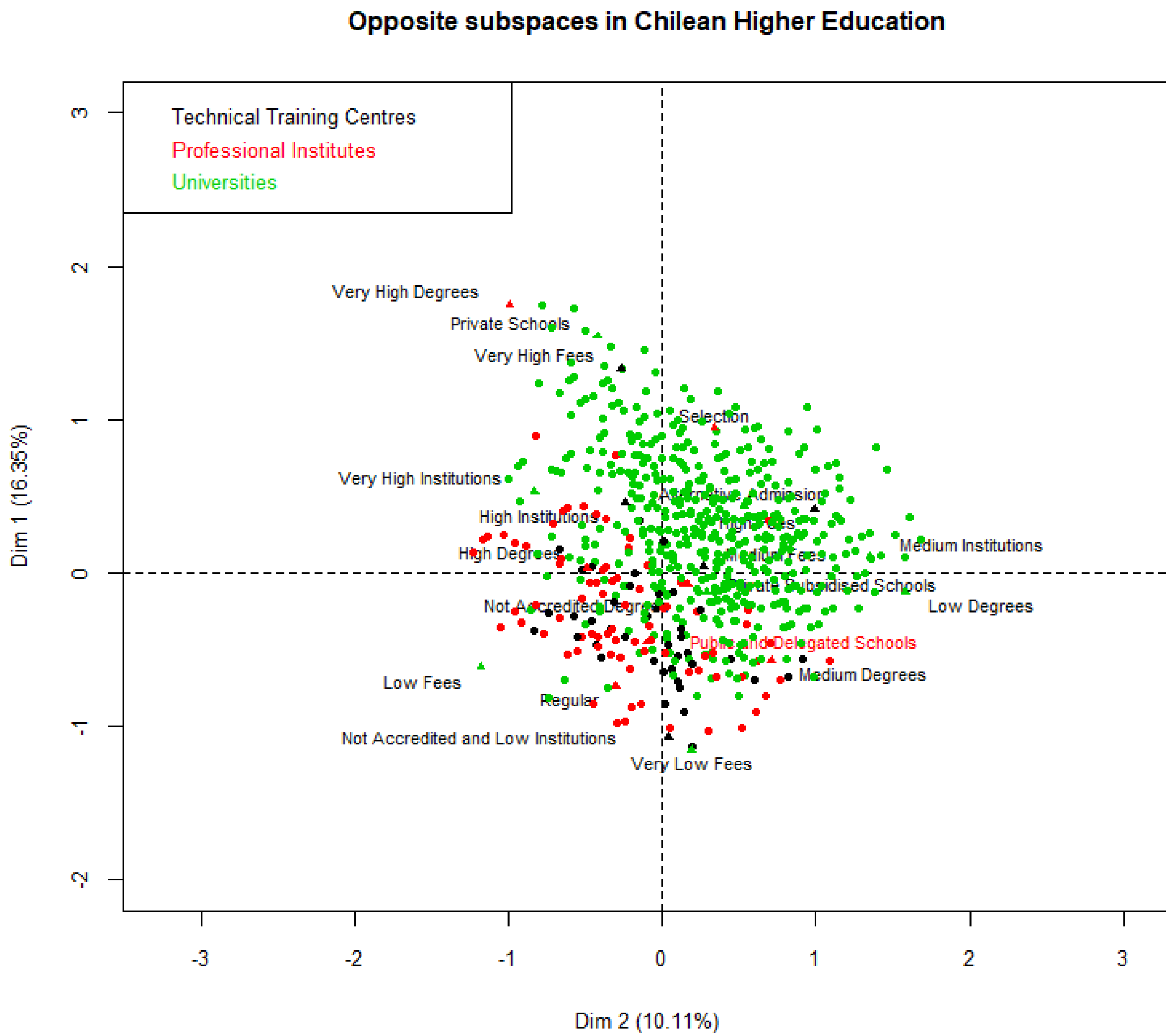
Whilst institutions can be grouped considering the various positions they individually take in the field, we can also make broader distinctions taking into consideration the different types of institutions to which students belong. Indeed, as a complement of the fundamental inputs obtained through the previous clustering, it is interesting to grasp how students are distributed in the field considering whether they attend a technical training centre, a professional institute or a university. This is so since formally, as we saw in Chapter Two, from the 1980s reform, the field of institutions of higher education was organised in three different subsectors which gave place to three socially segmented higher education pathways. In short, through the enacting of three decrees, the dictatorship first reformed the subsector of universities, to then configure both the subsector of professional institutes and the subsector of technical training centres[24]. This process, among other factors, opened the door to deregulation, competition and the creation of new private institutions. This legal partition was an essential act of demarcation which reshaped the field. Thus, the latter was structured to channel students, after school, according to the different types of degrees that higher education institutions were allowed to offer: either academic or professional degrees granted by universities; professional[25] and technical degrees granted by professional institutes; or technical or vocational degrees granted by technical training centres. Professional institutes, therefore, were set up as a sort of hinge between universities (academic institutions) and technical training centres (vocational institutions), which would allow the diversification and segmentation of the new higher education 'quasi-market' (Laval et al., 2012).

[24] See DFL 1 of Education, 1981; DFL 5 of Education, 1981; and DFL 24 of Education 1981.
[25] With the exception of those professional degrees which require to have previously obtained the bachelor's degree in a given discipline.

As Lahire regards, 'the concept of the field is indeed an historical concept' which designates 'a long process of social differentiation of functions and domains of activity' (2015: 68). The process of differentiation of Chilean higher education can be understood in these terms. The implementation of different pathways after school not only responded to the desire of organising the system in a more comprehensive way but, more importantly, it served the purpose of offering the labour market clear 'symbolic boundaries' (Lamont and Molnár, 2002; Lamont et al., 2015) among the labour force and align the types of diploma that the institutions were allowed to offer with the social division of labour. Put another way, the new structure of the field was conceived to deliver clear signals to the labour market in order to allocate the labour force in socially differentiated segments. Time, understood as the time socially necessary to transfer both the skills and the type of knowledge required for a particular discipline, as well as the type of knowledge transferred to students (either vocational or academic), were essential to differentiate the three training pathways. In fact, the system was designed to offer from shorter degrees based on the transmission of technical, vocational or practical skills by technical training centres and professional institutes to longer programmes based on academic and cognitive cultivation provided by professional institutes and, in its more sophisticated form, universities. Indeed, the latter were exclusively allowed to grant high academic credentials such as bachelor, master and doctoral degrees. On the other hand, while universities, either public or private, were devised as non-profit institutions, both professional institutes and technical training centres were conceived without specific limitations in this respect. Even more, technical training centres were expressly conceived by law to encourage the creation of private establishments.

The above explained conditions make clear that the different types of institutions were formulated to segment the population according to the different pathways available towards the labour market. This process was the starting point to produce a deregulated market and a segmented higher education. From there on, new institutions emerged while the whole field was organised according to the type of symbolic distinction that institutions were allowed to offer. When the positions that students occupy in the field are examined considering the different type of institutions to which they belong, a clear space division emerge, as Figure 5.2 illustrates. However, rather than three separated subsectors, as it was formally conceived, there is one main opposition between two subspaces.

Figure 5.2: Students distributions in the field of Chilean higher education institutions according to the type of institutions they belong to (2017)



Source: Own elaboration with data from the Ministry of Education, 2017.

Arguably, as Figure 5.2 shows, students from professional institutes (red points) and technical training centres (black points) overlap towards the lower region of the field forming a group which is, to a great extent, in opposition to those who belong to universities (green points). Whilst university students show a tendency towards the dominant positions, the students from technical training centres and professional institutes are more prone to be in the dominated locations. The institutional segmentation ruled by the 1980s reform has effectively divided the student population in two opposite subspaces.

There are, in addition, other distinctions we can establish between universities, professional institutes and technical training centres. In 2017, considering the overall enrolment in the sector, there were 152 institutions of higher education operating in the country. Among them, 48 were technical training centres, 43 were professional institutes and 61 were universities.

The total enrolment that year was near to 1,180,000 students. While universities were the ones that attracted more students, that is, 56.5 per cent of the enrolment, professional institutes attracted 31.8 per cent and technical training centres only enrolled 11.6 per cent. The subsector of technical training centres, therefore, presents a large number of institutions but is, comparatively, a small subsystem in term of its student population. Furthermore, while for professional institutes and universities the average number of students per institution was 8,714 and 10,906, respectively; for technical training centres, this figure reached just 2,850. This number is even smaller if we exclude the two biggest technical training centres, which together shared 63.6 per cent of the enrolment in the subsector: *INACAP* (48,561 students) and *Santo Tomás* (38,452 students). Without considering them, the average number of students per institution decreases to 1,082. Technical training centres, therefore, are typically very small institutions – with the exception of the two mentioned – which impart, as we already know, short programmes based on technical knowledge to prepare students for the world of work in no more than three years.

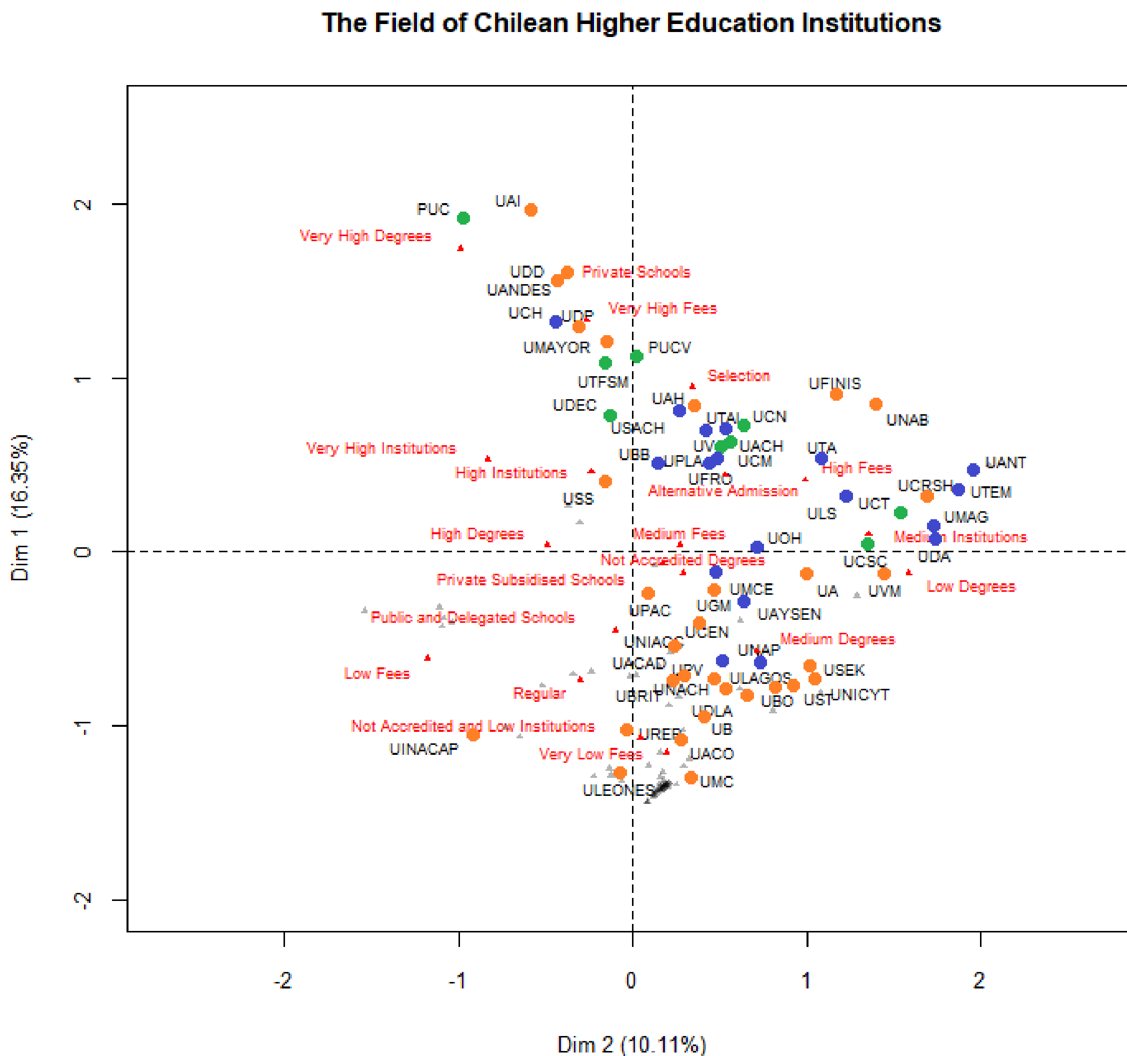
Similarly, in the case of professional institutes, there were two massive institutions, each of which had an enrolment close to 100,000 students: *AIEP* (96,007 students) and *DUOC UC* (96,483 students). Together they reached 51.4 per cent of the total enrolment in the subsector. Moreover, there were three other institutions with more than 20,000 students: the professional institute version of *INACAP*, the professional institute version of *Santo Tomás* and *Instituto Profesional de Chile*; and three others with more than 10,000: *Instituto Profesional La Araucana*, *Instituto Profesional Los Leones* and *Instituto Superior de Artes y Ciencias de la Comunicación*. The eight mentioned professional institutes, which were founded between 1981 and 1990, shared 83.3 per cent of the total enrolment in the subsector. The year of origin, hence, seems to be a significant factor in the power of attraction of students that these institutions hold.

On the other hand, both technical training centres and professional institutes, as we already pointed out, were allowed to be constituted as for-profits institutions. In the case of technical training centres, during 2017 most of them were constituted as private companies. Indeed, 43 institutions which shared 92.7 per cent of the total enrolment in the subsector were constituted as for-profit institutions, while only five of them were non-profit foundations or organisations which shared 7.3 per cent of the total enrolment in the subsector. Likewise, in the case of professional institutes, 33 of the 43 establishments, which shared 71.6 per cent of the enrolment in the subsector, were private companies; while only ten of them, which shared 28.4 per cent of the enrolment, were non-profit entities. Privatisation and the possibility of profit appear as key aspects among technical training centres and professional institutes and, therefore, in the dominated zone of the field.

For the case of universities, the situation is somewhat different. As already mentioned, these institutions were not legally allowed to be constituted as for-profit institutions, although many of them – particularly in the group of new private universities – have found different mechanisms to profit (Rama, 2012; Mönckeberg, 2013). Chilean universities, however, can be divided into three different groups (see Appendix 3, Table A.3.2) according to their dependency and historical origin (see Chapter 2). Thus, there is, first, the group of the 'new private universities' which originate as a result of the 1980s educational reform. This group of 34 universities shared in 2017 52.1 per cent of the total enrolment in the university subsector, reaching in a few decades the highest enrolment coverage within it. In fact, in 1990 they represented only 14.8 per cent of the total enrolment in the subsector. These universities, hence, are the ones that have grown the most during the last few decades. Second, there is the group of 'traditional private universities', which includes both those private universities created before the 1980s reform and those which were derived from those institutions. This group is made up of nine establishments which shared 21.2 per cent of the total enrolment in the subsector. The biggest institution was *Pontificia Universidad Católica* (26,786 students), followed by *Universidad de Concepción* (24,646 students). Most of the other traditional private universities presented an enrolment between 10,000 and 20,000 students. Notably, these universities were spread in different regions of the country, while only two of them had some of its branches operating in the capital (*Pontificia Universidad Católica* and *Universidad Técnica Santa María*). Lastly, there is the group of 'public universities', which are state dependent institutions. During 2017, there were 18 of these universities, which shared 26.7 per cent of the total enrolment in the subsector. The two biggest institutions in this group were *Universidad de Chile* (31,095 students) and *Universidad de Santiago* (21,566 students), both located in the capital of the country. Most of the other establishments, although not all of them, were placed in different regions of Chile.

The condition of belonging to the previously described categories – 'new private', 'traditional private' and 'public' universities – is not necessarily translated into a specific position in the field of higher education institutions. As Figure 5.3 illustrates, there are universities from the different categories positioned in different regions of the space. For instance, among the institutions located in the upper left side of the field (i.e. in the most dominant positions), there are four traditional private universities (green points); four private universities (orange points); and only one public university (blue points). The categorisation of universities according to their origin and dependency, therefore, does not necessarily entail proximity in the field of institutions.

Figure 5.3: Public, traditional private and new private universities in the Field of Institutions of Higher Education (2017)



Source: Own elaboration with data from the Ministry of Education, 2017.

* Labels: blue points represent public universities; green points represent traditional private universities; orange points represent new private universities.

However, while the latter is true, the historical roots of the institutions are not completely irrelevant to the field configuration. Beyond the influence that each institution can exert individually according to its 'weight' in the field, the historical origin of universities has given rise to the establishment of different university associations (for details, see Appendix 3, Table A.3.3). These alliances, in which universities act as stakeholders, have served the institutions to deploy different strategies aligned with the stakes and interests governing the field. These actions not only take form within the field itself, but they may be aimed to exert pressure beyond its limits, namely, within the political field and the bureaucratic field (Bourdieu, 2005b). This is so because the decisions regarding the rules governing the field of institutions of higher education are ultimately taken in these other spheres, a process which involves, as Zanten and

Maxwell (2015) point out, the triad made up by the institutions, the state and the dominant classes. Thus, the different university associations have directed their strategies to influence decisions related to, to name a few examples, the funding of universities by the state or through donations (i.e. economic capital), the mechanisms of admission and selection of students (i.e. cultural capital), the role of accreditation (i.e. symbolic capital) and, notably in the last years, the new Law of Higher Education enacted in 2018 which involved all the previous elements. The creation of different associations of universities, therefore, has served not only the purpose of coordinating but also lobbying and influencing the process of decision making that affect the structures of the higher education field.

Among the alliances, the most influential is the Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities (CRUCH) created by law in 1954[26], which have grouped the traditional private and public universities of the country. Although the origin of this group responded, back then, to the specific aim of coordinating the small national system of universities, with the expansion and diversification of the sector, it has taken not only a technical role but, more importantly, a political function. Thus, this association not only has served to advise the various governments' higher education policies but also as a platform of influence for the members of the interest group aimed to keep some historically inherited privileges – e.g. access to particular state funding instruments or the control of the admission process to selective universities – within the field[27].

Alongside the CRUCH, there are three other alliances derived from it. The Consortium of Chilean State Universities (CUECH), which, created in 1993, is aimed to coordinate and safeguard the interests of the 18 public universities; the Network of Non-State Public Universities (G9), that, originated in 2013, is aimed to coordinate and defend the stakes of the nine traditional private universities; and the Association of Regional Universities of Chile (AUR) that, created in 1996, groups the 22 public and traditional private universities located in a region different to the Metropolitana.

The new private universities have also formed alliances to defend their interests within the field. Remarkably, in the case of these institutions, there is a clear division between two groups which corresponds very accurately with the positions institutions take in the field. On the one hand, there is the so-called G8, a non-formal association that in 2016 included all the private universities that were part of the Integrated System of Admission (see Appendix 3, Table A.3.3).

[26] See the Law 11,575 of 1954.

[27] During 2019, three universities from the group of the new private universities were accepted to join the CRUCH: *Universidad Diego Portales*, *Universidad Alberto Hurtado* and *Universidad de los Andes*. This unprecedented situation can be understood as the result of the struggles aimed to redefine the rules of the game governing the higher education field which took place in the context of the definition of the new Law of Higher Education enacted in 2018.

These institutions are all located in the dominant side of the field, a condition that we can regard as the fundamental fact that makes them a group sharing similar interests, namely, those aspects involving the process of selection of students. On the other hand, there is the Corporation of Private Universities (CUP) which, created in 1991, includes some new private universities which are positioned in the dominated region of the field (see Appendix 3, Table A.3.3). Overall, the different alliances respond to shared interests and stakes of the institutions which are the product of the intersection between their historical origin and their relative position in the field.

3. The struggle for the elite

The field of higher education institutions must be understood as a relational space marked by the simultaneous struggles aimed to hold or reach a relatively dominant position within the space. Among these disputes, perhaps the most outstanding is the struggle that historically has involved the two oldest universities of the country: *Universidad de Chile*, founded in 1842, and *Pontificia Universidad Católica*, founded in 1888. It is no coincidence that, in the last few decades, both universities have received the greatest amount of funding provided by the state through the called *Aporte Fiscal Directo* and *Aporte Fiscal Indirecto*; every year they attain the largest number of research projects funded by the National Agency for Research and Development, the main state agency aimed to fund Chilean science; they attract the pupils who obtain the highest scores in the PSU test; and they usually lead, among the local establishments, the various institutional rankings whatever their purpose and scope is. Even more important, these two institutions historically have formed the political, economic and cultural elite of the country (Gazmuri, 2001; Brunner, 2012). In point of fact, research shows that, in the last few decades, most of the agents in the political field, namely political leaders, parliamentarians and technocrats, have graduated from one of these two establishments, mainly from programmes such as commercial engineering, civil engineering or law (Espinoza, 2010; Joignant, 2011; Aguilera and Fuentes, 2011; PNUD, 2017).

Crucially, the two oldest universities of the country have their origin in two distinct ideological and cultural traditions. While *Universidad de Chile* was founded in light of the emergent republic becoming a fundamental piece in the construction of the nation-state (Serrano, 2016), *Pontificia Universidad Católica* was originated under the direction of the Catholic Church as a response to the increasing secularism in the country (Correa, 1985). Both institutions, hence, were the inheritors of the conflict between the State and the Church which marked the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, two opposite fractions within the nascent ruling class were represented in the conflicting principles that oriented these institutions: on the one hand, those closer to secular ideas who endorsed the pre-eminence of the state in education under the

notion of the 'teaching state'; and on the other hand, those who pushed for the preservation of religious and confessional values and endorsed the idea of 'freedom of teaching' (Aguilar, 2011; Stuven, 2011). According to Brunner (2012), these distinctions, with some nuances, still remain. A current expression of them, he suggests, can be observed in the fact that, while *Universidad de Chile* has played a prominent role in supplying the public sector posts with professionals, *Pontificia Universidad Católica* has played the same role but for the private sector. It can be argued that the confessional/secular opposition (i.e. *Pontificia Universidad Católica/Universidad de Chile*), to a great extent, has been transferred to the domain of the neoliberal *doxa* in the form of opposite classifications involving categories such as private/public or flexible/rigid. The two historically differentiated cultural strains, furthermore, are still manifest in the institutional missions declared by each university. Indeed, *Pontificia Universidad Católica* centre its institutional mission in its confessional character ('aspire to achieve excellence in the creation and transference of knowledge and the formation of individuals inspired by a Catholic conception and always at the service of the Church and society.'[28]); while *Universidad de Chile* focuses its intentions on the idea of contributing to the construction of the nation ('assumes with a vocation of excellence the formation of individuals and the contribution to the spiritual and material development of the Nation (…) contribute to the development of the cultural heritage and national identity and to the improvement of the country's educational system.'[29]). These general inclinations, nonetheless, have not to be understood as fixed rules which entail the mechanic transference of the institutional attributes and orientations to the agents who are part of these establishments (i.e. students, graduates or scholars) but rather as part of their institutional ethos or *doxa* (Atkinson, 2011).

What is clear is that one of the most significant matters at stake in the field of higher education institutions is the attraction and formation of the elite and ruling groups of the country. It is the relation that higher education institutions can establish with – and how they can influence – the field of power (Bourdieu, 1996a; Ferrare and Apple, 2015). Thus when the representation of the Chilean field of institutions of higher education is examined in Figure 5.1, some striking aspects can be noted. To begin with, as already mentioned, in the upper left side of the field (cluster 1) are the most dominant institutions. Among them, both *Universidad de Chile* (UCH) and, above all, *Pontificia Universidad Católica* (PUC), are located among the most advantaged positions of the subspace. These universities are highly selective institutions which present the highest level of institutional accreditation, which by itself speaks of their prestige and reputation. At the same time, during 2017 a considerable proportion of their students came from the most privileged

[28] Excerpted from Plan de Desarrollo 2015-2020, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.
[29] Excerpted from the Universidad de Chile institutional website, viewed 25 June 2019: www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/institucionalidad/39635/mision-y-vision

schools of the country. Thus, while in *Pontificia Universidad Católica* 62.5 per cent of its student body came from private schools, in *Universidad de Chile* this proportion reached 32.8 per cent, a figure that, although is lower in comparison to the former, is comparatively high among the public universities.

The positions that both *Universidad de Chile* and *Pontificia Universidad Católica* have historically occupied in the field, however, are currently being contested by emergent institutions. As Figure 5.1 shows, some new universities have come to dispute the hegemony of the two oldest establishments of the country. Notably, *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez* (UAI), *Universidad del Desarrollo* (UDD) and *Universidad de los Andes* (UANDES) are positioned in between both; whilst *Universidad Diego Portales* (UDP) and *Universidad Mayor* (UMAYOR) also occupy relatively high positions in the subspace. It is remarkable that all these institutions are part of the group of new private universities, although it is not a surprise given the process of intense privatisation that the sector has suffered in the last decades.

In particular, *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez*, *Universidad del Desarrollo* and *Universidad de los Andes*, the three universities that stand in between the two oldest institutions, are relevant cases to be examined here. These institutions are connected to the field of power by different ties. For instance, as Mönckeberg (2013) points out, *Universidad de los Andes* is linked to the Opus Dei, a religious congregation very influential within a conservative fraction of the Chilean dominant class; while *Universidad del Desarrollo* maintains links with one of the most influential right-wing parties of the country, the *Unión Demócrata Independiente*. Importantly, these three universities during 2017 presented an enrolment of students coming from private schools in each case above 70 per cent. Thus, 83.9 per cent of the students who were enrolled in *Universidad de los Andes*, 81.6 per cent in the case of those enrolled in *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez* and 71.3 per cent in the case of those enrolled in *Universidad del Desarrollo,* belonged to the most privileged schools. On the contrary, these universities attracted only a small proportion of pupils coming from public and delegated schools, which are associated with the most deprived groups of the country. In fact, only 5.1 per cent of the students enrolled in *Universidad del Desarrollo*, 4.2 per cent of those in *Universidad de los Andes* and 2.8 per cent in *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez* came from public and delegated educational establishments. The overrepresentation of students coming from the highest social positions and the underrepresentation of pupils coming from the most disadvantaged sectors unquestionably indicates the elitist character of these institutions.

It should be added that these three establishments have some of their main campuses located either within or nearby to the so-called '*barrio alto*', a zone of Santiago, the capital of Chile, where, according to Méndez and Gayo (2019), the highest income sector of the population (i.e.

the upper and the upper-middle classes) has settled during the last few decades[30]. For this reason, we can call this group of establishments '*barrio alto'* universities. Thus, although *Universidad del Desarrollo* started its operations in 1990 in the city of Concepcion, from 1999 it has been settled in the highest areas of Santiago in Las Condes commune; likewise, *Universidad de los Andes*, which is active from 1989, is placed in the same zone; and *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez*, which was founded in 1988, has its main campus in the highest areas of the Peñalolén commune. The main campuses of these universities, therefore, are located at the foot of the Andes Mountains, in the highest zone of Santiago, which has led to some researchers to also call them the '*cota-mil'* universities (Orellana, 2016), while others have called them 'highly elitists' institutions (Muñoz and Blanco, 2013). Certainly, this condition where physical space merge with social space (Bourdieu, 2000b) increases the likelihood of youth from this area to get into these institutions, a process which would spur social endogamy and social segmentation (Laval et al., 2012).

Data confirm the previous affirmation. Considering those students from the *barrio alto*'s communes (i.e. Las Condes, La Reina, Lo Barnechea, Providencia and Vitacura), who in 2016 were attending a private school and in 2017 got into a higher education institution, remarkably 75.8 per cent entered either *Pontificia Universidad Católica*, *Universidad de Chile* or one of the three *barrio alto* universities. Among these students, 38.8 per cent went to *Pontificia Universidad Católica*, 19 per cent went to *Universidad de los Andes*, 17.4 per cent entered into *Universidad del Desarrollo*, 13.5 per cent selected *Universidad de Chile* and 11.3 per cent chose *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez*. This condition in which *barrio alto* universities are among the most likely choices of the most privileged students becomes even clearer when the decisions of the students from the most elite schools of the country are examined. These educational establishments are all private schools located in the *barrio alto* zone[31]. When the choices of this population are analysed, it is observed that 94 per cent of them opted for an institution that is among the most dominant institutions in the field of higher education institutions (cluster 1); while 85.7 per cent selected either *Pontificia Universidad Católica, Universidad de Chile* or one of the three *barrio alto* institutions. Again, the most chosen university was *Pontificia Universidad Católica* (35.6 per cent), followed by *Universidad de los Andes* (15 per cent), *Universidad de Chile* (13.6 per cent), *Universidad del Desarrollo* (12 per cent) and *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez* (9.5 per cent). Thereby, we can affirm, the *barrio alto* universities have come to dispute the historical hegemony that the oldest and most prestigious universities have had in attracting the pupils

[30] According to Mendez and Gayo (2019), the '*barrio alto'* area includes five communes of the Metropolitana region: Las Condes, La Reina, Lo Barnechea, Providencia and Vitacura.
[31] Fifteen elite private schools located in the *barrio alto* communes which, according to the PNUD (2017: 398), have educated most of the Chilean business elite, have been selected for this analysis (for details, see Appendix 3, Table A.3.4).

from the elite and more privileged groups. The main difference between them, however, lies in the fact that the old universities still have the capacity to attract each year the top achieving students of each generation. Certainly, this is one of the main assets the latter institutions hold. Following Börjesson and Broadly (2016), the two old traditional universities can be closer to what they understand as a *meritocratic* elite education (i.e. highly selective), while barrio alto institution can be considered closer to a *social* elite education (i.e. those which contribute to the intra-generational reproduction of the dominant groups).

In line with the above, Espinoza (2010) found an important increase from 1994 to 2006 in the proportion of parliamentarians graduated from private universities (from 3 to 12 per cent); while Brunner (2012) emphasises the importance that the three *barrio alto* institutions have acquired in the formation of the Chilean elite groups. It is expected, hence, that these institutions over time present an even increased influence within the field of power. One of the most significant effects of the process of neoliberalisation and privatisation of higher education lies in here. What has been a stake in all these transformations and reconfigurations within the field is not only the structure of the field *per se* but also the positions that agents, associated to specific higher education institutions, take within the field of power.

4. The geographical dimension: students' mobility and institutions' expansion strategies

Another important aspect to be considered in analysing the Chilean field of higher education institutions has to do with its geographical dimension, which some researchers have examined in other countries (see Donnelly and Gamsu, 2018; Gamsu et al., 2018). The question here, however, arises as to how the geographical location of institutions affects the structure of the field. In particular, explored here is what the patterns of 'mobility' and 'immobility' of students (i.e. if they move or not from their region of origin[32] to a different zone to attend a higher education institution) can tell us about some dynamics within the field as well as what the geographical location of institutions say about the field configuration.

To begin with, our data show that a significant proportion of the students who transited from the school to higher education between 2016 and 2017 entered to an institution placed in their region of origin: 86.8 per cent were 'immobile students' (i.e. students who remained in their region of origin) and 13.2 per cent were 'mobile students' (i.e. students who moved to a region different than their region of origin). Nonetheless, these proportions vary when the Metropolitana region is set apart from the analysis. Indeed, with the greatest contribution of students, this region presents a large proportion of 'immobile students' (97.6 per cent). Without

[32] The region of origin is understood here as the region where students finished their last year of secondary school.

considering it, the proportion of those who did not move falls to 79.8 per cent and those who moved reached 20.2 per cent. 'Regional students' (i.e. those students from a region different to the Metropolitana), therefore, are more prone to move than those from the capital of the country.

In the particular case of the students who entered a university, 17.6 per cent moved to a different territory while 82.4 per cent remained in their region of origin. Among the latter, 32.1 per cent went into a public university, 42.5 per cent opted for a new private university and 25.4 per cent got into a traditional private university. Again, without considering the Metropolitana region, the proportion of university students who did not move goes down to 73.4 per cent. At the same time, the proportion of those who selected a new private university drops to 29 per cent, while, on the contrary, the proportions of students who got into a public or a traditional private university increases to 36.9 and 34.2 per cent, respectively. Notably, therefore, 'regional immobile students' who entered a university are more inclined to get into either public or traditional private universities. In short, public and traditional private universities located in regions different to the Metropolitana (i.e. regional universities) are fundamental institutions in the territories where they are placed. This explains, to a great extent, the fact that regional universities, as mentioned above, maintain a specific association oriented to look after their interests. In the representation of the field of institutions of higher education (Figure 5.1), however, these institutions occupy a subordinated position behind some of those located in the capital. In fact, only three of the ten universities in the group of the most dominant institutions (cluster 1) are regional institutions: *Universidad de Concepción* (UDEC), *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso* (PUCV) and *Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María* (UTFSM). The other regional universities are scattered throughout the upper right side of the field, while a few of them are positioned in the dominated zone.

On the other hand, when the 'regional mobile students' who enrolled in a university are examined, we note the greatest proportion moved towards the capital (43.1 per cent). *Universidad de Chile* and *Pontificia Universidad Católica* were the institution that attracted most of them (22.6 and 16.1 per cent, respectively). It is interesting to note, furthermore, that some tendencies that we saw above are repeated when the group of mobile students who moved to the Metropolitana region is closely analysed. For instance, we can note that among the 'regional mobile students' who belonged to private schools and moved to the Metropolitana region, the three *barrio alto* institutions were among the most selected universities (30.5 per cent of the students chose one of these institutions), just after the most chosen establishments, *Pontificia Universidad Católica* (26.9 per cent) and *Universidad de Chile* (16.7 per cent). In addition, most of the 'regional mobile students' who decided to get into one of the *barrio alto* institution came

from a private school: 84.7 per cent in the case of *Universidad del Desarrollo*, 89.4 per cent in the case of *Universidad de los Andes* and 83.9 per cent in the case of *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez*. Overall, it can be argued that when the most privileged 'regional students' decide to move to the capital, they tend to choose those institutions located in the higher positions of the field.

Another interesting aspect that emerges when the field is examined from the lens of its geographical dimension refers to the territorial expansion of some institutions. There are two of them which are particularly striking in relation to this point: *Universidad Tecnológica de Chile INACAP* (UINACAP) and *Universidad Santo Tomás* (UST). These two massive universities – they enrolled 36,230 and 28,718 students in 2017, respectively – have spread by means of several branches alongside the territory. Certainly, the implementation of these branches throughout the country has served them to attract a greater number of students.

It is also notable that these institutions are not only located in many zones of the country, but they are also constituted as professional institutes and technical training centres. Thus, for instance, in addition to *Universidad Tecnológica de Chile INACAP,* there is a technical training centre version of *INACAP* (CFTINACAP) which reached 48,561 students in 2017, while there is also a professional institute version (IPINACAP) which reached 36,350 students. These two versions of *INACAP* were also located in each of the regions of Chile. When the representation of the field of institutions of higher education is observed in Figure 5.1, the three institutions forming the *INACAP* conglomerate are located in the same subspace (cluster 5). The case of *Santo Tomás* is similar. It also has, in addition to *Universidad Santo Tomás,* both a professional institute (IPST) and a technical training centre (CFTST) version. While the professional institute reached 24,443 students, the technical training centre reached 38,452. Both versions, moreover, were located in 2017 in 14 regions of the country. In the field of institutions, furthermore, the three versions of *Santo Tomás* are positioned in the dominated zone of the field (cluster 4 and 6).

The previous facts, brings us to a more crucial point. The deregulation of the sector, as a product of the process of neoliberalisation of higher education, has entailed the emergence of private conglomerates whose strategies in the field has been to expand by means of both its diversification in various branches throughout the territory and its diversification in different types of institutions. The clearest example of this is the group of institutions which are part of the Laureate conglomerate, an international company dedicated to business in the educational sector and which operates in different countries of the world, particularly in Latin America (Rama, 2012). In Chile, this company is involved in the direction of five higher education institutions which are spread in different zone of the field: *AIEP* (96,007 students), *Universidad Andres Bello* (43,315 students), *Universidad de las América* (24,287 students), *Universidad de Viña del Mar* (8,757 students) and *Escuela Moderna de Música* (967 students). Together, they

reached in 2017 a proportion close to 15 per cent of the total enrolment in the sector. It is here, we can argue, where the market logic operating in the sector becomes completely visible. To some extent, the continued expansion of Chilean higher education has gone hand in hand with these strategies aimed to capture new quasi-markets in the sector. These strategies seem to be more prevalent on the lower zones of the field in which, potentially, new niches formed by newcomers can be found. However, not only this zone but the field as a whole is affected by these practices by means of which some agents and institutions seek to disseminate and expand their power. As Bourdieu pointed out, 'the structure of the field is a *state* of the power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle' (Bourdieu, 1993: 73). When some specific groups of agents or institutions occupy strategic positions in different zones of the field, we could argue that it becomes easier for them to monopolise the means for accumulating capital and power within the field.

5. Linking the higher education field to the labour market

Whilst the field of higher education institutions should be understood as a relatively autonomous field which imposes its own logic, and, by the same token, demands the (non-reflexive) adherence of those, agents and institutions, engaged in it (i.e. *illusio*) (Bourdieu, 2000b), it should not be forgotten that higher education is an essential mechanism, as Bourdieu and Boltanski put it, for 'the production of producers' (1981: 142) and for the allocation of those producers into the labour market. From this perspective, ultimately, what is at stake in the higher education field is the power of conferring and distributing cultural, academic and symbolic capital. Capital, in this case, is crystallized in the form of diplomas (i.e. institutionalised cultural capital) through which institutions consecrate their students. The power of distributing cultural, academic and symbolic capital – i.e. the power of conferring power – depends, above all, on the value and recognition that these diplomas – associated to specific institutions – take in the labour market. In other words, the institutional act through which students are consecrated allows transfer to the graduates of the power (i.e. capital), in the form of a credential (i.e. institutionalised cultural capital), that the institution has gained and accumulated within the relatively autonomous field of higher education. The power position that institutions reach in the field gives them a name and a reputation (Strathdee, 2009) which is valued beyond the limits of the field. Therefore, as Lahire points out, it is important to acknowledge that there is 'life outside the field' (2015: 64) in order to understand what occurs within the field. In this sense, it is important to examine how the diplomas granted by Chilean higher education institutions interact with the labour market, the place where formal qualifications take its 'universal and timeless value' (Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1981: 144).

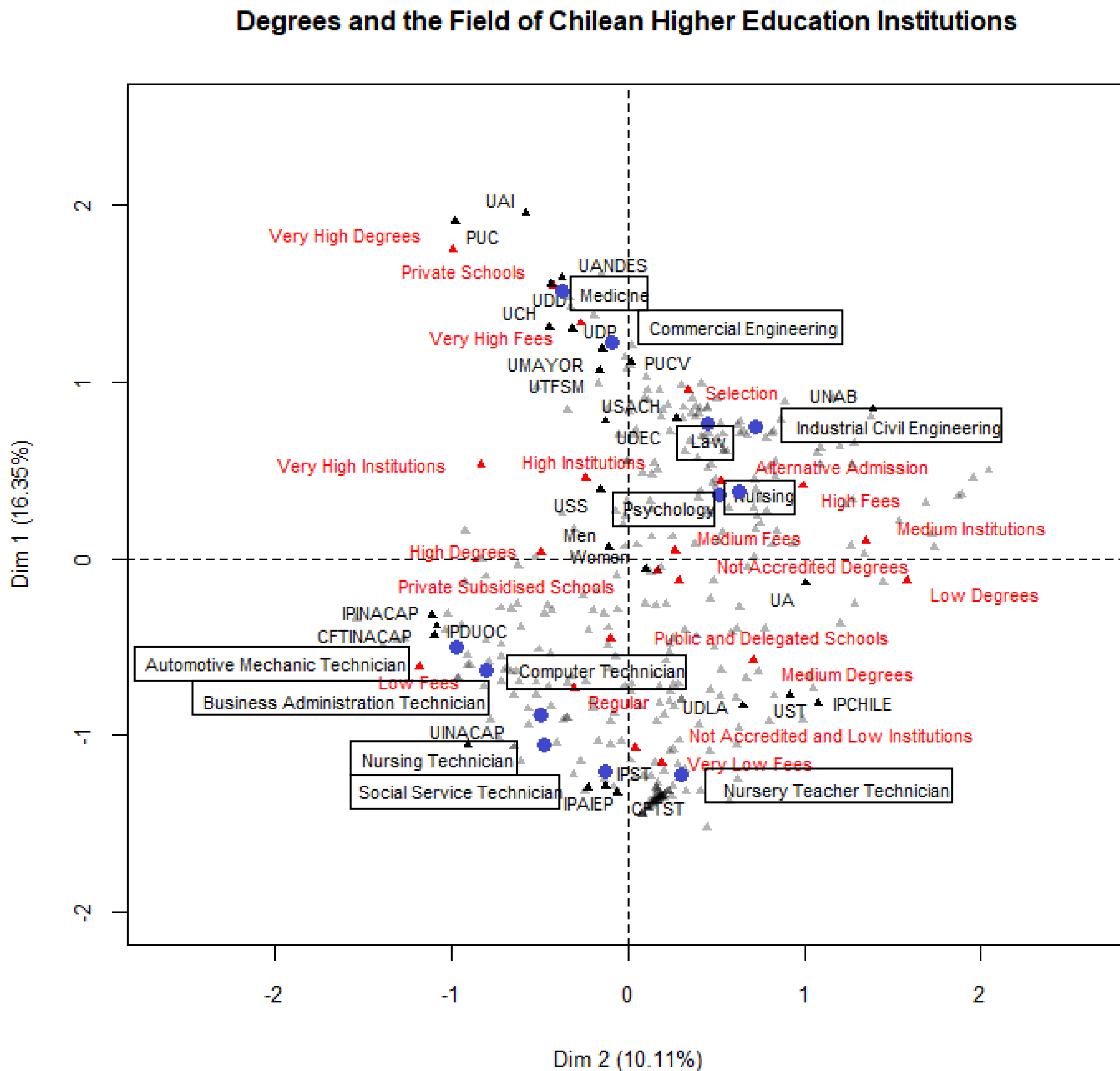
This section explores the relationship between the field of institutions of higher education, the degrees that students pursue and the labour market. The aim is to examine where some selected degree programmes are positioned in the constructed space to then establish an association between those positions and the rewards they receive in the labour marketplace. This will give us a broad idea of how the different positions that institutions, degrees and students take in the field are then materialised in differentiated rewards. Put differently, this will allow us to shed light – at least to some extent – on the theoretical *homology* between the field of higher education and the labour market.

Twelve different degree programmes which in 2017 presented a large number of enrolled students and which were located in different zones of the field were selected for the analysis: Medicine, Industrial Civil Engineering, Law, Commercial Engineering, Nursing, Psychology, Automotive Mechanic Technician, Business Administration Technician, Computer Technician, Nursing Technician, Social Service Technician and Nursery Teacher Technician. In particular, Medicine, Law and Commercial Engineering were included since they are deemed among the most prestigious credentials of the country (PNUD, 2017). Figure 5.4 shows the relative positions that the selected degrees occupy in the field of institutions of higher education.

As can be observed from Figure 5.4, Medicine and Commercial Engineering, two of the most prestigious degrees of the country, are positioned towards the upper-left zone of the space. This region of the field, we should remember, is characterised by the prevalence of selective degrees (i.e. cultural capital), which present very high levels of accreditation (i.e. symbolic capital) and whose costs tend to be very high (i.e. economic capital). Furthermore, students in this zone of the field often come from private schools, the most privileged establishments of the country. To make sense of the latter, we can observe the case of Medicine, the degree located in the furthest zone towards the upper-left corner of the field. In our sample, 53.6 per cent of the students enrolled in this degree belonged to private schools, while 33.9 per cent and only 12.4 per cent belonged to private subsidised schools and public and delegated establishments, respectively. Even more striking are the proportions of medical students who came from private schools in the institutions located in the most dominant positions of the field: 76.3 per cent in the case of *Pontificia Universidad Católica* (PUC), 92.9 per cent in the case of *Universidad del Desarrollo* (UDD) and 93 per cent in the case of *Universidad de los Andes* (UANDES)[33]. These figures speak by itself of the exclusivity and elitist character of this degree in these particular universities as well as they allow us to have an idea about the relationships between the positions of the degrees in the field and the position that graduates may occupy in the social space.

[33] Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez does not offer the degree of medicine.

Figure 5.4: Selected degrees in the Field of Institutions of Higher Education (2017)



Source: Own elaboration with data from Ministry of Education, 2017.

* All those institutions that occupy the most dominant positions in the field (cluster 1) have been labelled, as well as all the institutions of higher education that in 2017 had an enrolment above 20,000 students.

Additionally, Figure 5.4 shows a clear division between academic (upper zone) and vocational degrees (lower zone). Indeed, along with Medicine and Commercial Engineering, each of the other selected degrees taught exclusively by universities (i.e. Law, Industrial Civil Engineering, Nursing and Psychology) are located in the upper zone of the field. Contrarily, the six vocational degrees selected for the analysis (i.e. Automotive Mechanic Technician, Business Administration Technician, Computer Technician, Nursing Technician, Social Service Technician and Nursery Teacher Technician) are positioned in the dominated zone where, in general, the economic and academic requirement to get in are lower. In the case of these degrees, furthermore, the proportion of students who came from either public and delegated schools or private subsidised

establishments is always above 95 per cent, while the proportion of pupils who belonged to private schools was remarkably low. For example, in the case of the two degrees which are located at the bottom of the space, Nursery Teacher Technician and Social Service Technician, only 0.9 and 0.8 per cent of their students, respectively, belonged to private schools. This indicates that there is a close relationship between the social composition of degrees and the positions they take in the field.

The question arises as to how these differences, that, as we have seen, are socially founded, are then materialised in the labour market. This is important since it would allow us to grasp how the positions students take in the higher education field are then converted into positions in the labour marketplace. Table 5.1 presents information about the gross average income that graduates from the selected degrees earn at different times of their careers after finished their studies. In particular, the two first columns (i.e. 'First Year' and 'Fifth Year') refer to the gross average monthly income in the first and in the fifth year after graduation; while the other two columns (i.e. 'Lower 10% 5th Year' and 'Upper 10% 5th Year') present the gross average monthly income that the 10 per cent of graduates with the lowest incomes, and the 10 per cent with the highest incomes, earn in the fifth year after graduation.

Broadly speaking, it can be observed in Table 5.1 – which has been organised hierarchically according to the positions that the degrees take in the space – that there are important differences between the incomes associated to the diplomas located in the upper zone of the field and those located in the lower regions. For instance, looking at the extremes (i.e. top and bottom of the constructed space and Table 5.1), there is a huge disparity between the incomes of those graduates from Medicine who, after five years from graduation, reached a gross average monthly income of £3,534 and those graduated from Nursery Teacher Technician who, after five years, reached a gross average monthly income of £516, £509 or £489, depending on the type of institution they attended. Although these differences are not an unexpected revelation, what is interesting to note is that between the two extremes a sort of income stratification associated with the positions that the degrees take in the field is formed. The trend indicates that the higher the position that a degree takes in the field, the greater the income to which they give access to in the labour market. This does not mean that potential incomes associated with a particular degree are unaffected by other factors and strategies. We can observe, for example, significant gaps between the gross average monthly incomes of the lowest ten percent for those graduates who are in the fifth year after graduation and the upper ten percent. Although the data do not allow making conclusions in this respect, we can hypothesize that there are individuals' properties, such as social capital or some factors associated to their identities

(typically, gender or ethnicity, although we may find others), which may explain some of these differences.

Table 5.1: Gross average monthly income for the 1st and 5th year after graduation and for the lower and upper 10 per cent of incomes in the 5th year after graduation*

		First Year	Fifth Year	Lower 10% 5th Year	Upper 10% 5th Year
Medicine	University	£2,383	£3,534	£1,373	£5,955
	Professional Institute	-	-	-	-
	Technical Training Centre	-	-	-	-
Industrial Civil Engineering	University	£1,781	£2,824	£1,010	£4,817
	Professional Institute	-	-	-	-
	Technical Training Centre	-	-	-	-
Law	University	£1,318	£2,363	£806	£4,023
	Professional Institute	-	-	-	-
	Technical Training Centre	-	-	-	-
Commercial Engineering	University	£1,365	£2,302	£746	£3,950
	Professional Institute	-	-	-	-
	Technical Training Centre	-	-	-	-
Nursing	University	£1,174	£1,747	£1,050	£2,416
	Professional Institute	-	-	-	-
	Technical Training Centre	-	-	-	-
Psychology	University	£820	£1,284	£601	£1,994
	Professional Institute	-	-	-	-
	Technical Training Centre	-	-	-	-
Automotive Mechanic Technician	University	£1,014	£1,415	£398	£2,213
	Professional Institute	£659	£976	£487	£1,556
	Technical Training Centre	£764	£1,123	£453	£1,875
Computer Technician	University	£783	£1,111	£472	£1,875
	Professional Institute	£756	£1,062	£460	£1,923
	Technical Training Centre	£747	£1,085	£477	£1,875
Business Administration Technician	University	£1,100	£1,167	£486	£2,011
	Professional Institute	£799	£1,048	£450	£1,744
	Technical Training Centre	£758	£1,068	£459	£1,758
Nursing Technician	University	£551	£836	£409	£932
	Professional Institute	£557	£775	£413	£981
	Technical Training Centre	£565	£700	£429	£1,019
Social Service Technician	University	-	-	-	-
	Professional Institute	£568	£770	£386	£1,293
	Technical Training Centre	£571	£621	£367	£931
Nursery Teacher Technician	University	£450	£516	£365	£849
	Professional Institute	£449	£509	£356	£705
	Technical Training Centre	£419	£489	£345	£687

Source: Own elaboration with data from SIES, 2017.

* Data refers to September 2017. The conversion from Chilean Pesos to Pounds has been made considering the exchange rate for the 1st of September of 2017 calculated by the Central Bank of Chile.

On the other hand, we may raise the point that there is also an association between the institutions that grant the diploma and the rewards that the graduates from those institutions then receive in the labour market. In fact, the positions of the institutions are quite aligned with the position of the degrees. Overall, therefore, one of the most significant points that can be derived from the analysis – acknowledging the limits of the data – is that the location of the degrees, institutions and individuals in the constructed space tends to coincide with the rewards to which those degrees give access to in the labour market.

6. Conclusion

This first analytical chapter has explored the objective structures of the Chilean field of higher education institutions. In so doing, the relationships between diverse properties associated with different types of capital (i.e. economic, cultural and symbolic) were established. Broadly speaking, the capitals structuring the space gave place to notable structural oppositions which divide the field, on the one hand, vertically according to distinct levels of cultural and economic capital; and horizontally according to different levels of symbolic capital. Starting from here, the most relevant struggles and stakes underpinning the field were examined. Crucially, the transformations produced by the process of neoliberalisation of higher education in the last few decades have importantly affected the structure of the field. Doubtless, the emergence of new private institutions has played a fundamental role in this process. Indeed, some of these establishments are in the most dominant positions within the field, challenging the historically most reputed universities; while some private conglomerates, drawing on market logic, have strategically positioned in different regions of the space, particularly in the lower zones, colonising what can be understood as new quasi markets. Overall, the structure of the field, which includes the positions that institutions, degrees and students take within it, tend to be aligned with the rewards to which graduates from its different regions have access to in the labour market.

The field of higher education institutions should be understood as the 'field of possibles' towards which students, in the transition from the school to higher education, form their aspirations. In other words, the structures of the field just examined to a great extent help to delimit pupils' conditions of possibility in the process of transition and higher education choice. The question arises as to how students, located in different regions of the social space, face this process and how choices and decisions are made. The next chapter address the subjective dimension which involves the process of transition from the school to a new stage.

CHAPTER SIX

Social class and aspirations towards higher education

This chapter focuses on exploring the subjective aspirations – how they are formed, shaped and reinforced – of those pupils who are facing the process of transition from the school to a new stage, whether the labour market, higher education or any other future they envisage as desirable. The spotlight, however, will be on higher education. This attention has not been arbitrarily decided but, on the contrary, most of the respondents spontaneously displayed their intentions of going to higher education once they finished school. Pupils, in general, see it as the next step in their trajectories. Nonetheless, this transition is full of social distinctions.

Social class is the main dimension according to which students' aspirations will be distinguished. For this reason, the sample has been divided into three theoretical classes: the dominant, the intermediate and the dominated classes (see Chapter Four). Although it is acknowledged that these classes are not internally homogeneous, the focus here will be on inter-class differences.

The chapter has been divided into three sections. It starts with those students who belong to the dominant class. Then, it follows with those pupils who occupy the intermediate positions. And finally, those students who are located in the dominated locations are addressed.

1. Going into university: the natural pathway of the dominant

The natural pathway for those students from families located in the dominant positions of Chilean social space is the passage from the school to university. In general, pupils' aspirations are to get a place in higher education and, particularly, in university. This is what they desire and this is what they expect. As Ball et al. (2002) put it, the decision is a non-decision. Everything around their lives routs them towards this goal. Parents, relatives, friends and the school compound a network, wealthy in capitals, which serves to frame, shape and reinforce their coming decisions. Parents, as the first agents of socialisation and the main source of 'emotional capital' (Reay, 2000, 2004a; Ball, 2003), play a crucial role in this process. Lucas at Peñalolén private school exemplifies this condition well. Both of his parents are lawyers from the same prestigious university where Lucas is planning to pursue a degree in history. Throughout his life, both parents have actively encouraged him to continue his studies in this institution and he fully trusts in their advice:

> Yes, I trust in them [parents] because both finished higher education and both have a circle of close friends who all of them finished higher education (...) I trust in their

> judgments because they are my parents and I feel that the decisions they have made in their lives are the right ones, and they have taken them where they are today. (Lucas, Private School, Peñalolén)

Such as in Lucas' case, the interviews reveal that pupils' parents and most of their relatives – old and new generations – have successfully experienced higher education; most of their peers and friends share similar ambitions; while the schools prepare them to accomplish their educational desires. The entire social microcosm that pupils inhabit underpins their aspirations. Thereby, the alternatives they foresee as likely points of arrival in the near future, that is, the *horizon of potentialities* where their intentionality is directed, is completely oriented towards universities instead of professional institutes or technical training centres.

In general, such as others researchers have shown (Paulus et al., 2010; Orellana et al., 2017), pupils' higher education choice begins with the definition of an area of study, then with the determination of a degree, and finally with the selection of an institution, a process which is mediated by pupils' school achievement. The question about how students' degree aspirations are shaped, however, is extremely complex, and there is not a single factor we can track to fully understand this process (see Archer et al., 2012). It is, perhaps, for this reason, that students assert that among the main elements shaping their degree aspirations are their personal tastes, which are directly connected to their multiple biographical experiences. Indeed, most of them associate their ambitions with what they like and the subjects they have enjoyed during school.

However, while the latter is true, pupils' degree preferences are also moulded by their class position. Although this condition tends to remain hidden, it can be unveiled through the examination of particular 'micro practices of boundary work' (Lamont et al., 2014: 587) in everyday life. These practices play an important role in *reinforcing* and *channelling* students' aspirations. Sometimes they are roughly and overtly exercised (i.e. active transmission) while on other occasions, they are imperceptibly and unconsciously exerted by pupils' significant others (i.e. passive transmission). Joaquín, for instance, is a boy at Vitacura private school, one of the most elite educational establishments of the country which is located at the heart of the *barrio alto* (Méndez and Gayo, 2019). His mother, who studied physical education, works in the implementation of spiritual retreats, while his father, a forestry engineer and former manager in a forestry company, has launched his own firm in the forestry industry. According to Joaquín, his father – who, in Joaquín's eyes, represents the perfect image of a hard-working entrepreneur – has been the most significant person in the making of his degree choice, commercial engineering:

> Well, my father, because I have had … I always ask him how the firm works, I'm very interested in the phone calls he makes, how he makes businesses (…) how he investigates, how he manages contracts … I have helped him to prepare

> presentations, in the sense that he can also be updated; I also help him to be updated. (Joaquín, Private School, Vitacura)

Doubtless, the emotional ties, the positive image that Joaquín holds of his father, and the attractiveness that for him represents the world in which the latter is immersed have been very influential in shaping Joaquín's aspirations. Nonetheless, at some point of his educational trajectory, Joaquín thought about the alternative of studying physical education. It was in these circumstances when active micro practices to channel pupils' decisions were put in action:

> I left [the idea of studying] physical education because is like ... the degree doesn't request so much [a high academic achievement]; and I received like a warning from my parents, like: 'Don't wish this because you can do better'. So, I saw that I could make more things and now I want commercial [engineering]. (Joaquín, Private School, Vitacura)

Joaquín example shows how *micro practices of channelling* can become crucial in shaping students' aspirations when they go astray from the expected pathway. These types of recommendations ('don't wish this because you can do better') that parents from the privileged class can actively deliver to their children during their educational trajectories are internalised by students, which serve to configure dispositions which boosts the possibility of choosing those degrees better rewarded and, thereby, more adjusted to their positions in social space ('so, I saw that I could make more things and now I want commercial [engineering]'). These types of practices operate by channelling children's aspirations towards those degrees which are more valued in the labour market and securing, as best as possible, children's future social positions.

The process of reinforcing aspirations can also be seen in the case of Domingo, another boy from Vitacura private school. Domingo, whose parents are both engineers from traditional universities, reconstructs how he came to the idea of studying law in a prestigious university:

> (…) and I remember that once, when I was a child, I was talking with my grandfather – and these are stories they tell me and I don't know how real they are, but they tell me that I was smart when I was a child – and in the end, I was talking to my grandfather, and he ended up telling me, and I remember this: 'Maybe, when you're older, you are going to be a lawyer, because you explain yourself very well'. And from there onwards, I got the idea. (Domingo, Private School, Vitacura)

Domingo's account of the formation of his ambitions illustrates another way in which micro practices in everyday life, in this case in the form of what can be named 'typification and categorization' (Atkinson, 2016: 55), are exerted by significant others. Indeed, Domingo's account of his grandfather telling him his destiny, as if his grandfather was writing beforehand the fate of his grandson, is another good example of how micro practices, this time in the frame of passive transmission, help to reinforce the aspirations of those children located in the

dominant region of social space. Thus, the image of Domingo's grandfather revealing to him his future becomes the perfect image for Domingo to create, years after, a self-fulfilling prophecy. Micro practices of this type, therefore, particularly those exerted by family members, help to construct 'identification' and 'self-identification' (Lamont et al., 2014: 15), that is, a sense of belonging to a specific group, which in the long run serves to channel and reinforce students' aspirations towards particular degrees and institutions. Likewise, Domingo's assertion about his family telling him that 'I [he] was smart when I [he] was a child', gives an account of other forms of passive transmission which works in benefit of children's aspirations and schemes of actions. This kind of pedagogical work illustrates how families in dominant class reinforce, in a subtle way, children's self-esteem and self-confidence which facilitate and encourage pupils' future choices and decisions.

But not only parents and relatives may play a significant role in channelling and reinforcing pupils' aspirations. Similarly, the milieu where students exert their practices also plays an important part in this process. Isabel, for instance, is a top achieving student at Vitacura private school. Her aspiration is to study civil engineering at a prestigious university. However, at some point, such as Joaquín, she thought about other alternatives:

> (…) for a long time, I had the idea of studying to be a primary education teacher, something like that, or even to be a nursery teacher. But, what happened, it was that sometimes I received comments from some of my classmates. More than one time they told me: 'How are you going to study that if you can do better?', like if they were bad degrees, so to speak, and like if I should study something like better (Isabel, Private School, Vitacura)

Interaction with peers and friends becomes fundamental in channelling students' ambitions. As Reay et al. (2001) point out, the peer group may have a 'steering effect' on pupils' choices which influence them to make, as Brooks (2003) put it, a 'feasible' choice. Although none of these practices should be regarded, in the end, as determinants of pupils' choices, they do play a role in activating, reinforcing or discouraging pupils' dispositions towards certain degrees. These actions, hence, can be regarded among those which trigger 'self-selection' (Bourdieu, 2000b: 164) towards those more valued diplomas. In this sense, it is not surprising that all the interviewees at Vitacura private school, one of the most elite schools of the country, were thinking of applying to traditional degrees, such as medicine, engineering or law, the most socially appreciated and well rewarded credentials in Chile (PNUD, 2017). This condition not only demonstrates pupils' practical knowledge of the 'structure of professions' and 'hierarchies of a career' (Ball, 2003: 84) but also how the transference of symbolic mastery from one generation to the next is materialised in 'right decisions' once the time comes to choose. The act

of choosing the 'right' degree, therefore, can be considered as one of the ways in which the members of the dominant class ensure the preservation of their positions in the social space.

Aspirations, however, are also influenced by other factors which make the grasping of the process of choice more complex. Gender is one of those elements. Indeed, everyday life micro practices can contribute to reinforce and channel aspirations according to gender social divisions. As some female pupils' experiences shows – and this goes beyond this particular class – the process of choice may turn more difficult when the subject and areas of study to which girls aspire are those historically recognised as 'male disciplines'. Isabel for instance, who likes maths and, as we already saw, aspires to study engineering, points out some gender barriers she has encountered during her schooling trajectory:

> For example, in the main school elective, we are five women – in the maths elective – and there are like eighteen men, something like that. And in general, in all the electives I took, we were very few women. In fact, I took economics and we were three women and there were like twenty-five men, something like that; and the three of us left it, because, to me, the first class I didn't like it anything, and besides it, they immediately told us: 'You have to make work groups', and nobody [any boy] wanted to be with us [the three girls]. (Isabel, Private School, Vitacura)

Both the objective conditions in which Isabel makes her decisions ('we were very few women') and everyday practices in the school field ('nobody [any boy] wanted to be with us'), help to reinforce the 'cultural arbitrary' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu, 2001), that is, the prevalent idea that some disciplines are 'men subjects' while others are 'women disciplines'. This condition does not entail that Isabel has discarded the subjects and degrees she likes, but certainly, the process of making choices become more troublesome.

When the question is about the institutions, in general, the students from the dominant class regard two universities as the ideal establishments to get in: *Pontificia Universidad Católica* and *Universidad de Chile*. The horizon of potentialities of the young members of this class starts by these two universities. Top achievers, in particular, are those who see them as the most suitable establishments to get in. Pedro and Florencia, both students who have obtained high grades during their secondary school and aspire to study medicine, are good examples of this condition:

> My first option is to study in *Universidad Católica* and my second option would be *Universidad de Chile*. I already analysed it and, really, I want to get into one of these two universities, I don't want another. For this reason, if I don't get it, I have decided to wait one more year and enter the next one. I won't go to another university. (Pedro, Private School, Huechuraba)

> I mean, I have always wanted to study in a university like *la Católica* or *la Chile*. (Florencia, Private School, Vitacura)

These two quotations are fairly representative of this specific group. Indeed, they are confident that they are well placed to choose what they think is better for them. As Florencia states, 'One always wants to aspire to the best'. That is the logic orienting this group. Nonetheless, among the most privileged pupils, high aspirations and self-selection are not only restricted to top achieving pupils. Middle and low achiever students also manage to choose 'what is best' for them. In other words, despite some academic constraints, they are able to adapt their aspirations without leaving the opportunity to reproduce their privileged social position. Within this process, the institution they select plays a fundamental role. Thus, there is an interaction between students' academic achievement and the process of choosing an institution. As Joaquín affirms, a middle-low achieving pupil, 'one always opts for the best'. Thereby, albeit middle and low achiever students' possibilities are more restricted, they still keep a sense of 'the rules of the game' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 99) and hierarchies of institutions (Ball et al., 2002) which enable them to be primarily attracted by the most prestigious establishments, and then mould their aspiration according to their objective possibilities. Joaquín himself points out:

> (…) what I have seen, being realist, considering my PSU test score, my NEM [secondary school grades] and what I have got so far, *Universidad Católica*, which is like the best, I'm not reaching it, it's very difficult, and *la Chile* neither. And my choice, the one that requests a more reasonable PSU test score, where I can opt to get in, is *la Adolfo* (…) it is comfortable, and I know that I will do well there, and I will get what I want. (Joaquín, Private School, Vitacura)

By adjusting their institution aspirations, middle and low achieving students can keep their degree ambitions and still find a 'comfortable' university to get in. The whole picture of the horizon of potentialities that this social group takes into consideration when they should make their higher education decisions begins to emerge more clearly here. Institutions such as *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez*, *Universidad de los Andes* and *Universidad del Desarrollo* – although not exclusively them – appear as potential possibilities. Students from Vitacura private school are, above all, those who more often mention them. Even the top achievers put them as the second, third or fourth option in the hypothetical case that their PSU test score is not enough to get into *Pontificia Universidad Católica*, which is frequently considered their best choice, or *Universidad de Chile.*

The three universities that, after *Pontificia Universidad Católica* and *Universidad de Chile,* often appear in the horizon of potentialities of the privileged students, as we saw in Chapter Five, are all private institutions which share the fact of being located either in or nearby the *barrio alto*. Privileged pupils, therefore, are disposed by the action of embodied forces – a sense of place (Méndez and Gayo, 2019) – to stay throughout their educational trajectories within the same geographical zone and, as a consequence, to share their everyday life experiences with other

youth coming from similar social backgrounds – a condition that in Latin America is not unique to Chile (see Gerardo Fuentes, 2017). As a result, similar values, practices and connections (i.e. social capital) can be reinforced by the establishment of *closed social circuits*, which generate a sort of social closure (Parkin, 1979) among the elite.

Paradoxically, students are conscious of this *educational class endogamy*, and in many cases, they evaluate it negatively. Here, individuals' embodied multiple dispositions (Lahire, 2011) appear in the scene. Isabel, for instance, fulfils the academic standards to access to either *Pontificia Universidad Católica* or *Universidad de Chile*. Although eventually, the PSU test could become an obstacle, in the end, she is confident she will be able to get the PSU test score she needs. On the basis of self-confidence and conviction, she points out that she would like to study either in '*la Católica*' or in '*la Chile*'. These two universities appear in Isabel's horizon of potentialities as feasible options, which makes it easier for her to discard other institutions. Thus, *barrio alto* universities, which she spontaneously mentions as part of her *horizon of reference*, are identified by Isabel as institutions that she would prefer not to attend. The essential point here is the reason she raises to explain her desires:

> I would like to be in a university with people who I don't share the same socioeconomic situation. And I'm sorry, but neither in *Universidad de los Andes* nor in *la del Desarrollo*, neither even in *la Adolfo*, which is very good in engineering, I feel that I could share with people who are like different. In this sense, people who are different than those who I'm used to in the school (…) what I would like is going to either *'la Católica'* or *'la Chile'*, which are like more diverse. (Isabel, Private School, Vitacura)

For Isabel, and not only for her but for other privileged pupils as well, diversity becomes a relevant factor in her higher education choice. Social diversity appears as a desirable condition, which may be understood as part of a 'much greater educational project' (James, 2015: 105). The transition from the school to university entails not only the beginning of a new educational stage but also is appreciated as the possibility to approach hitherto unknown social microcosms. It is the moment of leaving the safe world carefully cultivated by their parents to enter a universe that is beyond those limits. Diversity is desirable and is posed as a moral imperative. To some extent, privileged students' aspirations and choices are influenced by these types of imperatives.

Yet, although diversity is considered a valued aspect, when the conditions of possibility limit students' choices (e.g. when students' school grades are not high enough to access to the most prestigious universities), the *barrio alto* institutions tend to appear as safer establishments to get in. Indeed, for middle and low achievers, diversity is usually relegated to a second or third plane in order to safeguard those choices that best fit the desired future of these students. Their

horizon of potentialities, consequently, continues being limited to certain institutions and their range of choices remains safely among prefixed boundaries. Alonso's account is a good example to understand the apparently contradictory elements that form pupils' decisions. He is a middle achiever student from Vitacura private school, and although his ideal choice would be *Pontificia Universidad Católica*, given his insufficient grades during secondary school, he is thinking in the *barrio alto* universities:

> [I have seen] *la de los Andes*; I have thought in *la Adolfo* as well, but like, it doesn't attract me so much, because there are people who are, I don't know, I don't mean class-biased people, but people who are very upper class. Or *la del Desarrollo* as well. I mean, the idea of the experience [of university] is that they have to be diverse, that is the idea of the university [experience]. (Alonso, Private School, Vitacura)

This quotation is representative of the fact that diversity is a valued characteristic, at least in ideal terms. Diversity is understood as part of the 'university experience'. Nonetheless, none of the possibilities in which Alonso is thinking, in reality, complies with being a socially diverse institution in terms of what he understands by diversity. Thus, when he is asked whether the *Universidad de los Andes*, his first and more likely choice, fulfil with the criterion of being diverse, he answers:

> No, to be honest, not so much, but in academic terms it's good. (Alonso, Private School, Vitacura)

The contradictions involving Alonso's aspirations show that the process of definition in the transition from the school to higher education can be extremely complex. However, higher education aspirations and choices are fairly determined by pupils' practical knowledge and mastery of the field, both of which are highly associated with their position in social space.

2. Higher education as a necessity: the intermediate class and the road towards respect

An important part of the growth of higher education in the last few decades in the country can be explained by the entry of those pupils whose families belong to the intermediate groups (PNUD, 2017). Among the participants, many of those who belong to the intermediate class have either siblings or cousins who are the first generation of their families attending higher education or, eventually, they will be part of those who, for the first time, will get into it. In general, the interviews show that the aspirations of these students are to continue studying after school. The trend indicates, however, that the greater the volume of capital (economic and cultural) of pupils' families, the larger the attraction of students towards universities, at the expenses of professional institutes and technical training centres. However, this is not a rule, and the diversity of factors shaping students' subjective aspirations is particularly wide among these students.

While some pupils in this group associate their reasons to continue studying with the opportunity of developing their knowledge in the areas with which they feel attraction, others see the possibility of higher education rather as a sort of demand of society. Higher education for them would not be the natural pathway, as for those from the dominant class, but rather is appreciated as a socially founded need. Catalina, for instance, a girl at Maipú private subsidised school, affirms:

> (…) in the community in which we live and the society in which we live, they demand us to get a degree to satisfy ourselves, to have our head held high, so to speak. To have our career or whatever we want to study. And also, to have our salary as we deserve. (Catalina, Private Subsidised School, Maipú)

Crucially, Catalina stresses two key points: higher education is perceived as a social demand ('they demand us to get a degree'); and higher education is appreciated as a way to gain dignity ('to have our head held high'). Higher education, in other words, appears as a means for recognition. This perception is shared by Andrea, a student from an emblematic public school in Providencia, who understands that today to get a higher education diploma is not only a way to gain competitiveness within the labour market but it is also a way to be respected:

> Well, mainly because – and not only in Chile, in everywhere – it's difficult to get a job in which you will be respected without holding a degree, without a diploma. I think that this is the reason why almost everyone studies something, why they go to university, because without a degree you are not considered. (Andrea, Emblematic Public School, Providencia)

Higher education, therefore, is appreciated in two dimensions. It is perceived as a way 'to have our salary as we deserve' but also as a means to be 'considered' and 'respected'. The possibility of entering higher education, hence, does not only refer to people's chances of securing better material conditions of life and access to economic capital but, at the same time, is connected to symbolic valued properties in the social world. In this sense, the subjective appreciation of higher education as a need, more than being linked to two separate forms of struggle, using Fraser's analytical conceptualisation (1995, 2000; Fraser and Honneth, 2003), for redistribution (i.e. an economic dimension) and for recognition (i.e. a cultural dimension), is conceived by students in a way in which both appear intertwined. Indeed, from the interviewees' viewpoints, higher education becomes fundamental to secure social recognition in a broad sense. Here, processes of individualisation and social inclusion (Honneth, 2004), as two sides of the same coin, become fundamental. As Daniel at a public emblematic school in Providencia suggests, higher education serves to differentiate oneself from others (i.e. individualisation) as well as to prevent a condition likely to be subject to discrimination (i.e. inclusion):

> (…) after all, people say that if you don't study at university, you are just another pawn. And this is like super discriminatory ... I don't know, it's so discriminatory. If

> you are not in university, nor in an elite degree, you are nobody in society. Because it's not the same if I studied something in comparison to a guy who didn't do it. The guy who didn't study, people think that they can do whatever with him, and with the guy who studied they think that they can't do it because he studied. (Daniel, Emblematic Public School, Providencia)

Daniel's reflections are underpinned by the idea that recognition is the main issue at stake when the question is about the possibility of entering higher education. 'If you are not in university, nor in an elite degree, you are nobody in society' says Daniel, a statement which summarised well the belief that higher education transcends the economic distributive sphere to be placed within a broader dimension which encompasses material and symbolic properties. Likewise, for Cristóbal, a boy at Lampa public school, continuing studying in higher education is associated with the possibility of 'emerging as a person', that is, as a way of *human flourishing*. When he is asked why this is so, he explains:

> Because I think that this [studying] is the only way you can be someone in life. (Cristóbal, Public School, Lampa)

Studying 'to be someone in life', summarises well the insights underpinning students' appreciations and discourses in this respect. This condition becomes one of the most striking aspects framing pupils' common sense located in the intermediate and below positions, and therefore, one of the main forms of misrecognition and symbolic violence associated to higher education.

Overall, several pupils in the intermediate class understand that the society in which they live has changed. The 'rules of the game' in which their parents grew up are not the same, and today they are required to get higher levels of education not only to prevent occupying a devalued economic position in the labour market but also to be respected and recognised. Catalina clearly accounts for this transformation from one generation to another:

> (…) like my father, he didn't study, but in spite of it, people didn't care. So, he got into the truck factory being seventeen years old, and even so, without studies, they accepted him. But now, they don't accept you if you haven't finished, at least, secondary education. (Catalina, Private Subsidised School, Maipú)

Accordingly, the new generations inhabit a transformed social world which brings about new expectations of social recognition in which higher education has turned crucial.

When the question is about the degrees that students from the intermediate class pursue, it is difficult to identify specific patterns of choice among the interviewees. Much as in the case of the pupils from the dominant class, personal tastes, in terms of the academic subjects with which they feel more affinity, are among the most important factors they mention. What they like in school is, so to speak, the starting point for defining their potential degree choices. Alongside

this, career prospects, in terms of future employability and incomes, are pointed out as relevant aspects to take into consideration. Parents' involvement, on the other hand, also plays a crucial role in the process of decision making. Although most of the students here evaluate that their parents do not have enough knowledge about higher education, parents' involvement may become, in some cases, critical in pupils' decisions. Parents, for instance, can push their children to change their choices when they are not what they expected. Pablo, for instance, a top achieving pupil at Santiago emblematic public school, has been persuaded by his parents to pursue a profitable and traditional degree. Thus, although in principle he was interested in studying theatrical acting, he explains that his parents disagreed with his desires and that now he is inclined to study law:

> I told them that I wanted to study acting, and they didn't take it very well. So, in the beginning, I was like very opposed to studying law. And recently, when I began to study for the PSU test, I deepened my knowledge in the area of law, and I liked it fair enough. (Pablo, Emblematic Public School, Santiago)

Pablo has decided to study law instead of an artistic discipline, which are the ones that really fascinate him. He argues that his aspirations and potential choices are mediated by economic factors, in terms of the profitability of the degree that he will finally choose. This idea, certainly, is a product of the conversations and negotiations he has maintained with his family. His plan, he explains, is to get a degree in law, which he and his parents consider a well-paid career, with the illusion of getting a good job position which will enable him to save up money to pursue, in the future, a degree closer to his personal taste:

> (...) what I want to do, I would like to continue studying. So, I need money. For that reason, first, I need a degree that helps me economically, and then I can see other degrees that I like more. For example, I like so much acting in comparison to reading the constitution, but if I choose acting I wouldn't earn much money like in litigation. (Pablo, Emblematic Public School, Santiago)

Pablo, given his noteworthy school achievement, has multiple alternatives open. His parents, who has been very influential in his school decisions and trajectory – in fact, if he is attending a prestigious emblematic public school is because his parents, and particularly his mother, encouraged him to apply and get into it – have played a fundamental role in shaping Pablo's aspirations towards higher education.

Unlike Pablo, Álvaro represents low school achievement. He studies in a private subsidised school located in Maipú and aspires to a vocational degree in gastronomy. Álvaro's father, a police officer who has made a successful and ascending career, is not satisfied with Álvaro's ambitions. Certainly, he would prefer that Álvaro chooses a more profitable diploma. Although Álvaro says that his father has not forced him to study what his father would like, that is, a university degree, there are particular ways in which Álvaro's father has put pressure on his

son. For instance, when Álvaro is asked if his parents can fund his higher education studies, he answers:

> They can, but my father told me that if this is not a university degree that he likes, he won't pay the one hundred per cent of the degree. He'll pay a percentage and I'll have to pay the rest. (Álvaro, Private Subsidised School, Maipú)

Although Álvaro seems to be decided to follow his aspirations, it is possible to argue that parents' *pushing* micro practices are not neutral in the process of decision making and Álvaro is still struggling with the decision. Some parents, as these examples illustrate, engage with their children's trajectories and decisions until the point of taking their children's higher education as a form of family investment. Remarkably, it speaks of families which understand higher education, above all, as a means to improve their children's future social positions, and pupils are pushed to struggle for this. This condition, moreover, may explain why some students in this class – if not all of them – are prone to experience higher education as a *need*.

In general, students in the intermediate class from families with greater volume of capital are keen to choose, in the first place, the two most reputed universities of the country, either *Universidad de Chile* or *Pontificia Universidad Católica*. Much as in the case of the members of the dominant class, these two institutions are the object of most pupils' ambitions. Among the reasons, prestige and academic excellence appear as the most valued aspects, while the accreditation is also regarded by students as an element to take into consideration. Besides the two most prestigious universities, pupils regard a group of institutions which, to some extent, vary in relation to those which are considered by the privileged youth. Their horizon of potentialities move to consider no longer the *barrio alto* universities – at least not with the same intensity – but a group of institutions which includes some traditional universities, such as *Universidad de Santiago*, *Universidad de Concepción* and *Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María*, and some new private establishment, such as *Universidad Diego Portales* and *Universidad Alberto Hurtado*. Beyond the specific institutions, what is remarkable here is the distinction between the horizons of potentialities of these students and the horizons of those pupils belonging to the most privileged social backgrounds. The question arises as to what triggers these distinctions. Here, economic factors and students' *position-taking* (Bourdieu, 2000b) arise as the main aspects which limit and channel pupils' choices.

First of all, the high cost of some institutions and degrees plays an important role when pupils should think about potential choices and discard others. At Puente Alto private subsidised school, for instance, Bárbara aspires to study a degree in physiotherapy in *Pontificia Universidad Católica*. Her real expectation, however, given her school achievement, is *Universidad Finis Terrae*, a new private university which requires lower school grades and PSU test scores. In her

process of making decisions, she has thought about *Universidad del Desarrollo,* a *barrio alto* university which she assess as a 'very good university'. Nonetheless, when she is asked about the importance of the cost of an institution in defining her potential choices, she asserts:

> B: Super important, I think, because there may be very good universities which are also very expensive, and in those situations, one discards the possibility of entering to that university.
> C: Has that happened to you?
> B: [With] *Universidad del Desarrollo* … which is private, and I found it very good because of all the benefit it has, but it's the most expensive one, it costs five million to study physiotherapy in there.
> (Bárbara, Private Subsidised School, Puente Alto)

Bárbara has discarded *Universidad del Desarrollo* from her options since its cost is higher than the cost her family can afford. Similarly, Pablo also highlights the relevance that the cost of some institutions has had in the definition of his potential choices:

> It's important, yes, because there are some universities that are very, very expensive, and one avoids choosing those universities because you can't pay them. (Pablo, Emblematic Public School, Santiago)

Economic capital, therefore, appears as a critical factor in the process of shaping students' subjective aspirations. Indeed, most of the pupils interviewed have an idea about the economic constraints that their parents face, which drives them to consider just those affordable institutions and discard, beforehand, the most expensive establishments. This is a first condition which, up to a point, illuminates the process by mean of which these students delimit their horizon of potentialities. Nonetheless, while this is true, most parents, pupils affirm, show themselves willing to strive to give her offspring the opportunity of studying. Diego at Puente Alto private subsidised school, for instance, a boy whose aspiration is to pursue a degree in geology in *Pontificia Universidad Católica*, although his real expectation, given his academic achievement, is to get into a degree in physiotherapy in another – not yet decided – university, points out:

> I thought that, maybe, due to economic issues, there would be some degrees that I wouldn't be able to access. But my parents made me very clear that they will be able to pay, wherever. They told me that if they have to endeavour, they will endeavour; if my sister wants to buy a house, [and] if my sister can't afford it … I mean, if I have to study, maybe my sister won't be able to buy her house while I'm studying, but I will study. They made me this clear. (Diego, Private Subsidised School, Puente Alto)

Similarly, Matías at Maipú private subsidised school, a boy who aspire to study civil industrial engineering either in *Universidad de Santiago* or *Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana*, points out:

> I know that my father will endeavour to pay it [higher education]. I'll have to have a job as well to help him. But it's not … they say that this doesn't complicate them that much. (Matías, Private Subsidised School, Maipú)

While parents understand that higher education is fundamental for the future of their children, pupils perceive that studying in higher education will entail the sacrifice and effort of every member of their families ('if they [parents] have to endeavour themselves, they will endeavour'; 'maybe my sister won't be able to buy her house while I'm studying'; 'I'll have to have a job as well to help him [father]'). Higher education choices, therefore, have to be negotiated considering the whole family system. In this process, every member of the family is involved and may be affected by the course of actions the family decides to take. Although in many cases the possibility of accessing state grants or the Tuition-free Higher Education Programme can be seen as an opportunity to finance higher education, on the way, several of the interviewees have realised that they are not eligible since their family socioeconomic conditions are just above the requirements to opt for these benefits. Students, hence, build their aspirations in a context crossed, on the one hand, by a sense of family economic constraints and, on the other hand, by almost unconditional parental support.

Alongside economic factors, many pupils point out that the values and ideologies towards which institutions seem to be more inclined, as well as institutions social characteristics, are fundamental aspects orienting their aspirations. Notably, this point is particularly emphasised by those students attending emblematic public schools, although not exclusively. These considerations, which are associated with the space of position-takings (Bourdieu, 2000b; Ferrare and Apple, 2015), generally serve to reinforce students' horizon of potentialities. Mario's account, at Santiago emblematic public school, brings some light on this point. Mario's parents both completed secondary school in a technical-professional school and after this none of them went to higher education. While his mother works as a children caregiver, his father has made a long career as a salesman in an industrial machinery company, which has helped Mario's family to have a somewhat stable economic situation. Mario, who has high grades in school, is likely to be part of those first-generation students entering university. He wants to pursue a degree in literature in *Universidad de Chile*, although, because he has been involved in some literature workshops where he has met some lecturers and students from *Universidad de los Andes*, he has thought about the possibility of applying to this *barrio alto* university. However, for him, this option presents some issues:

> Another programme structure that I like is the one from *Universidad de los Andes*, but my problem with this university, despite that I know some lecturers and people there, is that it's very ideologically biased, in the sense of religiosity and that kind of things. (Mario, Emblematic Public School, Santiago)

Mario shows some hesitations regarding *Universidad de los Andes* since he perceives it as ideologically distant from his values and principles. He then deepens in this idea:

> The ideological theme is that it's like too much Opus Dei, so to speak, they are Opus Dei, and in that sense, I don't know. (Mario, Emblematic Public School, Santiago)

This symbolic distance becomes essential in shaping Mario's aspirations. For him, *Universidad de Chile* fits his interests better. In contrast to *Universidad de los Andes*, he conceives it as a more plural and diverse institution which is more involved with the problems affecting society and, at the same time, is closer to the social microcosm he inhabits:

> First, I feel that [*Universidad de Chile*] is very intercultural. I mean, it has so much inclusion of people from different sectors, and I feel that diversity always helps us to comprehend better our environment. I also feel that is well connected with social problems, the same that this school. So, I like that, because I don't like to feel like in a bubble; like isolated from the world. And, on the other hand, it's like a sort of … it's like to think in this way: to study [first] in this school [emblematic public school] and after it in *la Chile*, is like … I feel like ... it sounds nice to say it. (Mario, Emblematic Public School, Santiago)

In a similar fashion, Sandra, a girl at an emblematic public school in Providencia, also shows some concerns regarding *Universidad de los Andes*:

> (…) it's not because I'm prejudiced with the religious theme, but I don't like that the establishment isn't secular, it has to be secular. And also, due to how they treat you, because (...) there is like discrimination in it and I don't like that. I like them to be plural, in a way that you can find people from every social class in university. (Sandra, Emblematic Public School, Providencia)

While Alejandro, a boy from another public emblematic school in Providencia, makes a similar point in relation to *Universidad del Desarrollo*, another *barrio alto* institution:

> I mean, the one to which I would never go is *Universidad del Desarrollo* (…) because, besides being private, I think that there is a social status there to which I don't belong to and I would feel uncomfortable there, I could say. (Alejandro, Emblematic Public School, Providencia)

As the previous cases illustrate, preventing situations which invoke feelings associated with being like a 'fish out of water' (Reay et al., 2009, 2010), influences pupils' aspirations. Even for the most prestigious universities, *Universidad de Chile* and *Pontificia Universidad Católica*, these elements can play an important role in youth definitions. Thus, while *Universidad de Chile* is often seen as a more diverse and secular institution, *Pontificia Universidad Católica* is appreciated as a more elite establishment which is oriented by religious tenets. Although these appreciations are not necessarily a rule among students, these notions are well embedded in some pupils' schemata of perception, particularly in those from emblematic public schools, though neither necessarily nor exclusively. These subjective perceptions, we may argue,

respond well to the opposite classifications which are in the roots of these institutions: secular/religious and public/private. To some degree, these oppositions play an important role in defining students' higher education choices, elements which interact with students' class positions.

Insofar as we move towards the lower zones of the social space, pupils' horizons of potentialities begin to notably change. Although some of these youth also aim to get into the two most prestigious institutions as well as other universities – although gradually the *barrio alto* institutions disappear from the horizon – more frequently pupils also aspire to professional institutes or technical training centres. There are even cases in which pupils' ambitions cover the whole range of types of institutions, a situation that is very uncommon among the interviewees from the intermediate class whose families hold greater volumes of capital, and unthinkable in those from the dominant class. Manuel, for instance, is a pupil whose family came from Peru when he was a child in search of new opportunities. His mother works as an elderly caregiver and his father is an independent manual worker. Manuel is attending a public school in Lo Prado, and, in a context in which economic and cultural capital is relatively low and his parents pressure him to pursue an economically profitable university degree, he is confused about his future. Although his goal is to study, he is considering several alternatives. He mentions dentistry (because of 'money, because they told me that is the most profitable degree, which gives you more job opportunities' but at the same time, he adds, 'actually, I don't even like it'); physical education (because 'I like physical education, because I'm always practicing sports, for that reason, I like it more than dentistry'); and a technical degree in electricity (because 'the same, only that in less years you can get a degree, money'). Similarly, Cristóbal, at Lampa public school, aspires to study civil industrial engineering either in *Universidad de Chile* or *Pontificia Universidad Católica*. Nevertheless, he perceives that this is fairly difficult because of his school achievement – neither low nor very high – and the high score required by the PSU test. For this reason, he is open to other options:

> Well, the idea, God willing, the main one, either in *Universidad de Chile* or *la Católica*. But if I can't get it, I'll go for *USACH* [*Universidad de Santiago*]. And if I can't, I'll go for an institute. If I don't get into the *USACH*, I'll go for an institute. (Cristóbal, Public School, Lampa)

Entering into an 'institute' instead of a university is raised, in Cristóbal's account, as a real possibility. He points out that if he cannot get into either *Universidad de Chile*, *Pontificia Universidad Católica* or, ultimately, *Universidad de Santiago,* which, he understands, are the suitable institutions because they would allow him to apply to the Tuition-free Higher Education Programme, he would be forced to opt for a technical degree. In fact, Cristóbal explains why there are no other possible universities for him:

> (...) a university, no, I haven't seen others. If things go wrong, I'll have to pay. And in this case, I would pay for *DUOC* or *INACAP*, something like that (…) because I think that a university is more expensive than an institute, it costs much more, and it would mean applying for a loan, which is very dangerous. For me, for example, I think that it can be very dangerous, because if I don't like [the degree] or things go wrong, I'll lose money, and this will be money that I'll owe. (Cristóbal, Public School, Lampa)

Economical capital becomes fundamental in defining Cristóbal's preferences. In the end, economic constraints limit his decisions and the alternative of applying to the government loan scheme is seen as a risky option. This is not to say, of course, that economic structures completely determine students' aspirations, but in many cases, when economic capital is limited, it becomes fundamental in narrowing pupils' choices. Certainly, this condition of uncertainty is not peculiar to Cristóbal but it becomes more common as we move towards the lower positions in social space. Mariana, for instance, studies at Lo Prado public school. Both of her parents completed secondary education and today they have stable job positions. Her mother is a cleaning supervisor in the metro company and her father is a machinery driver in a small firm. Despite this, their economic resources are not enough and Mariana has seen herself compelled to adjust her aspirations:

> I think that the degree I'm thinking to study is the cheapest one, and for us, it's still expensive, because I recently searched it, and it annually costs like two million and a half [Chilean pesos]. So, for this reason, I think that for now, I'm going to study a technical degree. (Mariana, Public School, Lo Prado)

Doubtless, the lack of economic capital narrows and constrains pupils' choices. In this condition, they see themselves forced to adjust their aspirations or find other alternatives. For example, a number of them think that they will need to work and study at the same time. Mariana, Camila and Arturo, among others, put themselves in this situation. They affirm that the option for them will be to find a job and contribute to pay higher education:

> I mean, my father wants to pay my university, but I … but I don't know whether they have enough money to pay it … I mean, he says: 'Yes, I would like to', but I'll say to him that I'll work. (Mariana, Public School, Lo Prado)

> I mean, in any case, I'll work to pay it, to fund myself. So, if they [universities and degrees] present a too expensive value, I won't be able to choose them, because my resources are limited. (Camila, Private Subsidised School, Puente Alto).

> (…) since my father is unemployed, I don't know if with my mother's salary will be enough. But, it's not the end of the world. I told her [my mother] that if she doesn't have enough money, I'll look for a job and I'll help her to pay it because it's not the idea to delay it one more year, because after me it's the turn of my sister (…) she doesn't have many years left in school, and she will go to university, she also has to pay it, so not … there is no excuses. If we need more money, I'll have to generate it to pay by myself. (Arturo, Public School, Lampa)

The latter passage exemplifies how students' constructions of aspirations and decision-making processes respond to a complex web of alternatives and restrictions which are materialised in strategies which involve, as we already saw above, each member of the family.

On the other hand, pupils' aspirations are importantly mediated by the knowledge and mastery that parents have over the field of higher education. Parents' experiences in the area, as research has shown (Reay, 1998a; Brooks, 2003), become essential in this process. Indeed, within the intermediate class, students from families with lower level of capital are prone to feel that their parents, although supportive, are not very helpful. In the case of Cristóbal, for instance, his mother finished secondary school and is currently working as a street vendor, while his father, who did not finish secondary education, works as part of a family business selling fruits and vegetables in a traditional market of the capital. Cristóbal's parents are separated and he currently lives with her mother and regularly visits his father. Although Cristóbal is positioned within the intermediate class, his family location is just in the frontier with the dominated group. When he is asked what his parents have told him about higher education, he explains:

> With my mother, we've talked a lot about the theme, but she doesn't help me so much, she just talks to me (…) [and] my father just supports me (Cristóbal, Public School, Lampa)

Cristóbal's parents engage in the process of choices, they support him, but the lack of experience and knowledge put them in a situation that Cristóbal considers not very helpful. Rosa, at Lo Prado public school, describes a similar situation. Her parents are not living together, and she lives with her mother. Rosa's mother studied in a professional institute and, according to her daughter, she was the only one in her family who got a higher education diploma. Rosa aspires to study law in a prestigious university and when she is asked about the knowledge and support given by her mother, she estimates:

> No, my mother doesn't know so much about that. She only questions me about where I want to study, and she says: 'Well, if you like that…' (Rosa, Public School, Lo Prado)

Although Rosa's mother went to higher education, the university sector is a region of the field that is unknown for her. For this reason, more than orienting her daughter's decisions, she engages with her through questions. Thus, most of the students who are part of the intermediate class but who are closer to the dominated zone must seek by themselves, without much help from their parents, the suitable institution to pursue their careers, as Mariana and Arturo accounts make clear:

> Yes, but they [parents] tell me that I must figure it out, they haven't done it. (Mariana, Public School, Lo Prado)

> I don't think they [parents] know so much about it [higher education]. They always tell me that I must figure it out and things like that. (Arturo, Public School, Lampa)

Higher education choices as we move to the lower zone of the social space are, therefore, increasingly made in a milieu marked by uncertainty.

3. An uncertain future: the dilemmas at the dominated positions

The aspirations of those pupils firmly positioned in the dominated region of social space are constructed in a context marked by even greater uncertainties and doubts regarding their future. Whilst the process of diploma inflation in the last few decades has resulted in an increase in the subjective need to enter higher education, the real expectations of most of the participants located at the bottom of Chilean social space are, in the end, largely influenced by the lack of different types of capital. Thus, while the great majority of the interviewees point out that they would like to continue studying in higher education once they have finished school, most of them see themselves next year struggling in the labour market to get a job instead. Although pupils regard that the latter condition would be temporary – one or two years, they estimate – it is likely that the structural constraints that make access to higher education difficult today will persist in the future. Victoria is a girl at Santiago technical professional school who has lived, from almost five years old, with her grandmother. During her childhood, she has lived, at separate times, with her aunt's family, her mother, and her father. Her mother, who did not finish secondary school, is currently unemployed, while her father, who did complete his school education, has an informal job as a furniture seller in an old and important street market of the city. With both parents, Victoria maintains a distant relationship, although, she clarifies, 'sometimes I see my father, and I don't see my mother much'. Additionally, Victoria has an 18 month old baby. Although she thinks that her little child has helped her to come back down to earth, being a mother and a student at the same time has certainly made her schooling process more difficult. In these circumstances, she states:

> So far, I would like to continue studying, but I can't, because I have to work, because I have a baby. I have a one and a half-year-old baby, so I would like to dedicate myself to work next year and enter a *preu* [pre-university institution]. And only after that, I'm going to study something. (Victoria, Technical-professional School, Santiago)

The necessity of taking care of her son – which may denote a gendered barrier – but also the evident lack of emotional capital, the restricted access to economic capital and her low school achievement, which, we should regard, is also the result of her fragile family system, configures an intricate situation for Victoria to get into higher education. In this context, her grandmother is reluctant about the idea of higher education and, applying her practical sense, has advised her granddaughter to finish as soon as possible the school in order to find a job:

> My grandmother, I mean, she doesn't tell me [anything about higher education], because the theme of the child is also complicated for her. I mean, for me is not complicated (…) So she wanted me to get in a ... how are they called? ... two years in one school … okay, in one of those [schools] she wanted me to get in with the aim that I finish soon the school and begin to work. (Victoria, Technical-professional School, Santiago)

In spite of it, Victoria persists with her aspirations. Unlike her grandmother, she understands that, today, to get a higher education degree can make a decisive difference for her future. Her aspirations, of course, are not the problem – she would like to pursue a technical degree in nursing – but rather the structural difficulties she faces given her limited access to different types of capital. Like Victoria, several students in the sample think that they, against their desires, will not be able to study in higher education immediately after school. Although no other respondents have a dependent child, most of them see their aspirations threatened by the kind of structural barriers before mentioned. Claudia also exemplifies this condition well. She lives in Lampa where she attends a public school. Claudia is currently living with her mother and an older brother, although sometimes an older half-brother sleeps at her home. None of them finished school. Her father left the house some time ago, even though, she clarifies, 'my parents were like separated, but still they lived together'. While her father completed primary education, her mother only reached the fourth grade of primary school. Currently, her mother sporadically works as a street vendor and her father has a post as a manual worker in a firm where he has kept the same position for almost fifteen years. There, Claudia points out, he 'neither rises nor falls in rank'. Despite her deprived family situation, Claudia is the only interviewee within this social group who aspires to get a university degree rather than a diploma from a professional institute or a technical training centre. Indeed, she would like to study a degree in environmental engineering in *Universidad Mayor*. However, she understands that this is a difficult goal. Thus, when Claudia is asked about her aspirations for the next year, she answers:

> Yes, work, work ... yes, to save up money. What happens is that my priority is to have a house. My priority is to have a place. And just after that, I could continue working and studying. Because, that I'm going to study, I'm going to study. (Claudia, Public School, Lampa)

Claudia has different aspirations and priorities in her life. Higher education is only one of them, but her most urgent project, she affirms, is getting her own house, which means not only to be in possession of her 'own place' ('I have never felt like in my own place, I have never felt comfortable in any place' she says) but it is also a way to overcome the condition of material and emotional deprivation in which she has lived.

Economic capital for those pupils positioned in the dominated region of social space becomes crucial in the process of transition from the school to a new stage. Most of the respondents in this class regard that the cost of degrees and the lack of money may be an impediment to continue through the educational pathway. This is the cases, to name a few, for: Valentina, who is currently studying in a technical-professional school in Santiago and would like to study a degree in psycho-pedagogy ('money is what sometimes prevent that people can study'); Juan, who aspires to become a football coach, although he does not know an institution that may grant this diploma ('I think that the biggest impediment is money'); and Daniela, who is decided to pursue an engineering in electricity and industrial automation ('I'm still thinking about money. There are people that can't afford their studies because of the same').

Additionally, several pupils, just like some of the students in the lower zone of the intermediate class, think that they should contribute to pay their studies. Miguel, for instance, a boy at San Joaquín technical-professional school, explains that his parents could pay part of his higher education, but he remarks that he will also help them:

> Yes, I think they [parents] would do it, which would demand a lot of effort from the three of us, more than anything. Because I'll not let them pay this alone. If I have the opportunity, I'll help them. (Miguel, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín)

In the context of families with scarce monetary resources, higher education becomes a new financial pressure which may destabilise the fragile family economy. Students, who experience this condition in everyday life, realise this. For this reason, they understand that the possibility of higher education entails the sacrifice of both parents and them. Thus, students show a practical sense and a sort of moral stance when faced with the dilemma of how to cost higher education. Julio, another pupil at San Joaquín technical-professional school, points out:

> (…) my parents don't have a lot of money to pay for my degree. And I think that if I pay my degree for myself, I'm going to put more effort than if they pay it for me. I don't like either to be of those … like those boys who are like: 'Dad, buy me this, buy me this other thing', no, I don't like it, I like to be more independent. (Julio, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín)

Remarkably, both personal endeavour ('which would require a lot of effort'; 'I'm going to put more effort') and individual responsibility ('I'll not let them pay this alone'; 'I like to be more independent') appear as central principles orienting pupils' dispositions. Unlike those who are in more affluent social positions, contributing to paying for their higher education becomes for several of the respondents not only an economic necessity but also a sort of moral duty. On the other hand, also framed in the meritocratic ideal of personal endeavour, some pupils refer to some other impediments they see to enter higher education. Here, some interviewees show themselves close to what Archer and Yamashita (2003) describe as a sense of their 'own limits',

at the same time that they 'blame themselves' for being 'not good enough' or, in our cases, 'too lazy' to get the grades they would need to reach the degrees to which they aspire to. Felipe is a student at Lo Prado public school. He lives alone with his mother, who did not finish secondary education and works informally as a street vendor. When Felipe is asked about the impediments he faces to reach the degree he would like to study, he points out:

> I'd say my low grades ... since I've never put that much effort, so to speak, in my homework. I've been too lazy. (Felipe, Public School, Lo Prado)

A similar discourse is displayed by Claudia, who also blames herself for being 'very lazy' to continue studying after school:

> I don't know, thinking about those factors and how I'm now, I don't think that I'll study [in higher education], because, the truth is that I'm very lazy. Well, I've always been lazy. But like ... I don't know, when I'm doing a math exercise, for example, if it doesn't work, I don't do it again, because I get frustrated and I don't do it. (Claudia, Public School, Lampa)

What triggers the 'blaming themselves' discourses is not only the need for students to justify their low academic achievement or, more concretely, the apparent impossibility of reaching their aspirations but also, and more deeply, neoliberal and meritocratic principles which are embedded in pupils' dispositions, which comprise both personal endeavour and individual responsibility (see Chapter 7).

The uncertainties in which pupils from the lower region of social space construct their aspiration certainly are not only economic. When students' relationships with their parents are closely examined, the way in which they address the future, and the kind of support parents are able to give to their children, we realise the huge gap that exists between this group and those in higher positions in social space. Thus, for instance, when students are asked to assess the knowledge their parents have about the higher education field, in general, respondents regard that their parents do not know much or nothing about it. Felipe, for instance, states:

> No, not so much. What happens is that … in my family, just one or two people have entered university. One of them was my sister, who entered and, because she gave birth to her third daughter, and she got ill – and the father worked as well – she couldn't ... my sister couldn't continue in university. The other one is a cousin, who also had entered higher education, but I don't know why she had to leave it. (Felipe, Public School, Lo Prado)

Most of the students, such as Felipe, belong to families where both parents and most relatives have not entered higher education or have had failed experiences. Students, therefore, in the process of transition are approaching an uncertain world which they address without much help and advice. Juan lives with his father because, according to him, he has a better economic situation than his mother. His parents have been separated for about ten years. His mother

finished primary education and works as a housemaid, while his father only reached the third grade of primary school and works in a small family business dedicated to buying and selling metals. When he is asked about the knowledge his parents have about higher education, Juan points out:

> No, I don't think that they know much [about higher education]. In fact, my mother tells me that I must figure it out how the things work, and after that, I should explain her and she may help me. She doesn't have much knowledge of the things. I'm a little bit alone in the world of higher education. (Juan, Technical-professional School, Santiago)

Crucially, the feeling of 'being alone in the world of higher education' sums up the emotional conditions in which students from the lower social backgrounds experience the transition from school to a new stage. Higher education is perceived mostly as an alien environment. This condition, we may regard, is in the roots of potential experiences of 'not fitting in' (Lehmann, 2009b; Reay et al., 2010) or being like a fish 'out of water'. Nonetheless, such as Lareau and Weininger (2008) have noted, to be 'alone' in this world does not mean that deprived pupils do not have the support of their parents. On the contrary, most of the students declare that they feel supported by both or at least one of them. However, this support is not accompanied by the transmission of practical and symbolic knowledge required to master the higher education field. Decisions and choices, in the end, mostly rest upon students' shoulders. Parents, hence, may play a supportive role, but their involvement is not translated into practical orientations and advice. This can be seen, for instance, when students are asked whether they have discussed with their parents the degree and institution to which they aspire. Silvia at the technical-professional school located in San Joaquín, states:

> Yes, but she [mother] is not very helpful, because she tells me that I must see this, that she doesn't decide for me. (Silvia, Technical-professional school, San Joaquín)

Similarly, Felipe at Lo Prado Public school says:

> C: And what does she [mother] tell you?
> F: Well, basically, that is my decision what to study and where.
> (Felipe, Public School, Lo Prado)

In other situations, pupils experience not only the lack of parents' practical knowledge but also the lack of emotional support, which certainly makes the process of choice even more uncertain. For instance, when Miguel is asked if he has addressed the possibility of higher education with his parents, he points out:

> M: No, I haven't addressed the theme with them…
> C: Not even if you are going to study or work?
> M: No. For the moment, my mother says that I do have to … well, that she would like that I continue studying. And with my father, I have never talked about it with

> him. I discuss it more with my mother. I have a good relationship with my mother, with my father I don't.
>
> (Miguel, Technical-professional school, San Joaquín)

However, most of the time, the problem is not that parents are not engaged with their children's future – as it seems to be the case of Miguel's father – but rather, they do not possess the symbolic and practical mastery to guide them within the field of higher education. This lack of 'feel for the game' – passed from one generation to another – becomes even more evident when pupils' horizons of potentialities are examined. Here, several students, although they have the intention of continuing in higher education, do not know where to do it and prefer to delay their decision:

> For now, I haven't thought about anything, because I prefer that the time comes and then act. I prefer this, instead of thinking on it before it happens, don't get it, and disappoint myself. (Julio, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín)

Certainly, pupils' lack of practical sense and knowledge about how the field works makes the process of choice more difficult. To a great extent, the state of uncertainty in which these students must construct their aspiration and their own ambivalences impede the possibility of *practical anticipations*. Miguel's reflections about which institutions he is looking for are telling in this point:

> M: I haven't thought about that. That thing got me a little bit trapped, I haven't thought which one.
> C: But do you have different options?
> M: I haven't even thought about that issue. It is like something that I want, but I don't know, I don't have time.
>
> (Miguel, Technical-professional school, San Joaquín)

The process of choice, however, is certainly part of a more intricate decision which also involves other factors. For instance, what Ball et al. term a 'kind of class aversion' (2002: 68). Silvia is a student at San Joaquín technical-professional school who is studying electricity. She is determined to enter higher education and, although her family's economic and material conditions are precarious, she affirms that she has 'everything planned' to fund her future studies. She is thinking of working and studying at the same time in order to pursue a degree in electricity and industrial automation either in *DUOC* or *INACAP,* two reputed professional institutes. When she is asked why she chose those establishments, Silvia answers:

> S: Because my brother studied there (joking among laughs). No, because I don't see myself at a university either.
> C: Why not?
> S: Because I think that I wouldn't like to be in a university. For me, that's where the most '*cuiquitos'* [posh people] go and I would prefer to go unnoticed in university instead of being seen always as a 'poor', as it's said.
> C: And do you think that this may happen at any university?

S: I think so, it always happens.

(Silvia, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín)

Preventing experiences of *stigmatisation* (Lamont et al., 2014) and 'not fitting in' appear as the main elements influencing Silvia's dispositions. Students in these cases, we may argue, have developed a 'sense of one's place' (Reay et al., 2005) and the idea that university is 'not for them' (Hutchings and Archer, 2001). Both aspects are important causes of self-exclusion and indicative of misrecognition and symbolic violence.

For most of the interviewees in the lowest positions of social space, however, higher education – and particularly, the university sector – appears as a rather distant and somewhat unknown field. This condition can entail students' feelings of discomfort and uneasiness. Bastián at San Joaquín technical-professional school, for instance, is studying electricity. However, as he affirms, he is not interested in this career anymore. He would like to study something related to arts ('I would like to continue studying, but something related to arts, because I really like art' he says) but he still has no clarity about which degree and in which institution ('I don't have any vision about that. I don't know much about degrees'). Bastián points out that his plan is to find a job and work for one or two years. He has thought this not only to save up money for his future studies but also because he needs to help his parents ('Like, to monetarily support my home. My father earns the minimum wage'). He lives with both of his parents and only his father has a remunerated job. When he is asked if he has discussed with them the possibility of studying in higher education, he points out:

B: No, I haven't discussed it. I don't talk about this kind of things with them [parents].
C: And don't they ask you either?
B: They ask me, but I avoid discussing this kind of things with them because I feel a little bit uncomfortable.
C: And what do they ask you, for example?
B: They start talking about if I would like to continue studying or if I will dedicate to work. I don't say … I avoid the topic, I change the theme.
C: Why do you avoid it?
B: Because it makes me feel uncomfortable. It's something that they have asked me from primary school, and I have never known how to answer it.

(Bastián, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín)

'It makes me feel uncomfortable' Bastián asserts. It is common that the condition of remoteness to the field, in which youth from the lowest zone of the social space must address the potential transition to higher education without having developed the 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1990: 66), triggers pupils' feelings of uneasiness, anxiety and discomfort.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the main aspects involving pupils' subjective aspirations towards higher education and the process of forming, shaping, and reinforcing them. Class differences are fundamental here. Pupils' positions in social space, in which their subjective appreciations, perceptions and system of dispositions (i.e. class habitus) are rooted, bring about crucial distinctions among students. Thereby, pupils from the dominant class face the process of transition from the school to higher education as their natural pathway. Everything around their lives is ordered to naturally incorporate a sense of 'what is best' for them and to make the 'right decisions'. Differently, students occupying intermediate positions mostly experience higher education as a demand of society. Recognition and respect are what is mainly at stake in these cases. Lastly, the experiences of those in the dominated position are marked by uncertainty. In contrast to those in dominant locations, the process of transition for them is not something given. Lack of capitals and the condition of remoteness to the field, to a large extent, explain situations of self-exclusion, uneasiness, anxiety and discomfort. These class differences, furthermore, interact with other elements which may also affect pupils' aspirations. This is the case, as we have seen above, of gender or some cultural values linked to the space of position-takings (e.g. religion and ideological stances).

To make sense of how reproduction is achieved, in the following chapter the interplay between the field of higher education institutions and pupils' subjective structures will be analysed considering the class distinctions already examined.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Structural interplay: from the field to subjectivities and vice versa

The two structures structuring students' conditions of possibility and subjective aspirations in the transition from the school to a new stage, particularly towards higher education, have been separately examined in Chapter Five and Six, respectively. On the one hand, the objective structures which delimit the positions and struggles of Chilean higher education institutions in a relational space; on the other hand, the mental structures which shape, enable and constrain students' aspirations towards higher education. This last chapter examines the interplay between both dimensions in order to grasp the process of social reproduction involving higher education.

To begin with, the first section examines the degree of correspondence between objective and mental structures. In so doing, students' aspirations, expectations and evaluations are juxtaposed with the structures of the field of higher education institutions in order to assess the structural homology between both dimensions. More concretely, this involves delving much further into the pupils' sense of the positions and properties of institutions relative to one another and to their own social location. The second section explores how diverse practices and strategies implemented by schools, higher education institutions and various institutional intermediaries help to shape and reinforce pupils' aspirations, and thereby, social reproduction. The final section delves into neoliberal dispositions and potential mismatches that may emerge between students' aspirations and their objective chances. The aim here is to examine situations in which potentialities for transformation are enunciated.

1. Higher education and the structural interplay: making sense of the reproduction process

The effectiveness of social reproduction, as was seen in Chapter One, lies in the process of concealment of the arbitrariness of the meanings that regulate a given social order. As Bourdieu emphasises, among the mechanisms of reproduction, 'the most important and best concealed is undoubtedly the dialectic of the objective chances and the agents' aspirations' (2010: 164). The latter brings us to the 'double reading' of social and cognitive structures as a condition to assess the extent of the correspondence between both dimensions. The closer this homology, the greater will be the effectiveness of the reproduction process. In other words, the correspondence between the order of things – in our case, the positions that higher education institutions occupy in the field – and individuals' perceptions, appreciations and dispositions –

that is, what triggers students' inclinations towards the field – is crucial to grasp social reproduction. This is so because the place that things take in the social world is not something naturally given but rather the product of historical labour. Thus, for instance, the hierarchy of higher education institutions and degrees in a particular social formation is not the result of the natural order of things but, quite the contrary, it is the consequence of the historically and socially founded order where those things are arranged.

In general, what can be observed when the objective positions of institutions and the subjective aspirations of students are assessed as two parallel overlapping dimensions is a relative correspondence between both domains. This means that interviewees' subjective aspirations towards higher education institutions to a large extent appear adjusted when the positions that the establishments occupy in the field and pupils' own position in the social space are juxtaposed. Indeed, students from the dominant class are prone to pursue a place mainly in the institutions located in the most dominant positions of the higher education field, while the pupils from the dominated class mainly aspire to institutions in lower regions. In the intermediate class, things are somewhat more diffuse since P*ontificia Universidad Católica* and, above all, *Universidad de Chile*, the oldest and more prestigious institutions attract several of the students' intentionality.

The mastery and knowledge of the field, furthermore, importantly vary between the students located in the two opposite extremes of the social space (i.e. top/bottom). The interviewees in the dominant class are notably more informed about universities – those institutions that tend to be located in the upper subspace of the field – than professional institutes or technical training centres – those located in the lower zone – as the following passages denote:

> Well, there are universities that … they have degrees which last more years, which grant professional diplomas, which are more … they receive a higher salary. And there are universities that are technical ones – I mean, I don't know if they are called universities, I think so, or institutes – in which the degrees last less time and the degrees are cheaper, and for that reason, they receive a lower remuneration too. (Isabel, Private School, Vitacura, Dominant Class)

> I know, for instance, that there are universities. There are the technical ones. There are the professional institutions; I don't know which the difference with the technical ones is, I don't know if they are the same … and that is what I know. (Francisca, Private School, Peñalolén, Dominant Class)

The pupils from the dominated class, on the contrary, not only aspire to institutions in lower regions but at the same time they show a considerable lack of practical knowledge about how the field works. When they are asked about their knowledge of the different types of Chilean higher education institutions, they typically answer:

> I don't know; I couldn't give you an answer. I'm not very involved in that theme to know more about higher education. (Silvia, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín, Dominated Class, San Joaquín)

> Very little … to be honest, I'm not very into institutions' subjects. I'm just trying to inform myself about two of them [institutions], just that. (Daniela, Technical-professional School, Santiago, Dominated Class)

> Basically, nothing (laughs) … no, the only thing that I know is about some degrees that there are in some [institutions], but I always forget them, and I confuse myself too. (Felipe, Public School, Lo Prado, Dominated Class).

While pupils' aspirations were regarded as the first dimension in the process of decision making, that is to say, students' less constrained desires towards the future, their real expectations were also assessed as a second relevant dimension. Basically, the latter refers to where in reality – when relevant factors and conditions of possibility (i.e. economic capital and school achievement) are taken into consideration – students think they will be able to get in once they finish school. Notably, the two dimensions, aspirations and expectations, do not necessarily coincide, although this does not undermine the relative structural homology between objective and cognitive structures. Put another way, in some cases, once pupils assess their conditions of possibility, they show themselves inclined to replace their aspired – ideal – institutions by expected – plausible – establishments which still occupy a relatively near position in the field of higher education institutions. The structural homology, therefore, continues to be somewhat stable.

In addition to pupils' aspirations and expectations, a third level of analysis was also assessed. Namely, the evaluation (Lamont, 2012; Lamont et al., 2014) that students make of higher education institutions. In this respect, pupils were asked during the interview – in line with other research (Ball et al., 2002; Brooks, 2003) – to construct a ranking of institutions in order to hierarchically position them. This process, which can be regarded as an exploratory exercise to understand some forms of categorisation (Boltanski and Thévenot, 1983; Lamont, 2012; Lamont et al., 2014) and codification (Atkinson, 2016, 2020), took into consideration only those institutions that pupils spontaneously mentioned. Thereby, the named institutions configure what we will understand as the *horizon of reference* of students, that is to say, the institutions that they are aware of. The factors pupils considered to make their evaluations, on the other hand, were also spontaneously raised by them and they were asked to identify them only after the construction of their rankings. The latter was done with the aim of keeping their *horizon of reference* and 'evaluative horizons' (Fraser and Honneth, 2003: 56; McNay, 2008a: 73) intact, that is, without introducing new components to their valuations.

Table 7.1 groups the most mentioned institutions in the students' constructed rankings by social class and ordered according to the position that institutions take in the field of higher education

institutions (dominant/dominated region) (see Chapter Five). Moreover, with the aim of having a more refined view, the intermediate class has been divided into two fractions – upper and lower – mainly according to the volume of capital of pupils' families.

Table 7.1: Most mentioned institutions* in the students' constructed ranking grouped by social class and ordered according to the position that institutions take in the Field of Higher Education Institutions (dominant/dominated)

Dominant class	Upper-Subspace (Dominant region of the field)	*Universidad de Chile; Pontificia Universidad Católica; Universidad Diego Portales; Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez; Universidad del Desarrollo; Universidad de los Andes; Universidad de Concepción; Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María; Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso; Universidad Mayor; Universidad de Santiago; Universidad de Talca; Universidad Austral de Chile; Universidad Finis Terrae; Universidad Andrés Bello.*
	Lower-Subspace (Dominated region of the field)	No mentions.
Upper-intermediate class	Upper-Subspace (Dominant region of the field)	*Universidad de Chile; Pontificia Universidad Católica; Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María; Universidad Diego Portales; Universidad del Desarrollo; Universidad de Concepción; Universidad de los Andes; Universidad Mayor; Universidad de Santiago; Universidad Alberto Hurtado; Universidad Andrés Bello.*
	Lower-Subspace (Dominated region of the field)	*Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación; Universidad Gabriela Mistral.*
Lower-intermediate class	Upper-Subspace (Dominant region of the field)	*Pontificia Universidad Católica; Universidad de Chile; Universidad Mayor; Universidad de Santiago; Universidad San Sebastián.*
	Lower-Subspace (Dominated region of the field)	*Universidad Santo Tomás; Instituto Profesional INACAP; Instituto Profesional DUOC; Instituto Profesional AIEP.*
Dominated class	Upper-Subspace (Dominant region of the field)	*Universidad de Chile; Pontificia Universidad Católica.*
	Lower-Subspace (Dominated region of the field)	*Universidad Central; Universidad Santo Tomás; Instituto Profesional DUOC; Instituto Profesional INACAP.*

Source: Own elaboration.

* The most mentioned institutions include all those institutions that have been mentioned by at least two different students. In other words, all those institutions that have at least two mentions.

Broadly speaking, there are three points that can be highlighted about students' constructed rankings and *horizons of reference*. First, the institutions that students mention importantly vary between social classes. Notably, pupils from the dominant class mention institutions located only in the dominant subspace of the field, a condition that gradually changes as we approach the lower classes. This makes more evident the structural homology previously established. Second, the number of institutions which pupils mention also varies between social groups.

Comparatively, pupils in the upper positions are able to refer to – and they are aware of – a larger number of institutions, although they are restricted to certain regions of the field. Ultimately, while, in general, the institutions that students mention vary according to the positions they take in the social space, there are two universities which mark an exception to this condition. Thus, most of the students, regardless of their position in the social space, place *Pontificia Universidad Católica* or *Universidad de Chile* as the two top institutions in their rankings, as the following excerpts exemplify:

> I'm not sure if either in the first or in the second place, but *Universidad de Chile* has to be there. In the end, it's the first one … well, wasn't created together with *Universidad Católica*? Both have long trajectories (…) they are universities that have high prestige. (Pedro, Private School, Huechuraba, Dominant Class)

> I think that, the unquestionable first one, it should be *la Catolica*; and the second one, *Universidad de Chile*. The other positions, I think, can be questioned, since *Universidad Católica* and *Universidad de Chile* are the most important ones in everything that one could study. (Maximiliano, Emblematic Public School, Providencia, Upper Intermediate Class)

> *Universidad Católica* would be like the top one because there are many '*cuicos*' [posh people] there … then, maybe, I'd put *Universidad de Chile*, then *USACH* [*Universidad de Santiago*], and then [*Universidad*] *Diego Portales* … and then I'd put *INACAP*. (Rosa, Public School, Lo Prado, Lower Intermediate Class)

> V: I don't know many of them [higher education institutions], so the only one that I know that it is supposedly the best one is *la Católica*. Like, it's above all the others. And the oldest ones, those that have been there for 20, 30 or 40 years.
> C: So, it would be *la Católica* first, and then…
> V: I don't know, I think that then those [institutions] that have more years, and then the institutes.
> (Victoria, Technical-professional School, Santiago, Dominated Class)

Remarkably, several of the students from the lowest positions in the social space, while not mentioning the oldest and most prestigious institutions – *Pontificia Universidad Católica* or *Universidad de Chile* – among their aspirations and expectations, still placed them in the highest positions of their rankings. This condition indicates that these institutions hold a 'paradigmatic value' (Boltanski and Thévenot, 1983: 644), which make them extendedly appreciated in the social world. Equally meaningful is the reason given by Rosa to place *Pontificia Universidad Católica* at the top of her ranking. She explains: '*Universidad Católica* would be like the top one because there are many '*cuicos*' [posh people] there'. This appreciation clearly shows how embodied categories of perception and appreciation reproduce the cultural arbitrary in which the culture of the dominant class is associated with what is socially worthy, which is constituted in contrast to the culture of the dominated group. This representation responds to the 'pathologisation' (Reay, 2006) of the subordinated groups and serves to perpetuate the arbitrary divisions governing the social world. As mentioned earlier, the effectiveness of social

reproduction lies in the concealment of the arbitrariness of the meanings that regulate the social order.

Crucially, although some of the students from the lowest social positions value and recognise these two institutions as the most prestigious establishments, they do not necessarily aspire to get into them. Silvia's aspirations, for instance, at San Joaquín technical-professional school, is to pursue a degree in engineering in *Instituto Profesional DUOC*, but at the same time she places *Pontificia Universidad Católica* at the top position of her ranking. When she is asked for her reasons for preferring the former over the latter establishment, she points out:

> I think that it's just because of personal taste … because I would like to go there [*DUOC*]. And there are a lot of people who go there as well, so … because the majority that finish in TP [technical-professional] schools go there. So, there you can find people that went to a TP [technical-professional] school, so, one can share ideas, different ideas. (Silvia, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín, Dominated Class)

While personal taste is presented by Silvia as the main reason to pursue a degree in *Instituto Profesional DUOC* instead of *Pontificia Universidad Católica* ('I think that it's just for personal taste'), the subjective motivations which trigger her desires emerge just after this first consideration ('So, there you can find people that were part of a TP school'). Thus, preferring an institution located in the dominated subspace of the field instead of an institution positioned in the dominant region – such as the case of *DUOC* instead of *Pontificia Universidad Católica* – responds, as Silvia acknowledge, to the fact that she estimates that it is in the former institution where she will be able to find 'others' like her. Silvia's inclinations, therefore, which appear as the result of her individual taste, are in the end underpinned by identity negotiations rooted in social and cultural factors. To speak of personal tastes, as an essential and naturally given characteristic, therefore, operates rather as a euphemistic form that conceals socially founded inclinations and dispositions. Crucially, this condition, when what is a stake are higher education choices, is a perfect example – although certainly, it is not the only one – to understand how individual's dispositions may trigger self-exclusion from the most reputed institutions while, by the same token, reinforcing segregation and the social reproduction of inequalities. Arguably, an important part of the process of class reproduction lies in this condition. Of course, it is also the case that Silvia's aspirations, which have been formed in a context of familial deprivation, are additionally underpinned by the lack of economic capital and dominant symbolic mastery to get into the most expensive and selective institutions. However, this does not undermine the fact that pupils' inclinations towards a particular group of institutions (i.e. to a particular *horizon*) are fundamental in the process of their definitions.

To a large extent, hence, understanding social reproduction in connection with higher education lies in the relative correspondence and the interplay between cognitive structures, which as

categories of perception and forms of classification take here the form of aspirations, expectations and evaluations towards higher education institutions; and objective structures, which refer in this case to the state of objective relations between higher education institutions. The relative homology between mental and objective structures can be explained by habitus, that is to say, by a system of embodied dispositions, which emerge as the product of the dialectic between the subjective and the objective domain. Thus, the different positions that students (and their families) occupy in the social space are vital in shaping and framing both the *horizon of potentialities* and the *horizon of reference* towards which pupils are oriented and attracted. As was seen in Chapter Six, parents and relatives play a fundamental role in this process. Significant others, through the transmission (or its absence) of practical knowledge grounded in their own practical experience in the field and the exercise of *active* and *passive* micro practices in everyday life, significantly help to either *channel*, *push* or *discourage* their children towards certain regions of the higher education field. The embodiment of the 'feel for the game', to a great extent, is the product of these practices and forms of transmission which are relevant elements within the process of family socialisation.

The field of higher education institutions, on the other hand, through its internal struggles, sets up the 'rules of the game' and the stakes and interests governing the field. The structure of the latter decisively affects individuals' perceptions and forms of appreciation. One of the clearest examples of the effects that the field has had on individuals' schemes of perception can be seen in the advent of the new private universities. Indeed, some of these institutions – which have been founded by particular fractions of the dominant class – have been able, in a few decades, to establish themselves as reference points for the members of the dominant class and, in particular, the elite of the country. As we already noted in Chapter Six, pupils and parents in the dominant positions cultivate the practical sense which makes them able to master the field and anticipate 'what is best' within the game in order to monopolise – at least ideally – the means of reproduction. Towards the lowest region of the social space, on the contrary, dominated institutions, particularly those most renowned and reputed massive professional institutes and some new private universities located in the dominated subspace, appear increasingly as the point of reference for students. Overall, the impact that the reconfigured structure of the field has had on agents' system of dispositions and, hence, in the whole educational mode of reproduction, confirms the effectiveness of the 1980s neoliberal higher education reform in the country after four decades from its implementation.

2. Exploring the 'school effect' and institutional intermediaries' influence on students' transitions

Certainly, family socialisation is the *sine qua non* in forming children's system of dispositions and future aspirations. However, socialisation not only rest on the family. Although the latter is the primary milieu where, to a great extent, the limits of the possible and desirable are fixed (Lahire, 2010), other agents also play a significant role in the process. As pointed out in Chapter One, many researchers have noted that the school is particularly important in shaping pupils' dispositions and tastes. This condition has given place to notions such as 'organisational habitus' (McDonough, 1997: 156), 'institutional habitus' (Reay, 1998a: 521; Reay et al., 2001: 1, 2005: 35; Ingram, 2009: 423) and 'school-specific doxa' (Atkinson, 2011: 342), all concepts that can be understood as an analytical framework which serves to explore and grasp the effect of the school *ethos* on students' perceptions, practices and aspirations. The 'school effect', therefore, is a crucial aspect to be considered when the question is about the process of forming pupils' aspirations towards higher education (Reay et al., 2001).

Laval et al. (2012), on the other hand, argue that economic capital, owed to the neoliberalisation of education, has become crucial in the intermediation of social relations in the educational sphere. Thus, in systems of education where the market, competition and privatisation have taken a primary role, economic capital has become central. The Chilean school system can be considered a paradigmatic case of this type. Indeed, a notable characteristic of the school field in the country is its high socioeconomic segregation, which has been fostered, in the last few decades, by several market-oriented mechanisms (Valenzuela et al., 2010, 2014; Elacqua, 2012). The result has been that the different types of schools – private, private subsidised, public and delegated establishments – have ended up attracting students from particular regions of the social space mainly according to the economic resources that families can spend on their children's education. Basically, the more money families can 'invest', the better the educational conditions to which students have access to. This, in turn, is reinforced by cultural factors that influence parents' choices. Thus, research shows that, in general, families from the intermediate sectors seek to differentiate themselves from the lower groups, insofar as they can afford it, by means of choosing either a subsidised private school or a private school at the expenses of public establishments (Canales et al., 2016); while families from the dominant class are prone to choose the most expensive and elite private schools (Gayo et al., 2019). The question arises as to how this condition of high segregation affects pupils' aspirations towards higher education.

The above condition has been accompanied, furthermore, by the emergence of various intermediaries between the school system and the higher education field, which have given place to new markets around the educational sphere. These 'market devices' (van Zanten,

2019), as we will see, have become important agents in the process of transition from the school to higher education which help to shape and reinforce pupils' aspirations towards higher education as well as to increase the distance between social groups. This condition, additionally, is strengthened by diverse higher education institutions' strategies oriented to target certain social groups in the decision-making process.

2.1. Schools, higher education institutions and intermediaries

When the interviewees were asked regarding the influence that they think their school have had on their aspirations and future higher education choices, in general, students from the different social groups were more inclined to talk of a rather low effect. However, after carefully analysing pupils' accounts, different elements indicate some effects as well as some important distinctions between establishments. Thus, for instance, most of the students from private institutions highlight specific school activities and curricular opportunities as an important source of stimulus for defining their potential choices. At Peñalolén private school, for instance, Francisca, who wants to pursue a degree in medicine, and José, who is considering a degree in literature, point out:

> I mean, I don't know if the school has had that much influence; but what they did, I think, it's that I have had here [in the school] the opportunity of taking science electives which have been good. (Francisca, Private School, Peñalolén, Dominant Class)

> Well, actually, by means of the school electives … they have helped me to rediscover all about literature. (José, Private School, Peñalolén, Dominant Class)

Similarly, Florencia, at Vitacura private school, also highlights the importance that the possibility of taking different school electives at her educational establishment has had on her aspirations:

> They have influenced me in the sense that … my school offer you many areas. They show you areas such as language, maths, arts, sports (...) and you choose the areas that you like, and the areas that call your attention. And also, they offer you, for instance, workshops, like extracurricular activities in which you can make your choices according to your tastes. And when you are older, in the third year [at secondary school], one can start choosing those school electives from the areas that you are interested in and things like that. (Florencia, Private School, Vitacura, Dominant Class)

Likewise, some students from the most privileged schools point out the relevance that some teachers have had in moulding their affinities towards some particular disciplines:

> I think that teachers [were influential]; in the sense that … I remember the moment when I started to like history (…) I remember that it began when I was in the seventh year [at primary school], when I had a good history teacher; and from there onwards, in the seventh and eighth year [at primary school], and in the first, second and third

> year [at secondary school], I have had good history teachers. And for that reason, my interest and taste for history have been growing up. (Lucas, Private School, Peñalolén, Dominant Class)

> I think that it [having a good teacher] has helped me a lot … for instance, before, I was in this position: 'I don't know what to do, there are a lot of things that I want to study'. And the last year, I was in the literature elective with the teacher and I liked it. I mean, it was like: 'Great, it's Friday and I have literature'. So, this helped me a little bit to decide about that [to study a degree in literature]. (Emilia, Private School, Peñalolén, Dominant Class)

And sometimes pupils mention a combination of both factors, that is, school electives and teachers:

> It's not, like, the way in which they teach us maths or physics, but I feel that these subjects are fun. Also, the teachers we have had … well, in all the subjects, they are like nice. You can talk to them, so they make the subject more interesting. For the same reason, in maths – because I was good at it – they invited me to the Maths Olympics. I was also in the Interdisciplinary School Research Programme, in which, if there is any subject that you like or you want to investigate, this programme gives you different options; there are arts, sciences, music and history. (Alonso, Private School, Vitacura, Dominant Class)

As Alonso and the prior students mention at their respective private schools, school electives, extracurricular activities and teachers are essential in orienting pupils' tastes and aspirations during secondary school. Nonetheless, this does not mean that this is a practice which is exclusive of these establishments. In fact, students from emblematic public schools also refer in a positive way to both the different activities they have had access to in their respective institutions and some teachers that have taught them. Evident differences, however, are found in the public schools and technical-professional establishments, where students are part of either the lower intermediate class or the dominated group. Cristobal, for instance, refers to the influence his school has had on his aspirations:

> Not much influence … no, influence, nothing. For example, I'm in a scientific-humanistic school, and we have seen very little about [higher education] degrees. In the beginning, with the head teacher, we were advised about what are the degrees. But it was just that. And it never happened again. (Cristóbal, Public School, Lampa, Lower Intermediate Class)

Similarly, Mariana, a girl at Lo Prado public school who has had several school changes along her educational trajectory, refers to the influence that her previous institution – a public school located in Santiago where she studied for three years – has had on her coming decisions:

> Influence of not continuing to study (laughs). In that [decision] the school has had influence, because, I don't know if teachers were bad … no, they weren't bad; but I didn't like them. So, they helped me to decide what [subjects] I didn't want to study. (Mariana, Public School, Lo Prado, Lower Intermediate Class)

The previous two passages represent well public school students' accounts. Although in many cases pupils recognise that, at some point, someone in their respective institutions has helped them in the search of alternatives in the process of transition, these advices were pointed out as specific situations more than as part of a comprehensive and systematic process, as it seems to be in the case of the pupils at privileged schools. Even more fragile situations are found in the case of those students who belong to technical-professional establishments. Here, very often, students point to the lack of support on the part of their respective institutions. At San Joaquín school, Silvia affirms:

> C: What influence has your school had in choosing your higher education degree and institution?
> S: Like … in choosing a degree? Nothing.
> C: And an institution?
> S: Neither...
> C: Have they ever shown you which the available possibilities are?
> S: No. Maybe they told it to my classmates; but for me, there hasn't been any kind of support in this respect.
> (Silvia, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín, Dominated Class)

Bastián delves into the same point:

> The possibilities I have? Whether they have shown me the possibilities? No, I don't think that they have given me some kind of motivation in relation to continuing to study. They have always told us that when we finish here, we're going to miss this place. They have told us that when we begin to work, we're going to miss the 'easy education'. But I don't think that they have given me any kind of motivation in relation to that [choosing a higher education degree]. (Bastián, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín, Dominated Class)

Lack of support and motivation on the part of the school appear as two significant factors pointed out by these pupils. Likewise, some students also refer to situations in which the school's conditions are not the most appropriate. Teacher rotation, for example, is pointed out as one of those negative factors. Leonardo, at Santiago technical-professional school, explains:

> C: What influence has your school had in choosing your higher education degree?
> L: I don't know, to be honest, I don't have enough clarity about that point, because I have met so many people here that I don't know who, among all of them, could be [the most influential person], since they always were here for a short time; after one came another, so…
> C: Who came? Teachers?
> L: Mostly teachers. They weren't here for a long time, as one would expect.
> (Leonardo, Technical-professional School, Santiago, Dominated Class)

While Bastián, at San Joaquín school, gives a similar argument about the same issue:

> The problem is the thing about changing teachers. There were times in my second year at secondary school in which there were up to four maths teachers in one year.

> So, in the end, we lost a complete year of maths. (Bastián, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín, Dominated Class)

Overall, the school milieu turns an important space in which pupils' tastes, aspirations and potential choices towards higher education are reinforced. However, in the context of a highly segregated school system, schools' uneven conditions are also essential in reproducing class distinctions which, to a large extent, make the gap between the dominant group and the dominated class broader. Pupils' aspirations, therefore, are not only affected by the process of family socialisation, but the school importantly impacts pupils' *horizon of potentialities*.

Additionally, pupils' aspirations towards higher education are also affected by activities and events deployed within and around the school milieu in coordination with higher education institutions. Here, the interplay between schools, the higher education field and students' aspirations becomes clearest. Indeed, higher education institutions deploy several strategies – beyond traditional advertising campaigns (see Zapata and Tejeda, 2016) – to target specific schools and social groups, whereas schools decide which activities they will take part in. In fact, considering only the respondents' experiences, a long list of activities and events implemented throughout the schooling year which serve to the promotion of certain higher education institutions can be constructed. In several occasions, for example, students account that their school invited specific higher education institutions to present their degrees by means of talks and workshops. This practice, we may regard, also helps to draw and reinforce students' *horizon of potentialities*. Indeed, it is not surprising that at the technical-professional establishments, institutions from the dominated region of the field – such as *DUOC* or *INACAP* – are among the most invited institutions to present their educational offer; while at the other extreme, private schools focus on inviting the dominant universities. In the same vein, some students point out that they have been encouraged in their respective schools to visit certain institutions to appreciate their facilities and the community atmosphere, social life and environment on the campus. Again, the institutions that schools and its staff recommend to visit are, to a great extent, beforehand attuned to the socially founded students' aspirations. This condition, therefore, also helps to shape and reinforce students' desires and ambitions. There are cases, nonetheless, in which students have visited an institution that appears to be a rather distant option from pupils' *horizon of potentialities*. In these occasions, this visit may help to widen the *horizon of reference* of students, but may also help to discard those institutions in question.

On the other hand, pupils also reported their participation in different 'higher education fairs'. These 'market devices' (van Zanten, 2019: 360) are events produced by private agencies, which act as institutional intermediaries, in which higher education institutions exhibit their educational offer to potential students in order to persuade pupils' choices. These events can be

run within the school or outside it. In the first case, only students from the establishment can take part in it as well as a specific number of higher education institutions form part of the exhibition; while in the second case, students from several schools located in the same geographical zone are invited – by means of their educational establishments – to visit the fair and, for that reason, a broad number of institutions are part of it. In general, the latter are massive events that last more than one day, in contrast to the former which are carried out for a specific school by itself, in which the event may last just one morning. In all the previous described practices, schools and higher education institutions closely interact and reinforce each other's strategies. As a consequence, this serves to foster the process by means of which pupils' aspirations are shaped and reinforced.

There are, however, other activities in which higher education institutions deploy their strategies more autonomously. Indeed, students give account of their participation in different summer schools and workshops independently organised by specific faculties or department of higher education institutions, most of them universities. Some pupils also state that they were invited to make a mock PSU exam in the dependencies of a particular establishment. In these events, food and transport are made available by the host institution as a way to secure and attract students' participation. Likewise, other youth mentioned that they were invited to a sort of 'open day' in which students can find out about the degrees offered by the host institution, get to know their facilities and meet potential students to feel the campus social atmosphere. Word of mouth is the best advertising in all the previous cases, where the school, mainly through teachers and students, works rather as a platform to spread the opportunities made available by higher education establishments. Additionally, the latter may also target students individually by means of personal emails, information that is collected in the different events they organise. Indeed, many of the respondents reported that they have received promotional emails from different higher education institutions, sometimes even without knowing how they obtained their personal email accounts. Overall, all these are mechanisms of attraction and promotion which serve to reinforce and shape students' aspirations towards certain institutions.

2.2. The university admission test and educational transitions: excluding the excluded

A key point in the transition from the school to higher education is the PSU test. In January 2020, in the context of 2019 October Chilean uprising, the Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students (ACES) called to boycott the PSU with the aim of preventing its application. The main reason they raised was related to the social inequalities and segregation this test reinforces. As a result, the process was carried out in absolute turmoil. Doubtless, the PSU test is a contested mechanism of selection.

As has been said before (see Chapter Four and Five), the PSU works as one of the main mechanisms by means of which some universities select their students. Although only some institutions are part of the Integrated System of Admission, the platform that drives the process, the PSU is also considered by other establishments as a minimum requirement to get into them. Even more important, the test is taken as a necessary condition to apply to some public funding such as scholarships, loan schemes and the Tuition-free Higher Education Programme. Additionally, some institutions also consider the PSU as a prerequisite to confer their own grants. For this reason, the PSU must be considered not only as an important milestone for those students who have their intentionality put on the selective universities but for many of those who are planning to continue to study in higher education. The PSU, therefore, is a structuring property of the Chilean higher education field. Given this condition, the way in which schools approach the admission test is indicative of how they are attuned to the field and the effect this attunement can have on pupils' aspirations and possibilities.

The school, at least formally, should play the most important role in the process of preparation of students for the PSU test. This is so because the PSU is a standardised test elaborated on the basis of the secondary education curriculum. Thereby, more than focusing on training students exclusively for the test as a form of 'concerted cultivation' (Lareau, 2003) or 'institutional concerted cultivation' (Abrahams, 2018: 1145), it would be expected, ideally, that the school spontaneously transfers to students the necessary symbolic knowledge and mastery to face it. Research in the area, however, shows important differences in terms of students' PSU achievement according to their socioeconomic level and the type of school they attend (Contreras et al., 2007; Muñoz and Redondo, 2013). The experience of the research participants here may help, at least in part, to comprehend how those differences are produced and reinforced. As we will see, the evidence shows notable disparities among educational establishments in terms of their approaches and strategies (or lack of them) towards the test. The 'school effect', hence, can be clearly appreciated on this dimension. Furthermore, pupils and their families, beyond the school, also implement different strategies which serve to further the gap between students belonging to different social classes.

At Vitacura private school the importance given to the PSU is extremely high and the preparation to which they subject their students is particularly intense. Domingo, for instance, points out:

> Actually here, in the school, everything is oriented to the PSU. The academic burden we have had, homework and things like that, have been pretty much lighter because in the end, they give us less homework and we have had much more work in class (…) we finish the term earlier, and all those things, because we have a special period just to prepare the PSU. So, in the end, they give to it all the weight … they give to it all the

> possible importance. Even in the third year [at secondary school] we already begin with [preparation for] the PSU. (Domingo, Private School, Vitacura, Dominant Class)

This perception is shared by Isabel who explains that the school is totally oriented to make their students perform well in the test:

> This year teachers talk to us every day about the PSU and the school organises a lot of things (…) it's like: 'This is important because is part of the PSU', 'You must study for the PSU', they always say this. And the school makes a mock exam every month. And when we are in the mock exam, we have a break, a short break of 15 minutes between the two mock exams … now it last 20 minutes … but then, we go back to regular lessons, so we are all exhausted. (Isabel, Private School, Vitacura, Dominant Class)

At Vitacura private school, therefore, the PSU assumes a central place within the institution. It seems that everything is directed towards this goal. Students here are part of one of the most privileged and expensive schools of the country and they have been prepared along their trajectories to get a place in the institutions located in the most dominant subspace of the field of higher education institutions, that is to say, in the most elite and selective universities of the country. The school, thus, carefully orients and prepares them to achieve this goal. The approach taken by the other two private establishments, however, is somewhat different. When Teresa, a pupil from the small private school at Huechuraba, is asked about the importance that her school gives to the PSU, she states:

> They always tell us that the PSU is not something that defines us and that the test is not the end of the world. They always repeat the same. And I find that this is true, it doesn't represent us, and our life doesn't end if we don't achieve the top national score in the PSU. (Teresa, Private School, Huechuraba, Dominant Class)

A similar experience has had Lucas at Peñalolén private school:

> I mean, the school has never cared much about the PSU test; this is not its goal. But they have never said that the PSU isn't useful. They always have cared, for example, of those students who want to take the PSU, they give them all the resources they need and all of that … I mean, openly they don't say that the PSU is important, but they don't say that it's not important. In fourth year [at secondary school], they always organise mock exams, not lots of them, but they still do it. (Lucas, Private School, Peñalolén, Dominant Class)

In the two previous institutions, hence, the test is not prepared with the same concerted intensity as in the case of Vitacura private school. Nevertheless, this does not mean that for these establishments the PSU is unimportant. Indeed, as Lucas affirms, 'they always have cared (…) for those students who want to take the PSU'. In other words, pupils always have the opportunity and the means to prepare it. Thus, the way these establishments address the admission test can be read more as part of the strategies to take the pressure off students than as a total detachment from the role the test would have on pupils' futures. A somewhat similar

condition can be observed in the emblematic public schools. Yet, the PSU test also raises some ambiguities and contradictions. Andrea, a girl from an emblematic public school at Providencia, points out:

> I mean, I have the two sides. Although they tell you: 'Don't worry, this doesn't measure anything, the PSU score that you obtain doesn't mean that you are like that, neither in this way'; but [they also say you]: 'You must study because, if not, you are going to fail and you aren't going to get anything'; so, in the end, they just give you stress and anxiety. I have really seen some classmates feeling very bad. So, maybe, they try to minimise what is … the pressure that the PSU provokes on you. (Andrea, Emblematic Public School, Providencia, Upper Intermediate Class)

Similarly, at Santiago emblematic public school, Pablo notes the pragmatic way in which his establishment address the test:

> From what I have heard, there are some teachers that … I have never heard that they endorse the PSU, or that they said that the PSU is a good system to get into university. Their viewpoint is more like: 'Okay, we know that you don't like it, and we know that it's bad, and we know that it doesn't measure knowledge; but you have to take it because there isn't other way of entering university, so we are going to adjust to the system, and we will try that you get a good test score'. (Pablo, Emblematic Public School, Santiago, Upper Intermediate Class)

The PSU in these schools gives rise to two opposite approaches: the *critical* and the *pragmatic* one. In the process, the *pragmatic* approach is imposed over the *critical* perspective. The necessity of higher education and *illusio* (Bourdieu, 2000b) – the essential belief in the stakes and interests governing the field – are incorporated in agents' dispositions and in schools' *ethos*. This does not mean that, as we will see in the next section, this occurs without *critique*.

In the private subsidised schools, discourses around the PSU are framed in a context marked by a sense of pressure. Francisco at Puente Alto private subsidised school explains what teachers and the school staff have stated about it:

> It isn't just one more test, but it's like an important test; it's as if on a personal level it was important. They tell us a lot: 'Okay guys, relax because now the worst is coming, and then, if you go out of here, you are going to have to endeavour a lot more in the PSU, there are going to be days in which you are going to study the whole day'. It's as if they try to contextualise the moment just before the PSU. They tell you: 'Wait for that moment and prepare yourself', with the intention that you can prepare yourself for the shock that the PSU means. (Francisco, Private Subsidised School, Puente Alto, Upper Intermediate Class)

In a similar fashion, Carolina at Maipú private subsidised school also describes what teachers usually comment to pupils:

> They [teachers] say that it's very important [the PSU]; they talk all the time about this. And most of the teachers say: 'You must take the PSU to get into university'; they give so much importance to university … they say that without a university degree

> one cannot continue and all those things. (Carolina, Private Subsidised School, Maipú, Lower Intermediate Class)

The incorporation of higher education as a social demand, an experience which is particularly common in the intermediate class (see Chapter Six), is reinforced by schools by means of discourses which merge personal endeavour and individual responsibility as a condition for success. A somewhat different situation, however, is experienced in public establishments. At Lo Prado public school, for instance, Rosa accounts how some teachers address the PSU:

> She [the teacher] doesn't speak much about it [the PSU] … the history teacher considers it a little bit more, but he doesn't believe that someone from here will get [into university]. He doesn't believe it. He says: 'Nobody from here will get into it [university]'. Anyway, the lads say … they are like: 'It doesn't matter if he is talking bad things … let him talk whatever he wants'. (Rosa, Public School, Lo Prado, Lower Intermediate Class)

Rosa's quotation gives an account of how teachers may underestimate students' potential and discourage pupils' aspirations towards the most prestigious universities. This condition does not mean that schools and teachers do not give some degree of importance to the test. In fact, students' experiences give account of some form of preparation implemented by establishments. Nevertheless, as Arturo at Lampa public school affirms, this preparation has not been enough:

> (…) now they started to organise sort of pre-university workshops in the evenings, maths on Fridays. But, it's like … they haven't put much focus on the … I mean, they do it … for instance, they helped us to sign up for the PSU, but like focusing on the PSU, they don't. (Arturo, Public School, Lampa, Lower Intermediate Class)

Additionally, Claudia points out:

> Depend on each teacher. For example, the chemistry teacher (…) is teaching us exercises that appear in the PSU and all that. Also, teachers from science, biology, chemistry and physics are teaching us PSU related topics; but just now, during the second term. And it's the same for the maths test, but it's very difficult. In fact, from about two weeks we have been completing an exercise guide and I'm not doing well. I hardly understand anything. (Claudia, Public School, Lampa, Dominated Class)

Even though these public schools may attempt, although in the last minute and without implementing a systemic approach, to prepare their students for the PSU, the problem comes with the lack of symbolic knowledge with which students reach this point. Facing this condition, some pupils blame themselves and their peers for being 'not good enough' (Archer and Yamashita, 2003) to perform well in the test. Cristóbal at Lampa public school, for instance, reflects on how much importance his school gives to the PSU to then identify what he thinks is the main problem:

> I think that they [the school and teachers] don't give it [the PSU] much importance. I think that the school, I don't know if it's … I don't think that is the school, students are quite mediocre here (…) I think that students are not … they simply are not interested. (Cristóbal, Public School, Lampa, Lower Intermediate Class)

The gap between the most privileged schools and the most deprived establishments appears even more profound when pupils' experiences at the technical-professional establishments are examined. Here, students are persuaded just to take the PSU rather than to prepare them for it. Valentina and Julio exemplify well this condition:

> (…) they tell us that we should take the PSU. They also think that this would be good; this is what I have seen. They say to us that it would be good to take the PSU (…) the counsellor, for example, tells us … she made us enrolling in the PSU and all that. (Valentina, Technical-professional school, Santiago, Dominated Class)

> They think that it's important [the PSU] since the social worker was enrolling us all in it; she went to all the classrooms asking who wanted to be enrolled. So, for the school, it's a bit important, well, very important. (Julio, Technical-professional school, San Joaquín, Dominated Class)

While these schools encourage their students to take the PSU – this seems to be the main goal – when the question is about the preparation that pupils receive, the situation turns evidently different, as Valentina's and Julio's passages show:

> C: Have you prepared the PSU?
> V: No, nothing.
> C: And here, in the school?
> V: No.
> C: Have they given you any resource or material to prepare it?
> V: They told us that they will give us lessons to prepare it; to get there better prepared and things like that.
> C: But, have you ever done a PSU mock exam, for example?
> V: No.
> C: Have you seen how the test is?
> V: No, neither.
>
> (Valentina, Technical-professional school, Santiago, Dominated Class)

> C: Have you prepared the PSU?
> J: Here they have done … they have done PSU mock exams, but I was unlucky because I couldn't come that day [laughs].
> C: And have you prepared it?
> J: Hmm … no [laughs].
> C: Have you ever seen a PSU exam? How is it? The type of question it has?
> J: No, because … more than anything because of time, because I don't have a lot of time at the weekends.
>
> (Julio, Technical-professional school, San Joaquín, Dominated Class)

As pupils' experiences in the different type of schools show, there are conspicuous differences regarding how students get to the PSU test and the way in which their establishments have prepared them to take it. The PSU, therefore, crystallises inequalities which are, first, the

product of unequal family material and cultural conditions; and which are then reinforced by the highly segregated Chilean school system.

Differences in relation to how students from different schools and social backgrounds approach the PSU test are notable and are further exacerbated by particular strategies implemented by pupils and their families directed to secure a good performance on the test. Pupils' accounts, particularly in the dominant class but also in the intermediate groups, shed light on an important range of practices oriented to prepare the test beyond the school milieu. Among the most common strategies is attendance at institutions that exclusively and carefully prepare students for the PSU. These are the called *preuniversitarios* (pre-university institutions). The provision of this service has given place to an increasingly diversified market led by private agencies which target specific 'market niches' (Forsberg et al., 2020: 259). Here, the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) can be regarded as the main motivation guiding family strategies and practices.

By considering interviewees' experiences, three different types of pre-university institutions, roughly speaking, have been identified. Although surely this classification is not exhaustive, it will help us here to more deeply comprehend how market devices, which work in parallel to the school, serve to increase social inequalities in the process of transition from the school to higher education. First, among the most privileged pupils, students give an account of pre-university institutions which are implemented by one or few teachers who prepare a small group of students per session[34]. These groups are made up either by a group of friends or peers from the same school or by a group of pupils who attend geographically near establishments. Students attending these pre-university institutions, hence, belong to the same social milieu, which secures pupils' interaction with peers who hold similar aspirations and goals. In these cases, the PSU tutorials are taught at teachers' homes or at private offices especially conditioned for this purpose. The prestige of tutors, spread by word of mouth, is the main attraction for students and their families to pay for their service. A variant close to this first type are those cases in which pupils opt for a private tutor. Students in these cases are prepared at their own homes in face-to-face encounters with the advantage that the lessons can be adapted to the pupil's requirements and necessities. Second, again among the most privileged pupils, students give an account of small institutions which have some few branches in specific geographical zones[35]. These institutions target a determined profile of students which coincides with the geographical zone where the school is located. Tutorials, therefore, are formed by small groups of students who usually know each other or have some kind of connections because they come from either

[34] An example of this type is *Centro de Estudios Matemáticos Mauro Quintana Ltda*.
[35] Among the examples of this type are *Carez & Córdova Preuniversitario* and *Preu Gauss*.

the same school or are part of the same circuit of institutions. Finally, there are those big pre-university institutions which have many branches spread in different geographical locations[36]. These establishments are attended by students from different schools and social backgrounds. Among the interviewees, several from the intermediate groups declared to have been preparing the PSU test in a pre-university institution of this type.

The attendance to pre-university institutions appears as an expanded practice among the students from the most privileged social groups. On the contrary, many of the students located in the intermediate and, above all, in the dominated positions declared that they were not attending any of these entities. Thus, pre-university institutions, by converting economic capital into cultural capital, improve the chances of those students who can afford this service, while widening, even further, the gap with those who do not have the resources to pay for them.

In sum, it can be said that the PSU test, which involves the implementation of both family and school strategies, crystallises the vast differences that students from different social classes have had throughout their educational trajectories. Thereby, the PSU can be regarded as the tip of the iceberg of a system that, as Bourdieu's reproduction theory would put it, selects those pupils already selected while excludes those already excluded, posing distinctions that are socially founded as purely academic. The PSU, therefore, translates social inequalities to its more euphemistic form, that is, into numbers (i.e. the PSU score). This form of abstraction, hence, is raised as an indicator of students' knowledge and academic potential to succeed in higher education when in reality what is being measured are unequal material, cultural and social conditions on which pupils' educational trajectories have been drawn.

3. Structural mismatch: malaise, self-blaming and critique

Up to this point, the interplay between objective and cognitive structures that favours the process of social reproduction has been examined. To end this chapter, it is fundamental to shed light on those situations in which the structural homology, which is at the basis of the reproductive condition of the social world, present some cracks and potentialities for transformation – the other side of the coin. In so doing, it becomes essential to look at neoliberal dispositions which are the product of the neoliberal *ethos*, the dominant *doxa* in the country. Starting from this point, how those neoliberal dispositions may trigger malaise, self-blaming and critique will be analysed.

Diverse opinions, reflections and stances contained in the interviews reveal the presence of neoliberal dispositions embodied in the respondents. The most notable is the prominent place

[36] Among these institutions are *Preuniversitario Pedro de Valdivia* and *CEPECH*, two massive pre-university institutions with branches in many regions of the country.

that some pupils give to notions of personal endeavour and individual responsibility, two key cultural tropes forming the neoliberal creed. One of the effects of the primacy given to these ideas is that they serve to conceal the weight of structural constraints on individual trajectories to fully put the responsibility of success or failure on individuals' shoulders. Andrea, for instance, at Providencia emblematic public school, reflects:

> I think that if a person endeavours, I believe that if a person has good intentions, if she works hard, and if she is hardworking, I don't think that higher education would be very important for her. (Andrea, Emblematic Public School, Providencia, Upper Intermediate Class)

Personal endeavour is understood by Andrea as the key attribute which may enable, as the last resort, the overcoming of external and structural constraints. A similar point is made by Bárbara at Puente Alto private subsidised school. When she is asked if there are some limitations that may hinder students' higher education choices, she affirms:

> I think that money … how much you will earn. I think that, socially, it's like the dilemma of choosing a degree in which one isn't going to earn enough money. But I have always thought that it depends on the endeavour you put on it. (Bárbara, Private Subsidised School, Puente Alto, Upper Intermediate Class)

The idea that in the end, beyond any limitation, 'depends on the endeavour you put on it' is well extended in pupils' appreciations. Similarly, Claudia, at Lampa public school, when she is asked specifically about the importance of getting an accredited degree, a mark of prestige and reputation, she states:

> I mean, of course, it's important that [a degree] is accredited. But, well, if you endeavour when you are doing something, and you make it well, anyway, you will be able to make it. Even if the degree isn't accredited or you are in an institute … if you work well, it's going to be fine. (Claudia, Public School, Lampa, Dominated Class)

The belief that personal endeavour is, after all, sufficient to overcome the multiple barriers students in lower positions face throughout their trajectories is quite telling. Even more striking are those judgments in which the lack of effort is raised as the main reason to prevent students from getting into higher education. Mariana, at Lo Prado public school, explains her position regarding the possibility of free higher education in the country:

> I think that you can't give it [access to higher education] to a person for free, to a person who during all his secondary school and during all his life has never endeavoured; or a person who has never been interested in his studies (…) If they want free education, they should get a certain grade, either 6.0 or above 5.5. So, not everyone can enter university … you can't give it to them just because you have to do it … because one has to earn her own things. (Mariana, Public School, Lo Prado, Lower Intermediate Class)

Personal endeavour and individual responsibility appear intertwined in pupils' discourses and both connect to the idea of merit. Higher education, in this sense, is understood as a goal that individuals deserve based on the effort they have put to fulfil their aims. A similar rationale – and even more severe – is expressed by Julio at San Joaquín technical-professional school. When he is addressing the potential obstacles and alternatives he may face to get into higher education, Julio affirms:

> It isn't impossible [to enter higher education], because I can get a scholarship. But I would prefer to make it by using my own money than by getting a scholarship; because it's fine that the scholarship is granted due to the grades you have had and all of that, but I'll put much more effort if I'm struggling hard [*me estoy sacando la chucha*] … if I'm working very hard [*me estoy sacando la cresta*[37]] to pay the degree. (Julio, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín, Dominated Class)

The assertion 'I would put more effort if' makes clear that the rationale orienting Julio's thoughts blends personal endeavour and individual responsibility until the point of almost becoming a *sacrifice*. It is worthwhile noticing, on the other hand, that discourses of this type often appear in those students from the lower regions of the social space. Carolina, for instance, whose parents present deprived material conditions and scarce economic resources, explains why she would prefer to pay her studies by herself instead of having her parents doing it for her:

> I don't want my parents paying it [higher education] for me, because it's not … because this is something for me, so I want to work and pay the university by myself, and that is. Furthermore, my parents aren't going to have enough money. (Carolina, Private Subsidised School, Maipú, Lower Intermediate Class)

Similarly, Leonardo explains why he would prefer to pay for his studies by himself, even though his mother has offered him financial help:

> Yes, she [mother] has always told me the same, but I don't want to be so dependent on her. I prefer to begin to do the things on my own than by mean of other persons. (Leonardo, Technical-professional School, Santiago, Dominated Class)

Both individual responsibility and the possibility of bringing economic relief to their parents are combined behind these pupils' views. Likewise, to gain independence from the family emerges as another form in which individual responsibility appear in youth discourses. Marta, a girl at Lampa public school who is discarding higher education as her next step after schooling, explains why she would prefer a year of military service before going to the labour market:

> Because they make you be responsible. I'm already responsible, but I'm very dependant [*al pecho de la madre*], as it's said, affectionate, very attached to the family (…) so, I wouldn't know how to face the other life, a life that suddenly comes to me, a

[37] These two Chilean idioms, '*me estoy sacando la chucha*' and '*me estoy sacando la cresta*', entail the idea of effort until the point of self-hurting.

> life of working, of maintaining by myself, and that kind of things. So, I would like to be a little bit more responsible. (Marta, Public School, Lampa, Dominated Class)

It must not be forgotten that students' considerations and their potential courses of action are always entwined with their conditions of possibility and the positions they occupy in social space. It is for this reason that these reflections, in the mode they have been raised above, are more typical in students from lower social backgrounds than in those from the upper regions of social space.

These beliefs – which set up individual responsibility and personal endeavour as fundamental practices to overcome deprived living conditions and successfully achieve the essential promise of meritocratic societies of upward social mobility – may trigger, in the face of agents' inability to succeed in their aspirations given their actual conditions of possibility and structural constraints, an increasing sense of uncertainty and 'loss of hope' (McNay, 2008a: 184). Put another way, individuals facing structural mismatch between objective possibilities and subjective aspirations may develop a profound feeling of 'disillusionment' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979: 84), 'suffering' (Bourdieu, 2000b: 160) and 'malaise' (Bourdieu and Champagne, 1999: 424). Bourdieu (2000b) refers to two possible situations of this type. On the one hand, circumstances in which agents' primary dispositions become obsolete given the – sudden – transformations of the objective conditions where they take part. We can think here of those graduates that, expecting certain recognition for their diplomas, do not receive it given the relative devaluation of their degrees as a result of the rapid transformation – expansion and diversification – of higher education and the labour market. This is the product of what Bourdieu called 'diploma inflation' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979: 83). On the other hand, there are situations in which agents' current positions do not correspond to their original dispositions. This may be the case, for example, of students from lower social backgrounds who have entered elite universities, a condition which forces them to confront a milieu to which their dispositions are not well adjusted. In other words, there are situations where students experience a habitus dislocation (Lehmann, 2007, 2009b) in which either a sense of being as a 'fish out of water' (Reay et al., 2009, 2010) or the perception of having alien dispositions (Nairz-Wirth et al., 2017) is developed.

Both prior conditions are not reflected in the interviews given the previous transitional stage in which respondents are situated. Nevertheless, they do for those circumstances in which students are upon a potential 'failure' in the process of transition from the school to higher education. In these cases, youth are prone to develop certain degrees of malaise – particularly in the lower regions of the social space – given the impossibility of reaching their aspirations. This sense of failure which may generate disillusionment and malaise may be intensified by

conditions in which pupils are particularly encouraged towards unlikely or even unreachable horizons. Governmental programmes such as the Follow-up and Effective Access to Higher Education Programme (see Chapter Two), which undoubtedly is oriented to open opportunities for those students from lower social backgrounds but without leaving the competitive and selective character founded on the idea of meritocracy, may also present the side effect of generating false expectations in students. As Webb et al. (2017) suggest, widening participation programmes focused on raising aspirations may bring some complexities which are not always easily recognised by policy-makers.

Accordingly, two responses can follow structural discordances in the transitional process. These responses, although they may seem contradictory, do not appear isolated from each other. They can coexist either within individuals or within social groups and manifest according to the context that agents or social groups confront. The first response refers to situations in which agents blame themselves (Archer and Yamashita, 2003; Nairz-Wirth et al., 2017). In particular, some examples of this type have been addressed above in this chapter and in Chapter Six. Such are the cases of Felipe, a boy from the dominated class, who in the face of his potential inability to get into the degree he aspires to, declares: 'I've never put that much effort' and 'I've been too lazy'; Claudia, a girl whose family is located in the lowest zone of the social space, who, under the uncertainty of not being able to get into higher education, states: 'I've always been lazy'; or Cristóbal, a pupil from the lower intermediate class who, alongside self-blaming for the potential situation of being unable to reach the PSU score he needs to enter the degree he aspires to ('I think that I'm the one who is wrong because I'm the one who doesn't study, I do nothing, I do nothing to improve'), he also put the blame on his peers: 'I don't think that is the school, students are quite mediocre here'. While each of these forms of self-blaming might be understood as self-reflexive reconstructions of what pupils have done wrong, when these subjective forms of appreciation are put in perspective considering the context and the objective constraints these students face in everyday life, statements such as 'being lazy' or 'not put enough effort' become, from the point of view of the observer, out of place. Symbolic violence and misrecognition, as conditions in which power relations and symbolic power are concealed while the dominated give legitimacy to the current state of things, are in the roots of this type of response.

The second response to structural discrepancies between aspirations and objective possibilities can be understood as situations in which counter-discourses are raised as forms of critique to the dominant order. This implies the activation of dispositions (Lahire, 2011) towards lucidity and critique, as Bourdieu (2000b) put it, willing to refuse taken for granted social expectations. In other words, contrary to those who depict Bourdieu as dismissing the possibility of agents'

critique of dominant structures (e.g. Boltanski, 2011), this means the activation of dispositions willing to question *doxa* and 'the doxic relation to the social world' (Bourdieu, 2010: 168). Among the interviewees, one of the main targets of critique is the PSU test, which is not surprising given the fact that this can be regarded as the culmination of the educational configuration in the pathway to higher education. In the intermediate class, for example, Pablo raises a critique which directly connects with the core tenets of the neoliberal *ethos*:

> The PSU, after all, is a race, a competition, so, one is always watching over oneself as an individual instead of as a collective. (Pablo, Emblematic Public School, Santiago, Upper Intermediate Class)

While Pablo, at Santiago emblematic public school, links his ideas with the negative effects of individualist societies, at Lo Prado public school, Rosa addresses the PSU issue from her practical experience, uncovering the inequalities and injustices of the educational system:

> The PSU shouldn't exist (laughs), because it supposes to be that the [PSU] contents should be taught in the school, but the contents that I'm learning in the *preuniversitario* aren't the same than in the school. So, in the end, we are paying like to enter [to higher education], and that is awful … because it's like … to get something better … and what about those who don't have [money] to pay a *preuniversitario*? They won't be able to get it. (Rosa, Public School, Lo Prado, Lower Intermediate Class)

Rosa highlights how her school's shortcomings and economic factors can restrict pupils' opportunities to get into higher education. In so doing, she connects her ideas with the unequal structure in which the educational system is based. Similarly, Silvia, at San Joaquín technical-professional school, points out what she thinks about the PSU test:

> I think that [the PSU test] it's literally stupid, because the discrimination starts from there onwards. (Silvia, Technical-professional School, San Joaquín, Dominated Class, San Joaquín)

While Silvia points to the PSU as the starting point of discriminatory and, we could say, exclusionary practices within the educational domain, Daniela, in a more comprehensive way, reflects on the unfairness in which the whole schooling system is grounded until the point of arriving at the PSU test:

> To be honest, it's a test … I find it stupid [the PSU test]. For instance, if it wants to measure each person's knowledge, but we are in a technical school [vocational curriculum], they still ask us to take the PSU; but they know that they don't teach us all the contents that they do teach to the humanistic-scientific ones [academic curriculum]. It's not a test that has been arranged to the level of all the institutions; it's just for some of them. (Daniela, Technical-professional School, Santiago, Dominated Class)

Daniela's words are even more eloquent when she explains what is behind the disparity between schools. In a critical tone, she points out:

> The truth is that Chile is a country that needs a lot of workforce and less thinking minds. And the PSU is made more for those thinking minds than for the workforce. (Daniela, Technical-professional School, Santiago, Dominated Class)

The PSU and the whole educational system, therefore, are perceived – such as the two opposite subspaces in the field of higher education institutions (see Chapter Five) – as dividing the social world into two parallel universes, the one made up by 'thinking minds', and the other made up by 'the workforce'. As another student states, the PSU and 'everything' that gets you to university, in the end, work as a 'filter':

> (…) because, there is no university in which one says: 'Okay, I want to study here' and you get into it. No, everything goes with a filter, filter, filter. (Camila, Private Subsidised School, Puente Alto, Upper Intermediate Class)

On the other hand, critique as a form of response to the discordances between subjective expectations and objective possibilities is not pure, and always comes in an intricate mixture of different – sometimes even contradictory – beliefs and opinions. This is the case of Cristóbal, who along with self-blaming – as we saw above – he also reflects:

> I think that's difficult, it's difficult to face it [the PSU], it's difficult to solve the exercises they put there; you don't know how to face them. And that's what they have to do, keeping students ignorant … in the end, silly people are useful for them … people who don't know anything … because people who know a lot, are going to be in all the universities, and people who don't know anything, are going to be the workforce, and those are the ones who work at the end; and that's what is useful for the state, people who work, people who don't know their rights, people who don't know beyond what they are doing. (Cristóbal, Public School, Lampa, Lower Intermediate Class)

A world that is socially divided in two is a recurring image. Even more notable are the ideas present in Cristóbal's discourse which point directly to the notions of domination, symbolic violence and misrecognition: 'that's what they have to do, keeping students ignorant'; 'that's what is useful for the state (…) people who don't know beyond what they are doing'.

Among the interviewees, remarkably, only one of them pointed out that her intention was not to get into higher education. Marta, at Lampa public school, instead would prefer to attend – as we saw above – one year of military service to then find a job. Higher education is a discarded possibility. The reasons behind her decisions lay in the very world she inhabits:

> I say that there are two worlds. For example, this one, that is the low one, in which you are taught a certain amount of contents, and there is another world where you are taught more contents. And this is because money takes you there. Because nothing is the same. Because what they teach you here it's not the same as what you are taught up there [in the upper zone], in the other school (Marta, Public School, Lampa, Dominated Class)

Marta brings 'the undiscussed into discussion' (Bourdieu, 2010: 168) in a way in which – again – the social world is divided into two separate universes. Indeed, there is her school, her 'world', and there is the 'other school', the other 'world', where youth are prepared not only to perform well in the PSU, but also, to face higher education as the next stage of their trajectories. She, however, comprehends that things could be different:

> C: So, do you feel that you don't have the tools to attend higher education?
> M: Exactly, but if I had them, I would go. If I felt like, mentally well equipped with all that I have learnt [in the school], yes, I would do it.
> (Marta, Public School, Lampa, Dominated Class)

Marta's words remind us that deprived pupils, those who were born in disadvantaged families, and who – many times without noticing it – face obstacle after obstacle in their lives, lack neither aspirations nor personal endeavour. What they lack, instead, are those valued resources, that is to say, *recognised* capital in its different forms and states. On the other hand, while Marta raises a lucid critique that helps her to justify her coming actions and decisions, at the same time she is opting for a future in which her conditions of possibility are likely to remain restricted, which in the end serves to perpetuate structures of domination. The difficulty of breaking with social reproduction lies in the possibility of breaking with the given social order, a condition which can only be possible beyond individual action, by means of *solidarity*.

4. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to examine the interplay between objective and cognitive structures to identify different ways in which higher education serves the process of social reproduction. In so doing, first, it established the structural relative homology between both dimensions through the assessment of pupils' aspirations, expectations (i.e. *horizon of potentialities*) and evaluations (i.e. *horizon of reference*) in juxtaposition with the Chilean field of institutions of higher education. Then, it was shown how the highly segregated school field in the country and diverse institutional strategies and practices – which include the action not only of schools but also of higher education institutions and other private agencies and intermediaries – help to reinforce socially differentiated students' *horizons* towards higher education as well as pupils' conditions of possibility. The latter differentiation becomes particularly clear in the unequal conditions of preparation and transmission of the symbolic knowledge and mastery required for the PSU test, the mechanism of selection which can be considered just the tip of the iceberg of an educational system marked by its reproductive labour. Finally, in the frame of embodied neoliberal dispositions which put personal endeavour and individual responsibility in the core of pupils' discourses, it was examined how the mismatch between objective possibilities and subjective expectations may entail

disillusionment, suffering and malaise which trigger, at the individual level, two different responses: self-blaming and critique.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to grasp the process of reproduction of social inequalities in its connection with higher education in Chile. Particularly, its aim has been to grasp how higher education in Chile is implicated in the reproduction of social inequalities. Starting from Bourdieu's conceptual framework, it has been theoretically established in Chapter One that the reproduction of social inequalities through education is associated with three crucial aspects: (i) processes of socialisation by means of which families (and significant others) transfer to their offspring the symbolic mastery and the instruments to incorporate the dominant culture; (ii) specific mechanisms operating in the educational institution which consecrate social differences which are then translated into academic distinctions, a condition which is misrecognized by the agents involved in the process; (iii) drawing on the two prior conditions, the differentiated aspirations and *horizon of potentialities* that individuals situated in different class positions hold in the transition from the school to a new stage. Essential to these three aspects is *habitus*, a system of embodied dispositions which emerge as a result of the dialectical interplay between objective and subjective structures. Following this, this thesis has grasped the process of social reproduction by means of examining separately the objective and subjective structures, and then the interplay between both dimensions.

First, this research explored the objective structures of the Chilean field of institutions of higher education. Drawing on a Multiple Correspondence Analysis – in a somewhat similar way to Börjesson and Broady (2016) and Börjesson et al. (2016) – the structure of the field and the main stakes, interests and struggles within it were established. Broadly speaking, it was concluded that the field is ordered according to two main structural oppositions. On the one hand, there is a vertical opposition which divides the field according to distinct levels of cultural and economic capital; and on the other hand, there is a horizontal opposition which divide the field according to distinct level of symbolic capital. In the dominant positions – i.e. those institutions associated with greater levels of cultural and economic capital – there are mostly universities; while professional institutes and technical training centres – along with some less reputed universities – tend to be positioned in the dominated region of the field. Interestingly, the institutions located in the most dominant locations are mostly private institutions, and among them some new private universities appear in the top positions within this subspace. This fact is coherent with the process of neoliberalisation of higher education which, from the 1980s reform, boosted deregulation, competition and privatisation in the sector. As a result, the place taken by the two most prestigious universities which historically have attracted and

prepared the elite of the country – namely, *Universidad de Chile* and *Pontificia Universidad Católica* – are today threatened by the arrival of new private institutions which in the last three decades have gained recognition, particularly among the most privileged social groups. At the same time, in the lower zones of the field, new institutions and private conglomerates aim to capture new quasi-markets and niches formed mostly by newcomers to the field (i.e. first-generation higher education students). Overall, the field is ordered in a way in which the different positions that institutions and degrees take are then correspondingly materialised in locations differently rewarded in the labour market.

In line with research in other social formations (e.g. Ball et al., 2002; Reay et al., 2005; Lareau and Weininger, 2008), the formation, shaping and reinforcing of pupils' subjective aspirations towards higher education were then examined. In so doing, important class distinctions were established. Thus, the members of the dominant class experience the process of transition as the natural pathway towards higher education. Indeed, everything around their lives helps them to incorporate the goal of going to university and the means – i.e. symbolic and practical knowledge – to achieve it. Conversely, pupils in the intermediate positions address this process as a demand of society. Higher education is experienced by these students as a need in which what is at stake has to do, above all, with forms of material and symbolic recognition as well as with processes of individualisation and inclusion. In many cases, furthermore, higher education is appreciated as an investment for the future in which the whole family system is involved and affected by the strategies and decisions students and parents should make. As we move down towards the bottom of the social space, pupils face the process of transition in a context marked by uncertainty. Although students in dominated locations show their intentions to enter higher education, the lack of different types of capital, disadvantaged family living conditions and their remoteness to the field of higher education make it more likely for them to go directly to the labour market. The issue here is not the lack of aspirations but the disadvantaged conditions of possibility in which these students must make their decisions. The possibility of higher education, therefore, often raises in these youth an increasing sense of uneasiness, anxiety and discomfort.

The interplay between objective structures (i.e. the state of relations between higher education institutions forming the field) and subjective structures (i.e. pupils' subjective aspirations) was then assessed. It was argued that, when both dimensions are juxtaposed, there is a clear homology between them. This means that subjective aspirations in terms of pupils' *horizon of potentialities* and *horizon of reference* are well adjusted to the state of objective relations between higher education institutions and the position that pupils take in the social space. The reproduction of social inequalities, it was shown following Bourdieu's ideas, lies in this

condition. Put another way, it was established that social inequalities are reproduced by the differentiated internalisation of the objective structures – which includes the structures of the higher education field – a condition which is achieved by means of socialisation and diverse micro practices exerted, particularly, by family members and significant others in everyday life. Crucially, these processes are underpinned by the unequal distribution of capital between families which make the conditions of possibility of youth located in opposite regions of the social space completely disparate. Self-selection and self-exclusion in relation to particular zones of the field of higher education institutions (i.e. the *field of possibles*) lies in this situation.

Additionally, it was shown that the school also plays a central role in the process of shaping and reinforcing aspirations as well as in the reproduction of social inequalities. This condition is associated with what has been termed the 'school effect' (Reay et al., 2005). By means of different mechanisms, the highly segregated school system in Chile (Valenzuela et al., 2010, 2014; Elacqua, 2012) helps to reinforce socially differentiated aspirations towards higher education. Diverse school activities and curricular opportunities that establishments make available to their intake, as well as the influence of teachers and the school staff during pupils' educational trajectories, are particularly important here. Thus, while in the privileged schools, pupils are encouraged to fix their intentionality towards the dominant region of the field of higher education; in the disadvantaged institutions the lack of support and motivation appear often among the main issues affecting students' decisions. At the same time, higher education institutions, either independently or in coordination with schools or private agencies, apply certain strategies and mechanisms – which remind us of those described by van Zanten (2019) for the case of France – aimed to orient and reinforce students' higher education choices. Campus visits, workshops, summer schools and higher education fairs are among the most common events deployed by institutions and institutional intermediaries. Generally, these activities are arranged to target specific social groups, which reinforces socially differentiated aspirations and desires.

The culmination of the process by means of which students are channelled towards certain institutions and region of the higher education field is the PSU test. Pupils' experiences at their respective schools show marked differences in terms of how establishments prepare them for this – apparently – defining moment for their future trajectories. Put another way, schools present marked distinctions, depending on schools' social characteristics, regarding the way in which they approach the PSU test. Moreover, it was shown that the unequal conditions of preparation are increased by specific strategies involving the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital, which pupils and their families, particularly those in privileged positions, apply in order to increase their chances to obtain a high score in the test. The PSU, therefore,

can be considered a paradigmatic example of how social differences are converted, in a misrecognized way, into academic distinctions. However, it was argued that the PSU is just the tip of the iceberg of a segregated educational system which works along pupils' whole educational trajectories, perpetuating social differences.

Doubtless, the above mentioned aspects show how higher education helps to reproduce social inequalities. The latter process, in conclusion, depends on neither the objective relations between institutions nor the individuals' subjectivities involved in the process of higher education decision-making exclusively but rather on the relationship that both dimensions establish with each other. This makes, furthermore, this process dynamic and contested. This thesis has precisely examined this dialectic. In so doing, it has shown how the objective order, that is to say, the field of higher education institutions, is incorporated in individuals' subjectivities, which in turn are in correspondence with the positions – and conditions of possibility – that those individuals hold in the social space. The structural homology described in the preceding chapter, which is materialised in individuals' dispositions, practices and aspirations, accounts for how social reproduction is achieved.

Higher education transformations in the last few decades in the country, therefore, have not only entailed the expansion of the system, the incorporation of historically excluded social groups and the social segmentation of the institutional arrangement but crucially they have also given place to new subjectivities. This condition includes not only the rise of new ambitions, desires and aspirations linked to the possibility of higher education but also, and paradoxically, the embodiment of new social and symbolic boundaries which, rooted in individuals' conditions of possibility, serve to determine, beforehand, the limits of higher education. This entails, as Araujo and Martuccelli (2012) have also suggested, that individuals' aspirations rooted in meritocratic values, particularly of those newcomers to the field, are likely to be unfulfilled. This condition, it was argued, may help to explain an increasing sense of malaise among youth. It was concluded, additionally, that the mismatch between subjective aspirations and objective expectations in a context dominated by a neoliberal symbolic system triggers two opposite responses: self-blaming and critique. In the latter, potentialities for transformation are incubated.

Contributions

This thesis has contributed to understanding the problem of social reproduction in its connection with higher education by means of a 'double reading' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 7) of social reality. This has epistemological and methodological connotations. As was noted in Chapter Three, research in the area – in Chile and beyond – has tended to put the

spotlight either on the subjective dimension of the problem or in its objective side. In either case, one of the dimensions tends to stay in the background as a taken-for-granted domain which remains apparently fixed and static. Symbolic violence exerted by the educational system, Bourdieu suggests, is better understood when 'we analyse in detail the relationship between the objective characteristics of the organisations that exercise it and the socially constituted dispositions of the agents upon whom it is exercised' (Bourdieu, 1996a: 3). In line with this epistemological stance, and highlighting the importance of methodological eclecticism (Silva et al., 2009) to grasp social reality, this thesis took the challenging path of bringing both dimensions to the foreground. Therefore, we did not only map the objective structures of the field of higher education institutions in Chile, illuminating the principles of struggle and dynamism, in a way never done before. Moreover, we did not only explore the formation and differentiation of aspirations. We also examined the way in which class-based aspirations are attuned to and structured by the field, including in the form of mismatch and malaise.

In addition to the substantive empirical findings, however, the thesis has introduced several conceptual or operational tools that may be fruitful beyond the Chilean case. In particular, the notions of *horizon of potentialities* and *horizon of reference*, and the analytical distinction between both were useful to explore the complexities involving the formation of subjective aspirations in relation to a given *field of possibles*. While a *horizon of potentialities* refers to the objects to which individuals' intentionality is attracted, a *horizon of reference* refers to the objects of which individuals are aware. In this sense, a *horizon of potentialities* is a subset of a *horizon of reference*, and the latter is a necessary condition of the former. The relationship between both, however, is complex insofar as cultural, material and symbolic properties define its content. This thesis has contributed by shedding light on this distinction and exploring the shaping and reinforcing of subjective aspirations through examining both cognitive domains.

Additionally, this thesis reveals diverse micro-practices that help reinforce pupils' subjective aspirations. Two helpful constructs emerged from this analysis which, it is argued, can be applied beyond the case of Chile. On the one hand, *channelling micro-practices*, which appear in the case of the members of the dominant class; and, on the other hand, *pushing micro-practices*, which appear in the case of the members of the intermediate group. The distinction between both – i.e. *channelling* and *pushing* – is not only semantic but, more important, is practical. This means that the context in which they are deployed and past experiences underpinning them mark a subtle but important difference between both.

It is important to note, moreover, that this thesis explored the formation, shaping and reinforcing of subjective aspirations in three theoretical social classes. Thereby, in addition to two opposite groups (i.e. dominant/dominated), an intermediate class was considered. The

crucial feature of the latter, it was argued, is that its members approach higher education as a demand of society in which struggles for recognition and respect take a central role. Although this condition, to some degree, may apply to many of those individuals who are positioned towards the lower regions of the social space, in the lowest locations the remoteness to the field of higher education and the lack of practical knowledge triggered by structural constraints make prevalent a sense of uncertainty. Thus, while research in the area usually differentiates between living experiences of those in '*working-class*' positions and those in '*middle-class*' locations, this thesis contributed to the examination of additional distinctions by analysing three social classes. Although the content of this distinction may make sense only for the case of Chile, this could be also explored in other social formations.

Limitations

Given the purpose of this thesis, which involved covering both objective and subjective dimensions of social reality, it was necessary to work in two different domains in parallel. This entailed a research strategy of two stages which in practice meant planning simultaneously two research designs and the subsequent application of quantitative and qualitative techniques. For this reason, this research also presents some limitations and space for future improvements. Regarding the quantitative approach, as was noted in Chapter Four, this thesis opted for constructing a representation of the field of higher education institutions. As part of this exploratory process, different secondary data sources were assessed in order to map the relational space of higher education students and establishments. Although ultimately a meaningful solution which has sociological sense was attained, it is acknowledged that access to some specific variables could enhance the output of the mapping. For instance, the proposed model used a variable for type of school to which students belonged before entering higher education as a proxy of students' social origin. Although this is a trustable proxy, more accurate variables related to, for example, students' household socioeconomic conditions (e.g. parents' household income) or parents' cultural capital (e.g. parents' level of education), could enhance the model in question. In this sense, the generation of a quantitative dataset particularly designed for the purpose of mapping the field of higher education students and institutions could improve the accuracy of the constructed representation of the field.

In relation to the qualitative phase, this thesis took the option of making a relational class analysis considering a broad picture of the social space. Thereby, this research focused on explaining inter-class distinctions. A limitation of this approach is that internal differences within classes were not explored in depth. Although the interviews revealed some internal differences between class fractions, more evidence is needed to make a more robust analysis of them. Likewise, the qualitative sample, given the limits in terms of resources and time, covered

only the Metropolitana region. In this sense, it is acknowledged that the logic underpinning subjective aspirations in other regions of the country, Chile being a long and diverse territory, could vary. Although in Chapter Five some patterns of mobility were examined, this thesis did not explore the geographical dimension of the formation, shaping and reinforcing of pupils' subjective aspirations.

Finally, this thesis sought to grasp processes of formation, shaping, and reinforcement of aspirations using in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews. In so doing, this research reconstructed important aspects of pupils' lifeworlds. Thereby, this technique sufficed for answering the questions raised by this research. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that the constructed research design based on qualitative interviews presents the limitation that for each case just one encounter with limited time duration was considered. Although each interview process was satisfactory and lasted enough time to collect meaningful information, it would be interesting to create a design involving more encounters at different times-points in the journey with each interviewee, with the aim of tracking the development of aspects raised during the first encounter. This, however, would make it necessary to double the time spent in fieldwork.

Future research

Considering the case of Chile, future research in the area should go deeper on the subjective dimension associated with the reproduction of social inequalities and its connection with higher education. While this thesis has contributed to drawing a broad picture of the problem by means of examining inter-class distinctions, it would be relevant for further investigations to explore intra-class differences more in-depth, such as some researchers have done in other countries (e.g. Reay, 1998a; Brooks, 2003). Indeed, future research should explore how different class fractions within either the dominant, the intermediate or the dominated class address higher education and the process of higher education decision-making. Méndez and Gayo (2019), for instance, construct a meaningful typology which distinguishes three groups within the Chilean upper-middle class: inheritors, achievers and incomers. Certainly, it would be interesting to go deeper on the formation, shaping and reinforcing of subjective aspirations towards higher education bearing this typology in mind. In fact, in the interviews, some intra-class distinctions appear. Nonetheless, more evidence to make robust conclusions in this regard is necessary. This would entail focusing exclusively on one social class and examining the internal distinctions and nuances within it.

Also regarding the cognitive dimension involved in social reproduction, future research in the country – such as researchers in other contexts have done (e.g. Reay, 1998a; Archer and

Hutchings, 2000; Archer and Leathwood, 2003; Reay et al., 2005) – should explore how gender and ethnic differences in the country affect the formation and reinforcement of students' aspirations. Although in Chapter Six some gendered practices were noted, further research in the area is imperative to understand other important forms through which social reproduction is materialised. Likewise, the *intersection* between class, gender and ethnicity is an important area of study to be developed for the case of Chile. This would involve, furthermore, researching the formation and negotiation of identities within specific social groups. Interesting for this purpose would be the use of ethnographic-like methods – such as, for instance, the intensive 'naturalistic' observations made by Lareau (2003) – which would allow grasping everyday life experiences in a more thorough way. Additionally, future research in the country should consider how the geographical dimension affects pupils' aspirations and choices.

Furthermore, future research in Chile should complement youth's experiences and perceptions with the experience of other agents involved in the process of higher education choices. Particularly important would be the experiences, discourses and perceptions of parents and teachers, who play an important role in forming and shaping pupils' desires and ambitions. In line with this, it would be important to explore gendered distinctions among parents in relation to the way in which they address the process of transition to higher education, such as some researchers have done in other social formations (e.g. Brooks, 2003; Reay et al., 2005).

From a somewhat different perspective, and in line with a broad literature (e.g. Lehmann, 2007; Reay et al., 2009, 2010; Abrahams and Ingram, 2013; Lehmann, 2014; Nairz-Wirth et al., 2017), it would also be relevant in the future to research how students from the lower positions in the Chilean social space who were able to overcome structural constraints and get into selective and elite higher education institutions negotiate their identities and adapt themselves to alien milieus. Given the fact that the reproductive forces associated with higher education still operate during this process, it would be fundamental to grasp how those forces influence students' subjectivities.

On the other hand, the fact of considering the arrangement of higher education institutions as a field opens many questions and possibilities for further research. Thus, besides delving into what is at stake and the particular struggles within the Chilean field of higher education institutions from different angles and in relation to diverse aspects, it would be fundamental to connect these struggles with the interests and stakes which govern the Chilean field of power. As Bourdieu points out, 'the sociology of education is a chapter, and not a minor one at that, in the sociology of knowledge and the sociology of power' (Bourdieu, 1996a: 5).

Finally, thinking beyond the case of Chile, future research in the area should pursue the application of 'double reading' analysis (i.e. field analysis and lifeworld analysis at once). This calls for methodological eclecticism and polytheism as a way of thinking creatively in new forms of grasping social reality and uncover structural inequalities.

Final thoughts

This research has been motivated by the aim of showing how higher education is implicated in the reproduction of social inequalities in Chile. In so doing, this thesis has systematised fundamental class distinctions regarding the way and the conditions in which pupils approach the process of higher education decision-making. However, many situations, appreciations and emotions which took place during the fieldwork were impossible to put on paper. Given the relational approach taken in this research, during the fieldwork, social inequalities were, so to speak, everywhere. This thesis, thus, has sought to raise a red flag in relation to the profound social inequalities which after several decades have crystallized in a widespread malaise within Chilean society. The Chilean uprising which took place in October 2019 – halfway through writing up this thesis – just comes to confirm this condition. Herein, struggles for dignity and social justice have occupied a central place in people's demands. Doubtless, understanding the transformations in the educational field that have taken place in the last few decades, the consequences these changes have produced and the inequalities they reproduce becomes essential – yet not enough – to understand why the country has come up to a point of high social unrest and turmoil. No wonder that students' movements have been at the forefront of these struggles, being able to connect the sufferings generated by social injustices in the educational sphere with those affecting society as a whole. The meritocratic promise, to a great extent, rests on the educational system and, particularly, in the possibility of higher education. The latter, therefore, bears an unfulfilled promise. Critique as a response to the increasing malaise in the face of unfulfilled expectations may indicate that there are grounds to see in the articulation of individuals' disillusionment a collective response. What is a stake, however, is the content of that potential collective project in a context where neoliberalism and the neoliberal symbolic system are still dominant. What remains to be seen in the near future, hence, is how forms of *solidarity* can make a difference.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Quantitative stage

Table A.1.1: Distribution of students by type of higher education and by gender in 2017 and 2016 to 2017 databases

	2017 database		2016 to 2017 database	
	n	%	n	%
Technical Training Centres	136,777	11.6%	17,835	15.2%
Professional Institutes	374,710	31.8%	31,730	27.0%
Universities	665,240	56.5%	67,902	57.8%
Total	**1,176,727**	**100%**	**117,467**	**100%**
Men	558,069	47.4%	56,886	48.4%
Women	618,658	52.6%	60,581	51.6%
Total	**1,176,727**	**100%**	**117,467**	**100%**

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Ministry of Education Open Data, 2018

Table A.1.2: Higher education institutions, enrolment (n) and relative (in %), included in the MCA (2017)

Acronym	Name of the Institution	n	%
	Technical Training Centres		
CFTAB	Centro de Formación Técnica Andrés Bello	53	0.05%
CFTALFA	Centro de Formación Técnica Alfa	6	0.01%
CFTALPES	Centro de Formación Técnica Alpes	6	0.01%
CFTBOHON	Centro de Formación Técnica Juan Bohon	106	0.1%
CFTCANON	Centro de Formación Técnica Instituto Superior de Estudios Jurídicos CANON	28	0.02%
CFTCCS	Centro de Formación Técnica Cámara de Comercio de Santiago	107	0.1%
CFTCEDUC	Centro de Formación Técnica CEDUC - UCN	498	0.4%
CFTCEITEC	Centro de Formación Técnica CEITEC	3	0.003%
CFTCENCO	Centro de Formación Técnica CENCO	6	0.005%
CFTDIARD	Centro de Formación Técnica de Enseñanza de Alta Costura Paulina Diard	1	0.001%
CFTECF	Centro de Formación Técnica Escuela Culinaria Francesa ECOLE	22	0.02%
CFTEDUCAP	Centro de Formación Técnica EDUCAP	43	0.04%
CFTENAC	Centro de Formación Técnica de ENAC	693	0.6%
CFTESANE	Centro de Formación Técnica ESANE del Norte	10	0.01%
CFTICCE	Centro de Formación Técnica Instituto Central de Capacitación Educacional ICCE	9	0.01%
CFTICEL	Centro de Formación Técnica ICEL	138	0.1%
CFTINACAP	Centro de Formación Técnica INACAP	9,195	7.8%
CFTINGRAF	Centro de Formación Técnica de la Industria Gráfica INGRAF	4	0.003%
CFTINSALCO	Centro de Formación Técnica Instituto Superior Alemán de Comercio INSALCO	7	0.006%
CFTIPROSEC	Centro de Formación Técnica IPROSEC	61	0.1%

CFTITC	Centro de Formación Técnica Instituto Tecnológico de Chile ITC	48	0.04%
CFTKLUWEN	Centro de Formación Técnica Teodoro Wickel Kluwen	126	0.1%
CFTLAGOS	Centro de Formación Técnica Los Lagos	140	0.1%
CFTLAPLACE	Centro de Formación Técnica LAPLACE	16	0.01%
CFTLOTA	Centro de Formación Técnica Lota-Arauco	203	0.2%
CFTMA	Centro de Formación Técnica del Medio Ambiente	130	0.1%
CFTMANP	Centro de Formación Técnica Manpower	43	0.04%
CFTMASS	Centro de Formación Técnica Massachusetts	47	0.04%
CFTOF	Centro de Formación Técnica Escuela de Artes Aplicadas Oficios del Fuego	1	0.001%
CFTPROAND	Centro de Formación Técnica PROANDES	163	0.1%
CFTPRODATA	Centro de Formación Técnica PRODATA	30	0.03%
CFTPROFAS	Centro de Formación Técnica PROFASOC	26	0.02%
CFTSAT	Centro de Formación Técnica San Agustín de Talca	529	0.5%
CFTST	Centro de Formación Técnica Santo Tomás	4,587	3.9%
CFTTAR	Centro de Formación Técnica de Tarapacá	316	0.3%
CFTUCV	Centro de Formación Técnica PUC Valparaíso	396	0.3%
CFTUV	Centro de Formación Técnica de la Universidad de Valparaíso	28	0.02%
CFTVALERO	Centro de Formación Técnica Estudio Profesor Valero	10	0.01%
Professional Institutes			
IPAIEP	Instituto Profesional AIEP	8,167	7.0%
IPARAUCANA	Instituto Profesional La Araucana	306	0.3%
IPARCOS	Instituto Profesional ARCOS	312	0.3%
IPARTCUL	Instituto Profesional Instituto Internacional de Artes Culinarias y Servicios	88	0.1%
IPBRIT	Instituto Profesional Chileno-Británico de Cultura	33	0.03%
IPCASAN	Instituto Profesional Carlos Casanueva	85	0.1%
IPCHILE	Instituto Profesional de Chile	2,656	2.3%
IPCIISA	Instituto Profesional CIISA	64	0.1%
IPCOMERCIO	Instituto Profesional De Comercio	12	0.01%
IPCONNOLLY	Instituto Profesional de Artes Escénicas Karen Connolly	8	0.01%
IPCONTADOR	Instituto Profesional Escuela de Contadores Auditores de Santiago	272	0.2%
IPDP	Instituto Profesional Diego Portales	117	0.1%
IPDUOC	Instituto Profesional DUOC UC	11,007	9.4%
IPEATRI	Instituto Profesional EATRI	41	0.03%
IPECINE	Instituto Profesional Escuela de Cine de Chile	6	0.01%
IPESUCOMEX	Instituto Profesional ESUCOMEX	100	0.1%
IPINACAP	Instituto Profesional INACAP	3,574	3.0%
IPINAF	Instituto Profesional Instituto Nacional del Fútbol	87	0.1%
IPIPG	Instituto Profesional IPG	425	0.4%
IPISACC	Instituto Profesional Instituto Superior de Artes y Ciencias de la Comunicación	59	0.1%
IPLACE	Instituto Profesional Latinoamericano de Comercio Exterior	98	0.1%
IPLAGOS	Instituto Profesional Los Lagos	55	0.05%
IPLANDES	Instituto Profesional Libertador de los Andes	14	0.01%
IPLEONES	Instituto Profesional Los Leones	434	0.4%
IPMARF	Instituto Profesional Mar Futuro	16	0.01%
IPMATTHEI	Instituto Profesional Agrario Adolfo Matthei	65	0.1%
IPMODERNA	Instituto Profesional Escuela Moderna de Música	162	0.1%
IPPROJAZZ	Instituto Profesional Projazz	51	0.04%

IPPROV	Instituto Profesional Providencia	45	0.04%
IPST	Instituto Profesional Santo Tomás	1,870	1.6%
IPSUBER	Instituto Profesional de Estudios Bancarios Guillermo Subercaseaux	436	0.4%
IPVC	Instituto Profesional del Valle Central	114	0.1%
IPVERTICAL	Instituto Profesional Vertical	11	0.01%
IPVG	Instituto Profesional Dr. Virginio Gómez G.	940	0.8%
	Universities		
PUC	Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile	3,978	3.4%
PUCV	Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso	2,048	1.7%
UA	Universidad Autónoma de Chile	2,089	1.8%
UACAD	Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano	118	0.1%
UACH	Universidad Austral de Chile	1,877	1.6%
UACO	Universidad de Aconcagua	328	0.3%
UAH	Universidad Alberto Hurtado	573	0.5%
UAI	Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez	1,262	1.1%
UANDES	Universidad de los Andes	1,285	1.1%
UANT	Universidad de Antofagasta	888	0.8%
UAYSEN	Universidad de Aysén	43	0.04%
UB	Universidad Bolivariana	21	0.02%
UBB	Universidad del Bío-Bío	1,453	1.2%
UBO	Universidad Bernardo O'Higgins	443	0.4%
UBRIT	Universidad Chileno Británica de Cultura	46	0.04%
UCEN	Universidad Central	978	0.8%
UCH	Universidad de Chile	4,048	3.4%
UCM	Universidad Católica del Maule	914	0.8%
UCN	Universidad Católica del Norte	1,456	1.2%
UCRSH	Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez	782	0.7%
UCSC	Universidad Católica de la Santísima Concepción	1,499	1.3%
UCT	Universidad Católica de Temuco	1,563	1.3%
UDA	Universidad de Atacama	895	0.8%
UDD	Universidad del Desarrollo	1,856	1.6%
UDEC	Universidad de Concepción	2,941	2.5%
UDLA	Universidad de las Américas	1,813	1.5%
UDP	Universidad Diego Portales	1,384	1.2%
UFINIS	Universidad Finis Terrae	665	0.6%
UFRO	Universidad de la Frontera	1,475	1.3%
UGM	Universidad Gabriela Mistral	69	0.1%
UINACAP	Universidad Tecnológica de Chile INACAP	2,409	2.1%
ULAGOS	Universidad de Los Lagos	1,106	0.9%
ULEONES	Universidad Los Leones	14	0.01%
ULS	Universidad de La Serena	1,043	0.9%
UMAG	Universidad de Magallanes	539	0.5%
UMAYOR	Universidad Mayor	1,630	1.4%
UMC	Universidad Miguel de Cervantes	17	0.01%
UMCE	Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación	491	0.4%
UNAB	Universidad Andrés Bello	3,907	3.3%
UNACH	Universidad Adventista de Chile	184	0.2%

UNAP	Universidad Arturo Prat	895	0.8%
UNIACC	Universidad de Artes, Ciencias y Comunicación UNIACC	265	0.2%
UNICYT	Universidad Iberoamericana de Ciencias y Tecnología UNICYT	125	0.1%
UOH	Universidad de O'Higgins	201	0.2%
UPAC	Universidad del Pacífico	284	0.2%
UPLA	Universidad de Playa Ancha de Ciencias de la Educación	785	0.7%
UPV	Universidad Pedro de Valdivia	413	0.4%
UREP	Universidad la República	57	0.05%
USACH	Universidad de Santiago de Chile	2,401	2.0%
USEK	Universidad SEK	89	0.1%
USS	Universidad San Sebastián	1,924	1.6%
UST	Universidad Santo Tomás	1,659	1.4%
UTA	Universidad de Tarapacá	1,022	0.9%
UTAL	Universidad de Talca	1,222	1.0%
UTEM	Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana	1,151	1.0%
UTFSM	Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María	2,546	2.2%
UV	Universidad de Valparaíso	1,979	1.7%
UVM	Universidad de Viña del Mar	753	0.6%
	Total	**117,466**	**100%**

Source: Own elaboration.

Table A.1.3: Higher education institutions, enrolment (n) and relative (in %) (2017)

	Name of the Institution	n	%
	Technical Training Centres		
1	Centro de Formación Técnica Alfa	90	0.01%
2	Centro de Formación Técnica Alpes	187	0.02%
3	Centro de Formación Técnica Andrés Bello	1,236	0.1%
4	**Centro de Formación Técnica Barros Arana	0	0.0%
5	Centro de Formación Técnica Cámara de Comercio de Santiago	1,976	0.2%
6	Centro de Formación Técnica CEDUC - UCN	3,066	0.3%
7	Centro de Formación Técnica CEITEC	60	0.01%
8	Centro de Formación Técnica CENCO	851	0.1%
9	*Centro de Formación Técnica Centro Tecnológico Superior INFOMED	51	0.004%
10	Centro de Formación Técnica de ENAC	4,573	0.4%
11	Centro de Formación Técnica de Enseñanza de Alta Costura Paulina Diard	61	0.01%
12	Centro de Formación Técnica de la Industria Gráfica INGRAF	75	0.01%
13	Centro de Formación Técnica de la Universidad de Valparaíso	3,072	0.3%
14	Centro de Formación Técnica de Tarapacá	2,816	0.2%
15	Centro de Formación Técnica del Medio Ambiente	1,938	0.2%
16	*Centro de Formación Técnica DUOC UC	2,194	0.2%
17	Centro de Formación Técnica EDUCAP	547	0.05%
18	Centro de Formación Técnica ESANE del Norte	106	0.01%
19	Centro de Formación Técnica Escuela Culinaria Francesa ECOLE	104	0.01%
20	Centro de Formación Técnica Escuela de Artes Aplicadas Oficios del Fuego	31	0.003%
21	Centro de Formación Técnica Estudio Profesor Valero	120	0.01%

22	*Centro de Formación Técnica Finning	102	0.01%
23	Centro de Formación Técnica ICEL	3,391	0.3%
24	Centro de Formación Técnica INACAP	48,561	4.1%
25	Centro de Formación Técnica Instituto Central de Capacitación Educacional ICCE	782	0.1%
26	Centro de Formación Técnica Instituto Superior Alemán de Comercio INSALCO	43	0.004%
27	Centro de Formación Técnica Instituto Superior de Estudios Jurídicos CANON	586	0.05%
28	Centro de Formación Técnica Instituto Tecnológico de Chile ITC	1,830	0.2%
29	Centro de Formación Técnica IPROSEC	804	0.1%
30	Centro de Formación Técnica Juan Bohon	1,328	0.1%
31	Centro de Formación Técnica LAPLACE	412	0.04%
32	Centro de Formación Técnica Los Lagos	2,442	0.2%
33	*Centro de Formación Técnica Los Leones	40	0.003%
34	Centro de Formación Técnica Lota-Arauco	1,898	0.2%
35	*Centro de Formación Técnica Luis Alberto Vera	133	0.01%
36	*Centro de Formación Técnica MAGNOS	34	0.003%
37	Centro de Formación Técnica Manpower	981	0.1%
38	Centro de Formación Técnica Massachusetts	647	0.1%
39	Centro de Formación Técnica PROANDES	3,815	0.3%
40	Centro de Formación Técnica PRODATA	313	0.03%
41	Centro de Formación Técnica PROFASOC	154	0.01%
42	**Centro de Formación Técnica PROTEC	0	0.00%
43	Centro de Formación Técnica PUC Valparaíso	892	0.1%
44	Centro de Formación Técnica San Agustín de Talca	4,610	0.4%
45	Centro de Formación Técnica Santo Tomás	38,452	3.3%
46	*Centro de Formación Técnica Simón Bolivar	72	0.01%
47	Centro de Formación Técnica Teodoro Wickel Kluwen	1,223	0.1%
48	*Centro de Formación Técnica UDA	78	0.01%
	Professional Institutes		
49	*Instituto Profesional Adventista	22	0.002%
50	Instituto Profesional Agrario Adolfo Matthei	485	0.04%
51	Instituto Profesional AIEP	96,007	8.2%
52	*Instituto Profesional Alemán Wilhelm von Humboldt	1	0.0001%
53	Instituto Profesional ARCOS	2,454	0.2%
54	Instituto Profesional Carlos Casanueva	1,356	0.1%
55	*Instituto Profesional Chileno Norteamericano	75	0.01%
56	Instituto Profesional Chileno-Británico de Cultura	249	0.0%
57	Instituto Profesional CIISA	1,204	0.1%
58	Instituto Profesional de Artes Escénicas Karen Connolly	31	0.0%
59	Instituto Profesional de Chile	24,327	2.1%
60	**Instituto Profesional de Ciencias y Artes INCACEA	0	0.0%
61	*Instituto Profesional de Ciencias y Educación Helen Keller	99	0.01%
62	Instituto Profesional De Comercio	866	0.1%
63	Instituto Profesional de Estudios Bancarios Guillermo Subercaseaux	3,739	0.3%
64	*Instituto Profesional de las Ciencias de la Computación Acuario Data	82	0.01%
65	*Instituto Profesional de los Angeles	227	0.02%
66	Instituto Profesional del Valle Central	4,580	0.4%
67	Instituto Profesional Diego Portales	3,155	0.3%

68	Instituto Profesional Dr. Virginio Gómez G.	9,917	0.8%
69	Instituto Profesional DUOC UC	96,483	8.2%
70	Instituto Profesional EATRI	749	0.1%
71	**Instituto Profesional de ENAC	0	0.0%
72	Instituto Profesional Escuela de Cine de Chile	88	0.01%
73	Instituto Profesional Escuela de Contadores Auditores de Santiago	1,746	0.1%
74	Instituto Profesional Escuela Moderna de Música	967	0.1%
75	Instituto Profesional ESUCOMEX	3,009	0.3%
76	*Instituto Profesional Hogar Catequistico	25	0.002%
77	Instituto Profesional INACAP	36,350	3.1%
78	Instituto Profesional Instituto Internacional de Artes Culinarias y Servicios	834	0.1%
79	Instituto Profesional Instituto Nacional del Fútbol	1,058	0.1%
80	Instituto Profesional Instituto Superior de Artes y Ciencias de la Comunicación	10,596	0.9%
81	Instituto Profesional IPG	4,790	0.4%
82	Instituto Profesional La Araucana	12,335	1.0%
83	Instituto Profesional Latinoamericano de Comercio Exterior	9,761	0.8%
84	Instituto Profesional Libertador de los Andes	353	0.03%
85	Instituto Profesional Los Lagos	5,480	0.5%
86	Instituto Profesional Los Leones	11,698	1.0%
87	Instituto Profesional Mar Futuro	55	0.005%
88	Instituto Profesional Projazz	417	0.04%
89	Instituto Profesional Providencia	4,443	0.4%
90	Instituto Profesional Santo Tomás	24,443	2.1%
91	Instituto Profesional Vertical	154	0.01%
	Universities		
92	Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile	26,786	2.3%
93	Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso	14,729	1.3%
94	Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano	3,274	0.3%
95	Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez	8,651	0.7%
96	Universidad Adventista de Chile	2,002	0.2%
97	Universidad Alberto Hurtado	6,594	0.6%
98	Universidad Andrés Bello	43,315	3.7%
99	Universidad Arturo Prat	12,542	1.1%
100	Universidad Austral de Chile	14,483	1.2%
101	Universidad Autónoma de Chile	22,941	1.9%
102	Universidad Bernardo O'Higgins	5,642	0.5%
103	Universidad Bolivariana	4,493	0.4%
104	Universidad Católica de la Santísima Concepción	13,589	1.2%
105	Universidad Católica de Temuco	10,542	0.9%
106	Universidad Católica del Maule	7,471	0.6%
107	Universidad Católica del Norte	10,643	0.9%
108	Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez	6,289	0.5%
109	Universidad Central	12,240	1.0%
110	Universidad Chileno Británica de Cultura	439	0.04%
111	Universidad de Aconcagua	7,650	0.7%
112	Universidad de Antofagasta	7,501	0.6%
113	*Universidad de Arte y Ciencias Sociales ARCIS	642	0.1%

114	Universidad de Artes, Ciencias y Comunicación UNIACC	4,146	0.4%
115	Universidad de Atacama	6,928	0.6%
116	Universidad de Aysén	93	0.01%
117	Universidad de Chile	31,095	2.6%
118	Universidad de Concepción	24,646	2.1%
119	Universidad de la Frontera	9,682	0.8%
120	Universidad de La Serena	7,411	0.6%
121	Universidad de las Américas	24,287	2.1%
122	Universidad de los Andes	7,932	0.7%
123	Universidad de Los Lagos	9,472	0.8%
124	Universidad de Magallanes	4,480	0.4%
125	Universidad de O'Higgins	435	0.0%
126	Universidad de Playa Ancha de Ciencias de la Educación	8,008	0.7%
127	Universidad de Santiago de Chile	21,566	1.8%
128	Universidad de Talca	9,946	0.8%
129	Universidad de Tarapacá	8,468	0.7%
130	Universidad de Valparaíso	14,936	1.3%
131	Universidad de Viña del Mar	8,757	0.7%
132	Universidad del Bío-Bío	12,265	1.0%
133	Universidad del Desarrollo	13,934	1.2%
134	*Universidad del Mar	28	0.002%
135	Universidad del Pacífico	3,543	0.3%
136	Universidad Diego Portales	15,407	1.3%
137	Universidad Finis Terrae	7,161	0.6%
138	Universidad Gabriela Mistral	2,010	0.2%
139	Universidad Iberoamericana de Ciencias y Tecnología UNICYT	2,523	0.2%
140	Universidad la República	4,848	0.4%
141	Universidad Los Leones	1,995	0.2%
142	Universidad Mayor	18,438	1.6%
143	Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación	4,701	0.4%
144	Universidad Miguel de Cervantes	1,086	0.1%
145	Universidad Pedro de Valdivia	6,285	0.5%
146	Universidad San Sebastián	27,593	2.3%
147	Universidad Santo Tomás	28,718	2.4%
148	Universidad SEK	6,635	0.6%
149	Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María	18,146	1.5%
150	Universidad Tecnológica de Chile INACAP	36,230	3.1%
151	Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana	8,402	0.7%
152	*Universidad UCINF	546	0.05%
	Total	**1,176,727**	**100%**

Source: Own elaboration.

* Refers to higher education institutions which are not considered in the MCA.

** Refers to higher education institutions which are not considered in the MCA and did not present students enrolled in 2017.

Table A.1.4: Eigenvalues and variance explained by the axes in the MCA

Axis	Eigenvalue	Percentage	Cumulated percentage	Modified eigenvalue*	Modified percentage	Cumulated modified percentage
1	0.490	16.35	16.35	0.084	81.74	81.74
2	0.303	10.11	26.46	0.011	10.31	92.05

Source: Own elaboration.

* Modified eigenvalues and percentages are calculated to rectify the underestimation of explained variance in MCA.

Table A.1.5: Contributions of active categories to the MCA*

	Axis 1	Axis 2
Type of School		
Public and Delegated Schools	2.915	0.225
Private Subsidised Schools	0.111	0.977
Private Schools	**12.334**	1.487
Cost of Tuition Fees		
Very Low Fees	**10.974**	0.491
Low Fees	3.071	**18.321**
Medium Fees	0.013	0.961
High Fees	1.375	**12.794**
Very High Fees	**14.408**	0.923
Type of Admission		
Selection	**14.613**	3.043
Regular	**12.094**	3.309
Alternative Admission	0.448	1.052
Degree Accreditation		
Not Accredited Degrees	0.193	1.760
Low Degrees	0.034	**8.627**
Medium Degrees	1.811	4.559
High Degrees	0.022	**6.809**
Very High Degrees	**7.686**	4.000
Institution Accreditation		
Not Accredited and Low Institutions	**12.492**	0.031
Medium Institutions	0.071	**20.726**
High Institutions	3.194	1.397
Very High Institutions	2.141	**8.508**

Source: Own elaboration.

* Above-average contributions to the axes are shown in bold.

Table A.1.6: Coordinates for supplementary categories for the variable 'Institution'

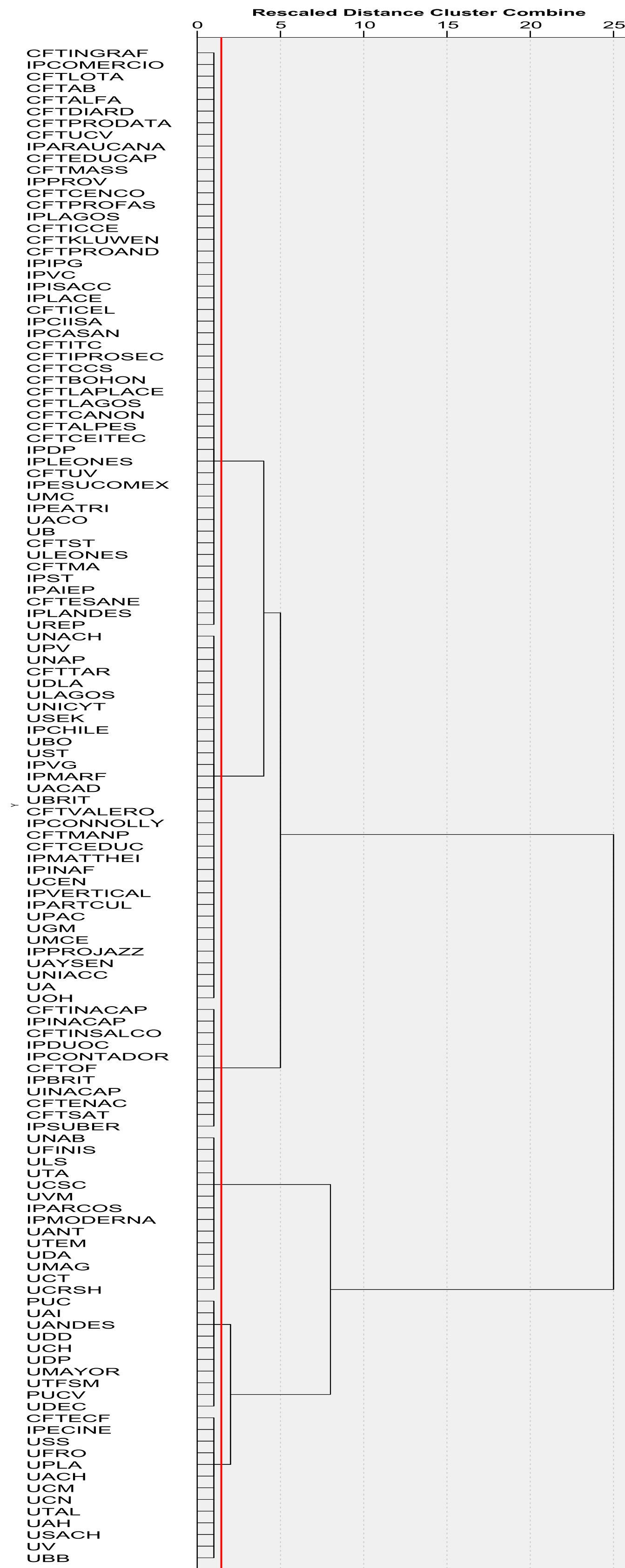
Institution	Axis 1	Axis 2
CFTAB	-1.39494872	0.13334696
CFTALFA	-1.44173125	0.08017861
CFTALPES	-1.33841984	0.19759206
CFTBOHON	-1.34194705	0.18284487
CFTCANON	-1.34210953	0.19339873
CFTCCS	-1.34287962	0.18188538
CFTCEDUC	-0.71898981	-0.0181801
CFTCEITEC	-1.33841984	0.19759206
CFTCENCO	-1.36424769	0.1682387
CFTDIARD	-1.44173125	0.08017861
CFTECF	0.25971737	-0.37150555
CFTEDUCAP	-1.33990706	0.16943017
CFTENAC	-0.69191985	-0.23873394
CFTESANE	-1.23240185	0.09042522
CFTICCE	-1.37285698	0.15845424
CFTICEL	-1.31537245	0.17429492
CFTINACAP	-0.43099156	-1.0935516
CFTINGRAF	-1.40298947	0.12420865
CFTINSALCO	-0.40573464	-1.03644715
CFTIPROSEC	-1.32995169	0.20721612
CFTITC	-1.32873439	0.20859957
CFTKLUWEN	-1.37162708	0.15985202
CFTLAGOS	-1.34653716	0.18836672
CFTLAPLACE	-1.3448768	0.19025372
CFTLOTA	-1.41043247	0.11574968
CFTMA	-1.2487478	-0.13518537
CFTMANP	-0.88513518	0.20752551
CFTMASS	-1.35600476	0.17760679
CFTOF	-1.06496384	-0.64737974
CFTPROAND	-1.36923517	0.15558711
CFTPRODATA	-1.43656568	0.08604928
CFTPROFAS	-1.36424769	0.1682387
CFTSAT	-0.7039808	-0.34219123
CFTST	-1.32041348	-0.06051904
CFTTAR	-0.78981348	0.61233309
CFTUCV	-1.34005955	0.1526118
CFTUV	-1.1924339	0.32396292
CFTVALERO	-0.7987419	0.30691885
IPAIEP	-1.29153759	-0.22372609
IPARAUCANA	-1.34783238	0.16050669
IPARCOS	-0.2553854	1.28417432
IPARTCUL	-0.08031101	0.12566073
IPBRIT	-1.01323311	-0.72656128
IPCASAN	-1.26665131	0.17202463
IPCHILE	-0.81477328	1.07830492
IPCIISA	-1.29438416	0.15745874

IPCOMERCIO	-1.40298947	0.12420865
IPCONNOLLY	-0.83748368	0.26288881
IPCONTADOR	-0.33804033	-1.53841372
IPDP	-1.35247188	0.20177182
IPDUOC	-0.32009845	-1.10802966
IPEATRI	-1.02845721	0.28954886
IPECINE	0.16687812	-0.30455048
IPESUCOMEX	-1.2365795	0.29130663
IPINACAP	-0.38205946	-1.0834105
IPINAF	-0.57861933	0.2155444
IPIPG	-1.36943637	0.14895022
IPISACC	-1.37540009	0.13627109
IPLACE	-1.37094926	0.12577701
IPLAGOS	-1.36002131	0.17304198
IPLANDES	-1.15344382	0.15580869
IPLEONES	-1.33793439	0.2491883
IPMARF	-0.71633825	0.25828543
IPMATTHEI	-0.70961573	0.01964442
IPMODERNA	0.49762715	2.04259341
IPPROJAZZ	-0.40016393	0.61588589
IPPROV	-1.35219469	0.18193694
IPST	-1.28557555	-0.12465752
IPSUBER	-0.77214034	-0.51834178
IPVC	-1.38157411	0.13856229
IPVERTICAL	-0.66121588	0.15277678
IPVG	-0.91889598	0.8015195
PUC	1.90352365	-0.97725885
PUCV	1.11414637	0.0198258
UA	-0.13905179	1.0073991
UACAD	-0.71021544	0.28768722
UACH	0.61732199	0.54624288
UACO	-1.07885659	0.25921888
UAH	0.82267047	0.36151998
UAI	1.95227502	-0.57661374
UANDES	1.58854689	-0.37108894
UANT	0.45106486	1.95724156
UAYSEN	-0.27737437	0.63275996
UB	-0.9357425	0.40384139
UBB	0.5011922	0.16699785
UBO	-0.77565119	0.82665819
UBRIT	-0.7506685	0.23782802
UCEN	-0.52540985	0.23765083
UCH	1.31037312	-0.44179771
UCM	0.60696402	0.54405178
UCN	0.71063417	0.63462665
UCRSH	0.31567823	1.68706706
UCSC	0.02619658	1.34155021
UCT	0.20934896	1.53725071
UDA	0.05935769	1.73528959

UDD	1.5465323	-0.43239931
UDEC	0.77740437	-0.12818754
UDLA	-0.83113625	0.65241676
UDP	1.29460396	-0.31425203
UFINIS	0.90314474	1.16538471
UFRO	0.50731105	0.45217939
UGM	-0.22438822	0.46752697
UINACAP	-1.05210709	-0.90414032
ULAGOS	-0.64106637	0.73867347
ULEONES	-1.2898071	-0.07737515
ULS	0.30701788	1.23072596
UMAG	0.13284819	1.71672717
UMAYOR	1.18669942	-0.14469757
UMC	-1.316082	0.33032286
UMCE	-0.1270076	0.48589853
UNAB	0.84360784	1.38862443
UNACH	-0.78238933	0.52449021
UNAP	-0.62946369	0.5300331
UNIACC	-0.43866974	0.3906052
UNICYT	-0.73568051	1.05108894
UOH	0.00959704	0.71581306
UPAC	-0.25298012	0.09815438
UPLA	0.53325019	0.47364009
UPV	-0.745461	0.46692961
UREP	-1.03523343	-0.03746255
USACH	0.79475839	0.27654378
USEK	-0.66550977	1.02811805
USS	0.38604228	-0.15203962
UST	-0.76820328	0.9192631
UTA	0.53289322	1.08933894
UTAL	0.7029495	0.53883814
UTEM	0.35022569	1.86999837
UTFSM	1.06236155	-0.15822263
UV	0.69026672	0.41576389
UVM	-0.13586838	1.44644517

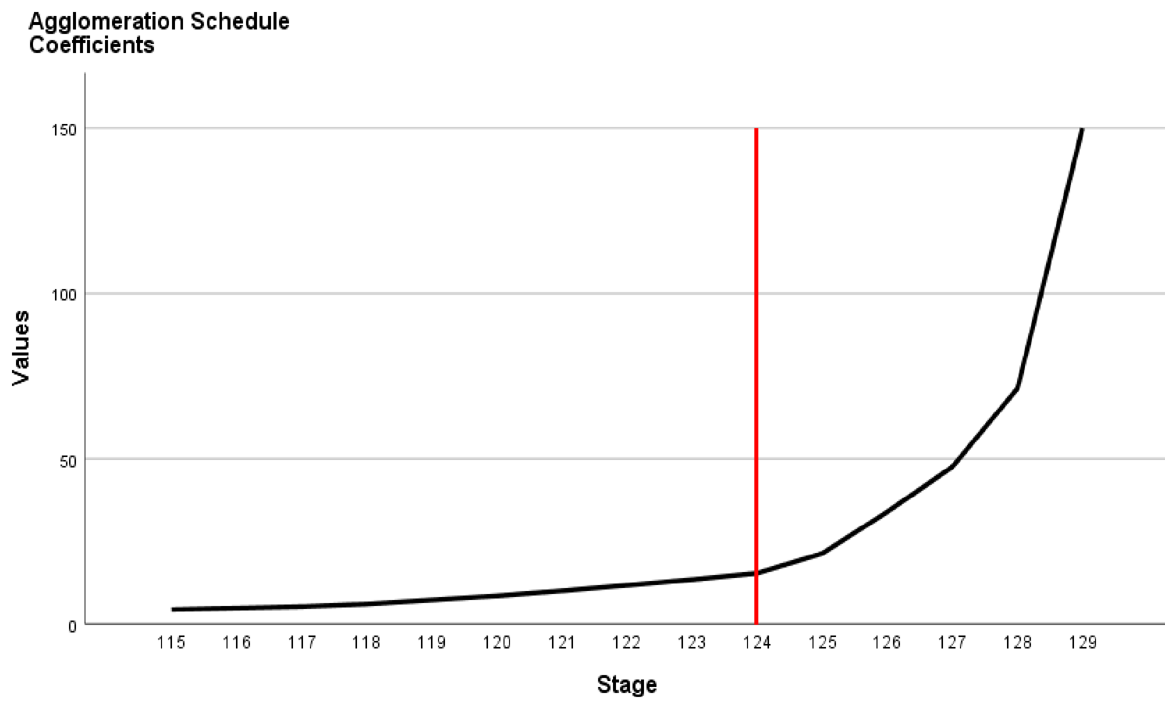
Source: Own elaboration.

Figure A.1.1: Dendrogram using Ward linkage in Agglomerative Hierarchical Cluster Analysis



Source: Own elaboration.

Figure A.1.2: Agglomeration Schedule Coefficients



Source: Own elaboration.

Table A.1.7: Clusters in Agglomerative Hierarchical Cluster Analysis

Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster 5	Cluster 6
PUC	CFTECF	IPARCOS	CFTCEDUC	CFTENAC	CFTAB
PUCV	IPECINE	IPMODERNA	CFTMANP	CFTINACAP	CFTALFA
UAI	UAH	UANT	CFTTAR	CFTINSALCO	CFTALPES
UANDES	UACH	UCRSH	CFTVALERO	CFTOF	CFTBOHON
UCH	UCM	UCSC	IPARTCUL	CFTSAT	CFTCANON
UDD	UCN	UCT	IPCHILE	IPBRIT	CFTCCS
UDEC	UFRO	UDA	IPCONNOLLY	IPCONTADOR	CFTCEITEC
UDP	UPLA	UFINIS	IPINAF	IPDUOC	CFTCENCO
UMAYOR	USACH	ULS	IPMARF	IPINACAP	CFTDIARD
UTFSM	UTAL	UMAG	IPMATTHEI	IPSUBER	CFTEDUCAP
	UV	UNAB	IPPROJAZZ	UINACAP	CFTESANE
	UBB	UTA	IPVERTICAL		CFTICCE
	USS	UTEM	IPVG		CFTICEL
		UVM	UA		CFTINGRAF
			UACAD		CFTIPROSEC
			UAYSEN		CFTITC
			UBO		CFTKLUWEN
			UBRIT		CFTLAGOS
			UCEN		CFTLAPLACE
			UDLA		CFTLOTA
			UGM		CFTMA
			ULAGOS		CFTMASS
			UMCE		CFTPROAND
			UNACH		CFTPRODATA
			UNAP		CFTPROFAS
			UNIACC		CFTST
			UNICYT		CFTUCV
			UOH		CFTUV
			UPAC		IPAIEP
			UPV		IPARAUCANA
			USEK		IPCASAN
			UST		IPCIISA
					IPCOMERCIO
					IPDP
					IPEATRI
					IPESUCOMEX
					IPIPG
					IPISACC
					IPLACE
					IPLAGOS
					IPLANDES
					IPLEONES
					IPPROV
					IPST
					IPVC
					UACO
					UB
					ULEONES
					UMC
					UREP

Source: Own elaboration.

Appendix 2: Qualitative stage

Table A.2.1: Secondary school enrolment by type of schools (2018)

	Enrolment 2018	%
Public Schools	305,049	34.0%
Private Subsidised Schools	449,352	50.1%
Private Schools	85,632	9.5%
Delegated Administration Schools	44,477	5.0%
Local Education Service Schools	12,245	1.4%
Total	**896,755**	**100%**

Source: Own elaboration based on Ministerio de Educación de Chile (2018)

Table A.2.2: Secondary school enrolment by type of school and curriculum (2018)

	Humanistic-scientific	Technical-professional	Total
Public	189,467	115,582	**305,049**
Private Subsidised	341,982	107,370	**449,352**
Private	85,514	118	**85,632**
Delegated Administration	16,611	27,866	**44,477**
Local Education Service	6,493	5,752	**12,245**
Total	**640,067**	**256,688**	**896,755**

Source: Own elaboration based on Ministerio de Educación de Chile (2018)

Table A.2.3: Proportion of secondary school students by type of school and curriculum (2018)

	Public	Private Subsidised	Private	Delegated Administration	Local Education Service
Humanistic-scientific	62.1%	76.1%	99.9%	37.3%	53%
Technical-professional	37.9%	23.9%	0.1%	62.7%	47%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Own elaboration based on Ministerio de Educación de Chile (2018)

Table A.2.4: Secondary school enrolment by type of curriculum (2018)

	Enrolment 2018	%
Humanistic-scientific	640,067	71.4%
Technical-professional	256,688	28.6%
Total	**896,755**	**100%**

Source: Own elaboration based on Ministerio de Educación de Chile (2018)

Table A.2.5: Schools included in the sample and relevant variables

Type of School	Commune	Emblematic / Non Emblematic	Monthly Fee Payment[1]	Gender	School Vulnerability Index 2018 (IVE)[2]	Socioeconomic Group (2018)[3]
Public	Lampa	Non Emblematic	£0	Mixed	Above 80%	Low
Public	Lo Prado	Non Emblematic	£0	Mixed	Above 80%	Low
Public	Providencia	Emblematic	£0	Only Women	Between 40% and 60%	High
Public	Providencia	Emblematic	£0	Only Men	Between 40% and 60%	High
Public	Providencia	Emblematic	£0	Only Men	Between 60% and 80%	Medium
Public	Santiago	Emblematic	£0	Only Men	Between 40% and 60%	High
Delegated Adm.	San Joaquín	n/a	£0	Mixed	Above 80%	Low
Delegated Adm.	Santiago	n/a	£0	Mixed	Between 60% and 80%	Low
Private Subsidised	Maipú	n/a	Between £25 and £50	Mixed	Between 60% and 80%	Medium
Private Subsidised	Puente Alto	n/a	£0	Mixed	Between 60% and 80%	Medium
Private	Huechuraba	n/a	More than £100	Mixed	No Information	No Information
Private	Peñalolén	n/a	More than £100	Mixed	No Information	No Information
Private	Vitacura	n/a	More than £100	Mixed	No Information	No Information

Source: Own elaboration.

[1] Information extracted from the Ministry of Education: http://www.mime.mineduc.cl
[2] Information extracted from the National Board of School Aid and Scholarships (JUNAEB): https://www.junaeb.cl/ive
[3] Information extracted from the Ministry of Education, Performance Evaluation National System (SNED): http://www.mime.mineduc.cl

Table A.2.6: Research participants

Pseudonym	Type of School	Type of Curriculum	Commune of the School	Gender	Age
Arturo	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lampa	Man	18
Claudia	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lampa	Woman	19
Cristóbal	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lampa	Man	18
Marta	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lampa	Woman	18
Rosa	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lo Prado	Woman	18
Mariana	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lo Prado	Woman	18
Manuel	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lo Prado	Man	18
Felipe	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lo Prado	Man	20
Sandra	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Woman	18
Andrea	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Woman	18
Fernando	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	18
Daniel	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	19
Marcelo	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	19
Mateo	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	18
Alejandro	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	18
Maximiliano	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	18
Mario	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Santiago	Man	18
Pablo	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Santiago	Man	18
Silvia	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	San Joaquín	Woman	18
Miguel	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	San Joaquín	Man	18
Bastián	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	San Joaquín	Man	19
Julio	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	San Joaquín	Man	18
Valentina	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Woman	18

Juan	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Man	19
Victoria	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Woman	19
Daniela	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Woman	19
Leonardo	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Man	18
Alvaro	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Maipú	Man	19
Carolina	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Maipú	Woman	18
Catalina	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Maipú	Woman	19
Matías	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Maipú	Man	19
Bárbara	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Puente Alto	Woman	18
Camila	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Puente Alto	Woman	18
Francisco	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Puente Alto	Man	18
Diego	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Puente Alto	Man	18
Pedro	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Huechuraba	Man	18
Teresa	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Huechuraba	Woman	19
Lucas	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Peñalolén	Man	18
Francisca	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Peñalolén	Woman	18
Emilia	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Peñalolén	Woman	18
José	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Peñalolén	Man	18
Isabel	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Woman	18
Domingo	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Man	18
Florencia	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Woman	18
Joaquín	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Man	18
Alonso	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Man	18

Source: Own elaboration.

Table A.2.7: Interview schedule (English adaptation)

Topic	Sub-topic	Description and examples
Social origin	Family and significant others	This section includes questions about parents, siblings and relatives. **Examples:** - What is the educational level of your mother and your father? - What do you think of the different occupations your parents have had? - Regarding your relatives (aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins): What do they do, in general?
	Geographical and social milieu	This section explored aspects related to the geographical and social milieu inhabited by the interviewees. **Examples:** - What memories do you have of the places and neighbourhoods in which you have lived? - What memories do you have of the people you hung out with and who lived near you?
Aspirations towards higher education	Degree and institutions aspirations and choices	This section addressed the aspirations of students towards higher education. In particular, aspects related to the degrees and institutions of higher education to which the interviewees aspire were explored. **Examples:** - What would you like to do next year after school ends? - In case of studying: What would you like to study? Why? - In which institution would you like to study? Why? - What are the most important factors when choosing a degree? And an institution of higher education? - What impediments do you have for choosing a degree? - Are economic factors decisive when making higher education choices? - Have you talked with your parents about the degree and the institution where you would like to study? - What influence do you think your school has had in choosing your degree?
Perceptions about the higher education system	Perceptions about higher education institutions	This section explored students' perceptions of the higher education system and its institutions. **Examples:** - What do you know about the different types of institutions of higher education? - Can you rank higher education institutions? - In your opinion: What makes one higher education institution better than another? - What do you consider to be the role of higher education institutions?
	Preparation and selection for higher education	This section addressed the main aspects related to the process of preparation for higher education. **Examples:** - What do you think of the university admission test (PSU)? - Have you studied for the PSU test? How?

Educational trajectory	First stages of learning	This section explored the early stages of students learning. **Examples:** - Do you remember or have your parents told you about learning activities in which you were involved as a child?
	Primary education	This section explored students' primary education stage. **Examples:** - Do you remember where you started your primary education? - What memories do you have of your teachers during your primary education?
	Secondary education	This section explored students' secondary education stage. **Examples:** - Where did you start your secondary education? - Do you know why you and/or your family chose that school?
Tastes and lifestyles	Recreational activities	This section explored pupils' recreational activities in everyday life. **Examples:** - Do you remember any type of activity that you did in your free time with your father and/or with your mother? - Do you remember having any particular hobby throughout your life?
	Household	This section explored some aspects of students' household. **Examples:** - Do you remember if there were books at your home?
Future aspirations and expectations	Visions of the future	This section explored students' aspirations for the future. **Examples:** - What do you think you will be doing in 10 more years? And in 20 more years? - How important is higher education for achieving your expectations?

Table A.2.8: Interviewees grouped by social class

Pseudonym	Type of School	Type of Curriculum	Commune of the School	Gender	Age
Dominant Class					
Alonso	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Man	18
Isabel	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Woman	18
Domingo	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Man	18
Florencia	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Woman	18
Joaquín	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Vitacura	Man	18
Lucas	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Peñalolén	Man	18
José	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Peñalolén	Man	18
Teresa	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Huechuraba	Woman	19
Francisca	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Peñalolén	Woman	18
Emilia	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Peñalolén	Woman	18
Pedro	Private	Scientific-humanistic	Huechuraba	Man	18
Intermediate Class					
Andrea	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Woman	18
Alvaro	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Maipú	Man	19
Sandra	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Woman	18
Daniel	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	19
Mateo	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	18
Matías	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Maipú	Man	19
Fernando	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	18
Bárbara	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Puente Alto	Woman	18
Francisco	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Puente Alto	Man	18
Maximiliano	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	18
Alejandro	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	18
Mario	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Santiago	Man	18
Diego	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Puente Alto	Man	18
Pablo	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Santiago	Man	18
Catalina	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Maipú	Woman	19
Marcelo	Public Emblematic	Scientific-humanistic	Providencia	Man	19
Rosa	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lo Prado	Woman	18
Arturo	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lampa	Man	18
Mariana	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lo Prado	Woman	18
Manuel	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lo Prado	Man	18
Camila	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Puente Alto	Woman	18
Carolina	Private Subsidised	Scientific-humanistic	Maipú	Woman	18
Cristóbal	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lampa	Man	18
Dominated Class					
Julio	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	San Joaquín	Man	18
Leonardo	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Man	18
Miguel	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	San Joaquín	Man	18
Bastián	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	San Joaquín	Man	19
Victoria	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Woman	19
Felipe	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lo Prado	Man	20
Daniela	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Woman	19

Silvia	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	San Joaquín	Woman	18
Juan	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Man	19
Valentina	Delegated Administration	Technical-professional	Santiago	Woman	18
Marta	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lampa	Woman	18
Claudia	Public	Scientific-humanistic	Lampa	Woman	19

Source: Own elaboration.

Figure A.2.1: Students' informed consent form (Spanish version)

Carlos Palma Amestoy
SPAIS
11 Priory Road
Bristol
BS8 1TY
c.palmaamestoy@bristol.ac.uk

Formulario de Consentimiento Informado para Estudiantes:

'Educación superior y desigualdad social: aspiraciones y expectativas estudiantiles'

El presente documento es un formulario de consentimiento informado dirigido a los estudiantes participantes de la investigación 'Educación superior y desigualdad social: aspiraciones y expectativas estudiantiles', cuya finalidad es informarles sobre los alcances, objetivos y aspectos éticos en los que se enmarca dicho proyecto. Ello con la finalidad de su debida aprobación y consentimiento para participar en la investigación. A continuación, se explican los principales aspectos del proyecto.

Investigador responsable:

El investigador responsable del proceso es Carlos Palma Amestoy, candidato a Doctor de la Universidad de Bristol, Reino Unido e investigador becario de la Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica de Chile (CONICYT). Cualquier duda o comentario respecto al proyecto, puede ser contactado en su correo electrónico: c.palmaamestoy@bristol.ac.uk

Objetivos de la investigación:

En el marco de los estudios doctorales del investigador responsable, esta investigación tiene por objetivo comprender cómo se construyen y configuran las aspiraciones y expectativas de los estudiantes respecto a su futuro y en particular respecto a la educación terciaria. Esto implica conocer y entender no solo estas aspiraciones, sino también cómo influyen en la construcción de estos deseos el entorno social, las trayectorias educativas, las experiencias de vida y las prácticas en la vida cotidiana de los estudiantes. Dado que la transición de la escuela a una nueva etapa se presenta como una fase fundamental en la definición de las aspiraciones y expectativas de los actores, la investigación aborda estudiantes que se encuentren cursando cuarto año medio. Particularmente, se ha seleccionado una muestra de jóvenes de distintos colegios de la Región Metropolitana, que considera tanto escuelas públicas, subvencionadas como privadas. Al mismo tiempo, la muestra también considerará la selección equilibrada de mujeres y hombres, con el objetivo de explorar diferencias de género en la población en cuestión.

Metodología:

La metodología de investigación considera la realización de entrevistas individuales en profundidad a estudiantes de cuarto año medio, en donde se llevará adelante una conversación semi-estructurada, la cual permitirá entender las experiencias, trayectorias y aspiraciones de los estudiantes. La duración de estas entrevistas variara entre cincuenta minutos y una hora y media. En particular, la entrevista se entiende como un momento de reflexión que, dada la etapa en que se encuentran los estudiantes, puede resultar beneficiosa como un espacio para pensar el futuro. Asimismo, la entrevista también considera espacios de preguntas al investigador experto respecto a las alternativas existentes en el campo de la educación superior. Cada entrevista será realizada por el investigador responsable en las dependencias de la escuela de pertenencia del estudiante. Todos los aspectos logísticos serán acordados con el establecimiento, con el fin de resguardar en todo momento la seguridad y bienestar de todos los actores involucrados en el proceso. Cada entrevista será registrada en formato de audio.

Aspectos éticos:

Esta investigación cuenta con la aprobación del Comité de Ética en Investigación de la Escuela de Sociología, Políticas y Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Bristol (*SPAIS Research Ethics Committee*). La participación de los estudiantes es voluntaria y podrán retirarse en cualquier momento del proceso. Además, toda la información producida y recolectada será confidencial y salvaguardará el anonimato de los

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participantes y las escuelas. Esto último quiere decir que en los análisis todos los nombres o elementos que podrían permitir identificar a los estudiantes entrevistados serán modificados o eliminados según sea necesario. Asimismo, las escuelas participantes también serán anonimizadas y serán referidas según el tipo de colegio que representan (público, subvencionado o privado). La idea no es identificar estudiantes ni escuelas en particular, sino grupos sociales de pertenencia.

Esta investigación evitará las preguntas en profundidad cuando ellas vayan más allá de la temática de investigación. El objetivo será evitar intrusión indebida en la vida de los participantes. Asimismo, para evitar cualquier situación de malestar por parte de los entrevistados, cada entrevista será realizada con especial cuidado y se considerarán descansos en los casos en que los participantes se sientan cansados. El propósito es evitar cualquier tipo de daño en los jóvenes durante el proceso de investigación. Por otro lado, como fue señalado anteriormente, las entrevistas serán llevadas a cabo en un espacio provisto por la escuela de pertenencia de los estudiantes. Este espacio cumplirá con todas las condiciones necesarias para salvaguardar el bienestar y seguridad tanto de los participantes como del investigador.

Por último, es importante señalar que esta investigación cuenta con la autorización de las autoridades de la escuela de pertenencia del estudiante, quienes fueron debidamente informados de los objetivos y alcances del proyecto.

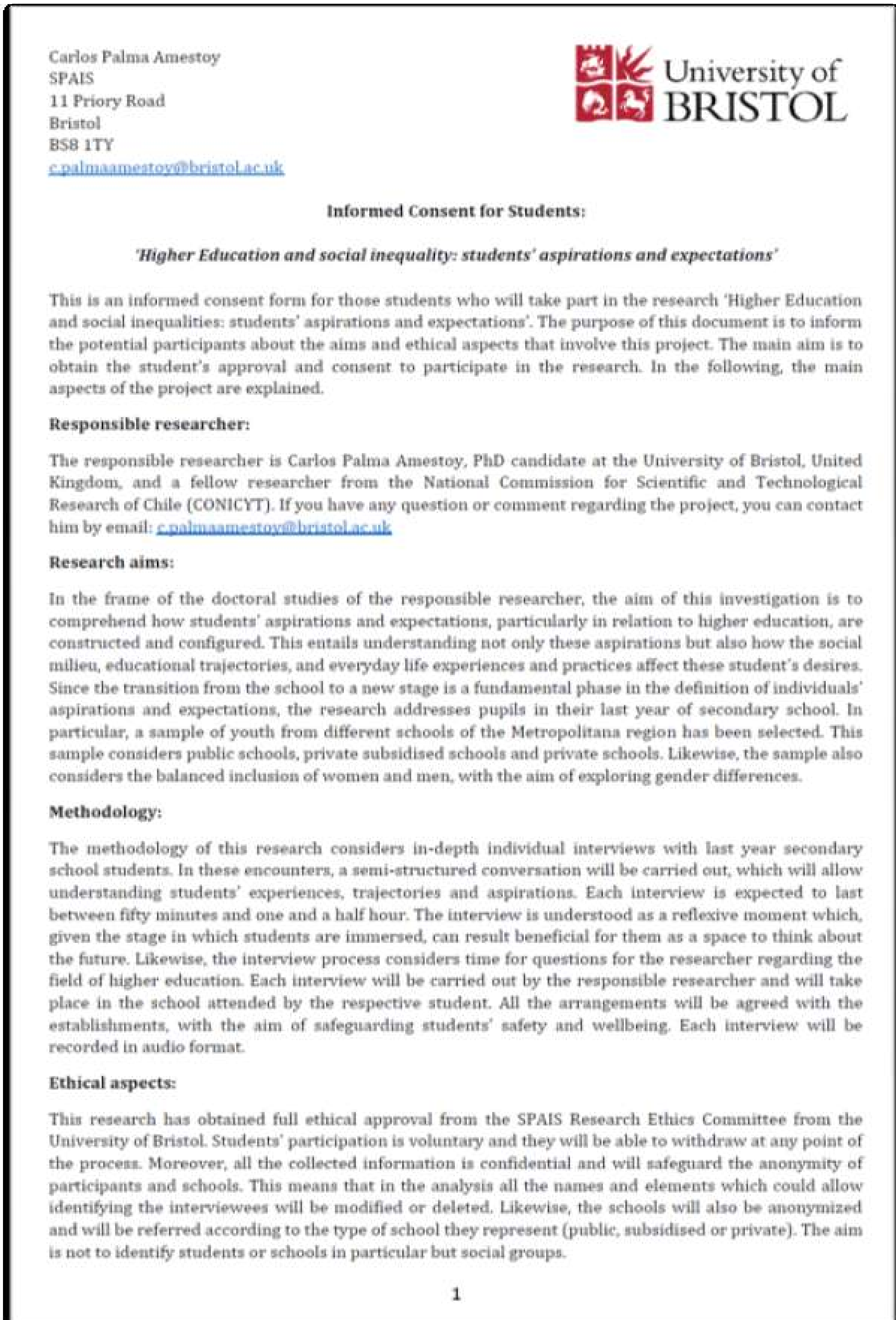
A continuación, por favor, rellenar los espacios indicados y marcar con una X los cuadros pertinentes del lado derecho de la tabla:

Confirmo que yo, ________________________________, tengo 18 años o más.	
He leído y comprendido la información expuesta anteriormente referida a los objetivos, metodología y aspectos éticos del proyecto.	
Acepto participar en el proyecto. Además, entiendo que tomar parte en la investigación incluye el hecho de ser entrevistado y grabado en formato de audio.	
Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria. Además, comprendo que puede retirarse del estudio en cualquier momento.	
Entiendo que mi nombre NO será utilizado en los análisis, informes, publicaciones y resultados de este estudio.	
Entiendo que mis palabras pueden citarse en publicaciones, informes, páginas web y otros resultados de investigación, SIN que mi nombre sea utilizado.	
Entiendo que la información que proporcione se utilizará SOLO con fines investigativos.	

______________________ ______________________ ______________________

Nombre del participante Firma Fecha

Figure A.2.2: Students' informed consent form (English version)



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Informed Consent for Students:

'Higher Education and social inequality: students' aspirations and expectations'

This is an informed consent form for those students who will take part in the research 'Higher Education and social inequalities: students' aspirations and expectations'. The purpose of this document is to inform the potential participants about the aims and ethical aspects that involve this project. The main aim is to obtain the student's approval and consent to participate in the research. In the following, the main aspects of the project are explained.

Responsible researcher:

The responsible researcher is Carlos Palma Amestoy, PhD candidate at the University of Bristol, United Kingdom, and a fellow researcher from the National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research of Chile (CONICYT). If you have any question or comment regarding the project, you can contact him by email: c.palmaamestoy@bristol.ac.uk

Research aims:

In the frame of the doctoral studies of the responsible researcher, the aim of this investigation is to comprehend how students' aspirations and expectations, particularly in relation to higher education, are constructed and configured. This entails understanding not only these aspirations but also how the social milieu, educational trajectories, and everyday life experiences and practices affect these student's desires. Since the transition from the school to a new stage is a fundamental phase in the definition of individuals' aspirations and expectations, the research addresses pupils in their last year of secondary school. In particular, a sample of youth from different schools of the Metropolitana region has been selected. This sample considers public schools, private subsidised schools and private schools. Likewise, the sample also considers the balanced inclusion of women and men, with the aim of exploring gender differences.

Methodology:

The methodology of this research considers in-depth individual interviews with last year secondary school students. In these encounters, a semi-structured conversation will be carried out, which will allow understanding students' experiences, trajectories and aspirations. Each interview is expected to last between fifty minutes and one and a half hour. The interview is understood as a reflexive moment which, given the stage in which students are immersed, can result beneficial for them as a space to think about the future. Likewise, the interview process considers time for questions for the researcher regarding the field of higher education. Each interview will be carried out by the responsible researcher and will take place in the school attended by the respective student. All the arrangements will be agreed with the establishments, with the aim of safeguarding students' safety and wellbeing. Each interview will be recorded in audio format.

Ethical aspects:

This research has obtained full ethical approval from the SPAIS Research Ethics Committee from the University of Bristol. Students' participation is voluntary and they will be able to withdraw at any point of the process. Moreover, all the collected information is confidential and will safeguard the anonymity of participants and schools. This means that in the analysis all the names and elements which could allow identifying the interviewees will be modified or deleted. Likewise, the schools will also be anonymized and will be referred according to the type of school they represent (public, subsidised or private). The aim is not to identify students or schools in particular but social groups.

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This research will avoid in-depth questions when they go beyond the research topic. The aim will be to avoid undue intrusion. Likewise, in order to prevent uncomfortable situations for the participants, each interview will be carried out with care and break times will be considered in the case that participants become tired. The purpose is to avoid any harm during the investigative process. On the other hand, as it was noted previously, the interviews will be carried out in a space established by each school. This space will fulfil with all the necessary conditions to safeguard students' and the researcher's safety and wellbeing.

Finally, it is important to point out that this research has been authorised by the school to which each student belong. The schools were informed about the aims and scope of the project.

Please, in the following, fill the indicated spaces and mark with an X the pertinent squares of the right side of the table:

I confirm that me, ______________________, I am 18 years of age or above.	
I have read and comprehended the previous information which refers to the aims, methodology and ethical aspects of this research project.	
I agree to participate in the research project. Moreover, I understand that taking part in this research involves the fact of being interviewed and recorded in audio format.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary. Moreover, I comprehend that I can withdraw at any point in the process.	
I understand that my name will <u>NOT</u> be used in the analysis, reports, publications and outputs of this research.	
I understand that my words can be quoted in publications, reports, web sites and other research outputs, <u>WITHOUT</u> my name being used.	
I understand that the information that I provide will be used <u>ONLY</u> for research aims.	

______________________ ______________________ ______________________

Name of participant Signature Date

Appendix 3: The Field of Institutions of Higher Education

Table A.3.1: Proportion of students by gender and cluster (n=117,466)

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster 5	Cluster 6	Total Sample
Women	48.2%	53.4%	54.9%	61%	36.3%	66.1%	51.6%
Men	51.8%	46.6%	45.1%	39%	63.7%	33.9%	48.4%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Own elaboration.

Table A.3.2: Types of universities

Type of University	Universities
New Private Universities	*Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano* *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez* *Universidad Adventista de Chile* *Universidad Alberto Hurtado* *Universidad Andrés Bello* *Universidad Autónoma de Chile* *Universidad Bernardo O'Higgins* *Universidad Bolivariana* *Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez* *Universidad Central* *Universidad Chileno Británica de Cultura* *Universidad de Aconcagua* *Universidad de Arte y Ciencias Sociales ARCIS** *Universidad de Artes, Ciencias y Comunicación UNIACC* *Universidad de las Américas* *Universidad de los Andes* *Universidad de Viña del Mar* *Universidad del Desarrollo* *Universidad del Mar** *Universidad del Pacífico* *Universidad Diego Portales* *Universidad Finis Terrae* *Universidad Gabriela Mistral* *Universidad Iberoamericana de Ciencias y Tecnología UNICYT* *Universidad la República* *Universidad Los Leones* *Universidad Mayor* *Universidad Miguel de Cervantes* *Universidad Pedro de Valdivia* *Universidad San Sebastián* *Universidad Santo Tomás* *Universidad SEK* *Universidad Tecnológica de Chile INACAP* *Universidad UCINF**
Traditional Private Universities	*Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso* *Universidad Austral de Chile* *Universidad Católica de la Santísima Concepción* *Universidad Católica de Temuco* *Universidad Católica del Maule* *Universidad Católica del Norte* *Universidad de Concepción* *Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María*

Public Universities	*Universidad Arturo Prat* *Universidad de Antofagasta* *Universidad de Atacama* *Universidad de Aysén* *Universidad de Chile* *Universidad de la Frontera* *Universidad de La Serena* *Universidad de Los Lagos* *Universidad de Magallanes* *Universidad de O'Higgins* *Universidad de Playa Ancha de Ciencias de la Educación* *Universidad de Santiago de Chile* *Universidad de Talca* *Universidad de Tarapacá* *Universidad de Valparaíso* *Universidad del Bío-Bío* *Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación* *Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana*

Source: Own elaboration.
* Refers to higher education institutions which are not considered in the MCA.

Table A.3.3: Associations of universities (2016)

Association	Member Universities
Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities (CRUCH)	*Universidad de Chile* (UCH) *Pontificia Universidad Católica* (PUC) *Universidad de Concepción* (UDEC) *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso* (PUCV) *Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María* (UTFSM) *Universidad de Santiago de Chile* (USACH) *Universidad Austral de Chile* (UACH) *Universidad Católica del Norte* (UCN) *Universidad de Valparaíso* (UV) *Universidad de Antofagasta* (UANT) *Universidad de La Serena* (ULS) *Universidad del Bío-Bío* (UBB) *Universidad de La Frontera* (UFRO) *Universidad de Magallanes* (UMAG) *Universidad de Talca* (UTAL) *Universidad de Atacama* (UDA) *Universidad de Tarapacá* (UTA) *Universidad Arturo Prat* (UNAP) *Universidad Metropolitana de las Ciencias de la Educación* (UMCE) *Universidad de Playa Ancha de Ciencias de la Educación* (UPLA) *Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana* (UTEM) *Universidad de Los Lagos* (ULAGOS) *Universidad Católica del Maule* (UCM) *Universidad Católica de la Santísima Concepción* (UCSC) *Universidad Católica de Temuco* (UCT) *Universidad de Aysén* (UAYSEN) *Universidad de O'Higgins* (UOH)

Consortium of Chilean State Universities (CUECH)	*Universidad de Tarapacá* (UTA) *Universidad Arturo Prat* (UNAP) *Universidad de Antofagasta* (UANT) *Universidad de Atacama* (UDA) *Universidad de La Serena* (ULS) *Universidad de Playa Ancha de Ciencias de la Educación* (UPLA) *Universidad de Valparaíso* (UV) *Universidad de Santiago de Chile* (USACH) *Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana* (UTEM) *Universidad de Chile* (UCH) *Universidad Metropolitana de las Ciencias de la Educación* (UMCE) *Universidad de O'Higgins* (UOH) *Universidad de Talca* (UTAL) *Universidad del Bío-Bío* (UBB) *Universidad de La Frontera* (UFRO) *Universidad de Los Lagos* (ULAGOS) *Universidad de Aysén* (UAYSEN) *Universidad de Magallanes* (UMAG)
Network of Non-State Public Universities (G9)	*Pontificia Universidad Católica* (PUC) *Universidad de Concepción* (UDEC) *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso* (PUCV) *Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María* (UTFSM) *Universidad Austral de Chile* (UACH) *Universidad Católica del Norte* (UCN) *Universidad Católica del Maule* (UCM) *Universidad Católica de la Santísima Concepción* (UCSC) *Universidad Católica de Temuco* (UCT)
Association of Regional Universities of Chile (AUR)	*Universidad de Tarapacá* (UTA) *Universidad Arturo Prat* (UNAP) *Universidad de Antofagasta* (UANT) *Universidad Católica del Norte* (UCN) *Universidad de Atacama* (UDA) *Universidad de La Serena* (ULS) *Universidad de Valparaíso* (UV) *Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María* (UTFSM) *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso* (PUCV) *Universidad de Playa Ancha de Ciencias de la Educación* (UPLA) *Universidad de O'Higgins* (UOH) *Universidad Católica del Maule* (UCM) *Universidad de Talca* (UTAL) *Universidad del Bío-Bío* (UBB) *Universidad de Concepción* (UDEC) *Universidad Católica de la Santísima Concepción* (UCSC) *Universidad de La Frontera* (UFRO) *Universidad Católica de Temuco* (UCT) *Universidad Austral de Chile* (UACH) *Universidad de Los Lagos* (ULAGOS) *Universidad de Aysén* (UAYSEN) *Universidad de Magallanes* (UMAG)
G8	*Universidad Diego Portales* (UDP) *Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez* (UAI) *Universidad de los Andes* (UANDES) *Universidad del Desarrollo* (UDD) *Universidad Mayor* (UMANOR) *Universidad Andrés Bello* (UNAB) *Universidad Finis Terrae* (UFINIS) *Universidad Alberto Hurtado* (UAH) *Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez* (UCRSH)

Corporation of Private Universities (CUP)	*Universidad de las Américas* (UDLA) *Universidad Bernardo O'Higgins* (UBO) *Universidad Autónoma de Chile* (UA) *Universidad Santo Tomás* (UST) *Universidad Adventista de Chile* (UNACH) *Universidad Bolivariana* (UB) *Universidad del Aconcagua* (UACO) *Universidad SEK* (USEK) *Universidad Miguel de Cervantes* (UCM) *Universidad de Viña del Mar* (UVM) *Universidad UNIACC* (UNIACC)

Source: Own elaboration.

Table A.3.4: Selected elite schools

School	Commune
Alianza Francesa	Vitacura
Saint George's College	Vitacura
Colegio Tabancura	Vitacura
Colegio de los Sagrados Corazones de Manquehue	Vitacura
Colegio San Benito	Vitacura
Colegio Alemán de Santiago	Las Condes
Colegio Cordillera	Las Condes
Colegio del Verbo Divino	Las Condes
Scuola Italiana	Las Condes
Colegio Craighouse	Lo Barnechea
Santiago College	Lo Barnechea
Newland	Lo Barnechea
Colegio San Ignacio El Bosque	Providencia
Colegio Instituto de Humanidades Luis Campino	Providencia
The Grange School	La Reina

Source: Own elaboration based on PNUD (2017)

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