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"Work and Lifelong Learning in a Changing World: on the importance of comparing workers' paths in different societies. Canada and Argentina"

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UBA/ FFyL- IICE-PEET
Graciela C. Riquelme
Inv. CONICET

INDEX

UBA/ FFyL- IICE-PEET
Graciela C. Riquelme
Inv. CONICET

Preliminary note

This comparative research has been possible thanks to the shared work of the Education, Economy and Labour Program (PEET) at the Educational Sciences Research Institute (IICE) of the School of Philosophy and Literature (FFyL) of University of Buenos Aires (UBA). It is the result of a long path of researches, consultancy and work at the educational, social and labour levels as well as social policies reality. Our perspective focuses on education and vocational and general training for work, the right to education for all adolescents, youth and adults that had been excluded early from the education system and from the world of work. Our concerns are the promotion of greater equality and the widening of access to and graduation from secondary, higher and university education; goals which are still far from being met in a country with great social and educational debts.

In this preliminary note I want to recognize Dr. David W. Livingstone, for his theoretical and academic thoroughness, and for the opportunity to adapt the WALL survey. Through his intermediation we also want to express our gratitude to the entire team at the Centre for the Study of Education and Work (CSEW), the Ontario Institute for Studies of Education (OISE), University of Toronto. All along these years, and especially since 2009, we have been able to exchange orientations, materials and methodological consultancy, both through our work in Toronto as well as by mail and virtual meetings[1].

Natalia Herger and Ariel Langer, researchers educated and trained by PEET, were the PEET members in charge of the academic articulation strategies and, together with CLACA, have strengthened our work sphere. I want to express my recognition for their participation in the adaptation of the National Work and Lifelong Learning (WALL) and Argentina- Canada Work and Lifelong Learning (ArCaWall) surveys and for their input for the next stages of application at Great Buenos Aires, and we hope the rest of the country. A special mention is deserved by the young fellow Jorgelina Sassera for her collaboration during the comparative study and for the translation of this paper: her academic stay at the University of Toronto was extremely valuable to her.

[1] Darcy Martin, Milosh Raykov, Doug Hart, Peter Sawchuk.

Introduction

This study is based on the work and research that the head of the Education, Economy, and Labour Program (PEET) at the Educational Sciences Research Institute (IICE) of the School of Philosophy and Literature (FFyL) of University of Buenos Aires (UBA) and researcher of the scientific system of Argentina (CONICET) has developed on Argentine and Latin American education and labour issues during the last years. [2]

Presented and financed by the *Canadian Studies Canada-Latin America - Caribbean Awards* (CLACA)[3], the research has been backed by a series of recent instances (from 2000 to 2009) of academic exchange with Canada *(L'Université du* Québec *à* Montréal and University of Toronto), as well as participation in events held by the Canadian Embassy in Argentina.

Back in 2000, Graciela C Riquelme, PhD., head of the Education, Economy, and Labour Program at the Educational Sciences Research Institute (PEET/IICE), initiated an academic exchange with the Centre for the Study of Education and Work at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (CSEW/OISE) of the University of Toronto. That same year, she participated in the First Annual International Seminar on Pan-American Integration held in Buenos Aires and organized by the Argentine-Canadian Studies Centre with the collaboration of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ottawa. Specifically, the head of the PEET/IICE took part in the panel on "The role of education in hemispheric integration: possibilities and projects".

In 2002 she was invited as lecturer and discussant at the "Seminar-Workshop on the educational and transformative capacities of the workplace as a learning site", organized by the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) at L'Université du ***Québec*** à ***Montréal*** (UQAM), which led to exchanges with Canada. At that time, an academic relationship was initiated with Prof. Dr. Paul Bélanger from UQAM, which took shape in the translation and publication in Argentina of the book by Paul Bélanger and P. Federighi called "Transactional analysis of education and adult training policies. The difficulty of the liberation of productive powers," within the framework of Collection of Ideas in Debates of the Editing Council of the School of Philosophy and Literature at UBA (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires) in 2004. Prof. Paul Bélanger presented the publication at the "International Conference of Sociology of Education. The

[2] The development of the researches has always been enriched by the consideration of some comparative thinking approaches from foreign countries like those of French origin (Centre d´ Etudes et de Recherches sur les Qualifications-CEREQ, Office national d'information sur les enseignements et les professions -ONISEP, Paris V and Paris VII), of North American origin School of Education de Stanford University), English origin London School of Economics y Institute of Education of University of London), German Origin (Centre for Research of Higher Education and Work of Kassel University), Colombian origin (Univerisidad Nacional de Colombia), Brazilian origin (Universidad de San Pablo, Universidad de Parana, and Universidad de Campinhas, and the Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação-ANPED) and from Uruguay (Universidad de la República) and as well from acting organizations in the field of adult education with a gender perspective (Red de Educación Popular entre Mujeres-REPEM- and the International Council of Adult Education- ICAE)

[3] Project "Work and Lifelong Learning in a Changing World: On the importance of comparing workers' trajectories in different societies (Canada and Argentina) Canada – Latin America – Caribbean Awards, International (CLACA) 2010 Council for Canadian Studies (ICCS). Institutional Headquarters: Education, Economy, and Labour Program (PEET) at the Educational Sciences Research Institute (IICE) of the School of Philosophy and Literature (FFyL) of University of Buenos Aires (UBA). Head: PhD. Graciela C. Riquelme.

social responsibility of the Sociology of Education in emerging social movements," held at the School of Philosophy and Literature at UBA in August 2004.

In 2006, more presentations were made online to Dr. David Livingstone, at the OISE, in order to arrange an academic visit to Canada, both to the University of Toronto and L'Université du *Québec* à *Montréal* (UQAM). At that time, Prof. David Livingstone received the PEET academic background and, together with Paul Belanger, sent out letters of endorsement to support the nomination.

In 2007, Dr. Graciela C. Riquelme was appointed Program Committee Track Chair on the subject "Education and Educational Policies" at the XXVII Internacional Congress of the Latin American Studies Association LASA2007, which took place in Montreal. An interview with Dr. David Livingstone was requested, in order to provide him with updated academic background of the PEET, research projects underway and a number of papers. The interview took place at CSEW on September 11th, 2007, and Dr. Livingstone offered the PEET the possibility of implementing the WALL Survey "Work and Lifelong Learning" in Argentina.

In December 2007 and January 2008, a new project was submitted to the Fund for Scientific and Technological Research (FONCyT), and the PEET was awarded a research grant for this project called "The demand for general, technical and vocational education in post-crisis Argentina: a review of the supply and demand concepts and an evaluation of workers' educational needs"[4] (see attached document PICT00267). This Project covers a component or subproject, called "About a methodology for the critical assessment of the correspondence between education and labour requirements. A comparative study between the new Canadian economy and Argentina's economic perspectives.".

All throughout 2008, and while awaiting the results of the research financing call of FONCYT, the PEET organized a scientific meeting, funded by the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET). In 2009 the PICT00267 project was launched and there were numerous electronic exchanges (via Skype and email) with the CSEW team, especially with David Livingstone, Peter Sawchuk, and Milosh Raykov.

In October 2008, the PEET (IICE, School of Philosophy and Literature at UBA) held a scientific meeting called "The demand for general, technical and vocational education in post-crisis Argentina: interfaces between taught, required and workforce knowledge", in which Dr. David Livingstone participated through videoconference.

This research took into account that a central problem is the differential impact on the life of the population of the economic and social situations in Canada and Argentina, in this specific case, regarding the education and labour paths of the subjects, all through their lives.

[4] Research PICT00267 "The demand for general, technical and vocational education in the Argentina post – crisis: a review of the supply and demand concepts and an evaluation of workers' educational needs", Subsidy of the Fund for Scientific and Technological Research (FONCyT) – National Agency of Scientific and Technical Promotion (ANPCyT). Education, Economy, and Labour Program (PEET), Institute of Educational Sciences Research, School of Philosophy and Literature at University of Buenos Aires, Universidad de Buenos Aires. Director: Graciela C. Riquelme, Ph.D.

UBA/ FFyL- IICE-PEET
Graciela C. Riquelme
Inv. CONICET

A review of the publications and documents available in Canada and Argentina enabled a comparative study of both countries during the first stage of the research, which later on led the design phase.

We are certain that, despite the structural differences, the comparison of workers' behaviour, the identification of similar groups, the determination of regularities in and/or capacities of response to gaps and difficulties and the resistance furthered a thorough comprehension of the education of youth and adult in both countries, determining alternatives for action.

As author of this work, I would like to make some considerations. Firstly, a comparative study between Canada-Argentina might seem unnecessary. Even without belonging to any of the comparative education streams, this study started out by acknowledging the following issues, which will be mentioned later on this work:

- Argentina and Canada have historic situations with similar points: their respective geography, their territorial extension; their population, the presence of European migration; some aspects of their economies, the agricultural exports model which ruled over their economy during the XVIII and XIX centuries;
- Both societies show deep social, economic and political differences originated throughout these last two centuries;
- Over the last decades, Canadian population's social and educational situation has positioned the country in an advantaged and achieving world stage.

Which could therefore be the sense of a comparative study? On the one hand, a great proportion of the diagnosis conclusions have only verified previous evidence already known of such differences. Our purpose was then to put ourselves in the margins and to explore certain social and educational behaviors similar in both countries, considering the variations with respect to the reach or scope of the problem. In this manner, as certain groups of pedagogues with a critical perspective state, we are concerned about the same issues regarding the inequality of access and attainments in education.

The final report of this research has been organized through the development of four chapters. The first chapter deals with the different – yet similar – approaches in both countries, on the relationships between the productive restructuring of work processes and its implications on education and training in the last decades. Similar and different orientations have been spotted and their concurrences with the political and ideological frameworks on the role of education have been analyzed.

The second chapter presents a diagnosis based on secondary information and an exhaustive search of studies and researches in both countries regarding the labour market and education in Argentina and Canada.

The third chapter organizes in a compared manner the findings of this research about Argentina and Canada, from the identification of matches, differences and common standpoints in the theoretical and conceptual approaches on education and work training

issues. The following topics were considered during this study: the complexity, diversity and juxtaposition of education and work training; the existence of multiple social and productive demands from education and work training.

The final chapter is an interpretative synthesis presented as final remarks about the common challenges regarding young and adult workers´ right to education in Argentina and Canada, and, more specifically, provides interpretative tables about the economic, social and educational situations in both countries of the American continent.

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Graciela C. Riquelme
Inv. CONICET

Chapter 1
Production restructuring and work process implications for education and training: on the perspectives shared by both latitudes

The perspective of a comparative analysis of education and work training in two countries with different development situations could entail the existence of uneven interpretation frameworks in both latitudes. However, in the field of education and training, theoretical orientations organize the discourse and political proposals, the levels, cycles and modalities' structure and even the alternatives for different needs of the population. In Canada and Argentina we have been able to identify and register similarities because of the existence of groups and orientations with similar positions and objectives, despite their different background and contexts, which still pose equal challenges to education on the basis of different political perspectives.

Through the last fifty years, the interpretation of the relationship between education and work has necessarily turned to the understanding of the connection between the transformations of the productive structure, the changes in work processes and the organization of the labour force and their impacts on the occupations demand and qualifications.

From the sphere of the policies and education and work training, the different approaches already mentioned emerged: from the reproductionists' proposals, to others which promoted adaptation and those decidedly critical of human resources training, they focused on the demand or the workers and non-worker subjects.

Canada and Argentina have participated and still participate in the dynamics of tensions, economic interrelations and national economic and financial relations, as well as in the productive and trade-exchange resulting from the transnational capitalism derived from post-Fordism. In this sense, it is paramount to present the implications for education and training that have resulted from these productive transformations since 1970, in both countries.

In this first chapter the main issue is the interpretation of social and pedagogic perspectives on the demands for education and training in both countries. Similar and different orientations have been spotted and their concurrence with the political and ideological frameworks on the role of education have been analyzed.

There are similar responses or action lines corresponding to the perspectives of the different politicians or representatives of the social and/or economic dynamic groups. Despite their different realities and base diagnosis, there are conservative or liberal groups in both countries whose perspectives on education are merely economic. In their opinion, demand-driven adjustments in education result in growth and better positioning in the international sphere. Other groups have a "developmentalist" perspective and value the role of education, betting for human resources training with a proactive attitude towards the definitions of education and training lines and programs. A third group corresponds to the critical perspective that, aware of the context, vindicates working populations and their

educational needs, acknowledging the greater potential of educational development from work and education experiences in different social life and work spheres.

The comparative approach has enabled us to identify orientations similar to both countries and to overcome the considerations of educational theories as social-historical by finding some common ground among Canadian and Argentine pedagogues and sociologists, which in turn added value through the verification of differences and coincidences. The recognition of different perspectives in both countries is also important because – by taking into account the differences of specific education policies - it is possible to reflect comparable interpretation frameworks and types of responses brought in for stimulating lifelong learning, adult education or defending the right to education for all the excluded young and adults.

1.1 Productive transformations, work processes and changes in the occupational and educational requirements over the last decades

Towards the end of 19th century, when the contribution of labour force training to the industry became clear, the ideas of qualification for work positions and performance requirements were shaped. It should be remarked that in those primitive forms of work organization and in the subsequent ones (corresponding to the studies of movement and time) strong divisions between practice and theory, manual and non-manual work, action and design, performance and thinking emerged. Hence, education was structured in different modalities according to such dichotomies and fragmentation, stigmatizing the division between the "intellectual education" or "general education" and the "practical education" or "technical education".

After the Second World War, the central countries organized education as human resources training for economic recovery programs. Until that moment, the interpretative perspective of the educational expansion with a generalization of the basic and secondary levels to overcome illiteracy corresponded to the development of liberal democracies in the States, which were considered to be social cohesion structures.

The scientific organization of work (SOL) was a result of the development of capitalism through the widening, deepening and the advantage of the productive system of the industrial revolution and growing accumulation. The verified expansion of the economic growth in the after-war period contributed – in a sort of accumulation vicious circle - to the modernization of the work processes to reset the benefits rates affected by the 1930s crisis.

The relationship between education and employment after the war went from the influence on the scientific organization of labour's criteria (Taylorism) to mass production (Fordism). The division and fragmentation of work in different specific tasks facilitated the inclusion of a non-schooled workforce in simple tasks, because, under this perspective, training meant a division between the acquisition of knowledge and the practice through a training logic diversification and specialization that started to take place outside the workplace.

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The organization of production in stocks and in series coincided with a progressive upgrading of the educational level of the economically active population (EAP) beyond the existing demand. At that moment, the phenomenon was interpreted as over-education or education devaluation, questioning human capital theory and weakening the representations about education's value.

In the academic sphere, the interpretation about the relationships between education and employment also changed: on the one hand the reproductionist approaches denounced the perpetuation of social classes and the value schemes required for the production of social relations (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977); and on the other hand the deepening of the dualist theories among the labour economists served the North Americans' "radical" hypothesis about the labour market segmentation. These hypotheses suppose that the access to the labour market is pre-determined by the differential possibilities tied to the original social class or segment (Bowles, 1981; Carnoy, 1981).

Among the educational planners, the emerging interpretations about the labour market crisis and the recognition of the economic-productive heterogeneity were an alarm and a limit to the setting out of prevision models and education system's graduates searching direct occupational insertion flow design. However, this wasn't perceived at first by the institutions and certain autonomy of the education systems was produced considering the respective idiosyncrasies of the different countries. This means, each socio-economic context strongly influenced the educational strategies, but these had their own dynamic and history producing singular behaviors or giving to the workers' training courses more or less understanding of the productive dynamics. Furthermore, as we're going to see at the end of this document, in the new century many agree on a pro-active discourse towards the knowledge society and the promotion of a highly valued view of long term human resources training, as if permanent demand and growing employment were guaranteed.

After the 70s deep productive, research and development changes took place due to the expansion of information technologies. This was a new stage of economic strategies for productivity recovery. Since the mid 70s, the core changes in the production processes have been built on new computerized technologies, which strongly compromised the organization and the quality of work in the economic units: safety changes, work preparation timing, required qualifications and workforce, as well as increased workers´ responsibilities were introduced. All these have resulted in deep debates about the disqualification of work positions, the channeling of certain professional competencies, the fragmentation and partition of other tasks, workforce displacement, and on the appropriation of workers' knowledge and practice by machines.

The impact of the world technological revolution on productive machinery and work processes, and on the international production relations- by the integration and outsourcing of enterprises- have raised the human recourses issue among the specialists, businessmen, unionists and population discussions.

UBA/ FFyL- IICE-PEET
Graciela C. Riquelme
Inv. CONICET

The last decades of the 20th Century were a global technological transition period, interpreted as a new scientific-technological paradigm by certain authors, when the technically possible is getting greater and the transformations reach diverse spheres of the economic activity. This entails the structuring and developing of levels of new scientific knowledge produced mainly in the advanced capitalist countries, transferred and disseminated to the rest of the world by the economic trans-nationalization and the capital markets. The technology is the key factor of the new economy and determines new game rules, new regulation mechanisms and the emerging of other institutions within the framework of a social and political innovation process with serious conflicts among social groups and countries.

For some, this is an argument to highlight the importance of human resources, since their contribution to the productivity and the companies' competitiveness - the flexibility and total quality management - depend mainly on the workforce.

Other interpretations, such as Robert Castel´ s, declare the "social metamorphosis" since in the labour´ s history the technological and productive changes in the capitalist development accumulation crisis have resulted in transformations of the labour and wage structure of the companies, which were oriented towards the development of tertiary activities and derived in the weakening of the "industrial blue collar workers" and the growing of a wide salaried non worker group: "multiplication of the services in the commerce, the banks, the management of local collectivities and of the State (only the national education had nearly a million agents in 1975), opening of new activity sectors, such as communication, advertisement" (Castel, 1997).

The changes in the work processes wakened the "centrality of the blue collar worker". Through the development of the most recent shapes taken by the work division, a new "working class" has been being formed. But the new agents that assume a greater role in the production - workers in the "forefront" industries, who are more creative than performative-- technicians, designers, engineers - keep lacking of any decision power, and the capitalist organization of production continues to take away the essential of their work benefits. In the class antagonism they occupy a position similar to that of the ancient proletariat, and they are the privileged heirs to take the enterprise of the revolutionary transformation of society, enterprise abandoned by the traditional working class seduced by the siren of the consumption society and shaped behind the reformist political and unionist apparatus. Before the 1950s, a particular model of class society was built: the wage society (Castel, 1997).

The world's economic crisis impact and the emerging of this new paradigm entailed the establishment of new game rules, new regulation mechanisms and the rise of other institutions within the framework of a social and political innovation process with serious conflicts among social groups. The consequences for the Third World countries were very serious because these structural changes occurred in critical development contexts with high social demands for the satisfaction of basic needs.

The economic development periods and stages suppose longitudinal, transversal and co-existing changes with the productive transformations and within the work processes in all countries. A series of situations undoubtedly erupted:

- Mismatches between the countries producers of technology and those that receive or adapt such innovations;
- Relative decrease of impact on local production and employment structures and the characteristics of the workforce;
- Original adaptations of technological processes or even innovations in the under-developed countries;
- Fragmentation, sub-contracting and outsourcing of work processes at world scale.

As post-war Europe "exported" recovery models, the United States and the international credit promotion banks (Alliance for Progress, Interamerican Development Bank IDB, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development IBRD) within the framework of our Latin American countries´ education promoted:

- Early development of technical education in Mexico, Brazil and Argentina;
- Human resources methodologies application through Organization for the Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) missions;
- Massive diffusion by the end of the 50s and the 60s of the aggregated impacts or advantages of the engineering and technical human resources availability;
- Scientific and technological education development at universities and the improvement of buildings and equipment.

During the decades after the 30s crisis and the Second World War, Mexico, Brazil and Argentina were the early industrialized Latin American countries that turned to be an investment paradise in certain productive branches, and especially Argentina was the target for the deepening of the development of scientific and technical education. It ought to be remembered that the royalties and mainly unused productive models patents exports were the strategy that big brands and incipient multinationals used to expand their markets and to compensate their deficits. The industrial modernization by automatization predominated during those decades.

Towards the end of 1960, the oil crisis marks the exhaustion of the capitalist accumulation and the need for developed economies to stock placement and exportation corresponding to economic opening measures in Latin America. This was associated with authoritarian governments, which controlled workers' participation in unions and, in the Argentine case, coincided with the backing down of industrial development.

In this way, while the developed countries deepened their productive restructuration models by computerization, labour flexibility, the just-in-time model and the advance of the Japanese experience, there was a regression of the industrial development in Argentina which determined employment generation problems, small and medium sized companies' closures and progressive increased unemployment.

Below we review some of the outstanding features of the economic development trends, the employment policies and the political situation in Canada and Argentina:

Periods	**International scene** **Canada**	**Latin America** **Argentina**
1970/ 1980	- Productive restructuration; - Work processes flexibility; - Work processes transformation and Japanese model incorporation (Toyotism); - Economic adjustment. - Neoliberal policies consolidation;	- Economic opening and start of the des-industrialization process; - Industrial employment restructuration (fall of the industrial employment respect to the total employment); - Automatization modernization and introduction of the numeric control in the machine-tools; - External debts and hiper-inflation. - Military governments and authoritarian governments (60-70); - Democratic recovery (1983);
1990	- Economic policies marked by the effects of the globalization; - Economic sectors internationally competitive; -Decrease of the social welfare budget; - Welfare State restructuration, federal government decreasing participation in social policies; - Increase of the provinces'´ participation in the public policies.	- Economic opening and liberalization rising the International competitiveness; - Neoliberal and conservative policies; - Productive restructuration as result of the opening, deregulation and privatization; - Work replacement with capital and imported inputs; - Necessity of rising productivity for competing because of the exchange appreciation; - State modernization; - Poverty and unemployment grow and social polarization.
2001/ 2004	- Improvement of the product export exchange terms; - Improvement of the balance of trade and payment; - PIB and employment growth.	- Political, social and economical crisis; - Economic opening reversion as a result of the currency devaluation; - Traces of industrial import substitution; - PIB growth and a lower employment growth starting in 2003; - Salaries lost of the purchasing capacity.
2005/ 2008	- Lowest unemployment rate in 33 years (5.8%); - Marked improvement in the job quality; - Continued productive process and employment growth (until 2007); - Starting in 2008 the world crisis strongly affects the product and employment; - Financial markets are also affected; - Created jobs are part-time or with important relative precariousness degree.	- Large companies (with a high foreign degree) focused on the external market, specially in the extraction sectors; -High dollar exchange rate in order to protect the industry and benefit the agro-exporting sector; - Re-implementation of the import substitution process (with low technological content); - Resuming of the external debts payments; - Employment and product are not affected by the international crisis; - Continued high poverty and unequal income rates;
2010	- Job creation and product recovery; - The new jobs don't recover the existing level before 2008.	- Deceleration of the employment creation (but not of the product growth); - Dollar inflation and real revaluation of the local currency.

The dynamics of such productive and work transformation processes have led us to maintain a series of key questions about the education and training relationships valid for Argentina, Canada and other countries:

- the degree in which the technological transformations imply higher qualification, cognitive disqualification or qualitative differentiation of the job required knowledge;
- most adequate knowledge structure for the current education of the future workers identification;
- type of balance between theoretical general education and occupational technical training, in the context of fast scientific-technological progress;
- the real meaning of strictly practical training in trades, considering the technical and occupational obsolescence and its effects on occupational recovery;

UBA/ FFyL- IICE-PEET
Graciela C. Riquelme
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- evaluation of the education and productive work relationships for human resources training and for workers´ professional re-adaptation.

These issues are considered by David Livingstone when he questions the validity of the classical supply and demand approach "The current era is not much different, with various claims of degradation of educational standards and calls for large-scale reforms to meet current skill shortages and anticipated demands. But the national survey evidence suggests that – excepting chronic skilled trades shortages related to the limited Canadian apprenticeship system – lack of technical skills is not a fundamental problem." (Livingstone, 2005: 25). He completes these ideas by highlighting that "But most theorizing about work and learning has been limited to trying to explain relations between paid employment and formal educational attainments. In simplest terms, these theories can be identified as supply side, demand side or supply-demand interactive" (Livingstone, 2005: 15)

During the final decades of Fordism, an economic notion or interpretation of education maintained the human capital theory, strictly promoting the adjustment of the education and training systems to the companies and industries requirements, a perspective still maintained and defended.

The wide function of education as citizens socializing for the contribution to the cultural and political integration and for its role in the economic integration of the population for guaranteeing society's reproduction and value creation is still undoubtedly recognized. These notions refer to the classical education ideas of the citizen and producer education (Carnoy, 1977) and to the interpretations that maintained that despite the wage relation, the population acceded to the social property of the public services (Castel, 1997).

It is worth considering that:

> "The radical tradition, however, is not without its own inadequacies. For example, though this point was quickly remediated (e.g. Burawoy, 1979, to name only one instance), Braverman did not deny as relevant but, all the same, largely set aside subjective dimensions of work and workers to focus on the so-called objective processes and outcomes of the Taylorist divisions of labour; a core work design feature that informed Fordism and which clearly remains dominant globally today" (Sawchuk, 2008: 76).

Also, from an alternative critical position we were concerned about whether education facilitates the access to employment and improves working conditions, or if it only rises work positions productivity and hence the business benefits. Both perspectives are genuine, but respond to different aims and interests. Following these premises and considering the social-political and economic factors involved in the shaping of the education systems and the labour market segmentation, it is necessary to research some key issues about education, productive system and labour market relationships in order to redefine the education and training orientation:

- The role played by education in the creation of the production conditions;

- The features of the access and permanence in job positions of people with different qualifications (selection mechanisms, recruiting and promotion) and from different productive stratums;
- The meaning of the educational profiles in a segmented labour market.

A critical perspective on the current validity of the knowledge society asserts that:

> "Learning, the acquisition of skills and knowledge, is the quintessential human activity to engage with our changing environment, and work is what we do with this knowledge. In these generic terms, learning and work are constantly interactive and often simultaneous activities. In this sense, the notion of a "knowledge-based economy" is redundant; all human activities are essentially knowledge-based" (Livingstone, 2005; p. 15).

A central question of this interpretation is to be able to:

> "… Interwoven forms of value production as means of developing an integrated analysis of work and lifelong learning recognizes the dialectic nature of skill/knowledge and work design rooted in an analysis of the basic building block of capitalist society: the commodity form" (Sawchuk, 2008; p.77)[5].

> "Our research starts by questioning the dominant discourse on learning and knowledge, and proceeds to document the actual activities of working people. Our evidence, based mainly on a series of in-depth interviews with unionized workers and their families, present a picture that diverges sharply from dominant stereotypes to reveal highly active learners who face serious barriers to applying much of their current skill and knowledge in their paid workplaces, formal educational settings and civil society generally. In fact, working people are far more likely to be underemployed in their jobs than to be underqualified for them. A growing body of survey-based studies has confirmed this condition in many countries" (Livingstone, 2004; p. 3).

These interpretations may be undoubtedly valid for Argentina, beyond that it is necessary that our country –as we'll see in the next chapters -, raises its population's educational level both quantitatively and qualitatively. But without question the unemployment of the Argentine population isn't caused by its population's lower educational level. We agree in the statement that the working population sometimes is doubly excluded from employment and education, and that it could develop dignifying jobs, by the attention of multiple social demands - education, health, housing - and also in productive jobs derived from new investments that don't require high training levels.

[5] The authors´ theorical perspective recognizes that "What is particularly important here, however, is that this shift toward 'value production' as a unit of analysis allows us to integrate work process and socio- cultural theoretical traditions of learning such as Marxist Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) that have the capacity to offer detailed, expansive, empirical analysis of the actual human developmental, and hence change processes firmly rooted in the radical tradition or work analysis previously discussed. Specifically, the shift provides us with the capacity to identify and track interwoven 'trajectories of activity' (i.e. learning and human development; see Sawchuk, 2003) as analytically distinctive value production systems that always co- existed but which account for radically different expansive and/or restrictive learning environments and outcomes. Value production brings the dominant tradition of normative- technical analysis, focused on exchange- value generation into its appropriate, implicit relation to the simultaneous production of use- value, which has, across historical epochs and political economic arrangements prior to seeing human life as a lifelong learning process (Sawchuk, 2008; p. 77).

These groups and interests tensions and orientations engage education and sectoral policies regarding the education supply structure and hence the profile and contents of the curricula. Here is where we can place questions about unmet needs:

- Basic education for all the population and a progressive differentiation for specific social groups while transposing the first level, searching to guarantee a better work insertion; or
- An extension of basic and general education up to university; or
- Early diversification of secondary education by modalities (which generally reproduces social differentiation patterns).

Considering the differences of our socio-economic and political realities we can coincide in the current impact of the knowledge society idea and the pressures for developing higher and university education, while maintaining the need for lifelong learning, However, in Argentina vast workers´ sectors haven't finished secondary education and that also brings serious problems in terms knowledge appropriation (issues associated to the quality test measurements). The following David Livingstone's assertion applies to our context:

> "Two basic assumptions underlie much recent discussion about work and learning-. 1) a new "knowledge base economy" is quickly emerging with new jobs generally requiring greater knowledge and skill, and 2) a "lifelong learning culture" must be created in order for workers to cope with these employment- related knowledge demands." (Livingstone, 2004; p.1).

In Canada, objections have been made to workers´ low educational level and the adjustments to the demand. We agree with the author when he says: "It implies that most workers suffer from a deficit of necessary skills and knowledge which must be rectified by grater education and training efforts" (Livingstone, 2004; p.1), because this also applies to the Argentine context. Through this paper, we will see that workers are made responsible for their unemployment or their lack of training, despite the long labour exclusion periods, dismissals from the productive activities and even the technical education disappearance from the educational levels and modalities' structure which have occured.

The next section reviews the previous perspectives about education and work training in both countries and presents both countries' perspectives, which once again do not coincide in their theoretical and political positions.

1.2. About common perspectives regarding education and training

The aim of this section is to distinguish between the great thinking lines in education and work training in both countries that in the past and present have inspired and are inspired by the reality and respond to different ideological and interpretive frameworks. This is a review of the prevailing ideas and diagnosis from the 70s to the 90s. Technical education, work training and the neoliberal educational reform of the end of the last century will be analyzed in the Argentine context. For Canada, we will show some quotations to illustrate the main discourse during that period.

1.2.1. Argentina

About the ideas and diagnosis on education and work training (1970/1980)

Industrialization and technical education

During the 50s numerous researches were carried out in Argentina and Latin America about the educational level of the employed workforce in the industrial sector. These works were made almost exclusively under the focus of human resources which centered the attention in the noticed deficits in some qualified personnel categories and in the mismatches between the formal educational level and the reached occupational category.

In this period changes were spotted in the economic structures of the countries which called for modifications in the theoretical approaches about the education- labour market relationship:

> "Education has largely expanded, determining a clearly perceived rise of the educational profiles of the young population, while some industry sectors renewed their equipment incorporating advanced technology that, among other effects, caused the relative stagnation of their capacity to absorb workforce" (Tedesco, 1977; p.11).

In consideration of the previously expressed, it is concluded that "the perfect adjustment between the formal education and the occupations proposal isn't a viable goal and, probably not even desirable in the framework of the social structures and labour markets as those valid in Latin America" (Tedesco, 1977; p.11).

In relation to these mismatches the author presented two explanations:

1) That the individuals without high educational levels incorporated to the industrial activity were using other education and training options that allowed them to tackle their lack of work qualifications;
2) Besides, the inverse situation occurred, as there was also an "underutilization" of their abilities in diverse production sectors.

Both issues jointly explain the meaningful degree of perceived heterogeneity in the industrial sector.

> "The industry sector is becoming less and less an occupational option for those left behind by education, who - mainly foreign migrants - tend to concentrate even more in activities in which increasingly informal work already exists" (Tedesco, 1977; p.67).

In terms of the discussion about the mono-causal explanations of the technological determination of the educative rise, the evidence presented by Tedesco (1997) for the period 50s and 70s would be indicating the presence of social factors such as social origin,

wages, unions´ actions, etc. with an important incidence of the explanation of this phenomenon:

> "The Argentine case analysis becomes clear with respect to this problem, the technologically advanced business sector would be recruiting higher-education-level personnel with a certain independence from the positions or tasks aimed by the recruitment; at the same time, the low educational level personnel - reduced in relative terms - is using - quite successfully - other ways or paths for accessing higher positions (non-formal education, union agreements, on-the-job learning, etc.)." (Tedesco, 1977; p.70)

Education and work training

With respect to vocational training, studies of the same period pointed out that:

> "In the case of vocational training, which by its flexibility may bring greater possibilities to reasonably adjust the supply, traces in the opposite direction have been found" (Wiñar, 1981; p. 53). "Vocational training institutions courses mainly address adults, although in a few countries, the learning systems directed to young people recruit an important percentage of the total" (Wiñar, 1981; p. 56).

Technical education

María Antonia Gallart is the author whose ideas from researches produced by the end of the 70s and the 80s we review below:

- The common features between the different specialties are: the fracture between the humanistic and technical contents and hard articulation between the basic and technical subjects (Gallart, 1984)
- The solutions are searched through "contents telescoping" (selection of those considered basic for the work performance and/or university studies) and the placement of teachers according to the students´ level of knowledge. Previous teaching experience also has an influence (Gallart, 1984);
- Regarding specific technical training, it is more theoretical with craft activities. Too much knowledge is stocked and there is no time to do a synthesis, it could be considered as a 'technical encyclopedism' because it is hard to find the meaning of all what was studied. Consequently there is a dilemma: to be an "overeducated" blue collar worker; a shaky "pre-engineer" or an average technician without a defined occupational field, which is more dramatic. This doesn't prevent the student's own personal efforts to fill in the gaps and to project him/herself into university or professional tasks. (Gallart, 1984);
- Technical schools are more alike to other secondary schools that to productive organizations. They are "more of a school than a workshop" (Gallart, 1984);
- It is possible to distinguish between productive rationality and scholar rationality. The first one is based on the work division oriented to production, entails a relationship between the worker and employers therefore a technical and social division of work, with its manifestation in higher blue collar workers, technical staff, managers and employers (Gallart, 1984);
- There is a conflict between the productive rationality and the scholar one expressed in these three topics: the difference in the technological models of the specialties would make necessary theoretical-practical articulations adequate for each specialty; and it would be

almost impossible for a specialty such as computer or control systems or even telecommunications to have a workshop (Gallart, 1984).

Criticism of the adjustment notion

- The labour marker is segmented, especially regarding qualification demands, as proved by the diversity of levels and works positions, permanence and quite differentiated wages (Riquelme, 1982).
- Technicians over-production in opposition to a weak supply of blue collar workers and of vocational training cycles. (Riquelme, 1982).
- It has been recognized that in spite of the limits that business demands seem to impose on educational actions, there is an autonomous structure of the supply based on the social population's demands (Riquelme, 1982).

Unions and collective agreements

> "Even though collective agreements processes are rare and especially in terms of working conditions and education, it should be promoted a clearer definition in the Collective Conventions of the issues that engage workers' education, training and professional re-adjustments:
>
> - A definition of the qualification structures according to branch, technology and company size;
> - A revision of formal educative requirements according to occupation type and productive stratum (work positions profile);
> - A tentative evaluation of the educative value of work experience for subsequent accreditation and work career progress;
> - An identification of program types and training courses and professional re-adjustment- formal and non-formal- that guarantee a sort of multimodal technological training for workers.
>
> Social actors themselves, meaning working population, unions (these should also enable to capture unemployed workers or workers employed in lower productivity tasks), youth organizations and the community must foster the decision levels with their demands and to contribute through self-management to the orientations and contents of these actions, guaranteeing the premises for access, permanence and local development" (Riquelme, 1985; p. 41-42).

Productive restructuring and education and training in developing countries

> "From this point of view, it could be said that in front of the new information technologies it was necessary for each Latin American country, to define a series of very explicit policies in terms of purposes and in connection to different national capacities. It could be an improvement, and for this reason it couldn't be left free to the market forces. The better use of new information technologies (NIT) - micro-electronic, robotic information, assisted design systems -, should be interwoven with each national context dimensions to result in endogenous development strategies" (Riquelme, 1991; p. 14-15).
>
> "Given the circumstances, a technological modernization process within a transnational oligopolies context, and technological alternative development model that wouldn't depended economical, productive and social heterogeneity of the peripheral societies, should be considered" (Riquelme, 1991; pp. 14-15).
>
> "A first step towards such an alternative model would involve developing national policies for long term industrial development and modernization, aiming at inner market expansion, the production of new goods and services for most of the population, productive integration and technological capacity

development in small and medium and large-sized companies. The main instruments of these policies would be:

- Systematic adjustments to advanced technologies' policies to the new industrial development strategies. In the case of computing or biotechnologies, for instance, it would involve creating design, production and innovation capacities, new equipment or applications adapted to specific market conditions and income distribution addressing basic social problems (transport, health, education, public administration, etc.).
- Social policies for the articulation of technological potentialities and their application to basic and general needs.
- Articulation relationships and inter-dependence between economic technology and education policies" (Riquelme, 1991; p. 14-15).

Secondary and technical education in the centre of criticism during the neoliberal reforms

"Although the following statements do not result from research studies and tests on Argentina and Latin America specifically, it should be pointed out that this report provides an outlook of secondary education against the challenges posed by democracy and productivity" (de Ibarrola and Gallart, 1994).

"It brings about an hypothesis on how generalized poverty influenced the development of technical and professional education, which highlights are:

- Great discursive ambition on technical education as an economic development instrument;
- Some aknowledged statements on "how its presence in the labour market was hardly significant".
- A lack of effective support to the development of this type of education" (de Ibarrola and Gallart, 1994).

The authors focused most of the document on trying to answer the following questions:

- Whether school should train for specific jobs or provide basic education for work;
- Whether it is possible to train for self-employment;
- Whether it is actually possible for secondary educations influence human resources qualifications;
- Who would be responsible for training or preparing for work those who are left behind in the secondary level" (de Ibarrola and Gallart, 1994).

The legal elimination of technical education structured in levels and modalities.

The reasons developed by some authors for breaking up the technical education system were that work position training 'wouldn't be adequate to manage the contemporary productive transformation challenges, associated to the introduction and development of new technologies and to their implications to labour and social integration'. It was also alleged that 'neither it was useful for the popular sectors connected to routine activities that demand low training, nor to self-employment and micro-enterprises and, that professionalizing training would require real equipment hard to be found in institutions of the formal education system (Braslavky, 1995)" (Riquelme, 2004; p.214).

Furthermore, it was maintained that 'the pretention of offering professionalizing training in secondary school demanded the organization of an extremely expensive technical- professional educational system without any feasibly evident results to match

the required investments', to conclude that 'Non-identified benefit disposable alternative'(Braslavky, quoting Muñóz, 1992)" (Riquelme, 2004; p. 214).

> "With the technical teams of the 90s, Argentina followed the recommendations of the 1990's technical teams unquestioningly withdrawing the technical level from the Federal Education Law. Alternative positions, more respectful of the technical education tradition, highlight the possibility of developing a secondary level education 'with meaning and identity: an integrated education which expresses in citizenship and productivity' (de Ibarrola and Gallart, 1994)" (Riquelme, 2004; p. 215)

> "The ignored benefits and achievements of technical education, among others: its contribution to democratizing the access to secondary education for different population sectors through a lower socio- economic selection; the greater students preparation in areas repeatedly "prioritized" for the Latin American development; the creation of an academic and curricular infrastructure and the training of teachers oriented to the most important aspects of the current economic development; the maturing of positive values towards work and ethics that includes efficiency and even work cooperation'" (de Ibarrola and Gallart, 1994)." (Riquelme, 2004p. 215)

Knowledge, qualifications and competences: concepts developed in Argentina

In Argentina until the 90s, the education needs of workers were interpreted in terms of occupational qualifications and the requirements of heterogeneous techno- productive demands. The main concern referred to the changes in the qualifications structure linked to the introduction of new technologies and their implication for workers education and training.

In our local field, by the 1990's, together with the neoliberal modernization reforms came the introduction of the concept of competences when the debates on qualifications weren't yet strongly in place (as they were in Europe and, more particularly, in France). Therefore, the perspective changed from recognizing "the disqualification of the workforce; the increase of qualitative requirements, by a greater complexity and responsibility; multifunction; fungibility of the workforce; polyvalence; diminishing and fading work positions; qualification polarization and a high occupational mobility" (Riquelme, 1992) to the pre-eminence of such topics as flexibility, the pursuit of efficiency and competitiveness, resulting from the integration of the country (and countries) to international competitive markets that set out work processes´ fragmentation in a new international work division, that sub-contractedproduction phases in different latitudes.

In the first years of the 90's decade, while sociologists specialized in work and education and pedagogues were still discussing about the development of qualifications for work, the notion of competence was introduced. It entailed an integrated set of knowledge, skills, abilities, attitudes and behaviors that people put in display to perform effectively in different organizations and labour contexts.

From the field of education and training, some of us maintained education as "an axis of workers´ claims as opposed to training merely adjusted or adapted to work positions, or to perpetuate the emptiness of relevant knowledge for understanding of the world of work, its contradictions and technological evolution" (Riquelme; 1991 y 1996).

The neoliberal reforms of the education systems imposed the development of competences of any kind as an objective which would facilitate a supposedly quick access to the labour market. The operationalization of activities and curricular contents had to aim training on "competences", defined as complex capacities that could be expressed in a wide variety of situations in diverse life spheres (Braslavsky; 1993; Gallart and Jacinto 1997). Critical perspectives (Riquelme, 1996), pointed out that "the references to the heterogeneity and social and productive differentiation are weak or inexistent and so are the references to a critical construction of social relations" (Riquelme, 1996). Moreover, we recognized the analogies between the use of the competences concept both in education and work; firstly the definition of educational plans by competencies seemed to focus on the measurement of students and graduates results, in the same way, when applied to work, they were oriented to facilitate the workers' selection and control processes.

Tightly attached to the competencies concept, the employability concept emerged, denoting that the current changes in work organization as well as the transformations of the structure and volume of workforce required

> "Workers who wanted and could perform in qualified occupations should have acceptable levels of work competence together with learning and re-qualification abilities. These employability competences can be summarized in the basic oral and written expression, applied math, problem solving ability and thinking capacities" (Gallart and Jacinto, 1997; Gallart, 2000).

From a critical perspective, the employability notion is "partial if the structural productive machine limitations aren't considered in terms of employment creation" (Riquelme; 2000). The educational requirements rise for the access to work is a polemic issue that refers to the growing education and qualification requirements for the productive processes´ restructuration, in a context of worn out employment opportunities (demand) and a strong increase of the supply.

During the last years and from different perspectives and spheres, mainly the academic ones but also from the educational policies, the knowledge concept of the French tradition has reappeared, although training in competences is still dominating in work training policies. From the field of the history of education, Puiggrós and others (2004) have developed the concept of "socially productive knowledge" which is defined as the one that "change the individuals by teaching them to transform nature and culture, changing their 'habitus' and enriching the society or the community's cultural capital, as opposed to the redundant knowledge that only have a demonstration effect of the material and cultural heritage already known by the society" (Puiggrós and others, 2004). These theoretical developments show different approaches about the young and adults´ knowledge linked to the knowledge of work, and the application of historical analysis and the educative prospective. It is worth pointing out that in recent years these developments were the baseline of education and training policies in the Buenos Aires province.

Research studies made at the Education and Work Area of Conicet´s Ceil- Piette, especially by Martin Spinosa (Spinosa, 2009 and 2005)., tackle the issue of knowledge articulation in professionalization processes, understood as the linkages between the knowledge acquired throughout the school life and the knowledge built and acquired

through the work paths of subjects. The starting hypothesis is that activity and organization features, altogether with people´ s education and work paths, determine both collective and individual knowledge production and circulation. These researches resulted in the construction of a recognition and validation methodology of work-built knowledge, tested in Buenos Aires province.

A recent study (Riquelme and Herger, 2008) shows the risks of stressing the competences certification processes in the context of employment crisis and training processes weakness, such as Argentina. It as been warned that:

> "Putting knowledge on the rack comes from maintaining the 'employability' as a problem of the workers-subjects, which will be solved by the expansion of the certification and competences systems. There underlies the mistake that weakens the only alternative of workers´ training: a rigorous development of education and professional training that safeguards higher quality and equalitarian access to scientific and technological knowledge" (Riquelme and Herger, 2008).

> "To develop the competences evaluation and certification spheres would mean to leave behind key dimensions as the education system, the vocational training programs that involve a series of problems and necessities (…) If we are to value only the performance and demonstration, the business sector will benefit from a more adequate personnel selection, but in the medium term the country will not have an adequate potential of educated human resources like developed countries have" (Riquelme and Herger; 2008).

Argentinean efforts should stress education system improvements and modernization and widen the youth and adults´ vocational training programs.

1.2.2 Canada

The available research enables us to reconstruct some of the dominant and critical speeches about education and work training during the 80s and especially during the 90s.

During the decade of the 70s, Allen Tough studied the adults´ learning efforts. According to his research, 70% of learning is self-directed without relying on professionals or institutions. He uses the "iceberg" learning metaphor to refer to informal learning. The author points out that "So – and this is part of the iceberg phenomenon – not only are we as a society (or as educators) *oblivious* to informal learning, we don't even notice our own. That's right, people don't even notice *their own informal learning*. So what do we do about this? I think it's really empowering and helpful and supportive to encourage people to look at their own learning" (Allen Tough, 2002; p. 7)

A critical approach maintains that

> "During the 1980s and 1990s Canadians experienced tremendous economic change. Canada has become an increasingly polarized society. We have seen major corporate restructuring presumably designed to increase Canadian competitiveness in the global economy. The labour market has become increasingly divided into 'good jobs' that require high levels of education and skill and provide high pay and benefits, and 'bad jobs' which tend to be low-paying, low-skilled, dead-end jobs that do not provide benefits. Wealth inequality is growing and many Canadians are living in poverty (Kerstetter, 2003, Saunders, 2003)" (Cruikshank, 2008; p.51)

By the end of the 90s, observers were worried about the lack of coherent adult learning policies and lacking of any formal framework for human resources development and adult education policies.

> "There is a lot of talk in policy circles about the importance of 'life-long' learning. In an economy where technologies and skill needs are constantly changing, it is important that Canadians have access to learning opportunities throughout the course of their lives. In an ageing society, it is important that everyone, including older Canadians, has a chance to fully contribute to the economy and to their communities. At a time when there are concerns about the polarization of earnings and incomes, it is essential that those with lower levels of educational attainment have the opportunity to improve their skills." (Myers and de Broucker, 2006; p.i)

In coincidence to Argentina, the existence of population with low education level was acknowledged:

> "Too many less educated/ less-skilled adults in Canada are being left behind, with little chance to improve their skills, their knowledge, and their earnings. Moreover, results of international tests of adult literacy show that 42 percent of Canadians aged 16 to 65 years have literacy skills below the level considered necessary to live and work in today's society – a level that has not changed over the last ten years. By standing still Canadians are losing ground, as other countries forge ahead to ensure that their citizens remain productive. Canadians need to catch up." (Myers and de Broucker, 2006; p.i)

The above quoted authors also recognized that:

> "The social and economic importance of encouraging adults to engage in continuous learning throughout their working lives is undisputed. Better-educated individuals earn higher wages, have greater earnings growth over their lifetimes, and experience less unemployment (Riddell, forthcoming). Better-educated nations have higher long run economic growth and higher standards of living (Davies, 2002). There is also a growing consensus that education system lies at the heart of a nation's social prosperity as well (Wolfe and Haveman, 2001)" (Myers and de Broucker, 2006; p.1).

The skills approach dominates the policies stage. A main concern against it is the considerable evidence of employers' complaints about the poor basic skills of employees, despite the rise in workforce´ s education level. During the 90s, the challenge of developing the basic skills of the workforce was posed. It was pointed out that the changing technologies and economic circumstances meant that workers should improve their existing skills and learn new ones through their working life:

> "A second reason for concern is the considerable evidence to substantiate employer complaints about the poor basic skills of their employees, despite the rising formal educational attainment of the labour force. The results of Statistics Canada's Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities show that 38% of Canadians aged 16 to 69- 6.8 million individuals- do not meet most everyday reading demands. Not surprisingly, the problem is more common among those with low levels of schooling. The proportion is also higher for immigrants, residents of Atlantic Canada and Quebec, and the older groups." (Sharpe, 1993; p.109).

Another concern expressed for that decade was that:

> "A key challenge of the ´90s will be the development of efforts that rise the basic skills level of the workforce. Because of slower labour force growth in the future, the Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre estimates that about two- thirds of those who will be in the labour force in the year 2005 are already part of the labour force" (Sharpe, 1993; p.109).

Besides, this author indicates that

> "When combined with the rapidly growing skills requirements of the workplace, a potential labour market crisis may be emerging. Those without skills may find themselves increasingly disadvantaged in the job market. Firms unable to recruit qualified personnel may grow less than their potential and may be forced to initiate or extend their own training efforts" (Sharpe, 1993; p.112).

The OECD was integrated into the Canadian sphere and the global economy concept as well as the integration to the international bandwagon dominated the discourse related to the skills development *so that Canada could be competitive in the global economy* (Welton 1987, Selman *et al*. 1998, Spencer 1998). In this sense the Canadian lifelong learning policies *have become increasingly tied to skills development for the so called new economy* (Council of Ministers, 1999, Statistics Canada, 1999, OECD, 2001; quoted by Cruikshank, 2008).

For example, an Industry Canada's document asserts that

> 'to become one of the most innovative countries in the world, Canada must manage knowledge as a strategic national asset' and challenges Canadian entrepreneurs to 'turn our best ideas into new opportunities for global markets'(Industry Canada, 2001; p. 34 quoted by Cruikshank, 2008)

A report of Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) states that in order to be able to keep up with fast technological change *Canada must continuously renew and upgrade the skills of its workforce*. This is backed up with the idea that workers´ skills don't remain unchanged during their lives, but that *the working life of most adults must be a period of continuous learning* (HRDC, 2002; p. 37). Another HRDC´ s report postulates a framework that includes: *strengthening accessibility to post-secondary education; building a world class workforce; and recognizing the credentials of immigrants* (HRDC, 2002: 25–53). According to Cruikshank, this framework focuses *almost exclusively on the acquisition of 'high skills', a focus that has been critiqued in the literature* (Cruikshank, 2008; p. 59).

Final remarks and preview of the following chapters

The presentation made so far allows us to maintain that Canada and Argentina- the first being a country integrated into the higher relative development countries group and the second, which is in a maintained economic recovery but with serious distribution problems (which will be considered below)- have been influenced by the dominant economic relations as much as by the discourses and ongoing policies at UNESCO, OECD and the financial banks organizations that orientate the education, science and technology action lines worldwide. The answers from the State, political groups, academic sectors and society in general respond to different lines that undoubtedly match with theoretical perspectives: some of them are conservative, others are developmental and proactive coinciding with the mainstream perspectives and with the most progressive or critical ones that question the dominant thinking, and that in general are supposed to be contrary to the workers´ interests.

In the later chapters the comparative analysis will focus on the existence, in both countries, of different approaches and will maintain the following hypothesis about the education and training:

- The institutional complexity of the educational, work and professional training systems;
- The overlapping and diversification of sectoral actions: scope, attendance and multiple demands;
- Educational policies and education and vocational training markets supply;
- Relatively disadvantaged groups' attendance by educational level and labour situation of the population.

Considerations will be made of the possibility of learning from both realities - considering the differences – intended to raise awareness and to facilitate anticipatory schemes. Furthermore, the groups that maintain the different political perspectives on education in both countries will be presented.

We would like to point out that our research does not subscribe to - and neither should be considered a - comparative analysis. However, in this first chapter we have tried to make a brief description of both the Argentine and Canadian backgrounds, through the reconstruction of the social-historical outstanding features of their economical and social development, as well as of the standpoints and diagnoses on education and training for work, prevailing in both countries. The next chapter will introduce a useful quantitative outline, both descriptive and comparative, of the productive structures, job markets and the workforce education trends.

Chapter 2

Labour market and education in Argentina and Canada

This chapter considers the analysis context of the structural economic and productive situation in each country from the original research and the available diagnosis. The first section attempts a comparative characterization of the labour market and the education system in both countries, using special comparable data analysis on the education levels of the employed and non- employed populations and the employment, unemployment and education status of the workers. The focus on a comparative structural analysis intends to provide meaningful background for educational and work training policies in both countries.

The research analyzed secondary data and documents on the economic and productive contexts in which the expansion of education with decreased quality took place; the diversification and fracture of the formal education system; the difficulties of the working population to make a choice among different training possibilities and the fragmentation and dispersion of occupational training supply.

The study enabled us to describe groups of different degrees of disadvantage according to their labour market situations: employment/ unemployment; employment/unemployment by education; youth; women; immigrants and poverty and as well the double exclusion from education and work.

In the same chapter it is possible to outline the existence of relatively disadvantaged groups in terms of access and continuance in education and work training institutions in both countries, and although there are quantitative and volume differences, there are also some similar critical situations related to gender/immigration/ [non] visible minorities and aboriginal peoples, as well as underemployment.

2.1 Comparative analysis of the labour market and education in both countries

This section seeks to analyze the educational characteristics of the Argentinean and Canadian employed populations for the 2003-2008 period on the basis of comparable statistical series of the International Labour Organization (LaborSta-ILO). The comparison is also based on some OECD reports, and specially searched studies about the Canadian workers´ educational situation which are compared against our research team's studies.

Educational levels of the employed and unemployed populations

The educational levels of workers in both countries follow a trend similar to that of the total population: higher education amongst Canadian workers.

Table 2.1
Argentina-Canada: Employed population by education level (CINE 97). 2003, 2006 and 2008. Absolutes (millions) and percentual structure.

Education Level	Absolute				
	Argentina		Canada		
	2003	2006	2003	2006	2008
Total	**8,497**	**9,964**	**15,672**	**16,484**	**17,126**
X – 1	568	695	500	456	406
2	2,819	2,908	1,828	1,777	1,762
3-4	2,710	3,291	6,520	6,635	6,846
5A - 5B - 6	2,399	3,070	6,825	7,617	8,112
	Percentage structure				
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
X – 1	6.7	7.0	3.2	2.8	2.4
2	33.2	29.2	11.7	10.8	10.3
3-4	31.9	33.0	41.6	40.3	40.0
5A - 5B - 6	28.2	30.8	43.5	46.2	47.4

Note: International Education Normalized Classification (CINE-97): X non- schooled; 0 pre- school education; 1 Primary education or first cycle of basic education; 2 First cycle of the secondary education or second cycle of the Basic education; 3 second cycle of the secondary education; 4 Non- tertiary post- secondary education; 5 First cycle of tertiary education (not necessarily results in advanced qualifications); 6 Second cycle of tertiary education (results in advanced research qualifications).
Source: LABORSTA, International Labour Organization -ILO.

A comparative structural analysis between the countries allows to maintain that the lower education base of workers is about 7% in Argentina, while in Canada the percentage represents half or even three times less: between 3,2% and 2,4%. This is employed population with primary or first cycle of basic education. While the most significant group of workers in Argentina- around 33.2 to 29.2%- has the first cycle of secondary education or the second cycle of basic education, this portion in Canada doesn't exceed the 11.7%. This is another proof of the Argentinean workers' lower educational level.

Other data that prove this are that, in the Northern country, the employed have 43.5% and 47.4% of the first and secondary cycle of the tertiary education, while our country's most educated workers reach 28.2% and 30.8% respectively.

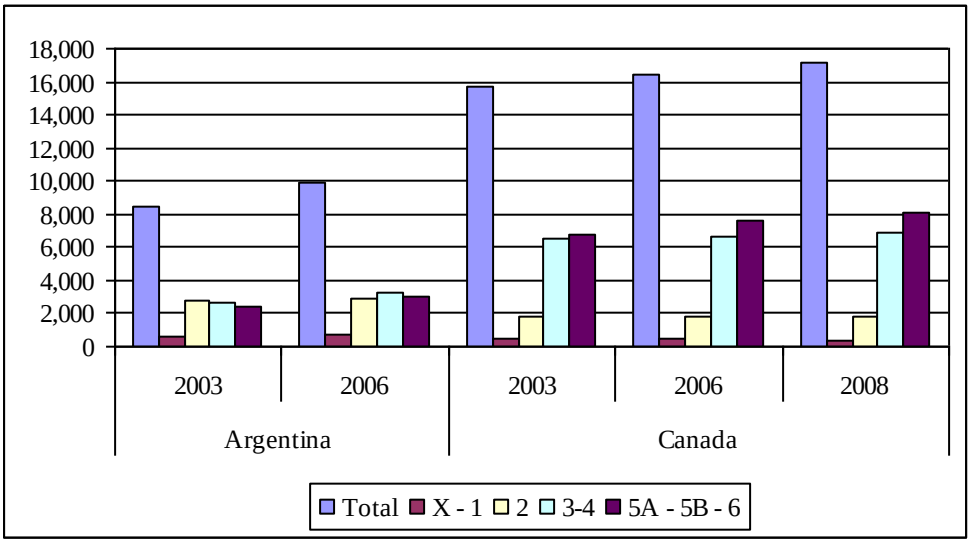
Our countries are similar regarding the proportion of employed persons with secondary level equivalent to the second cycle of the secondary education; there aren't very marked different: about 33% in Argentina and 41% in Canada.

The labour market variation during 2003-2006 and 2008 allows us to observe some changes in the educational profile structure of the employed population:

- Argentina maintains its percentage of low education workers (+0.3), while in Canada the quantity of employed population with low education level decreases;
- there has been a considerable increase in higher education proportions, although this is more significant in Canada;
- the differences between both countries is less notorious considering the proportion of employed population with secondary level, which diminishes its weight in the Canadian structure favoring the more educated and increases its weight in Argentina;

- the weight of lower education group of workers with first cycle of secondary education or second cycle of basic education has decreased in both countries.

Graphic 2.1
Argentina-Canada: Employed by education level (CINE 97). 2003, 2006 and 2008. Absolutes (millions)



Note: International Education Normalized Classification (CINE-97): X non- schooled; 0 pre- school education; 1 Primary education or first cycle of basic education; 2 First cycle of the secondary education or second cycle of the Basic education; 3 second cycle of the secondary education; 4 Non- tertiary post- secondary education; 5 First cycle of tertiary education (not necessarily results in advanced qualifications); 6 Second cycle of tertiary education (results in advanced research qualifications).
Source: LABORSTA, International Labour Organization -ILO.

A summary interpretation would allow us to maintain that there would be a trend towards the occupation of the most educated, because in both countries the work structure tends to show a rise in the educational level of workers during the analyzed period for each country.

The educational level variations with respects to gender make it possible to assert that in both countries working women have higher educational levels than men and this situation keeps benefiting them, although this doesn't happened in terms of unemployment as we'll see below.

Table 2.2
Argentina-Canada: Working men and women by educational level (CINE 97). 2003, 2006 and 2008. Absolutes (millions) and percentual structure

Education Level	Absolute									
	Argentina				Canada					
	2003		2006		2003		2006		2008	
	Absolutes									
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total	**5,001**	**3,496**	**5,736**	**4,228**	**8,348**	**7,324**	**8,727**	**7,757**	**9,021**	**8,105**
X – 1	368	200	437	258	319	182	290	165	260	146
2	1,888	931	1,899	1,009	1,080	748	1,037	740	1,039	723
3-4	1,586	1,124	1,969	1,322	3,639	2,881	3,756	2,880	3,886	2,960
5A - 5B - 6	1,158	1,241	1,430	1,639	3,311	3,514	3,644	3,972	3,837	4,276

	Percentagee structure									
	M	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
X - 1	7.4	5.7	7.6	6.1	3.8	2.5	3.3	2.1	2.9	1.8
2	37.8	26.6	33.1	23.9	12.9	10.2	11.9	9.5	11.5	8.9
3-4	31.7	32.2	34.3	31.3	43.6	39.3	43.0	37.1	43.1	36.5
5A - 5B - 6	23.2	35.5	24.9	38.8	39.7	48.0	41.8	51.2	42.5	52.8

Note: International Education Normalized Classification (CINE-97): X non- schooled; 0 pre- school education; 1 Primary education or first cycle of basic education; 2 First cycle of the secondary education or second cycle of the Basic education; 3 second cycle of the secondary education; 4 Non- tertiary post- secondary education; 5 First cycle of tertiary education
(not necessarily results in advanced qualifications); 6 Second cycle of tertiary education (results in advanced research qualifications).
.
Source: LABORSTA, International Labour Organization -ILO.

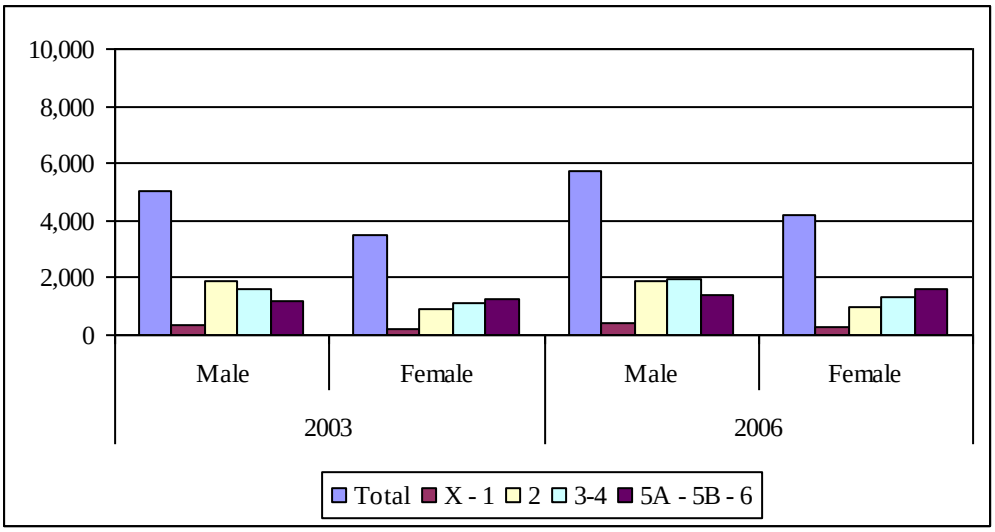
The comparison of the educative profile of working women and men's profile in Argentina makes it possible to point out that:

- The greater difference is found amongst the most educated proportion, about 24% of male workers have reached tertiary education (first and second cycles) while the proportions amongst women are 35% and 39% in that level;
- The male workers are concentrated in the low education section, only about 33% to 38% have the first secondary education cycle or the second basic education cycle versus female workers which, in 2006, didn't exceed 23.9% in that level.

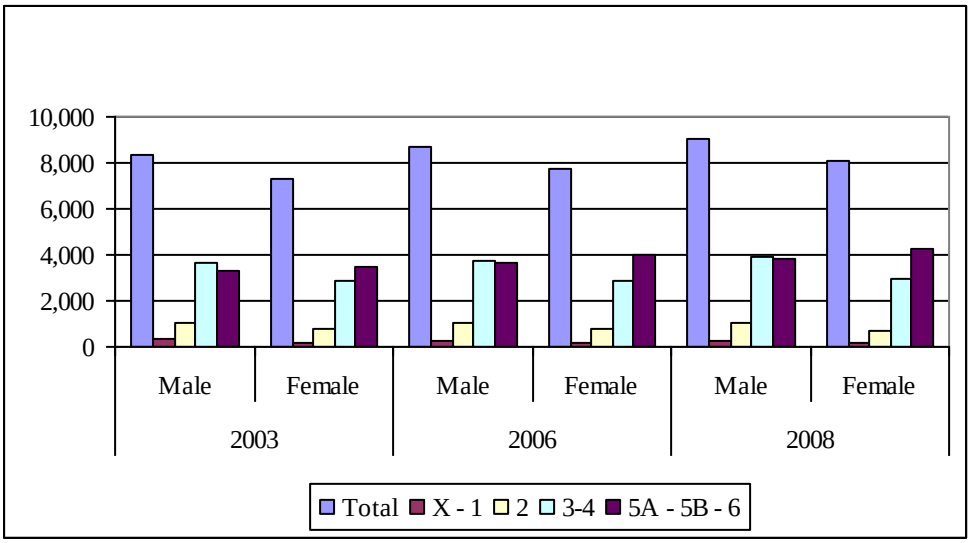
This relative women's advantage is similar in Canada, but according to that country's educational profile:

- the most significant difference lays in the higher educational level, where it reaches about ten percentage points, 42% for men versus 54% for women;the proportion of workers with second cycle of secondary and post-secondary education (non-tertiary) is lower among women, about 36% than among men 42,5%;
- the working women with low education level represent about 11% versus 13% to 15% among the male workers.

Graphic 2.2a
Argentina. Employed population by educational level (CINE 97) and gender. 2003 and 2006. Absolutes (millions)



Graphic 2.2b
Canada. Employed population by educational level (CINE 97) and gender 2003, 2006 and 2008. Absolutes (millions)



Note: International Education Normalized Classification (CINE-97): X non- schooled; 0 pre- school education; 1 Primary education or first cycle of basic education; 2 First cycle of the secondary education or second cycle of the Basic education; 3 second cycle of the secondary education; 4 Non- tertiary post- secondary education; 5 First cycle of tertiary education
(not necessarily results in advanced qualifications); 6 Second cycle of tertiary education (results in advanced research qualifications).
.
Source: LABORSTA, International Labour Organization -ILO.

Employment, unemployment and education of workers

The labour market analysis represents a way to statistically understand the relationships between workers supply and employment demand. In these relationships diverse factors have a role, such as the employment type, the wages, the intermediary

organizations and the availability of the workers in terms of time, family life, studies and income necessity of different social origins, the gender also intervenes.

During the past two decades workers employability has been interpreted and acknowledged to be directly connected to education, though ignoring the above mentioned.

Undoubtedly, the most educated have advantages over workers oversupply, what is called "screening". But in developing countries, such as Argentina, with long economic crisis periods, growth slowing down and the industrial employment losses, the central problem is in employment generation because of important reasons.

Considering the expressed above, we don't agree with the statement that supports:

> "In OECD countries, high school completion is considered the minimum requisite for finding a good job and for being competitive in the labour market. So, the employability judged on the base of the employment rate (the proportion of the number of persons with a job in a group of the total population of that group), rises according to the amount of education achieved. This relationship is evident in Canada, where in 2007, the employment rate for those without high school was 57% while the rate for high school and non- tertiary post- secondary education graduates was 77%, and the number for the tertiary graduates, 83%" (OECD, 2009; p. 47).

Table 2.3
Canada. Trends in employment rates of 25-64 year-olds by level of educational attainment. 1997-2007. (Reproduction)

Level of educational attainment	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Below upper secondary	52.5	53.5	54.4	55.0	54.4	55.3	56.4	57.1	56.4	56.9	57.3
Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary	73.9	74.5	75.4	76.1	75.4	75.9	76.3	76.7	76.3	76.0	76.5
Tertiary education	81.7	82.3	82.4	82.7	81.9	82.0	82.0	82.2	82.2	82.6	82.9

Notes: Number of 25-64 year-olds in employment as a percentage of the population aged 25 to 64, by level of educational attainment.
Sources: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2009, *Education at a Glance 2009: OECD Indicators*, Table A6.2a., Trends in employment rates of 25-64 year-olds by educational attainment (1997-2007), www.oecd.org/edu/eag2009); Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey (LFS).

Table 2.4
Argentina. Employment rates for 25 to 64 years old by level of educational attainment. Total urban population.

Level of educational attainment	1999	2001	2003	2006	2007	2009
Population urban total	64.8	64.2	65.3	71.8	71.4	61.0
Up to incomplete secondary education	58.5	57.5	59.9	66.4	65.3	66.2
Complete secondary and incomplete higher education	67.5	67.0	65.5	71.8	71.7	73.3
Complete higher education	85.8	84.7	85.6	87.3	87.0	87.1

Source: own production based on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares, INDEC May waves of 1999, 2001 and 2003; 1st semester of 2006 and 1st quarter, 2007 and 2009.

In Argentina that proportion has a smaller size and hence shows percentage rates. Besides, the higher employment rates of the low educated population could be interpreted as contradictory to the previously objected statement about the higher employability of the most educated persons. In Argentina, the workers with up to incomplete secondary education have increased their work rate because the demand has grown during the 2000s, and they could access the labour market after successive crisis and high unemployment situations.

Gender analysis shows the expected evidence: in both countries women have higher educational levels but lower employment rates.

Table 2.5
Argentina- Canada. Employment rates of the 25-64 years old population by level of educational attainment and gender. 2007.

Education level	Canada			Argentina		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	**77**	**81,6**	**72,5**	**71.4**	**87.7**	**57.0**
Up to incomplete primary education				63.1	83.8	43.4
Pre-primary and primary education	44	54,7	33,5			
Incomplete secondary education				70.1	88.4	50.9
Lower secondary education	63	71,6	53,6			
Complete secondary education				71.0	90.3	54.6
Upper secondary education	75	81,4	69,5			
Incomplete non- university higher education				73.8	88.2	64.2
Complete non- university higher education				81.9	95.0	75.9
Post Secondary – Non Tertiary educ.	79	82,5	73,2			
Incomplete university				72.8	82.0	63.3
Complete university				90.8	95.8	86.4
Type B	83	86,5	86,4			
Type A	83	79,7	80,1			

Source: Own production based on:
- Encuesta Permanente de Hogares, INDEC. 1st quarter 2007.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2009, *Education at a Glance 2009: OECD Indicators*, Table A6.2a., Trends in employment rates of 25-64 year-olds by educational attainment (1997-2007), www.oecd.org/edu/eag2009); Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey (LFS).

From the comparison of both gender employment rates, a series of observations can be made:

- In 2007, Argentine female workers had more problems in finding a job than Canadians (57% versus 72.5%). On the contrary, male Argentine workers registered higher employment rates (87.7% versus 81.6%);
- In both countries, the higher the educational level, the lower the employment limitations;
- Less educated female workers in Canada are 10% less than among Argentine workers, this responds to the employment demand and not to their "employability". Also, labour market features in the South offer employment with lower requirements and compensatory employment programs;
- Female workers with incomplete secondary education have employment rates near 50%, while in Argentina once again male workers have higher proportions. This makes a higher average rate in the South;
- With a higher education level, Canada has a more advantaged employment capacity of the productive structures or at least for the population with secondary and post- secondary population;
- But workers with higher education level in Argentina also show higher employment rates. As we'll se below, this has to do with the relative proportion of population with this educational level linked to a growing employment demand. It should be highlighted that the

83% average rate in Canada is closer to that on complete and incomplete education in Argentina.

Employment rates may be compared on the basis of available Canadian studies (Myers and de Broucker, 2006) and from direct estimations calculated from secondary sources. The above mentioned Canadian authors point out that:

> "There are many different ways to measure labour market outcomes. Regardless of the measure, the least-educated fare poorly in the Canadian labour market, in comparison with their more educated counterparts. Individuals with low levels of education are significantly more likely than their more educated counterparts to be unemployed. [The table below] shows how the unemployment rate in Canada has varied by level of education, over the past 20 years. The unemployment rate for the least educated has been consistently higher than for all other educational groups" (Myers and de Broucker; 2006; p. 6)

Table 2.6
Canada. 25 to 64 years old unemployment rates by level of educational attainment. (Reproduction)

Highest educational credential	Unemployment rate (%)				
	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
None	5.2	11.2	13.0	13.7	9.7
High-school graduation	3.5	8.1	8.7	8.4	5.9
Trades certificate	4.1	8.9	9.3	9.3	6.6
Collage certificate	3.0	6.4	6.8	6.9	5.0
Univ. < bachelor	3.2	5.1	5.7	6.1	4.8
Univ, bachelors	2.9	5.4	5.2	4.8	4.2
Univ. > bachelors	2.3	3.8	4.5	3.6	3.9
Uni, medical degree	1.3	2.1	1.9	3.2	2.2
Univ. masters degree	2.7	4.7	5.2	4.4	4.5
Univ. doctorate	1.7	3.2	3.1	3.7	3.8
All group	4.1	8.6	9.0	8.7	6.2

Source: Myers and de Broucker, 2006

Available information for Canada disaggregates employment rates according to education level by degree types, these records were impossible to obtain in our country.

Table 2.7
Argentina. 25 to 64 years old unemployment rates by level of educational attainment.

Education level	1999	2001	2003	2006	2009
Total urban population	**11.4**	**13.3**	**11.8**	**8.1**	**11.8**
Up to incomplete secondary education	14.1	16.6	13.6	9.4	7.1
Complete secondary and incomplete higher education	10.2	11.7	12.8	8.7	6.2
Complete higher education	4.8	6.3	5.2	4.0	3.9

Source: Own production based on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares, INDEC May waves of 1999, 2001 and 2003, 1º semester of 2006 and 1st qaurter, 2009.

In spite of the mentioned above, we'll try to outline some of the unemployment trends during time:

- In Canada, workers with higher education (master degree, doctorate y university medical degree) have lower unemployment rates than high school graduates, trades certificates or even university bachelors;

- In Argentina, population with higher educational levels (higher education graduates) are also advantaged, this shows in their lower unemployment rates compared to the population with secondary and incomplete higher education levels;
- Unemployment rates of people with higher education were higher in Argentina until 2003; when Canada dramatically increased the unemployment level mainly because of that period crisis. It should be observed that in 2007, Argentinean unemployment among incomplete secondary population was 7.1%- half than in 1999- while Canada registered 9.5%, almost similar to the 1999 ratings;
- There was also an improvement in the unemployment rates for the population with complete secondary and incomplete higher education in Argentina, it changed from 10.2% in 1999 to 6.2% in 2009. Comparatively, Canada's rates were lower during the first years (1997 to 2003), but then they almost matched those of Argentina, with a slight advantage for Canada, 5.4% in 2007 versus 8% in Argentina.

Table 2.8
Canada. Trends in unemployment rates of the labour force aged 25 to 64, by gender and level of educational attainment. 1997-2007. (Reproduction)

Level of educational attainment	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total											
Below upper secondary	12.9	11.9	10.8	10.2	10.5	11.0	10.9	10.2	9.8	9.3	9.5
Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary	8.1	7.5	6.7	5.9	6.3	6.7	6.5	6.2	5.9	5.6	5.4
Tertiary education	5.4	4.7	4.5	4.1	4.7	5.1	5.2	4.8	4.6	4.1	3.9
Males											
Below upper secondary	12.9	11.8	10.8	9.7	10.3	11.2	10.7	9.9	9.2	8.8	9.5
Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary	8.1	7.4	6.7	5.8	6.2	6.6	6.5	6.2	5.8	5.7	5.6
Tertiary education	5.2	4.7	4.3	3.9	4.8	5.4	5.3	4.8	4.7	4.1	3.9
Females											
Below upper secondary	12.9	12.1	10.8	10.9	10.8	10.7	11.0	10.6	10.7	10.1	9.3
Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary	8.2	7.6	6.7	6.0	6.3	6.7	6.5	6.1	6.0	5.6	5.3
Tertiary education	5.6	4.7	4.6	4.2	4.6	4.8	5.1	4.8	4.6	4.1	3.8

Note: Number of 25-64 year-olds unemployed as a percentage of the labour force aged 25 to 64, by gender and level of educational attainment.
Sources: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2009, *Education at a Glance 2009: OECD Indicators.*

Table 2.9
Argentina. Unemployment rates of the 25 a 64 years old population by level of educational attainment. Total urban population

Level of educational attainment	1999	2001	2003	2007	2009
Urban total population	**11.4**	**13.3**	**11.8**	**6.8**	**11.8**
Up to incomplete secondary education	14.1	16.6	13.6	8.0	7.1
Complete secondary and incomplete higher education (tertiary and university)	10.2	11.7	12.8	7.6	6.2
Complete higher education (tertiary and university)	4.8	6.3	5.2	3.0	3.9
Men	10.9	13.3	13.3	5.1	5.3
Up to incomplete secondary education	137	16.6	15.8	6.0	6.1
Complete secondary and incomplete higher	8.1	10.2	11.9	5.2	5.1

education (tertiary and university)					
Complete higher education (tertiary and university)	3.9	5.9	6.8	2.1	3.1
Women	12.2	13.3	10.2	9.0	7.1
Up to incomplete secondary education	14.9	16.7	10.3	11.5	8.9
Complete secondary and incomplete higher education (tertiary and university)	13.2	13.8	14.5	10.6	7.7
Complete higher education (tertiary and university)	5.4	6.7	4.4	3.6	4.4

Source: Own production based on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares, INDEC May waves of 1999, 2001 and 2003,1º semester of 2006 and 1st quarter, 2009.

Gender behavior shows a similar situation between male and female workers with the lowest education level, with invariable rates until 2007, when it descended to 9.5%.

In Argentina differences in unemployment between men and women are significant; this leads us to point out that:

- Among the population with up to incomplete secondary education, unemployment rates are similar in 1999 and 2001, but in 2003 they are higher for male workers. In 2007 and 2009 there is a relative disadvantage for women whose rates doubled and by the end of the period, the rates dropped. This could indicate an increase of the male employment demand;
- The female population with complete secondary and higher education shows disadvantages in its access to employment, there's evidence of their higher unemployment rates through the previously mentioned period, although the rates decreased during 2007 and 2009;
- Tertiary and higher education male graduates have slightly slower unemployment rates than female graduates, in both cases the rates diminish by the end of the period.

2.2 Educational needs of young and adult population

Educational needs of the low educational level population, excluded from the education system, are addressed by adult education, which although it covers a low proportion of the population, has progressively expanded since the late 90s. During this decade it was acknowledged the necessity of guaranteeing primary and secondary certifications and not just the supply of disperse and specific courses for short term occupation which resulted from the diversification of the education and work training supply outside the education system. This topic will be discussed below in this chapter. Data clearly shows improvements, although still insufficient to revert or solve the access to - and completion of - primary and secondary education among youth and adults.

This analysis should be completed with general population growth tendencies, which would highlight the pending coverage problems. This is also insufficient because it should also consider a review of the graduates' rates with primary, secondary and higher diplomas through standardized tests for each educational level. This would repeat the permanence issues because of abandonment, consecutive school failure and performance problems that, as we will see below, bring about the educational needs of vast adolescent, young and adult population sectors that are outside the education system. Our interpretation of this situation is the existence of an educational social debt to be solved.

Almost 10% of population attending is in rural areas, and differential alternatives for the population in imprisonment, in hospitals and bilingual have been organized in the last decades, although they existed before. Rural population is rather small in Argentina and therefore its schooling proportions are low.

Table 2.10
Argentina. Students by modality and educational level. 2008.

	Total	Rural	Imprisonment	Hospitals and home education	Intercultural bilingual	Technical-professional	Artistic
Total	**11,060,005**	**1,021,860**	**26,955**	**12,956**	**48,060**	**765,326**	**38,965**
Common education	**10,280,289**	**986,095**	**3,911**	**532**	**43,636**	**765,326**	**38,965**
Pre-school	1,485,899	138,252	247	239	7,791		
Primary	4,664,025	572,540	1,903	253	28,677		
Secondary	3,523,132	271,924	1,672	40	6,898	478,498	7,314
Non- university higher education	607,233	3,379	89		270	286,828	31,651
Special education	**99,481**	**2,567**	**288**	**12,424**	**69**		
Pre-school	27,638	733	15	1,605			
Primary	61,855	1,767	273	9,371	69		
Secondary	9,988	67		1,448			
Youth and adults education	**680,235**	**33,198**	**22,756**		**4,355**		
Primary	249,640	21,359	12,050		3,794		
Secondary	430,595	11,839	10,706		561		

Source: Annual survey2008. DINIECE. Ministerio de Educación

It is important to mention that technical secondary education has recently changed names by the recent National Education Law to "technical- professional education modality". This modality that already registered a relative stagnation along with the enrollment in the common secondary education by the '80s was formally eliminated from the levels structure and the education system, during the '90s. Between 2004 and 2005, a movement in favor of technical education was developed; a result of this was the Technical- Professional Training Law (2005) which aimed at the stimulus for work training in key activities for the economic recovery in a restructuration context. The technical-professional modality of the secondary education represents 12.1% of the enrollment, while common secondary education only represents 13.6%.

Youth and adults education constitutes one of the most unarticulated and forgotten modalities of the education system; although during the last years some education recovery programs have been launched, the young and adults without primary and secondary schooling still constitute a debt for the regular system. Youth and adults education in the primary and secondary levels organized for those age groups represents almost 8% of total primary and secondary enrollment.

Adult education enrollment

In the last ten years, adults' enrollment in primary and secondary education has experienced a 33% growth, especially in primary level.

Table 2.11
Students in adult education. Argentina. 1998 and 2008.

Level	1998	2008
Primary level students	**155,383**	**249,640**
Public	153,005	246,279
Private	2,378	3,361
Secondary level students	**354,388**	**430,595**
Public	317,922	384,176
Private	36,466	46,419

Source: Own production based on:
Annual survey 1998. Red Federal de Información Educativa (RedFIE). Ministerio de Cultura y Educación.
Annual survey 2008. DINIECE. Ministerio de Educación.

During the nineties, the professional training supply was included among the adults' education functions as a special regime. During that decade the supply was characterized to be obsolete. Demand, however, expanded respect to previous periods, reaching, in 1998, 272,872 students who mainly attended public professional training centers. Most of these students were women (63%), almost one third of which were adolescents (13 to17 years old), nearly half were young between 18 and 34 year and 20% corresponded to adults older than 35 years old. Despite the last decade's enrollment growth this still represents a minor supply factor, only gathering 3% of the urban economic active population (EAP) between 1998 and 2007.

Table 2.12
Professional training services enrollment and urban total EAP. Argentina. 1998 to 2002.

Year	Professional training enrollment			Total urban EAP
	Total	Public	Private	
1998	272,872	242,738	30,134	9,403,960
2007	365,071	315,368	49,703	11,101,455

Source: Own production based on Dirección Nacional de Información y Evaluación de la Calidad Educativa. Annual survey 1998,and 2007. INDEC Encuesta Permanente de Hogares.

According to the report of the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education (2008), vocational education refers to a multiyear program or a series of courses providing specialized instruction in a skill or a trade intending to lead the student directly into a career or program based on that skill or trade. It is offered in secondary schools and at the postsecondary level in public colleges and institutes, private for profit colleges, and in the workplace, through apprenticeship programs. Technical secondary or vocational education seems to have a minor enrollment respect the general education programs. Non tertiary post-secondary education also has a smaller percentage respect the whole post- secondary education supply.

Table 2.13
Canada. Enrollment by ISCED[a] level. 1999 – 2007.

ISCED level	1999	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Lower secondary	1218869	1209336	1213828	864487	843826	842888	835958
General programmes	1218869	1209336	...	1213828	...	864487	...
Technical/voc. Programmes							
Upper secondary	...	1309744	1392054	...	1758100	1789544	1821362
General programmes	...	1309744	...	1392054	...	...	1758100
Technical/voc. Programmes							
Post-secondary non tertiary	339010	313805	...	...	...	...	...
Total tertiary		1212161	1254833	1326711	...	...	...
5A tertiary	878821	878588	919694	973431	980067	...	...
5B tertiary	314968	307352	307639	318564	...	...	...
6 tertiary.	26862	26221	27500	34716	34770	...	...

Source: UNESCO, Institute of Statistic.
[a]ISCED International Standard Classification of Education

Apprenticeship programs in Canada have been generally geared toward adults, with youth becoming increasingly involved in some jurisdictions. "The related industry is responsible for the practical training, delivered in the workplace, and the educational institution provides the theoretical components. Apprenticeship registrations have shown a steady increase, reaching almost 300,000 people in 2005. The largest increases have been in the building construction trades" (Council of Ministers of Education de Canada & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008b).

2.3 Educational profile of the young and adult population

In this section we present the educational level of young and adult populations using a world comparative study[6]. To evaluate educational profiles means to recognize the achievements of certain countries and, at the same time, to show the political efforts that would be necessary to attend those groups that could neither reach nor complete primary and secondary education. The group of 15 and more years old that didn't access or complete any of these levels is a genuine and central social demand for adult education.

The characterization of the educational profile of the worldwide adults´ education (15 years old and more) is a difficult task, considering the lack on comparative and current statistics that include all countries. The tables made for each region were organized according to the maximum educational level achieved by the adult population (15 years old and more), grouping (from higher to lower) the countries in terms of their population with complete and incomplete higher education and the proportion with low education level (up to incomplete secondary education). The following are presented:

[6] Study made for the International Council of Adult Education – Gender Education Office (ICAE-GEO) by Graciela C. Riquelme and Natalia Herger (2009).

- Population with up to incomplete primary education (with no education and/or with incomplete primary), which is the social demand for accessing and completing that level;
- Population with complete primary education or incomplete secondary education, which is the social demand for accessing and completing secondary level;
- Population with complete secondary education and more which includes those with complete secondary education, incomplete higher education and complete higher education.

This enabled us to classify countries according to the educational achievements of their populations, in countries with higher educational level, other with medium educational level, countries with low educational level and a fourth group of very low or critical educational level. According this classification, countries must do different efforts to achieve that the whole population attends secondary education, and that in many cases, finishes primary education.

The social demand for reaching complete secondary education is a social debt in most of Latin America. Argentina is among the Latin American countries with a lower percentage of the population without complete secondary, although this doesn't mean low levels of education debt. When revising the situation by country, Cuba has the smallest portion of population below that level (62.2%), followed by Colombia (65.2%), Peru (66.7%) and Argentina (66.8%). The next table is organized according the higher educational level reached at the top: the percentage of population with complete higher education. Peru stands out, with 22.2%, Panama, with 18.8% and Argentina, with 17%. (Table Annex 2.1 y 2.2)

Canada is among the highest educational levels, together with Europe and the United States. In Canada, the social demand for completing high school represents 15.6% of the population from 25 to 64 years (UNESCO-UIS, 2006 quoted by Riquelme and Herger, 2009). (Table Annex Table 2.3 y 2.4)

The educational situation of women in Latin America is similar to the verified for the total population, although with a minor percentage for men. When analyzing the percentage of men and women with up to incomplete secondary education it is proved that in Canada, men have a very slightly disadvantage, as 16.4% of them haven't completed this level compared to 14.9% of adult women (Riquelme and Herger, 2009).

2.4 Disadvantaged groups in the labour market regarding education

The comparative research enabled us to spot groups of workers, disadvantaged in terms of social and productive insertion, in both countries. Even though we found some quantitative differences, gender problems are similar as women's access to the labour market is showed similar difficulties in both societies. Age is another condition that limits the possibilities of insertion in the labour market, as evidenced by access and permanence at work among the young.

Immigrants bring about another critical issue to Canada and the use of two different languages – English and French – poses some problems. Argentina is currently receiving Spanish-speaking immigrants from its neighbour countries, but language was also a problem in this country in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Argentina's pure aboriginal population is very scarce as the colonization process involved racial mixture between white Spanish population and aboriginals in the Northern and Central parts of the country, and mass extermination through a military campaign in the Southern part of the Pampas and Patagonia, aimed at national consolidation.

Poverty and marginalization show different faces and features in Argentina and Canada, as income is genuinely less unequally distributed in the Northern country and, in spite of the recovery of democratic stability, the dictatorship processes as well as the economic restriction and liberalization processes since the mid 1970s until 2001 have deepened the differences in Argentina.

In this section we will cover the highlights of the labour markets and social issues differences in terms of age, gender, racial condition, migration, poverty and marginalization.

Canada

Canadian researchers have been able to identify the disadvantaged groups in terms of access and permanence in the education system: the aboriginal students, the students with physical, emotional, mental and learning challenges, the newly arrived immigrant students, visible minority students and students from lower socio-economic groups.

Disadvantaged groups match the previous ones but are also associated to precarious forms of employment that correspond to situations related to class social origin, gender, ethnic and racial divisions and the migratory status: white women, immigrants, migrants and people of colour engaged disproportionately in insecure forms of employment. (Fuller and Vosko, 2007)

Immigrants

Canada recognizes in the immigrant issue a central policy of the State, as the weight on the total population is significant, according to the 2006 Census more than "six million foreign-born people in Canada — 19.8 per cent of the population. Between 2001 and 2006, Canada's foreign-born population increased by 13.6 per cent, four times higher than the growth rate for the Canadian-born population in that same period" (The Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008: 8).

According to a report, immigrants are more likely than Canadians to have a post-secondary education certificate, respect to university education the proportion of immigrants with a degree (45%) exceed the proportion of Canadians (22%), (Council of Ministers of Education, 2007).

However, immigrants face disadvantages because

> "There are several difficulties for immigrants in achieving economic parity with other Canadians, despite having higher average levels of education than the Canadian labour force as a whole, the most common problem with respect to finding employment cited by immigrants to Canada was lack of Canadian experience in a context where the prior credentials and experience are not recognized" (Fuller and Vosko, 2007; p. 34).

A researcher highlights that when racial issues are combined with gender, the situation becomes more serious

> "There are racialized gendered patterns in the labor market, temporary employment may be particularly significant among immigrant women insofar as they face poorer labour market prospects than their male counterparts generally and/or experience greater pressures to accommodate employment to the demands of household labour. Also, people of colour are more likely than whites be employed in temporary jobs (21.2% versus 17.9% in 2003)" (Vosko, 2008; p. 164).

Aboriginal people

According to the 2006 Census, in Canada 1.172.790 persons identified themselves as Aboriginal (North American Indians or First Nations, Métis, and Inuit), representing 4% of the population; the Census also registered near 60 different spoken languages. According to a report, this is relevant for the education system because *almost half of the Aboriginal population consists of children and youth aged 24 and under, compared with 31 per cent of the non-Aboriginal population* (The Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008).

The previously quoted report also points out that *the discrimination and the assimilation policies forced the Aboriginal population to attend to residential schools leaving behind a legacy of mistrust and a population that continues to struggle with academic achievement* (The Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008).

This is evidence of *a very high percentage of Aboriginal students are not completing secondary school, almost half of the population over 15 years of age and over 40 per cent of those aged between 20 and 24* (The Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008). Another document outlines that *39% of Aboriginal Canadians have not completed high school and are therefore likely to have low literacy skills and school drop out rates are very high both in the cities (35%) and on reserves (58%)* (Maxwell and Teplova, 2007). Regarding to post- secondary education, completion rates of university studies are low, although for the non- university post-secondary education *the percentages are similar for those in the total population and the Aboriginal populations over 15 years of age, but lower for Aboriginals in the 20-24 age group* (The Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008).

Regarding the insertion in the labour market, another report points that "the biggest challenge confronting the Aboriginal population will be the large number of young adults aged between 20 and 29 entering the labour market" (Council of Ministers of Education, 2007)

People with disabilities

One in seven Canadians presents some type of disability. These persons present lower literacy levels than the rest of the population; also *those with disabilities were less likely to have a post-secondary credential*. Adult learners face more significant disadvantages because *are much more likely to be without a high school diploma and less likely to have a university degree* (Association of Canadian Community Colleges, 2008).

Women

In Canada, *women present higher educative indicators than men, for instance 60% of the university diplomas were granted to women*. Nevertheless, in the labour market women are in disadvantage. Leah Vosko maintains that

> "The majority of workers in precarious forms of employment that are growing in number are women (figure 1.2). In 2003, women accounted for over six in ten of those with part- time temporary jobs and part- time solo self- employment and nearly three- quarters of part- time permanent employees" (Vosko, 2006; p. 24).

In this sense, *women make up the majority of temporary employees classified as "casual", a group that mainly works part time* (Vosko, 2006). Women are over-represented in some sectors in the labour market, for example social services, category that includes health and care. This not only is the *most common industry of employment for women with any form of paid work. It is also an important domain of employment for women from racialized groups* (Das Gupta 2002, quoted in Vosko, 2006) but also concentrates precarious employment forms.

In this way, researches show

> "a gendered continuum of paid employment whereby full- time permanent and part- time temporary workers, and women dominate in the most precarious forms" (Vosko, 2008: 162).

Low income students

Canadian research shows that students from low income households face greater difficulties in the education system. A report points out that:

> "Students from lower socio-economic status (SES) households are much more at risk of dropping out of school before they have completed their secondary schooling" (Looker and Thiessen, 2008; p. 4).

There are also gaps in the post- secondary education, specially respect to university attainment, youth.

> "From high-income families are two to three times more likely to go to university than young people from low-income families" (de Broucker, 2005; p. 13).

Adult learners

Adult persons who seek to continue their studies- completing secondary education or continuing post- secondary are part of other group in relative disadvantage. According to Myers and de Broucker (2006) in Canada there are *5,8 million adults older than 25 years without secondary or higher education diploma an 9 million Canadians that lack the required literacy skills for working in the current society*.

Adult learners make up a vulnerable group because they face multiple risk factors: must combine work with their studies and the responsibilities of being in charge of a family:

> "As low earners, they are unable to save and reluctant to borrow to pay for the learning and associated living costs. They also need support services such as child care or transportation as well as financial support to replace lost earnings. However, the existing student loan system in most provinces is not designed to meet the needs of adults (Myers & de Broucker, 2006)" (Maxwell and Teplova, 2007; p. 33).

Argentina

A regular analysis carried out[7], distinguished through time *the groups in relative disadvantage in the labour market according to education*. Workers´ situation in the labour market enabled us to identify the groups that face problems regarding their characteristics of gender, age and education, which are acting as risk factors in their social and labour insertion.

The analysis of the economically active population (EAP) verified a raise in the formal education level of workers and the expulsion of the less educated. In 2003 little more than half of Great Buenos Aires EAP (52.6%) had completed secondary education or more, ten years before only one third of this population was in that situation and, during 2006-2007, the number kept on improving, which indicates a greater proportion of the active population with higher education. The percentage of EAP with incomplete secondary education descends to 45.7%. The same trend appears for the total urban EAP and for the active population of Great Buenos Aires.

A study made in early 2000 pointed out that "the non- benefited population from the EAP, facing potential education and labour risks, has never attended and/or has incomplete primary education" (Riquelme, 2000). When considering the current unemployment rates, it seems that the workers at labour risk must also include those without complete secondary education and with incomplete higher education.

[7] at PEET-IICE/UBA

During the last years the differences between men and women in term of educational profiles seem to have benefited female workers. These optimistic statements should be reviewed, because female workers´ access to the labour market and their working conditions are difficult. Nevertheless, their labour insertion isn't quite clear because their unemployment rates are higher than males', even for those women that have completed secondary and higher education. Women are a less expensive workforce, they accept precarious jobs and for these reasons we find lower unemployment rates among the less educated women.65.7% women in urban EAP have completed their secondary education in contrast to a much lower 51.2% amongst the male population. The disadvantages encountered by women show in their higher unemployment rates. (Table Annex 2.5)

Young people are one of the groups that face greater disadvantages disregarding their educational attainment. If it is true that they have reached higher educational attainments than older workers, their scarce experience prevents them from finding jobs that constitute the steps to stable labour paths with increased level of qualifications.

Unemployment according to educational attainments has shown over the last few years that the less educated find greater advantages, partly because an increased demand has fueled lower-qualified jobs (Table Annex 2.5). Since 2003, industrial growth has increased the demand for lower-qualified workers.

The pressure on youth to quickly enter the world of work was the result of the progressive social worsening of households, where the traditionally considered secondary workers – youth and women- were progressively demanded by the labour market, in spite of their different characteristics in terms of cycles and periods of the country's labour market.

Social exclusion and indigence

In Argentina, there are multiple exclusion and inequality situations, with groups marginalized from the education system and the labour market as well. Some research works recognize the existence of numerous "evidences about the very different collective subsistence forms linked to marginal conditions: social organizations commoners, recovered companies workers, glass cleaners, beggars, sexual workers, workers of clandestine workshops, non- legal traders, traveling sellers, cartoneros[8], street sellers, eventual services workers among many others are only a small part of the repertoire of collective or individual survival practices continuously degraded and apparently segregated" (Salvia, 2007; p. 4). In the urban areas 70% of the economically active population suffers from unemployment, under-employment, or indigence and precarious jobs issues (Salvia, 2007).

Women

[8] NT: "Cartoneros" is the name used locally for people who pick up paper and cardboard in the streets as means for subsistence.

Similarly to the Canadian situation, Argentinean women show higher educational profiles than men (Riquelme, 2001), but they are affected by educational devaluation as they must

> "Credit a higher education level for positions where men wouldn't be requested such education attainments, and to occupy spaces abandoned by the male EAP"

This difference is evident in the wages: in Argentina, with equal education attainments women make 87% of the wages of men (Gallart, 2008).

In the labour market there is a gender distribution by activity branches, according to a study that used INDEC data

> "women are inserted in activity branches that in the labour market are linked to the typical domestic functions, socially valued as part of the female world. This way, women are employed in the Domestic Service and in Social and teaching Services, Health and other Social Services" (Buccafusca y Serulnicoff, 2007: 12).

Likewise, women predominate in the informal sector of the labour market (Gallart, 2008).

Gender inequalities are overlapped with other inequalities, such asthose suffered by the immigrants, especially from the bordering countries. This way, "a large amount of immigrant women from other Southern Cone countries of Latin America are employed in the domestic service without having, in many cases, any basic working rights nor health protection" (Buccafusca y Serulnicoff, 2007; p. 2).

Women are also affected by inequality not only in the labour market but, for instance, in the compensatory policies that address the unemployed. For example, according to research about the Head of Household Program (in Spanish Plan Jefas y Jefes de Hogar- PPJJH) which promotes improvement in the income for women responsible for a family "that have found shelter in the inactivity mainly because they can't solve the tensions between paid work and the unpaid care work" (Pautassi y Rodríguez Enriquez, 2005: 11). In front of this tension, the government policy assumes the impossibility to secure work insertion for these women and confines them to the domestic responsibilities in exchange of a monetary compensation (Pautassi y Rodríguez Enriquez, 2005).

Immigrants

Argentina has received great immigrant flows, especially between 1870 and 1930, the period of the great European migration waves that changed the population composition and territorial distribution. Then, the migratory flows changed their features, with an increased migration from the bordering countries, since the 1960s. Migration from the neighboring countries has traditionally been associated to agriculture or low level qualification workforce demand. It is recognized in some researches that "this migration was and currently is a social phenomenon connected to poverty and labour pauperization" (Buccafusca y Serulnicoff, 2007; p. 5).

Youth

In different researches young people are considered a relative disadvantaged group in terms of education and employment. According to Jacinto (2006), 14,557,202 20-yearold persons hadn't completed secondary education in 2001 (according to census data), this shows that the recent expansion of the secondary level didn't guarantee massively obtaining certificates: most of the Argentinean youngster don't have such credential (Jacinto, 2006).

There are differences in education access according to the household's income. A research shows that by the end of the 90s:

> "more than eight in ten young person that come from low income level households within the social structure, do not complete secondary schooling" (Miranda, Otero, Zelarayan, 2007: 21).

Income differences are also reflected in higher education access, "because only a small proportion of the population of the lower incomes quintiles access university and non- university higher education" (Riquelme, 2001; p. 7).

Access to secondary education is also connected to inequality between regions, aso"secondary schooling rates in Argentina, are high as in the country average, but hide great provincial differences" (Riquelme, 2004: 129). This way, "Norwest, Cuyo and Northeast have the higher percentages of the lowest educational attainment (the three regions exceed the total EAP) registering 38.8%, 36.6% and 37% respectively of the population with up to 7 years of schooling" (Riquelme, 2001; p. 22).

Nevertheless, when comparing the educational levels according to age groups, young people present higher educational attainments than adults, although

> "the privilege of the young for having higher educational attainments is opposed to the difficulties for accessing the labour market: unemployment rates of the 15 to 19 years old group in all education levels are higher – between 33.9% and 46.5%" (Riquelme, 2001; p. 13).

It should be considered that there are also displacement and expulsion of the least educated of the stable employment, although Riquelme recognizes "the least educated are excluded form the employment because of the lack of job positions opportunities" (Riquelme, 2001; p. 13).

Other group in relative disadvantage, that includes the young people, is the proportion of the economically active population (EAP) that didn't finished primary and secondary education. If by 1998 the population without primary education decreased (8.4%), still 55.8% hadn't complete the secondary education when this is the minimum requisite for accessing the labour market and for exercising citizenship (Riquelme, 2001). Therefore, the population in educative and labour risk is composed by:

> "Those who never attended or haven't completed primary education. The educational and labour risk is evident for adolescent workers, because they have the largest proportion without education attainment" (Riquelme, 2001; p. 11)

To summ up, education and training for work planning should respond to the different needs of both young and adult populations, especially among those with the most critical situations: among immigrants in Canada, and among internal migrants, adolescent and young drop-outs, low-income women, and workers in the construction and less dinamyc fields of economy. Creating alternatives for the educational recovery of such populations brings about a major challenge.

Chapter 3
Short- term illusions market and education and training

This chapter organizes in a compared manner the findings of this research about Argentina and Canada from the identification of matches, differences and common standpoints in the theoretical and conceptual approaches on education and work training issues about the following topics that have been considered or anticipated during this study:

- the complexity, diversity and juxtaposition of education and work training;
- the existence of multiple social and productive demands for education and work training;
- the consequences of neoliberal policies on the fragmentation of education and training that have resulted in diverse, fragmented and overlapped policies and education and work training market supply

Considerations will be outlined on the possibility of learning from both realities - considering the differences - for awareness and to facilitate anticipatory schemes. Furthermore, the groups that maintain such political perspectives on education in both countries will be described.

3.1. Complexity, diversification and juxtaposition of education and work training

The organization of the education sectors worldwide has been gaining in complexity during the last decades. Neoliberal and neo-conservative policies contributed to this situation, beyond that decentralization measures aimed at simplifying and easing the intervention of local areas in education management. The promoted education and training policies around the world are an example of this, adding in this case the intervention of employment and sectoral development policies that progressively appeared, disputing space in the design and execution of training programs for adults and youth.

3.1.1 Argentina

In Argentina, our research studies have proved the “diversification and breaking of the education system” (Riquelme and Herger, 2005, Riquelme, 2004). Recent studies have analyzed existence of complex scenarios considering three key questions: (i) the complexity of the legal framework, (ii) some certainties about the autonomy of the current supply of the Argentinean education system and, at the same time, the capacity of formal adjustments of the system to national and provincial policies and management, (iii) the existence of an education and training market understood as “short term illusions”.

Within the framework of the State modernization starting in 1991 and from the Ministry of Economy, the national government carried out an accelerated process of

transference of services to the jurisdictions. The education sector initiated, in 1993, the educative reform, along with the implementation of the Federal Education Law. The education policy praised de-centralization and institutional management as the magic keys for solving most of the problems, although the provinces weren't granted, from the beginning, with the resources for absorbing all the transferred schools.

During the years following the 2001 crisis in Argentina criticism to the 90s' neoliberal policies and the impacts on the education and training were stronger. At that moment the effects of the education levels and modalities structure change, the disappearance of technical education and adult education and the changes in the secondary level were acknowledged (Riquelme; 2006). Besides, the diagnosis made by the government and by specialists noticed that the educational transformation and the transference had caused "a great disorder, an overlapping of management structures, a curricular atomization of the provincial systems, and inequality problems between the provinces and within them" (Gallart, 2008). To this point, common talk states the existence of 24 education systems in Argentina, one for each province.

The pressure to operate transformations became settled by a new education law and legal framework for financing and registering technical education, as well as a hole new Education Financing Law. In this context, education seems to be facing fracture, some continuities and efforts for matching the deep differentiation among the provinces, the local scenarios and the institutions in the country (Riquelme and Herger, 2009).

What was set out as the "critical transition of the secondary education to polymodal" (Riquelme, 1997 and 2004) during the 90s, has been reborn in this new century because of the fixed structure set by the Technical- Professional Education Law and the National Education Law (2006). Undoubtedly a crisis is understood as a "considerable change, for improving or for worsening, strikes a disease" or "a decisive moment of great consequence in an important business" or "judgment made about a thing, after subjecting it to a carefully assessment" (Riquelme, 2004; p. 77). This is happening again at every province for the re-adjustments of each secondary education structure. Unquestionably, advantages should be taken from the positive, negative, regressive or risky transformations respect to the starting problems of the secondary level.

Almost two decades after the educational reform was launched in Argentina, there are almost twenty four (24) education systems, this means as many as provinces, with the consequences on education horizontal and vertical articulations between provinces, levels and schools, and even on institutions of the same geographic area.

In terms of education and work training, a crucial milestone was that in 1991, because of the Employment Law, work and occupational training were assigned to the Ministry of Labour, although the National Ministry of Education and the provincial education ministries never gave up the responsibility for these educational actions included in the controversial Federal Education Law.

From the labour sector, common sense on the modernization of the State's functions, introduced management mechanisms into training programs based in the

separation between the design, coordination, supervision, and assessment stages. These functions were in the hands of the State, while the implementation of the programs was carried out by public and private institutions that had to compete in public tenders for obtaining resources. This resulted in the multiplication of suppliers, mainly private institutions, and only a few from the State- professional training centers, technical schools, adult schools or universities- and the unions. Particularly part of the training supply emerged from the non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Only a few were genuine self-managed communities, while the rest appeared only for the tender.. For this reason, most of the NGOs hid their lucrative objectives and turned into instances of resources concentration instead of becoming mediators for the distribution among the populations.

The different programs faced by the Labour sector promoted fragmented, pragmatic and short term training courses that did not favour neither the work nor the educational insertion. These "short termed illusions" make a fragmented supply which is not centrally planned and this carried out by a multiplicity of private institutions and non-governmental organizations (see text-table at the end of the section).

Finally, the Social Development sector performed its social action policies through NGOs and training enterprises for the population of lower resources. It should be stressed that the lack of coordination between the actions of these sectors leads to an inefficient use of the available resources within a complex administrative overlapping of programs and actions. Besides, this creates confusion and dispersion among the youth and adults when defining between education and training options.

The resulting situation was the "juxtaposition of the social and employment policies and work training" because the activities of education and training started to be central within the active employment policies and also within the social policies.

Work training was considered the most adequate way to increase insertion possibilities in the labour market for different social groups with work difficulties: such as the unemployed, young people working in low productive activities, informal workers, the handicapped, women, poorly-educated workers, etc. At that time, the possibility of positioning these people inside a highly selective market, through training, turned them into more "employable" individuals.

In Argentina, both common sense and the mass-media, have focused their attention in the un-employability of the poorly-educated people and of all graduates as well. These interests become partial if structural limitations of the production system in generating employment are not taken into account. As an example, there are those who maintain, even in Canada, that a person cannot be regarded as unemployed if he or she has no hope of getting a regular job, In strict sense they are excluded not because they have been expelled but because they lack the qualifications for accessing a career. The employability concept transfers the responsibility for professional insertion from society to individuals. It assumes that the institutions promoted to training agencies have to transform its clientele in "employable" and to adequate their courses to the productive demands.

In Argentina there is still a big challenge to education and work training policies to overcome training adapted to job positions by means of other types of orientation to the population's educational recovery and to professional training in broad fields of professional life to answer workers' current needs and their future employment.

The annex table below classifies education and training actions and programs developed from the education, work and social development sectors. The aim of the table is to show *the fragmentation in the education and training supply* that disperses the young and adults at the moment of choosing training paths, even more so after the consecutive education and labour neoliberal reforms that brought complexity to these public education and training systems.

Table 3. 1.
Argentina. Expansion and fragmentation of the education and training for the workers. Decade of 90s, 2001, 2008/9. National Government

		90s	2001	2008 / 2009
Formal education		-Common and adults Primary and Secondary Education (provincial responsibility since 1991) -Secondary level training with continuing technical orientation through: - Secondary Technical Education (provincial responsibility since 1991) - Polymodal Education with technical and Professional paths (provincial responsibility since 1991) - Non- University and University Higher Education.	-Common and adults Primary and Secondary Education (provincial responsibility since 1991) -Secondary level training with continuing technical orientation through: - Secondary Technical Education (provincial responsibility since 1991) - Polymodal Education with technical and Professional paths (provincial responsibility since 1991) - Non- University and University Higher Education. - "To Study is to Work" (2001/ partnership of SDM- Social Development Ministry- and MTEySS- Labour Ministry).	-Common and adults Primary and Secondary Education (provincial responsibility since 1991) -Secondary level training with continuing technical orientation through: - Secondary Technical Education (provincial responsibility since 1991) - Polymodal Education with technical and Professional paths (provincial responsibility since 1991) - Non- University and University Higher Education. - National Program of Technical Education Stimulation Grants National (2008) (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology- MECyT) - Program Jefas y Jefes de Hogar Desocupados (2002/ partnership with MTEySS). - Integrated Training and Employment Promotion Plan: More and Better Work (2003 and continues)
Education and work training	Education	- Training Programs of the National Center of Technological Education/INET (National Ministry of Education) - Professional Training Centers (provincial responsibility since 1991) - Internship Program at al secondary and higher level (1992 and continues)	- Training Programs of the National Center of Technological Education/INET (National Ministry of Education) - Professional Training Centers (provincial responsibility since 1991) - Internship Program at al secondary and higher level (1992 and continues)	- Training Programs of the National Center of Technological Education/INET (National Ministry of Education) - Professional Training Centers (provincial responsibility since 1991) - Internship Program at al secondary and higher level (1992 and continues)
	Labour	-Programa Nacional de Pasantías para la Reconversión PRONAPAS(1994-1995) - Occupational Training (1995) - Learning (1994/97) - Micro-Companies Project/PARP (1995-1997) - Image Program (1995-1999) - Employment Training (1996) - Prog. Emprender (1996) - Work Reconversion Program (1996-1997) - Special Training Projects for a sector or productive branch	- FORMujer program (2000 to2004) - Youth Project (1994-2001) - Occupational Workshops (1995-2004) - Protected Production Workshops I and II (1997-2003) - Work Emergency-Communitarian Development Program (2000 to 2001) - To Study is to Work (2001/ partnership wit Education Ministry). – Production and	- Integral Training and Employment Promotion Plan: More and Better Work (2003 and continues) - Program Youth with more and better work MTEySS, 2008 and continues) -Sectorial Qualification Plans (20003-2004 and continues) - Communitarian Employment Program (PEC) (2003 and continues) - Self- Managed Companies Competitiveness Program and Management Model System (2006 and continues) -Work Training Program (2003 and

		(1997) - Training Program for a sector or productive branch (1997/98) - Training Program to Support Employment (1998) -Sectorial Training Program (2000/01) - Young Project(1994-2001) - Occupational workshops (1995-2003) -Production and Employment Support Program PAPEJ (1997/02) -Protected Production Workshops I and II (1997/2001) -Special Work Training Program (1998/01)	Employment Support Program PAPEJ (1997/02) - Production Occupations Workshops I and II (1997/2001) - Special Work Training Program (1998/01) - Sectorial Training Program (2000-2001) - Work Competences Certification Program (2001 and continues)	continues) -Training and Employment Security (2006 and continues) - Work Insertion program- Self-Employment promotion Line (2006 and continues) -Work and Professional Training Institutes Strengthening Program -Work Tool Program - Unique Unemployment Payment Program -Work Training Quality Program -Local Employment Development Program V - Transitory Employment in the Public Local Construction with Materials Support "Constructing Workers" - Regional Training and Work Intermediation for the Blind Population, 'Prog Agora' - Professionalization and hierarquization of the Domestic Service Workers and Similar Activities Proposal - Young with Future Companies Network (MTEySS)(2006 and continues) - Program for the assistance of the workers of the Protected Workshops of Production (MTEySS)(2006 and continues) - Training for the Public and Private Sectors Program - Training for the Work Program (MTEySS) (2006 Work Training Program
	Social Development	Professional and occupational training courses developed by Organizations belonging to the civil society registered in the National Center of Community Organizations	Professional and occupational training courses developed by Organizations belonging to the civil society registered in the National Center of Community Organizations	- Local Development and Social Economy National Plan "Manos a Obras" (2003 Work Training Program -FAMILY PLAN (Family for the Inclusion Program (2004 and continues)

Source: Riquelme, G. C. y Herger, N. (in collaboration with Alexander Kodric) (2009) *Continuidades y rupturas en las políticas de educación y formación para el trabajo en las últimas dos décadas.* Serie de Cuadernos del Educación, Economía y Trabajo, Nº 23. Programa Educación, Economía y Trabajo. Instituto de Investigaciones en Ciencias de la Educación. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. UBA. Buenos Aires.

3.1.2 Canada

The Argentinean and Canadian education management profiles comparatively analyzed in the previous chapters show their complexities. In this section, this issue will be highlighted in some recent studies and researches in both countries.

> "Canada's adult learning policy environment is extremely complex. Because adult education is primarily a provincial responsibility, there are large differences in policy and provision across Canada. Adding to this complexity, within each jurisdiction, there is often more than one ministry involved. A recent CMEC report (Powley, 2005) noted that in no province does a single government organization have overall responsibility for adult education. In most provinces, this responsibility is split between several ministries overseeing education, labour and/or human resources development programs. While a truly comprehensive study would examine all provinces, in this report we focus

> primarily on five provinces: Alberta, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Québec."[9] (Myers and de Broucker, 2006:2)

In Canada, there are 13 education systems, one for each province or territory, this way the education and training overview is complex considering policies differences among the provinces: *the provincial adult education systems are complex, fragmented and incomplete. There are meaningful gaps in the coordination, information and orientation, financial support, employers' support and government investment* (Myers and de Broucker, 2006).

Young and adult populations that didn't complete the secondary education may make use of different ways for obtaining the secondary education diploma: a) continuing adults secondary education; b) taking the General Educational Development (GED) exam which is accepted by many employers and in some post- secondary education institutions; c) following degree upgrade programs and courses which prepare for accessing post-secondary education; d) to take the Test of Workplace Essential Skills (TOWES) exam, which evaluates a person's capacity for developing a task of specific job in the labour market. These options have advantages and disadvantages according to the validity of these certificates in the provinces and post-secondary education institutions, the costs and the availability of scholarships and loans (Myers and de Broucker, 2006).

The existence of a "second chance system" is a significant alternative: educational courses and programs for those who abandoned the secondary education and seek to continue their studies. These take place in diverse institutions: universities, vocational or trades institutions, at the apprenticeship system. Given this diversity, it isn't a comprehensive system but a variety of options with different sustainability, available at different country's areas and that address different groups of young people (Looker and Thiessen, 2008). With respect to the *apprenticeship system* there are 13 systems and more than 200 programs in Canada (HRSDC, 2010). It combines work training courses at educative institutions (mainly colleges and institutes) with experience at the workplace.

The Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) is an option that allows for work insertion (of workers without any formal credentials, immigrants with studies at their homeland and marginal groups) and helps adults to demonstrate and obtain recognition for the learning acquired during the work and life experience. However, there is not any federal legislation that establishes the recognition of formal and informal learning, and despite its advantages and recognition at the colleges, few universities consider this option.

It is important to highlight the role of the colleges and institutes in the post-secondary education. They participate in the assessment and recognition of previous learning (PLAR), at initiatives of essential skills learning at the workplaces, in literacy and second language programs, in the recognition of foreign credentials and in training

[9]The adult education policies are extremely complex and different throughout Canada, as the adults education is a provincial responsibility. In each jurisdiction, sometimes more than one ministry is involved in the supervision of education, work or human resources development programs (Myers and de Broucker, 2006)

programs for the industry and commerce. There are also private colleges and training institutions (The Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008).

Finally, the universities lead to degrees and to other types of certificates. They offer orientation to older adult student, access to skills training centers and flexible courses and also to flexible learning methodologies that include workshops, work training programs and on line and distance education programs. However, there are differences in the access to the university because the related costs are high (enrolment, fees, study materials) and there are diverse types of scholarships and loans with changing requisites according to the province.

The complexity of the education and training supply in Canada is reviewed in the text table below. It also shows the richness of the alternatives available.

Table 3.2
Canada. Complexity and diversification of the education and training alternatives

People without secondary education diploma	
General Educational Development –GED	GED is an internationally recognized and accepted by most of the employers and post- secondary education institutions exam. It is administrated by the American Council on Education and its content is similar for every country, although in Canada it has been modified. Candidates must be from 18 to 19 years old (depending on the province) and must have been outside the school system for at least one year.
Credential upgrading at colleges	The designs vary between the provinces, but the courses content is similar to the secondary education cores (for example English and math) and they are orientated to the preparation of students for accessing post- secondary education (Myers and de Broucker, 2006).
Test of Workplace Essential Skills –TOWES	TOWES evaluates a person's capacity for developing a task of specific jobs in the labour market. It assesses the Basic Redding skills, the use of documents and math and candidates are evaluated in a work environment. It is available in all provinces and territories and although according to Myers and de Broucker (2006) its recent implementation, more than 25,000 persons have taken the exam. Besides, as part of the Essential Skills Research Project, HRSDC evaluates the complexity levels of the competences required for each occupation listed in the Canadian National Occupational Classifications (NOC). This enables employers to use TOWES scores as an element to evaluate the adequation of a person to the job position.
Second chance system	- Other available options for young people to complete secondary education are the community colleges, trade training or some university courses. Some of these institutions have flexible admission processes and don't require secondary education diploma. - Some researches mention a "second chance system": educational courses and programs for those that abandoned secondary education and want to continue studying. There are courses at different types of institutions: universities, vocational or trades institutions, and the apprenticeship system. Given this diversity, it isn't a comprehensive system but a variety of options with different maintainability, available at different country's areas and addressing different groups of young people (Looker and Thiessen, 2008). It is also pointed out that there options that do not reach all the young and adults, and for this reason it is important to pay more systematic attention to this issue at provincial and federal levels (Looker and Thiessen, 2008).
People that need to improve their knowledge and skills (workers, immigrants, people without secondary education diploma)	
Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR)	An available option for work insertion (of workers without any formal credentials, immigrants who have studied in their homeland and marginal groups) is the Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR). This helps adults to demonstrate and obtain recognition for the learning acquired during their work and life experience. Myers and de Broucker (2006) point out that PLAR it may become an important policy for encouraging adults to return to school because it enables obtaining academic credits from previous knowledge and experiences. It is used in academic and non-academic spaces and involves learning comparisons according to evaluating bodies' standards. PLAR enbales: - older workers without formal credentials to identify their previous learning, have it assessed and certified; - immigrants to be acknowledged for the competences acquired outside Canada or in their native countries; - marginal groups to have their learning acknowledged; - human resources managers and vocational counselors to help adults with work experience but low esteem for their competences and skills (CMEC, 2008). There is no federal legislation that establishes the recognition of formal and informal learning, and

	despite its advantages and recognition at colleges, few universities consider PLAR. There also is a gap between policies and practices, only a few people choose this option (Myers and de Broucker, 2006).
People that look for education and work training	
Post- secondary education (non- university)	"Coelli (2004) looks at the supply of post-secondary places in terms of the impact of rising tuition. Tuition increases, he says, may discourage some youth from attending post-secondary education while at the same time they may encourage institutions to provide more places for prospective students. So while low-income families will have more trouble paying, the increased number of places may raise the probability of young people from low-income families to be accepted as students." (de Broucker, 2005: 29) - "We need more vocational options that would offer a real alternative to post-secondary education and provide a smooth and rewarding school-to-work transition for high-school students who do not want to pursue post-secondary studies. Vocational training as an alternative to post-secondary education does exist in some Canadian jurisdictions in different forms, such as co-operative education, vocational education and pre-apprenticeship programs. Their extension within well-defined and recognized structures warrants serious examination by governments, educators and labour market partners." (de Broucker, 2005: 36)
Colleges	- Colleges and institutes are close to the community needs and quickly adapt to the changing knowledge and skills needs (Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008a). Colleges have established alliances with unions, governmental departments, municipalities and economic actors for developing training options for the employers. Colleges are involved in the evaluation and recognition of previous learning (PLAR) at initiatives of essential skills learning at the workplaces, basic education, in literacy and second language programs, in the recognition of foreign credentials and in training programs for the industry and commerce. - There are also private colleges and training institutions that may or may not have a license from the provincial or territorial government, and in some cases they may receive public funding (The Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008ª). In Ontario, there are 450 of these institutions and they are focused in skills teaching and in training programs for specific occupations. - They also offer basic literacy programs and equivalency programs with the adult's secondary education. According to the jurisdiction, the literacy or basic skills upgrading programs are dictated at the college building or in partnership with organizations of the community. Moreover there are programs for continuing post- secondary education at universities, technical careers or apprenticeship system; for these options a secondary education certification or equivalent is required. The duration of these programs vary from one to six years.
Apprenticeship system	- Each province and territory is responsible for its own training and certification policies, for this reason there are 13 apprenticeship systems and more than 200 programs in Canada. - They combine work training at educational institutions (mainly colleges and institutes) with experience at the workplace. - This option is usually pursued by young men without any specific trade experience, who come from families where the father doesn't have post- secondary education. - "Apprenticeship is an agreement between a person (an apprentice) who wants to learn a skill and an employer who needs a skilled worker. Apprenticeship is a proven industry-based learning system that combines on-the-job experience with technical classroom training to produce a certified journeyperson. For some apprentices, especially in Quebec, the technical classroom training can be taken upfront through the secondary school system, followed by successive years of on-the-job training. Upon completion of the specified training period, apprentices receive a Certificate of Qualification. On average, 80% of the apprentice's two to five year program is spent in the workplace; the rest is spent at a training institution." (HRDC, 2010)

3.2 Multiple social and productive demands to education and work training: type situations

Education and training, at all social and economic contexts of the different countries, respond to multiple social and productive demands from the attention of social needs and critical demands to those proceeding from the production and labour requirements, that no doubt are challenging for the education, technical education and professional training public policies.

The perspective of a critical pedagogy supports that the definition of an education and work training policy cannot focus exclusively on the explicit formal employment demand, but as these are policies for all citizens, they should be carried out for the

development of autonomous and collective life project designs that promote critical integration to both social and productive realities.

In our Latin American countries, with pending social debts, the social demands that compromise the portion of the doubly excluded from education and work - young and adult populations – should be defined and addressed. Social integration should be the key objective of social, education and training policies. Beyond this, it should be acknowledged that education is not the guarantee for accessing employment and nor are these the conditions to become part of the "employable" population. Education can achieve the transformation of individuals into social rights subjects, conscious of their own potential, with more demand power and responsible autonomy in a contradictory and excluding society. By the end of this section the need for addressing the adults' "will to return to study" will be shown as a key demand for adult education.

Through the last thirty years, we have developed an analytical proposal for the interpretation of the multiple social and productive demands to education and work training. The type situations that have been developed to spot more easily both subjects and institutions' starting point in addressing the right for education are undoubtedly important to the planning and programming of education.

The idea is to organize the education and training alternatives according to: (i) the demands of social groups; (ii) the demands that result from the knowledge fields that allow structuring meaningful contents and those that come from social and productive realities and demands and (iv) furthermore the recognition of demands derived for utility and social needs and critical social demands.

(i) Subjects' demands or social demand

This entails considering the different paths that demand actions form the educational system:

- Life path (related to subjects or citizens to become future producers or workers) whether at the student population level (primary, secondary or higher education), the population outside the education system level (at educational risk) or the young and adult population level that seek to increase or enhance their education levels;
- Work and professional path (related to the subjects and their occupational situation) according to the condition and quality of the occupation (employed, unemployed, under-employed, chronicly unemployed, precarious job holders) and the position in the productive structure (big company, small and medium size company, micro-entrepreneurs, social movement).

(ii) Formative proposals related to the knowledge field or discipline and work training.

Addressing teaching contents enables to adopt decisions focused in issues such as:

- knowledge filed and the organization of the teaching levels according to the general and scientific education orientations, technological education and the specialized training;
- training for the world of work, that would consider a comprehensive work reconversion, updating, improvement and job training.

(iii) Demands from the social and productive reality.

The demands to the social and productive reality should be set bearing the following indicators in mind:

- Effective demands derived from economic and productive heterogeneity;

- Occupational demands derived from technological and work processes transformations expressed in socio- professional profiles.

(iv) Demands derived from utility and social needs/ critical social demands.
If this type of unvealed (or implicit) social and productive demands turn to be multiple, they may be reviewed in three aspects: life quality, the promotion of technological and productive capacities and the protection and use of natural resources.

The demands that come from different areas of society aiming at improving population the life or to encourage new and better productive developments, not necessarily have to occur explicitly. Education policy makers and planners should take into account that education and training needs of might not be revealed through the common mechanisms of our society (labour market, in the case of the production of goods and services) and/or in the political or institutional arena (in the case of the diverse social needs of the population-.

Although this analysis hasn't been carried out in Canada, there´ s no doubt that it is possible to think that similar situations are verified, and that this conceptual approach could make social and productive heterogeneity visible.

3.2.1 Argentina

Map of education and work training needs outline

The following table sets out the main empirical evidence verified in a previous research. The presentation is organized by showing the educational profile of the employed persons in formal and non-formal activities.

Table 3.3.
Argentina. Scheme of educational and training for work needs.

	Educational profile of the employed persons	Educatonal needs	Target groups	Requirements´ origin or cause
Formal employment				
Goods and services production	Only 30% of the employed have reached the university level. Most of the employed have complete and incomplete secondary education (between 40% and 70%). Small participation of persons with post-secondary education.	General enhance of the educational level; training, and, professional and occupational re-adaptation; incorporation of the new technologies and the development of R+D.	Workers of the internal markets have been displaced or unemployed. Technicians and scientists outside the productive circuit.	Industrial reconversion; structural unemployment; low elasticity product/employment; intensive capital use technologies; demand downsizing; specialization in activities with comparative static advantages.
Financial services	Almost all employed people with complete and incomplete university studies (75%). 20% with complete secondary education.	Professional and occupational re-adaptation.	Employed and unemployed displaced by the reduction of personnel.	

Public administration	High proportion of low qualification workers (31%). Similar proportions with secondary and higher education.	Functional and social qualification development.	Administration employees and displaced mature workers.	
Construction	Overwhelming majority of low qualification workers (57% with complete and incomplete primary education). Only 9% with university education. There is not any participation of people with tertiary education.	Updating and improvement due to knowledge obsolescence. General educational recovery; training and professional and occupational re-adaptation.	Builder masters workers, forepersons, contractors	
Food, beverages and tobacco	Mostly medium and low education level (38% and 44% respectively). Almost inexistent participation of persons with post-secondary education.	Re-adaptation for the use of international top technologies.	Workers of the internal markets, displaced and unemployed. Technicians and scientists outside the productive circuit.	
Precarious and non-formal employment				
Self- employed		Specialization needs and occupational re-adaptation; integration to centers of formal education.	Familiar companies; professionals, independent technicians; domestic service, merchants	Downsizing of consumption and hence of sales; occupational re-conversion needs.
Micro-companies/ Social companies		Literacy; functional educational recovery; special training needs and trades teaching	Recovered companies; underemployed with family-managed enterprises.	Low productivity; organizational and legal issues; impossibility for obtaining scale economies
Informal/ marginal sector	Low education profile population. High proportion of school drop-outs.	Literacy; functional educational recovery; special training needs and trades teaching	Marginal urban sectors, young people, social movement members, individual below the poverty line	Pauperization; basic needs unsatisfied; lack of knowledge about employment

Source: Riquelme, G. C., Herger, N. y Langer, A. (2005) *Educación y formación para el trabajo en Argentina. Continuidades, rupturas y desafíos en los últimos cincuenta años. Perspectiva para la relación educación y mercado de trabajo en el 2005*. Serie de Cuadernos del Educación, Economía y Trabajo, nº 18. Programa Educación, Economía y Trabajo. Instituto de Investigaciones en Ciencias de la Educación. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. UBA. Buenos Aires. Registro de Propiedad Intelectual Nº 621.182.
Riquelme, G. C. (1985) "Readaptación profesional y ocupacional de los trabajadores en contextos de crisis", in *Revista Argentina de Educación*, Año IV, º 6, pp. 17-46. October 1985. Buenos Aires.

Undoubtedly it is possible to apply this interpretative approach to the Canadian reality. In all countries, the lobbying capacity - in terms of educational policies - of certain groups over others is a main reason behind the unequal distribution of education as these educational actions are functional to certain social sectors, reproducing a cumulative advance phenomenon: those with better education receive more education. In most countries and particularly in Latin America, the level structures and cycles have been designed to include selection mechanisms, efficient for meritocratic retention of some students through the scholar pyramid.

A country aware of social development, technologically independent or integrated into the global concert for an economic growth that contributes to the improvement of its population quality of life, should defend the enhancement of education for its children, adolescents, young and adult populations. This supposes rational and agreed decisions for investments in education that are far way to be established and settled[10]. For this reason maintaining that there are education needs of the low education adult workers not only has to do with their "employability", because undoubtedly the existence of the job positions does not depend on workers´ individual achievements, but these benefits contribute to their social and political insertion and integration.

3.2.2 Canada

In Canada there are groups with different educational and training for work needs. The studies and reports mostly focus on workers´ needs for their performance in the knowledge society, but there are researches and documents that analyze the needs of adults with low educational level and that we have been presented along this work.

With respect to workers related to the "knowledge society" and for the total population, lifelong learning has become the broadly accepted approach; although it is worth quoting:

> "Lifelong learning is increasingly recognized as an important element in today's knowledge-based economy defined by rapid advancements in technology and constantly changing skill needs. […] It also recognizes that formal learning, typically concentrated in the earlier stages of life, does not necessarily sustain individuals throughout their lives any longer, as adults find they must learn new skills in order to adapt to changing circumstances at home and at work." (Mc Mullen, 2010; s/p)

Mc Mullen uses data from the Adult Education and Training Survey (AETS) 2003 and the Access and Support to Education and Training Survey (ASETS) 2008 to show that:

> "Between July 2007 and June 2008, an estimated ten million Canadians aged 18 to 64 had participated in some type of education or training, whether it be for personal interest or for their career or job. These learning participants represented almost half (47%) of the Canadian population aged 18 to 64. On the whole, Canadians were more likely to engage in training than in formal education: almost twice as many Canadians aged 18 to 64 (34%) participated in training activities such as courses, workshops and guided on-the-job training compared to formal education programs (18%)." (Mc Mullen, 2010; s/p)

> "Overall, 36% of working-age adult Canadians (age 25 to 64 years) participated in education or training that was specifically job-related in 2008, an increase from 30% in 2002. This increase is wholly attributable to an increase in the rate of participation in job-related training which rose from 25% in 2002 to 31% in 2008. In contrast, participation in job-related education programs remained unchanged at 8%." (Mc Mullen, 2010; s/p)

[10] Riquelme, Graciela C. (2005) *La deuda social educativa en Argentina: práctica y cumplimiento del derecho a la educación*. Serie de Cuadernos del Educación, Economía y Trabajo, nº 16. Programa Educación, Economía y Trabajo. Instituto de Investigaciones en Ciencias de la Educación. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. UBA. Buenos Aires.

Mc Mullen also points out that the participation in lifelong learning activities - and, more specifically, job-related training - is directly connected to educational attainments:

> "Previous surveys and studies have shown that education is strongly linked to participation in lifelong learning: the higher the level of education a person has, the higher the rate of participation in further learning activities. Data from the Access and Support to Education and Training Survey support these findings – in 2008, the rate of participation in job-related education or training rose from 14% of those with less than a high school education, to 25% of those with high school, to 44% of those with a postsecondary education." (Mc Mullen, 2010; s/p)

This also coincides with the findings about the relationship between the acces to work training fostered by employers and the worker´ s position in the workplace hierarchy:

> "In 2002, as in previous years, workers employed in professional and managerial occupations had the highest rate of participation in employer-supported job-related training (35%), followed by white collar workers in clerical, sales and service occupations (20%), and blue collar workers (16%). Growth over the 1997 to 2002 period was balanced for each of these three groups." (Peters, 2004:14)

The differences of participation in work training are related to the company's size:

> "The 2003 AETS [Adult Education and Training Survey] also found that well-documented patterns of training participation based on firm size continue to hold, with the lowest rates of participation in employer-supported job-related training being found among the smallest firms." (Peters, 2004; p.15)

The Adult Education and Training Survey (AETS) analyzed by Peters (2004) finds differences in terms of participation in self-directed learning and informal learning according to educational level:

> "As was the case for formal job-related training, participation rates in self-directed learning were lowest for workers with the least formal education (16%) and rose for each subsequent educational level, to reach 50% for workers with a university degree. Thus, not only were older workers and less educated workers less involved in formal job-related training in 2002, they were also less involved in informal training for at least one four-week period during that year." (Peters, 2004; p.16)

Peters (2004) presents the main obstacles found by people for satisfying their educational and work training needs. These obstacles are similar for those that are pursuing some type of education and training and for those that do not participate in these activities; they include costs and lack of time because of work and family responsibilities (Peters, 2004).

> "There were considerable similarities between training participants and non participants in the reasons they gave for not taking training they wanted or needed. Among participants, the most often-reported reasons were: cost (cited by 40%), being too busy at work (38%), a conflict between the training and work schedules (34%) and family responsibilities (24%).16 For non-participants, cost was also the most often reported reason (cited by 45%), followed by being too busy at work (35%), family responsibilities, and a conflict between the training and work schedules (both at 27%)" (Peters, 2004; p.20).

The same author points out the risks of the existence of groups that do not continue training in the long term:

> "When non-participation extends over a longer period, and involves no expectations for future training, then the risk of skills and knowledge becoming out-dated increases. For workers with lower participation rates this lack of training can become part of a "chain of cumulative disadvantage". On-going or regular participation in job-related training can have the opposite effect – the development of a cumulative advantage – as skills and knowledge continually updated and broadened can make these workers more valuable to employers." (Peters, 2004; p.22)

In Canada there are low education level population groups with incomplete secondary education, and unsatisfactory literacy skills levels:

> "- 5.8 million Canadians aged 25 years and over do not have a high-school diploma or higher credentials;
> - there is still too high a flow of young people dropping out of high-school: about 200,000 young adults have not completed high-school – this is more frequent among young men than young women and varies significantly by province;
> - 9 million Canadians aged 16 to 65 years have literacy skills below the level considered as necessary to live and work in today's society." (Myers and de Broucker, 2006; p.9)

The International Adult Literacy and Skills Survey, administered by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and Statistics Canada in 2003 showed that people with higher literacy levels are more likely to participate in adult education. Other survey findings are:

> - "Of the respondents, those who had been born in Canada were more likely than immigrants to participate in adult education and training".
> - "Labour Force Status: 57% of employed individuals participated in adult education and training, compared to 31 % of the unemployed and 24 % of those not in the labour force".
> - "Those who were more involved in literacy practices at work were more likely to receive employer-sponsored training that those with low levels of literacy involvement". (Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008)

From a critical perspective, David Livingstone maintains that:

> "The purportedly low literacy level of many adults, as measured on recent international standardized tests (e.g. Statistics Canada, 2005) has been of great concern to literacy advocates, policy makers and some employers. The increasing marginalization of school dropouts with functional literacy problems and declining capacity to do paid work is certainly a serious problem and needs immediate attention […] But the literacy panic has been overblown. The vast majority of workers are adequately qualified for their jobs and increasing numbers are overqualified in terms of their formal education and literacy levels in relation to job demands, not under qualified (Krahn & Lowe) The recognition of the huge amount of informal learning these workers are doing, most notably through on-the-job training by mentors and their own self-directed pursuit of new knowledge, suggest that even most of those who lack formal qualifications are finding ways to continue to perform their jobs quite adequately in relation changing employment conditions". (Livingstone, 2008; p. 22)

The access of workers to education and work training is not only related to the educational levels or the company size, but also to the formal informal and precarious condition of jobs; Vosko (2008) points out the difficulties and lack of opportunities for accessing education and training faced by precarious workers:

> "So as precarious employment continues to spread, putting a genuine commitment to lifelong learning into practice is challenging. Three examples attest to this claim." (Vosko, 2008; p. 166)

> "The first example relates to temporary agency work. […] Because of the nature of their employment relationship, temporary agency workers experience high levels of uncertainty. Not only do few have access to employer- sponsored training- since few agencies provide it and since client firms do not see themselves as employers, temporary agency workers´ high levels of economic insecurity vis-à-vis their permanent counterparts make formal learning off-the-job is out of reach." (Vosko, 2008;p. 166)

> "A second example relates to multiple jobholding- or arrangements where the earnings and hours from a single job are insufficient for an individual to attain a decent standard of living, compelling the worker to take on several jobs. In such cases, in addition to obstacles due to low income, formal and informal forms of training and education are out of workers´ reach because of time deficits. […] Multiple jobholders engaged in precarious employment are skilled are juggling poor quality jobs but these necessary skills are not socially valued." (Vosko, 2008; p. 166).

Much of the presented evidence matches the interpretations previously outlined for Argentina, such as the principle of cumulative advance, which was sustained during the 80s (Gallart, 1989, Sirvent, 1999, Riquelme, 2001). In 1998 we were able to verify the hypothesis of the cumulative advance in the EAP, as the formal education participation average was 30.3%, only exceeded by the groups with non- university and university higher education (more than half, 55.2% and 55.9% respectively) while among population with primary education only, 10% attended non formal courses and barely 5.1% of the population without any education participated in these training spaces outside school.

3.3 Short- term illusions market

In most of the countries of the world it is possible to associate the notion of economic- productive heterogeneity with the heterogeneity of the education system and education and work training, because complexity and diversity are expressed in levels, circuits and cycles highly differentiated according to: the age and social origin of the population; the teachers in charge; public, private or cooperative institutions types; the technologies used, the contexts and curricula.

The application of neoliberal and neoconservative policies and still maintained at present, that promote the primacy of the market game and the stimulus of the free supply, no doubt determines the widening and deepening of that heterogeneity, generating a sort of "education and work training market" that for its characteristics and results does not guarantee an adequate appropriation of the socially needed knowledge among adolescent and adult subjects. The guarantee of a certain homogeneity as assurance of the equal access to the right for education, in a context of such diversity is, undoubtedly, a critical point.

For these reasons in the 90s we have characterized the complexity, diversification and juxtaposition of the education and work training as a market of "short-term illusions": the courses are fragmented, focalized and most of them prove to have small or no previsions for articulation with the regular education system. Adolescents, young and adults are expelled in many countries from formal education, with low educational attainments. For this reason they need to strengthen their learning basis and to obtain primary and secondary education certificates within the framework of their right to education. Therefore, any other type of course should be "implemented" or "articulated" to be

meaningful. Short and unarticulated courses do not make it any easier for subjects to reconstruct an appropriate educational path.

In Argentina since the 90s, in the context of the growing unemployment and poverty, work training and training programs were one of the intervention instruments priviledged by employment and social policies. According to the guidelines of the technical international organisms (mainly ILO and the World Bank), training for work performance was considered one of the most adequate means to increase the chances of insertion in the labour market of different disadvantaged groups: the unemployed, youth, employees in low productivity or informal activities, disabled people, women, workers with low educational levels; etc. The need to improve their position in a strongly selective labour market was addressed by transforming them into more "employable" subjects, through training.

Professional training policies started to overlap with social policies strategies and the implementation of specific employment programs. This resulted, in Argentina and other Latin American countries, in certain trends that characterized this sphere during the '90, although some of them had already evolved in previous decades:

- The *expansion* of education and work training by the multiplication of programs organized and funded by the State and also by an outburst of institutions and courses offered by the private sector and civil society;
- The *diversification* of the types of institution and of the courses by the incorporation of new specialties;
- *Institutional fragmentation*, because the different government levels (national, provincial and municipal) and different ministries (Education, Labour, Social Development) faced and managed focalized and unarticulated training supplies;
- *Overlapping*, expressed in different programs that were addressed to the same beneficiaries, repeating the same strategies and/or financed training courses in the same fields, activity branches and/or qualification level, whilst other populations were not attended and other specialties were left vacant,
- *Dispersion*, understood as the disordered application of resources and actions, was the result of fragmentation and overlapping, as there was neither coordination nor planning between the different government sectors involved and even less so, between the private sector and civil society's actions.

Even tough the expansion and diversification of the training places weren't a problem themselves as they got to meet different education and training needs of the population and/or the productive system; the fragmentation and dispersion expressed the absence of a regulating State.

In recent years some changes in the orientation of education and work training policies may be acknowledged. However, fragmentation among education and work training agents still prime, there's still a notorious lack of actions and/or contents planning and a low coverage of the working population's needs.

Access to the labour market and to the education alternatives becomes especially relevant at some instances. So, the labour market dynamic in local and/or provincial areas

expresses the interplay of the quanti-qualitative relationship between the workforce supply and demand in those local areas.

Subjects' chances and their future paths are defined by this interplay of the labour market, the employment supply and demand, together with education and training through the training systems (public and private)..

By the mid 90s, as we have already mentioned, the research study "Work training and education supply map" verified the existence of a "quasi-market of training and education" made up of a wide range of institutions, sometimes mere "lucrative organizations", oriented to collecting funds supplied by the State, foreign agencies, or by users themselves.

Table 3.4
Work training and education supply map: institutions and courses

Institutions and courses record	1998		2005	
	Institutions	Courses	Institutions	Courses
Advertisements on *Clarín* newspaper (1)	383	1389	444	1858
Professional Training Centres (CABA-2005) (2)	27	1703	29	1047
INET- National Center of Technological Education (3)	-	-	1	32
National Center of Community Organizations (CENOC) (4)	321	NA	3760	NA
Employment and training programs (Labour Ministry)				
Record of Training Institutions (1996) (5)	220	1368	-	-
Sectorial Qualification Program (2005) (6)	-	-	35	S/d
PJyJHD – Professional Training (2005) (7)	-	-	66	368

NA: not applicable
Sources: Riquelme and Herger (2006) based on: (1) Own record built by the institutions and work training courses advertised at Clarin Newspaper during the first week of March 1998 and 2005. (2) Professional Training Centres of the Secretaria de Educación del Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. 1997 and 2005. (3) Requiring attendance and distance training of the National Technological Education Centre of INET, announced online, 2005. (4) National Center of Community Organizations (CENOC). 1997 and 2005. This record was produced by the institutions devoted to different activities, including - although not exclusively- work training. (5) Record of training institutions 1996 (REGICAP, 1996). Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social. (6) Institutions that imparted training courses in the Sectorial Qualification Program during 2005. Ministerio de Trabajo, Empleo y Seguridad Social. (7) Institutions that participated in the Jefas y Jefes de Hogar Desocupados Program, Professional Training counterpart. 2005. Ministerio de Trabajo, Empleo y Seguridad Social.

The expansion of the supply map between 1998 and 2005 can be visualized with the three comparable sources during the considered periods. The organizations registered at CENOC experienced an important increase (321 to 3760 organizations). During the past decade these organizations have been stimulated to act in a complementary manner and in many cases to act as replacement of the State's social action. During the last years diverse actions from the social development sector have supported the organization of communitarian groups and base-organizations in a social policy conception tied to the social economy and the local development perspectives.

On the contrary, the public supply of work training registered a slight increase in the number of institutions (27 to 29 centers) and a diminishing variety of the offered courses. The institutions and courses announced in newspapers notoriously increased although in a smaller proportion that those sponsored by civil society's organizations. Also worth

mention is the fact that the newspaper advertisements expressed a specific proportion of the total supply, mainly formed by the education and work training private sector.

3.3.1 Courses orientation

The review of the diverse work training supplies in 2005 has enabled us to verify that the demand- driven models are still predominant, although they do not necessarily respond to the requirements of neither the productive system that has experienced a certain reactivation nor the productive micro-entrepreneurships. The courses of the private sector such as the ones offered by the Education and Labour sectors are focused on activities linked to the services and traditional self- employment.

The courses offered in the newspapers both in 1998 and 2005 were focused in the same thematic areas: trades, health, arts and crafts. In the last year the strong growth of trades is mainly explained by numerous courses oriented to the food industry (chef, cook and baker among others), highlighting an appealing esthetic and dressmaking. The supply of traditional trades such as car and appliances repair is relatively small and the one oriented to train technicians for the industry is almost non-existent.

3.3.2 Institutions

A thorough description of the "training market" must include the type of institutions that impart the courses supply. On this ground, we can point out some changes with respect to the situation during the 90s. At that moment some maintained that: the scope is wide, private institutions prevail over public management institutions which are represented by professional training centers, some adult schools, hospitals and universities, but today we can point out some different trends according to the considered record.

The institutions advertised in the press still respond to the previous description, they are mostly private institutions, mainly institutes. During the last year there has been a notably increase of the presence of personal advisors and of "unidentified" agents that may also be one person. This might be showing that education and the working training sector has become an employment generation niche in a labour market still in crisis.

By contrast to the previous trends, the programs of the Labour sector privilege training agreements with public educational institutions (technical schools and professional training centers) and also with labour unions and chambers. Universities are still a minority, although there are some relevant experiences.

Community organizations have experienced a strong growth during the last decade, as we have already seen. Recent research studies (Lago Martínez et al.; 2005) show that in the current context these organizations present changes with respect to the 90s. Relatively autonomous and politically articulated social movements add up to the already existent NGOs, mediators of the demands before the State. On the other hand, there is a strong

action from the State - mainly from the Social Development sector - that addresses the promotion of the social economy entrepreneurship.

Social organizations have developed diverse types of productive, social, health, education actions and others activities that are considered adequate for the needs of the populations they work with. Work training actions have been gaining space through the employment crisis and the generation of diverse micro-entrepreneurships.

Table 3. 5.
Argentina. Community organizations according to type of institution. Great Buenos Aires, 2005

Type of institution	**Organizations**
Association	1.477
Consumers association	14
Library	57
Voluntary Firemen	9
Study Centre	184
RetiredCentre	149
Social Club/ Sports Club	133
Confederation	7
School cooperative *(cooperadora)*	124
Cooperative	97
Religious entity	106
Federation	49
Foundation	570
Community group	380
Mutual association	83
Labour Union	11
Development association	167
Neighborhood association	76
Others	67
Total	**3.693**

Source: own production based on National Center of Community Organizations (CENOC). 1997 and 2005.

The profile of the institutions defined as "community organizations" shows a high concentration on the categories Association, Foundation and Community Group, although it is well known that under the same denomination there may be organizations developing actions in different areas and through different kinds of interventions.

Table 3.6 Argentina. Community organizations according to their field. Great Buenos Aires.

Field CENOC 2005	**Organizations**
Science and technology	151
Culture	763
Sports/recreation	536
Economy	92
Education	959
Gender	81
Infrastructure, construction and social services	80
Justice	83
Environment	202
Religion	8

Health	786
Social / humanitarian	1974
Work	383
Housing	99

Source: own production based on National Center of Community Organizations (CENOC). 1997 and 2005.

These social organizations mainly carry out activities related to the social, educational and cultural areas, work is also an important area although the number of institutions that work on this area I relatively low. Professional or occupational training is included among the activities carried out by most of the institutions.

By contrast to the 90s, currently there has been a certain re-vindication of the professional training institutions with an old history (professional training centers, technical schools and labour unions), although this hasn't been supported by any strengthening or updating of their functions. It has been proved that there are a diversity of actors and spaces responding to diverse logics. Actually, education and work training include numerous and opposing interests that determine unclear and contradictory training options.

A central feature also worth mentioning is the withdrawal of the State from its education and training services regulation and planning functions (traditional model), since the 1990s, which fostered the advent a plurality of actors through the subsidies for the implementation of training actions. Social movements characterized by a critical social situation are also new actors, who have acquired a main role through the social economy support policies.

Another sphere that has been growing in importance for the professional training policies is the local or territorial areas: new and traditional local actors, such as municipalities, companies, public and private education and work training institutions, non governmental institutions, groups of interests, all which control important resources for the implementation of the policies and which articulation is still a challenge.

Therefore, these new and traditional education and training scenarios engage diverse supply agents: national and provincial government actors, diverse NGOs and the private sector strongly stimulated by the subsidiary State orientation as well as new social actors such as the emerging social movements.

Table 3.7.
Education and work training market

Socio-educative demand of the population	Complex scenarios	Education and training supply
Large sectors excluded from education and work (Double exclusion)	Diversification and breaking of the formal education system.	Demand – driven as an assignment mechanism and/or emerging of training activities
Scarce coverage of the population with employment difficulties and of the potential demand of young and adults with low education level.	Fragmentation and dispersion of the work training supply.	Lack of planning and orientation of the work training
The young and the adults with low education level are in disadvantage for developing an autonomous educative project. .	Juxtaposition of the objectives of the social, employment and education and work training policies.	Lack of coordination that conduces to the inefficient use of scarce or inexistent resources. .
	Short term illusions	
	Specific, focal, pragmatic, lack of an educative base and traditional trade's courses.	
	Do not favor the educative and work insertion.	

Source: Riquelme, G.C. (2010) *La educación y formación para el trabajo en la perspectiva de la de jóvenes y adultos y la educación a lo largo de toda la vida*, in Conferencia Seminario Internacional Nuevos Paradigmas y Nuevas Práctica de la Educación Permanente de Jóvenes y Adultos y Su Articulación con el Mundo del Trabajo, organized by Dirección de Educación de Jóvenes y Adultos del Ministerio de Educación de la Nación. San Juan. October 18 and 19.

This overview calls for a State regulating both education and professional training policies that fosters the integration of the different struggling actors in a common ground of social construction, and here lays the difficulty. Different interests, resources, work, productive and pedagogical orientations are at stacked and require an agreement among diverse collective responsibilities, in which the State's capacity to summon different actors is a key factor.

Currently key actors to such an agreement are the government sector of Labour, Education and Social Development; the productive sector represented by business organizations, chambers and other business groups, the workers represented by their work unions and diverse trades organizations, the social movements and the demand and programs and action intermediary organizations.

In a long-term perspective, disperse and fragmented education and training market neither favors the interests of the productive sectors nor favor the workers. Therefore the

urgency for overcoming obstacles set by the short term illusions market, through an agreed intervention of the State, the civil society and production actors.

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Chapter 4
Final remarks: Common challenges regarding young and adults workers´ right to education in Argentina and Canada

The comparative Argentina- Canada study aimed at a diagnosis of occupational training and education in both countries, identifying the education and training profiles of the young, adult and working population, as well as the orientation of education and training programs, jobs' characteristics and social development policies for the unemployed. Despite the difficulties, through exploratory research and bliographical and document research we have managed to test the scope of the project´ s initial conjectures about both countries.

In chapter 1, we pointed out that "the perspective of a comparative analysis of the education and vocational training in two countries with different development degrees could entail the existence, in both latitudes of different interpretation frameworks. In the field of education and training, different theoretical orientations organize the discourse and political proposals, the structure of the levels, cycles and modalities and even the alternatives for different needs of the population".

A comparative study between Canada and Argentina might be considered unnecessary. Even without belonging to any of the comparative education streams, this study started from acknowledging the following issues several times mentioned during this work:

- Argentina and Canada have historic situations with similar points: about the geography, the territorial extension; about the population, the presence of European migration; about economy, the dominant XVIII and XIX agricultural exports model;
- The construction of both societies shows the profound social, economical and political differences originated through these almost two centuries;
- During the last decades the social and educational situation of the population decisively puts Canada with advantages and achievements into the world stage.

So, what could be the sense of a comparative study? On one hand, a great proportion of the diagnosis has only verified previous evidence. So, the singular question was to put ourselves in the margins and to explore certain social and educational behaviors that are similar in both countries, considering the variations with respect to the scope or coverage of the problem; therefore, this doesn't imply the impossibility of considering it in Canada. This way, as certain groups of pedagogues with a critical perspective, we are concerned about the same issues regarding the inequality of access and attainment to education.

The comparative approach that this research took was intended to spot similar orientations in both countries. Although this has been a recurrent purpose in the historical and social construction of educational theory, it has enabled us to highlight the wide scope

and implications of such differences and similarities, with added value in setting common ground for Canadian and Argentine pedagogues and sociologists.

Some verified thoughts on common ideas and perspectives

The research study allowed us to confirm two types of findings:

4.1 The existence of conservative, pro- active and mainstream approaches

Both in Canada and Argentina we could verify and record similarities due the existence of groups and orientations with similar lines of thought and objectives for situations that although different, pose equal challenges to education beyond any dissimilar political perspectives.

Such dissimilar orientations emerged from the education policies supply and education and work training systems themselves: from the reproductive responses for human resources training to others which support adaptations and those decidedly critical ones, in accordance to their focus market demands or workers and non- workers subjects.

In the first chapter the main issue was the interpretation of social and pedagogic perspectives about the demands of education and training in both countries. It has been possible to verify the existence of similar orientations that match with political and ideological frameworks on the role of education in Argentina and Canada.

There are similar responses or action lines according to the perspectives of the different political, social and/or economic dynamics groups. In spite of their different realities and base diagnoses, there are conservative or liberal groups in both countries with very economistic perspectives that demand adjustments in education to make growth dynamic and enable a more competitive positioning in the international sphere. Other groups have a developmental (*desarrollista*) perspective and value the role of education, betting on human resources training with a proactive perspective towards the definitions of education and training lines and programs. A third group corresponds to the critical perspective that although it acknowledged the context, vindicates the working population and their education needs and recognizes the greater potential of educational development from work and education experiences in different social life and work spheres.

The belated global recognition of adult education

Almost two years after the VI International Conference on Adult Education (Belém do Pará, December 1st to 4th of 2009), adult education (AE) resounds as an issue on the international political agenda and in the countries´ administrative bureaucracies. What used to be considered as the poor and unvalued child of the education systems, has been gaining an incipient recognition partly because international meetings of States “seem” to respond

to these scenarios[11] ; and possibly also because of the indirect and symbolic pressure of vast contingents of indigent, poor adults excluded from the benefits of education.

Adult education for those of us who put education and work training first is hardly a whim but an expected result deriving from our interpretative theoretical and political approach. AE penetrates and gives sense to education and work training.

The lifelong learning approach that prevails in the Canadian government official perspective as well as that of some specialists has been criticised by other groups within that country, which question the over promoted non-formal education stating that informal learning comes from all the spheres of life. Such standpoints acknowledge not only the high-educational level reached by most of the Canadian population but also the informal learning places that all populations go through along their lives. Furthermore, research studies over the last ten years (WALL/ NALL OISE/CSEW) have proved that population learns in different life spheres.

As previously quoted, in "The future of lifelong learning and work", David Livingstone maintains the need for widening the concept of literacy:

> "Notions of literacy have become increasingly expansive to include ability to handle information and information tools such as computers, express ideas and opinions, make sense of mass media, solve problems as a family member, working, citizen, and lifelong learning, and so on" (Livingstone, 2008; p. 233).

4.2 Labour market and education and vocational training: relatively disadvantaged groups

It seems to be pointless and subject to objections to establish a comparison between two countries, one that is among the most developed countries in the world[12], and another that managed to have a place between the developed countries during the sixties because of its educational indicators, but after consecutive crises and authoritarian governments took a place among the countries undergoing economic recovery and still has serious living standard issues and regressive income distribution indicators[13]. Some historical studies have stated that the starting points and conditions of Argentina and Canada were similar, in the XIX century: the extent of the territory, the agricultural and stockbreeding production for export and the European immigrant population. However, the political, cultural and social realities shaped the history of each country and positioned each of them differently in the world's capitalist development. Canada and Argentina were still comparable, in GDP terms, in the 1920s. However, and in spite of its relative disadvantages against many

[11] These conferences take place every twelve years, while other education levels, such as higher education, promote meeting and events quite frequently at the UNESCO.

[12] Canada is part of the Group of seven countries the most industrialized of the world alongside Germany, United States, France, Italy, Japan and the United Kingdom.

[13] Once again the aim of this chapter does not lay in comparisson but in the analysis of the two countries' contexts as background for the implementation of education and training for work assessment instruments currently available in Canada, which results will in turn be compared and contrasted. This analysis has also contributed to the adaptation of the WALL-NALL) surveys carried out by the PEET-IICE-CONICET-UBA.

European and/or other developed countries, Canada managed to keep a much more advantageous position in terms of economical and political integration, while Argentina has become part of the added value chain of Brazil, another Latin American country which has recently and notoriously improved its economic and social development indicators. .

A review of the current differences and similarities can be followed below:

Argentina	Canada
Population and age structure	
According to the 2001 Census, there are 36,260,130 habitants in Argentina. 28.3% of them are 0-14 years; 61.8% are between 15 and 64 years (active age) and 9.9% are more than 65 years.	32 million habitants according to the 2006 Census. The Canadian population is quickly aging, by 2015 the 65-or-more years old will exceed the amount of children. The age median for the economic active population registered in 2001 was 41.3, for 2001 it is projected a median of 43.7 years.
Productive structure (according to produced added value by activity branch, 2009)	
Heavier weigh of Finance, entrepreneurial and real estate (19.8%), Industry (17.1%), Electricity, gas and water (15.2%).	Heavier weight on two productive branches: Finance, entrepreneurial and real estate (26.1%), Teaching, health and social services (14.5%), followed by Industry (21.6%) and Trade (12.6%).
Labour market	
The occupational structure in 2006 is centered in Trade (20.2%), Industry (14.1%), Teaching, health and social services (13.9%) and other branches (13.4%). This is explained by the presence of the domestic services.	The occupational structure in 2006 is specialized in Trade (17.5%) and Teaching, health and social services (17.8%), Finance, entrepreneurial and real estate (17%) and Industry (13.3%).

Sources: Argentina: National Institute of Statistics and Census (INDEC). Latin-American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE-ECLAC). Buenos Aires INDEC, Encuesta Permanente de Hogares, 1st semester, 2006; Statistics Canada, Census 2006 (www.statcan.gc.ca).

Currently, the outstanding points are

Argentina	Canada
Structural poverty that is impossible to overcome despite the economic growth. According to INDEC measuring, discussed by the academic community, the incidence of poverty in households and people for the total urban areas shows a continuing drop. The percentage of households under the poverty line changed from 42.7% in 2003 to 9% in 2009. When the individuals in poverty conditions are considered, the variation is from 54% to 13.2% during those years.	Poverty registered a continuing drop since 1999 to 2008 from 13% to 9.4% of the total population (Statistics Canada, CANSIM). Workers situation started to get worse since 2008 because of the effects of the world economic crisis and the type of jobs created so far (mainly temporary, self-employment and public sector) couldn't restore the initial situation (Yanilzan, 2010).
High levels of income inequality. Income distribution during the third quarter of 2010 shows that the 20% poorer gets 4% of the total income, while the 20% richer gets more than 49% of the total, this mean 10 times more than the poorer quintile (INDEC).	Income distribution in 2008 shows that 20% of people of higher income get in average 5.4 times more income that the 20% poorer. This rate hasn't change since the year 2000 (Statistics Canada, CANSIM).
Low level of education	High level of education

Sources: Argentina: National Institute of Statistics and Census (INDEC). Latin-American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE-ECLAC). Canada: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OCDE), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), (Fuller and Vosko, 2007).

The comparative structural analysis between both countries allows to maintain that the less-educated workers are around 7% in Argentina, while in Canada the percentage represents half or even three times less: between 3.2% to 2.4%. These are the workers with primary or first cycle of the basic education. While in Argentina the most significant group of workers- between 33.2% to 29.2% - have reached the first cycle of secondary education or the second cycle of the basic education, this portion of workers in Canada doesn't exceed the 11.7%. This is another example of the lower educational level of the Argentinean workers. Further evidence supporting this statement, is that, in the northern country, between 43.5% and 47.4% of the workers have either the first or the second cycle of

tertiary education, while, in our country, only 28.2% to 30.8% of the workers have reached the higher levels of education. Our countries are similar in the portion of workers with secondary education level, equivalent to the second cycle of secondary education: about 33% in Argentina and 41% in Canada.

The educational level variations according to gender enable us to maintain that in both countries female workers have higher education levels than males, and this situation continues to benefit them through time. But this is not the case of employment, as they have higher levels of unemployment, too.

A regular analysis that we carry out at PEET-IICE/UBA distinguishes through time *the groups in relative disadvantage in the labour market according to education*, in terms of gender, age and education, which are acting as risk factors in their social and labour insertion. The study of such relative disadvantage groups in the labour market is of key interest when defining education and labour alternative policies for the promotion of their labour inclusion, the improvement of their educational level and social or cultural integration.

In Argentina, we have been able to prove through a series of research studies and the analysis of ad-hoc surveys (Social Development and Living Conditions Survey of 1997 and 2001 (EDS) and the Education module of the Permanent Household Survey of May 1998 (EPH98) and the next follow-up survey) that among the beneficiaries and the excluded from education it is important to stress that:

- The resilience of beneficiary population of higher education level and of groups at educational risk;
- The paradoxical situation of women with higher relative education, who have greater difficulties for accessing the labour market;
- Youth as a generational group which benefits from higher educational levels but suffers double exclusion from education and labour when belonging to low income households (Riquelme, 2000).

The pressure currently set on youth to quickly enter the world of work is the result of the progressive social worsening of households, where the traditionally considered secondary workers – youth and women- were progressively demanded by the labour market, in spite of their different characteristics in terms of cycles and periods of the country's labour market.

We have analyzed transversely the available bibliography and identified the groups in relative disadvantage in Canada (Riquelme, 2001) and concluded that: immigrants with linguistic and integration needs represent 19.8%; Aboriginals (4%); people with disabilities; women with higher education who encounter difficulties to access the labour market; low income students and adults with low level of education (incomplete secondary).

During the nineties, vocational training registered a strong expansion and differentiation through the multiplication of institutions and courses, responding the State

policies towards the production of "active quasi- markets of education and training". The aim was to raise the system's quality through inter-institutional competition, to address a specific supply with precise demands and a great dispersion of entrepreneurship.

The characteristics of the courses and their implementation *inspired* the hypothesis about the existence of a "short term illusions market" aiming at attracting employed and unemployed workers who get trapped in tempting courses which offer guaranteed employment with no basic training required (Riquelme, Herger and Magariños; 1999). They are considered as short termed illusions because they promise training and experience supposedly adequate to market demands and a quick subsequent work insertion. On the one hand, the different programs implemented by the Ministry of Labour and government areas drove short duration courses (2 to 3 months) and of pragmatic and fragmented training, which didn't include any chance to deepen training or to continue through other related programs; they did not consider either the low educational level of the beneficiaries. On the other hand, the possibilities of insertion in the labour market depended and still depend mainly on the labour market and the productive sectors situations and not only on the individuals´ education and training. This quasi- market "disperses workers in multiple short and precise supplies of quickly obsolescence and not requiring any basic training" and it also restricts the capacity of the popular sectors to articulate their demands and interests (Riquelme, Herger and Magariños; 1999).

Alongside with the growth of the training supply, the idea of "employability" started rooting in common sense. This idea maintains that difficulties in getting a job are the actors' responsibility and, fundamentally, are caused by low and insufficient qualification level. This approach underestimates the fact that there are scarce job positions in the labour market. Therefore, people are driven into the work training "market" with the illusion of getting the necessary credentials in order to compete under equal conditions for the scarce job positions available.

The employability concept, which has increasingly expanded over the last decades, maintains that the responsibility on finding a job lies on workers disregarding the lack of jobs. This interpretation doesn't acknowledge the relations between "the supply of workers and the demand for employment, in which a diversity of factors intervene, such as jobs' types, salaries, intermediary organizations and candidates' availability in terms of time, family life or studies, as well as the income needs of by social origin, where gender issues are also key" (Riquelme, 2011).

For all these reasons, we agree with the following statement "so, employability, judged on the base of the employment rate (proportion of the number of people with a job in a specific group to the total of the population of that group), increases with the amount of education achieved. This relationship is evident in Canada, where in 2007, the employment rate for whom didn't complete high school was 57%, while the rate for graduates from high school and post- secondary non tertiary education was 77%, and the figures for tertiary graduates are 83%" (Statistics Canada, 2009). Proposing that employment difficulties derive from worker's low education levels is untrue in the Argentine case, where, despite some specific vacancies in some specialties the problem lays in the fact that jobs' creation does not match work demands.

Population assistance: challenges and critical needs

Argentina	Canada
Quantitative	
Adolescent and young excluded population	
According to 2001 Census, 31.5% of adolescents between 15 and 19 years old didn't attend the education system and the great majority didn't finish secondary education (2001 Census). Estimations for 2007 show that 49.2% of adolescent between 15 and 19 years old that didn't attend to the education system (CELADE projections calculated by PEET, 2010). This data will surely show improvements in the measures of Census 2010.	In 2001, 18.7% of adolescents between 15 and 19 years old didn't attend to the education system, while in 2001 9.8% was in that situation (OCDE, 2009).
Adult population	
In 1999, 58.1% of urban population of 25 to 64 years didn't finish secondary education. In 2009, the urban population with low education drops to 46.2% (EPH, May 1999 and 1° three month period of 2009)	In 1997 22% of adults of 25 to 64 years didn't complete secondary education, while ten years later this population reaches 13% (OCDE, 2009). Slightly disadvantage of males.
Quality assessments (PISA 2006)	
Science: 391 Reading comprehension: 374 Mathematics: 381	Science: 534 Reading comprehension: 527 Mathematics: 527
Disadvantaged groups	
Education	
Adolescents Adults Rural areas, northeast and northwest of Argentina	Aboriginal students, the students with physical, emotional, mental and learning challenges, the newly arrived immigrant students, visible minority students and students from lower socio-economic groups (The Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 2008: 38).
Labour market	
Youth, women, immigrants, low education workers (incomplete secondary education). Almost 10 million people (70% of economically active population) suffer from employment problems in urban areas: unemployment, indigent work, precarious employment and underemployment.	The precarious forms of employment correspond with, or cut across, social divisions based on gender, race/ethnicity and immigration status: white women, immigrants, migrants and people of colour engaged disproportionately in insecure forms of employment. (Fuller and Vosko, 2007: 33)

Source: Own production based on: INDEC Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2001.Buenos Aires; INDEC, Encuesta Permanente de Hogares, May period, 1999 and 1st quarter, 2009; *OECD PISA 2006 Database;* Fuller, S. and L. Vosko. (2007) "Temporary Employment and Social Inequality in Canada: Exploring Intersections of Gender, Race and Immigration Status", *Social Indicators Research*, volume 88, number 1, Springer; Statistics Canada. (2009) *Education Indicators in Canada: An International Perspective*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada.Council of Ministers of Education & The Canadian Commission for UNESCO (2008). *The Development of Education. Reports for Canada*, Council of Ministers of Education, Canada; OCDE (2009) Education at a Glance 2009: OECD Indicators – OECD.

In Canada, the social demand for completing high school represents 15.6% of the population from 25 to 64 years old (UNESCO-UIS, 2006 quoted by Riquelme and Herger, 2009). When analyzing the percentage of men and women with up to incomplete secondary education in Canada, men show a very slightly disadvantage as 16.4% didn't complete this level opposite to 14.9% of adult women (Riquelme and Herger, 2009).

In Argentina, access and continuity in the education system are a social debt to be solved. Lifelong learning within a knowledge society may only be promoted, as long as the education demands of children, adolescents and youth as well as the educational recovery of adult drop-outs are taken as a priority. Argentina is still to secure the completion of primary and secondary school for all its young and adult population and to ensure certain standards in basic reading, writing and social-historical knowledge, which according to recent international examinations (e.g. PISA) are still to be met, even among those in the formal circuits.

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Some critical research studies have considered the relationship between lifelong learning and the labour market in the context of the new economy or the knowledge society.

We agree with such critical approaches in that the notion of knowledge society is "illusory"; the issue is not that workers don't possess socially acknowledged skills but that there are no jobs available for those qualifications. Furthermore "there are therefore a series of 'gaps', to borrow from Livingstone (1999a, 1999b), between the educational levels-formal and informal- and qualifications of people and the jobs that they hold" (Vosko, 2008, p. 159).

From a proactive global integration perspective, and taking into account Canada's high levels of education, Jane Cruikshank (2008) points out that in the new economic contexts, there is a certain pervasiveness of a rhetoric that "the so called free market will lead to the creation of good jobs" (Cruikshank, 2008). Cruikshank highlights the existence of a gap between the rhetoric of lifelong learning in the new economy and the reality of the Canadian workplace.

In Argentina, the continued education, lifelong learning or the knowledge society approaches may be become useful as general background for educational policies that focus on priority groups of relatively disadvantaged populations and may even be help fulfilling the young and adults' right to education. Since the nineties and especially since 2003, educational policies have prioritized the educational recovery of population excluded in the past. The current approach on educational policies aims at including and expanding the opportunities for children and adolescents to retain them within the system, with the corresponding infrastructure investment on its way.

The conclusions and opinions of academics from both countries may always enrich our perspectives as we may learn from common issues and experiences, review the objectives and response styles, as well as the creative capacities for the development of alternatives. Comparing critical standpoints and the political grounds for different alternatives undoubtedly encourages better distributed social justice, in this case around the education and work training of workers.

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Table Annex

Table Annex 2.1

Latin America and the Caribbean. Population of 15 years old and more: social demand of the population that didn't complete secondary education and population with complete secondary education and more. 2001 and last available year information.

Countries according to their educative situation (ordered by the higher education level)	Total social demand (up to incomplete secondary education)	Population with complete secondary education and more		
		Total	Complete secondary education	Higher education (complete and incomplete)
Latin America and the Caribbean	**76.3**	**23.7**	**11.1**	**12.6**
High education level				
Peru	66.7	33.3	11.1	22.2
Panama	61.0	39.0	20.2	18.8
Argentina (2001)	66.8	33.2	16.2	17.0
Colombia (2005)	65.2	34.8	18.7	16.1
Cuba (2002)	62.2	37.8	28.4	9.4
Medium education level				
Chile	74.3	25.7	11.2	14.5
Venezuela	75.6	24.4	10.7	13.7
Mexico (2005)	74.4	25.6	12.0	13.6
Costa Rica	74.8	25.2	9.8	15.4
Ecuador	77.6	22.4	7.3	15.1
Bolivia	82.6	17.4	4.4	13.0
Barbados	78.2	21.8	9.5	12.3
Uruguay (2004)	76.1	23.9	12.5	11.4
Paraguay	80.5	19.5	11.7	7.8
Low education level				
El Salvador	88.4	11.6	1.8	9.8
Nicaragua	88.7	11.3	3.0	8.3
Dominican Republic	82.3	17.7	3.5	14.2
Brazil	87.9	12.1	4.6	7.5
Honduras	86.2	13.8	8.1	5.7
Guatemala	92.7	7.3	2.3	5.0
Guyana	87.0	13.0	8.7	4.3
Trinidad & Tobago	85.4	14.6	10.3	4.3
Jamaica	87.6	12.4	8.4	4.0
Haiti	93.6	6.4	5.5	0.9

Source : Riquelme and Herger ICAE-GEO (2009)

Sources: a) Non schooled population, incomplete and complete primary and incomplete secondary education populations: Argentina: Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda 2001. INDEC; Colombia: Censo de Población y Vivienda ampliado 2005. DANE.; Costa Rica: IX Censo Nacional de Población 2000. INEC; Cuba: Censo de Población y Viviendas. 2002. ONE. México: INEGI. II Conteo de Población y Vivienda 2005; Uruguay: Encuesta Nacional de Hogares 2006 y Censo Fase I 2004. Rest of the countries: Barro-Lee (2000). Banco Mundial.

Table Annex 2.2
Latin America and the Caribbean. Women of 15 years old and more: social debt of the population that didn't complete secondary education and population with complete secondary education and more. 2001 and last available year information.

Countries according to their educative situation	Total social demand (up to incomplete secondary education)	Women with complete secondary education and more		
		Total	Complete secondary education	Higher education (complete and incomplete)
Latin America and the Caribbean	**80.5**	19.5	8.6	10.9
High education level				
Peru	67.9	32.1	10.9	21.2
Panama	60.1	39.9	19.8	20.1
Argentina	64.5	35.5	16.8	18.7
Colombia (2005)	60.6	39.4	20.9	18.5
Cuba (2002)	62.7	37.3	27.5	9.8
Medium education level				
Costa Rica	80.5	19.5	3.8	15.7
Ecuador	76.4	23.6	9.2	14.4
Venezuela	72.2	27.8	14.1	13.7
Barbados	73.8	26.2	13.1	13.1
Chile	72.3	27.7	15.1	12.6
Mexico (2005)	75.3	24.7	12.3	12.4
El Salvador	87.2	12.8	3.4	9.4
Low education level				
Nicaragua	87.1	12.9	5.1	7.8
Dominican Republic	81.6	18.4	5.5	12.9
Bolivia	83.4	16.6	4.3	12.3
Paraguay	80.3	19.7	11.7	8.0
Brazil	89.4	10.6	3.1	7.5
Honduras	90.7	9.3	4.6	4.7
Guyana	83.4	16.6	12.9	3.7
Jamaica	82.7	17.3	13.7	3.6
Trinidad & Tobago	82.2	17.8	14.3	3.5
Guatemala	92.7	7.3	3.9	3.4
Haiti	94.1	5.9	5.1	0.8

Source : Riquelme and Herger ICAE-GEO (2009). Sources: a) Non schooled population, incomplete and complete primary and incomplete secondary education populations: Argentina: Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda 2001. INDEC; Colombia: Censo de Población y Vivienda ampliado 2005. DANE.; Costa Rica: IX Censo Nacional de Población 2000. INEC; Cuba: Censo de Población y Viviendas. 2002. ONE. México: INEGI. II Conteo de Población y Vivienda 2005; Uruguay: Encuesta Nacional de Hogares 2006 y Censo Fase I 2004. Rest of the countries: Barro-Lee (2000). Banco Mundial.

Table Annex 2.3
Europe, North America and Israel. Educative social demand of the 25 to 64 years old by education level. Percentages.

	Incomplete primary education (1)	Complete primary education + incomplete secondary education (2)	Complete secondary education and more			Ns/Nr
			Total (3)	Complete secondary education (4)	Complete higher education (5)	
High education level						
Norway (2003/04)	x(2)	11,3	88,3	56,5	31,8	0,4
United Kingdom (2003/04)	x(2)	15,4	84,6	55,4	29,2	0,0
Czech Republic (2003/04)	x(2)	10,7	89,0	76,7	12,3	0,3
Slovakia (2003/04)	x(2)	15,3	84,5	72,2	12,3	0,2
Denmark (2003/04)	x(2)	17,0	82,7	50,6	32,1	0,3
Russian Federation (2002/03)	0,3	10,5	88,9	34,3	54,6	0,3
Switzerland (2003/04)	x(2)	15,0	84,0	56,0	28,0	1,0
Germany (2003/04)	x(2)	16,1	84,0	59,0	25,0	
Hungary (2003/04)	x(2)	24,7	74,9	58,6	16,3	0,4
Austria (2003/2004)	x(2)	19,8	80,3	61,9	18,4	
Poland (2003/04)	x(2)	16,1	83,9	68,2	15,7	0,0
Iceland (2003/04)	x(2)	32,8	67,1	39,3	27,8	0,1
Sweden (2003/04)	x(2)	17,1	82,9	48,4	34,5	0,0
Netherlands (2003/04)	x(2)	29,2	70,3	41,5	28,8	0,5
United States	x(2)	12,0	87,9	48,9	39,0	0,1
Canada (2003/04)	x(2)	15,6	84,3	39,7	44,6	0,1
Israel (2003/04)	x(2)	21,0	78,9	33,6	45,3	0,1
Medium education level						
Finland (2003/04)	x(3)	22,5	77,3	43,3	34,0	0,2
France (2003/04)	x(2)	34,7	65,2	41,3	23,9	0,1
Belgium (2003/04)	x(2)	35,7	63,3	33,9	29,4	1,0
Ireland (2003/04)	x(2)	37,0	62,5	34,7	27,8	0,5
Italy (2003/04)	x(2)	51,1	48,3	37,5	10,8	0,6
Luxembourg (2003/04)	x(2)	22,4	77,6	54,7	22,9	0,0
Low education level						
Spain (2003/04)	x(2)	54,6	44,5	18,5	26,0	0,9
Greece (2003/04)	x(2)	41,3	58,1	37,9	20,2	0,6
Portugal (2003/04)	x(2)	74,8	25,1	12,6	12,5	0,1
Turkey (2003/04)	x(2)	73,9	26,1	17,0	9,1	0,0

Source : Riquelme and Herger ICAE-GEO (2009)
Notes: Six symbols are employed in the tables and graphs to denote missing data: a Data are not applicable because the category does not apply. n Magnitude is nil. n. Magnitude is negligible. … Data are not available. - Data are not requested from countries. x(y) Data are included in another category/column (y) of the table.
(1) Up to incomplete primary education: includes population without education and population with incomplete primary education.
(2) Complete primary education + incomplete secondary education: includes population with complete primary education and population with incomplete lower secondary education.
(4) Complete secondary education: includes population with complete high school.
(5) Higher education: includes population with complete type A and B tertiary education
Source: Own production based on UNESCO-UIS (2006) Education counts-world education indicators 2006.

Table Annex 2.4
Europe, North America and Israel. 25 to 64 years old population with up to incomplete secondary education by sex. 2003/2004. Percentages.

Country	Total	Men	Women
Norway (2003/04)	11.3	11.3	11.3
United Kingdom (2003/04)	15.4	13.8	17.0
Czech Republic (2003/04)	10.7	6.5	15.0
Slovakia (2003/04)	15.3	10.5	19.8
Denmark (2003/04)	17.0	15.6	18.4
Russian Federation (2002/03)	10.8	11.2	10.5
Switzerland (2003/04)	15.0	13.0	18.4
Germany (2003/04)	16.1	12.5	19.7
Hungary (2003/04)	24.7	20.6	28.5
Austria (2003/2004)	19.8	14.7	24.8
Poland (2003/04)	16.1	14.9	17.2
Iceland (2003/04)	32.8	27.1	38.7
Sweden (2003/04)	17.1	19.1	15.0
Netherlands (2003/04)	29.2	25.9	32.7
Finland (2003/04)	22.5	24.1	20.8
France (2003/04)	34.7	32.8	36.5
Belgium (2003/04)	35.7	35.6	36.3
Ireland (2003/04)	37.0	40.2	33.9
Italy (2003/04)	51.1	51.3	50.9
Luxembourg (2003/04)	22.4	20.7	24.2
Spain (2003/04)	54.6	54.4	54.7
Greece (2003/04)	41.3	40.0	42.6
Portugal (2003/04)	74.8	76.8	73.0
Turkey (2003/04)	73.9	69.4	79.5
United States	12.0	13.0	11.2
Canada (2003/04)	15.6	16.4	14.9
Israel (2003/04)	21.0	22.1	19.0

Source : Riquelme and Herger ICAE-GEO (2009)
Notes: Six symbols are employed in the tables and graphs to denote missing data: a Data are not applicable because the category does not apply. n Magnitude is nil. n. Magnitude is negligible. … Data are not available. - Data are not requested from countries. x(y) Data are included in another category/column (y) of the table.
Source: UNESCO-UIS (2006) Education counts-world education indicators 2006.

Table Annex 2.5 Argentina. Relative disadvantaged groups in the labour market.Total urban areas.

Percentages.	Urban total		
	2004	2006	2009
EAP educative profile			
Up to incomplete secondary education	48.8	46.0	42.6
Complete secondary and more	51.2	54.0	57.4
Men			
Up to incomplete secondary education	53.7	51.2	48.8
Complete secondary and more	46.3	48.8	51.2
Women			
Up to incomplete secondary education	42.5	39.1	34.3
Complete secondary and more	57.5	60.9	65.7
15 to 24			
Up to incomplete secondary education	47.8	43.8	43.0
Complete secondary and more	52.2	56.2	57.0
25 to 39			
Up to incomplete secondary education	41.3	39.2	36.2
Complete secondary and more	58.7	60.8	63.8
40 to 64 years			
Up to incomplete secondary education	56.0	53.0	48.2
Complete secondary and more	44.0	47.0	51.8
Specific unemployment rates considering education level	14.4	11.4	8.5
Up to incomplete primary education	15.0	12.6	9.8
Complete primary education	12.5	10.8	7.4
Incomplete secondary education	16.7	15.6	11.4
Complete secondary education	16.8	11.7	8.7
Incomplete higher education	19.8	14.3	11.4
Complete higher education	6.3	4.6	4.4
15 to 24 years	30.8	25.2	20.5
Up to incomplete primary education	36.9	28.4	13.1
Complete primary education	27.8	21.7	18.2
Incomplete secondary education	27.9	27.9	22.1
Complete secondary education	36.8	24.4	20.1
Incomplete higher education	30.8	26.5	21.9
Complete higher education	22.7	11.8	17.4
Men	11.9	9.6	7.5
Up to incomplete primary education	14.5	13.3	10.2
Complete primary education	10.7	9.4	6.5
Incomplete secondary education	14.4	12.2	9.8
Complete secondary education	13.2	8.9	7.2
Incomplete higher education	14.4	10.9	9.0
Complete higher education	3.6	3.7	3.9
Women	17.6	13.7	9.7
Up to incomplete primary education	15.7	11.4	9.0
Complete primary education	15.4	13.1	8.8
Incomplete secondary education	20.4	21.6	14.6
Complete secondary education	21.5	15.2	10.6
Incomplete higher education	25.5	18.4	14.1
Complete higher education	8.2	5.2	4.7

Source: own production based on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares. INDEC