

2. INSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

In the mid-nineties there were a total of 5,438 higher education institutions (HEI's) in the 19 countries of Latin America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. 54% of them belong to the private sector, and only 15% are university institutes or colleges.

Table 2.1
Institutions by type of institution and sector. Regional totals. 1994

<i>Type of institution</i>	<i>Sectors</i>				<i>Totals</i>	
	<i>Public</i>		<i>Private</i>		<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>		
Universities	319	12.6	493	16.8	812	14.9
Other HEI's	2,196	87.4	2,430	83.2	4,626	85.1
Totals	2,515	100.0	2,923	100.0	5,438	100.0

Source: Table 6, Appendix II

From the hegemony to the differentiation of universities

As this century nears its end, higher education institutions as a whole in the Latin American region irradiate a very different image from the one that has characterized the region's history since the first universities were founded in the XVI century. The hegemonic situation of these institutions, which were founded gradually during the XVI to XIX centuries, picking up speed as of the XX century, prevailed until only a few decades ago.

Table 2.2
Universities by date created

Universities (a)			
Century	Periods	Public	Private
XVI		5	...
XVII		6	2
XVIII		4	1
XIX		41	2
XX	1900-50	38	9
	1951-60	34	25
	1961-70	61	59
	1971-80	57	50
	1981-90	38	148
	1991-95	13	84
TOTALS		297	380

(a) This table does not include 22 public and 113 private universities as no date of creation was available..

Source: Appendix I-1

The first region in the world where European universities were transplanted was Latin America, beginning in the XVI century. By the time the first universities of Anglo-Saxon America were established in the XVII century - Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Columbia - there were already five universities in Latin America: one in Santo Domingo, one in Lima and three in Mexico, all of them created by the Dominican and Franciscan religious orders.

Table 2.3
Oldest universities, created before XIX century

Centuries	Countries	Universities	Year created
XVI	Dominican Rep.	U. de Santo Domingo	1538
	Peru	U. Nac. Mayor de San Marcos	1551
	Mexico	U. Michoacana de S.N. de Hidalgo	1540
		U. Nac. de México U. de Puebla	1551 1578
XVII	Argentina	U. de Córdoba	1613
	Bolivia	U. Mayor San Fco. Xavier	1664
	Guatemala	U. San Carlos de Guatemala	1676
	Mexico	U. de Querétaro	1625
	Peru	U. Nac. San Cbal. de Huamanga	1677
		U. Nac. de San Antonio de Abad	1692
	Colombia	U. Javeriana	1622
		Col. Mayor de N. S. del Rosario	1653
XVIII	Cuba	U. de la Habana	1728
	Mexico	U. de Campeche	1714
		U. de Guanajuato	1732
	Venezuela	U. Central de Venezuela	1771
	Colombia	U. de San Buenaventura	1708

Source: Appendix I-I

Not all of the oldest universities have maintained their hegemonic importance throughout the centuries, but by and large the majority of them have retained their prestige. Those considered to be the most prestigious in each country comprise 27 public and 9 private universities.

Table 2.4
Most prestigious HEIs in each country. 1995 (*)

Countries	Institutions	Year created
Argentina	U. de Buenos Aires	1821
	U. Nacional de Córdoba	1613
Bolivia	U. Mayor Real P. S. Fco. Xavier	1664
	U. Mayor de San Andrés	1830
Brazil	U. Federal do Rio de Janeiro	1920
	U. Estadual de Campinas	1966
	U. de Sao Paulo	1934
Chile	U. de Chile	1842
	Pontificia U. Católica de Chile	1898
Colombia	U. de Los Andes de Colombia	1948
	U. Nacional de Colombia	1867
	U. Javeriana	1662
Costa Rica	U. de Costa Rica	1941
	Inst. Tecnológico de Costa Rica	1973
Cuba	U. de La Habana	1728
	I.S.de Cs.Médicas de La Habana	1973
Ecuador	U. Central del Ecuador	1826
	U. Estatal de Guayaquil	1867
El Salvador	U. Nacional del El Salvador	1841
	U. Cent. José Simeón Cañas	1965
Guatemala	U. de San Carlos de Guatemala	1676
	U. Francisco Marroquín	1972
Honduras	U. Nac. Autónoma de Honduras	1847
	U. Pedagógica N. Fco. Morazan	1956
Mexico	U. Nacional Autónoma de México	1551
	U. Autónoma Metropolitana	1974
Nicaragua	U. Nac. Autónoma de Nicaragua	1812
	U. Nacional Autónoma de León	1812
Panama	U. de Panamá	1935
	U. Santa María La Antigua	1965
Paraguay	U. La Asunción	1889
	U. Católica N. Sra. de la Asunción	1960
Peru	U. Nac. Mayor de S. Marcos	1551
Dominican Rep..	U. Autónoma de Santo Domingo	1538
	U. Católica Madre Maestra	1962
Uruguay	U. de la República	1833
	U. Católica Dámaso A. Larrañaga	1985
Venezuela	U. Central de Venezuela	1771
	U. Simón Bolívar	1967

(*) Each country's prestige qualification left to the criterion of the specialists except in the case of Peru on which there was no opinion, and it was decided to include the oldest.

Source: Qualitative replies, National Reports

Differentiation by type of institution

The University of Buenos Aires in Argentina, with 173,345 students and the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, with 132,935, are the region's largest universities and among the largest in the world. Following these in size are: the Universidad San Carlos in Guatemala, with 80,226, the Universidad de la República de Uruguay, with 62,026 and the Universidad Central de Venezuela, with 51,992.

Table 2.5
Universities with the highest enrolment by sector in each country.. 1994

Public sector		Private sector		
Countries	University	N° of students	N° of students	
Argentina	U. de Buenos Aires (UBA)	173,345	U. de Morón	16,978
Bolivia	U. Mayor de S.Andrés	40,090	U. NUR	3,316
Brazil	U. de Sao Paulo	33,749	U. Paulista	19,724
Chile	U. de Chile	17,584	U.Católica . de Chile	14,543
Colombia	U. de Antioquia	17,858	U.Sto. Tomás	15,427
Costa Rica	U. de Costa Rica	31,396	U.A.Centroamericana	6,865
Cuba	U. Central de Villas	8,792	n/e	...
Ecuador	U. Central de Ecuador	41,671	U.L.Vicente R.de Guayaquil	11,533
El Salvador	U. de El Salvador	30,273	U. Tecnológica	11,565
Guatemala	U. S.Carlos de Guatemala	80,226	U. MarianoGalvez	10,806
Honduras	U.Nac.A.de Honduras	40,887	U. S. Pedro Sula	1,563
Mexico	U.N.A. de México (UNAM)	132,935	U. Iberoamericana	16,467
Nicaragua	U. Nac.A. de Nicaragua	13,687	U. Centroamericana	5,782
Panama	U. de Panamá	51,495	U. Sta.María La Antigua	6,000
Paraguay	U. Nac. La Asunción	18,881	U.N.Sra. de la Asunción	15,028
Peru	U. Nac.F.Villarreal	27,184	U.S.Martín de Porres	32,728
Dominican Rep.	U. A. Sto. Domingo	32,441	U. Tecnológica Santiago	15,885
Uruguay	U. de la República	62,026	U.Católica D.A.Larrañaga	1,992
Venezuela	U- Central de Venezuela.	51,992	U. Santa María	21,594

Source: Appendix I-1

Although the region has universities of widely varying sizes, 87% of the students enrolled are at institutions with less than 5 thousand students enrolled.

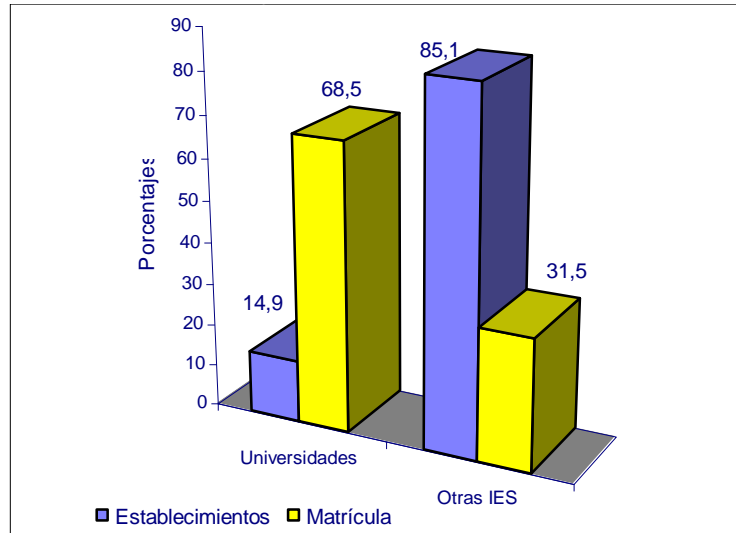
Table 2.6
Percentage of HEIs by number of students, 1994.

• Mega institutions (with over 100,000 students)	0.1%
• Large (100,000 to 30,000 students)	1.3%
• Medium large (30,000 to 10,000 students)	4.9%
• Medium small (10,000 to 5,000 students)	6.7%
• Small (less than 5,000 students)	87.7%

Source: Table 10, Appendix II

While 85% of the higher education establishments belong to the non-university sector, this sector covers only 31% of the students, which shows that a large proportion of the small institutions are non-university establishments.

Table N° 2-1
Establishments and enrolment classified by type of institution. 1994



Source: Tables 6 and 12, Appendix II

The high percentage of small institutions is congruent with the high percentage of institutions with a low degree of complexity. The *simple institutions* - that do not offer postgraduates or scientific research - represent more than three times the number of complex institutions.

Table 2-7
Degree of complexity of the HEI's

- **Complex** institutions:
(with postgraduate and scientific research): 34%
- **Simple** institutions:
(without postgraduate or scientific research) 66%

Source: Table 9, Appendix II

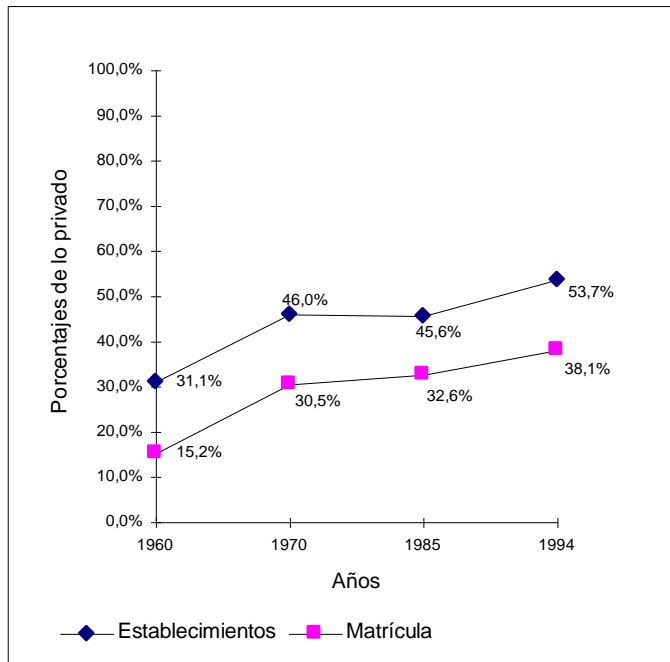
Since most of the data compiled for classifying simple and complex institutions applies to universities, it can be said that although the majority of the complex institutions are comprised by universities, not all of them are complex, particularly the ones in the private sector.

Differentiation by sector

The private sector in the region has grown very significantly during the last three decades, increasing from 31% of the establishments in 1960 to 54% in 1995. In turn, enrolments more than doubled over that period, increasing from 15% to 38%.

Figure 2.2
Evolution of the private sector, by establishment and enrolment.
Percentages. 1960-1994.

OJO escribir
Percentages of private sector
Years
Establishments
Enrolment

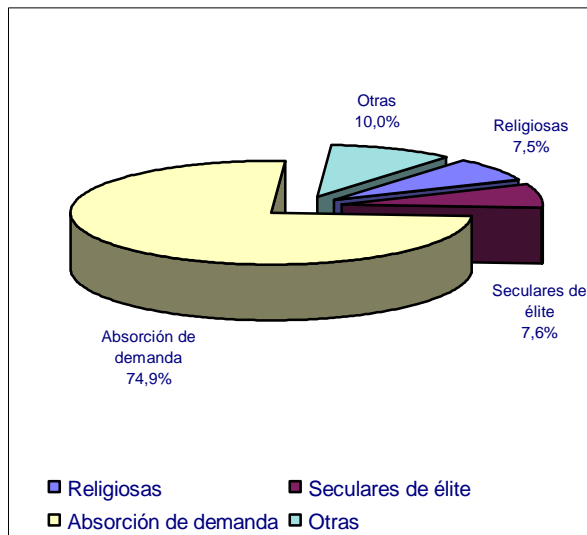


Source: 1960 and 1970: Levy 1986.
 1985: García Guadilla, 1996.
 1994: Table 6 and 12, Appendix II

The private sector is also characterized by a hierarchical differentiation of its education clientele. Some authors have established the following categories for differentiating them: Catholic, elite secular and absorption of demand (Levy, 1986). Currently, in addition to those indicated, other types, are appearing and expanding the range of categories mentioned. One such category is community universities.

Figure 2-3
Differentiation of private institutions. 1994

OJO
ESCRIBIR:
Other
Religious
Elite secular
Absorption of demand
Others



Source: Table 7, Appendix II

The absorption of demand model is the one that takes students who either have failed the entrance examination or are unable pay the high enrolment fee to enter the public sector or the private Catholic or elite secular option. This is the model most frequently encountered in the NHES's of the region and absorbs students who: a) because of their poor academic performance have been excluded from the public sector and/or the elite private subsectors: b) or who have been excluded from the public sector and are unable to pay the high enrolment fee of the private elite subsectors; c) or else whose limited financial resources mean they must opt for short diploma courses.

The elite secular model caters for students seeking institutions that are adapted to their elite role and are in closer contact with the business sector and

the job market. The majority of these types of institution have implemented rigorous selection examinations as the best means of attracting well-prepared students, which influences high performance, and is in turn reflected by the image of prestige and academic quality sought by this type of institution.

Within the religious sector the Catholic model is the hegemonic one. This model, which used to resemble the traditional public model, is now increasingly resembling the elite secular one, as far as the image of efficiency and academic quality that it aims to impose is concerned. In Latin America the Church is the main body sustaining the Catholic universities. In 1994 there were more than one hundred Catholic universities throughout the region. Of late, some Evangelical and Protestant universities have been created and under the religious university sector are what are known as community universities.

The popular model aims to fill the gap between the state and the business universities (the latter including the elite secular and absorption of demand universities). This model is designed to provide a community oriented social service. What distinguishes state universities from private universities is not so much their by-laws as their pedagogical project, which must be understood in the broadest sense of a community-oriented social project. The survival of this model is at jeopardy due to difficulties in obtaining financial resources: however, its concept of combining public non-state education with private non-profit-making education, may well make it a feasible option in line with the Latin American societies' current demand for social relevance.

The private education movement

The move towards privatization can be seen in the dynamics of the growing number of enrolments over the last ten years. While in 1985, 50% of the countries accounted for less than 20% of private enrolments; ten years later only four countries fell into that category. On the other hand, in 1994 one third of the countries of the region accounted for over 40% of private enrolments.

Table 2-8
Differentiation of private sector education by country in the last ten years, according to percentage of enrolment. 1985-1994

		Percentage of private enrolment				
Years	65%-40%	40%-30%	30%-20%	20%-10%	Under 10%	
1985	Brazil Colombia Dominican Rep.	Chile El Salvador Peru	Argentina Guatemala Paraguay	Costa Rica Ecuador Honduras Mexico Nicaragua Venezuela	Bolivia Panama Uruguay Cuba	
1994	Brazil Colombia Chile Dominican Rep. El Salvador Paraguay	Nicaragua Peru Venezuela	Costa Rica Ecuador Guatemala Mexico Argentina	Honduras	Bolivia Panama Uruguay Cuba	

Sources: 1985: García Guadilla, 1996;
1994: Table 12, Appendix II

Some of the countries with the highest proportion of private enrolment - Brazil, Chile, Colombia - have varying forms of coexistence between the public and private sectors. In Brazil and Colombia, the absorption of demand private subsector is larger than the two private - Catholic and elite - subsectors. However, in Colombia, in addition to the absorption of demand model, there is a prestigious elite private subsector, unlike Brazil where the prestigious subsector is public. So, whereas in Brazil the public sector is not important in terms of quantity, it is important in terms of quality. In Chile, there tends to be a converging co-existence between the private and the public education sector, even in the State's contributions to certain private sector institutions, which include some important Catholic ones.¹

In Mexico, together with Venezuela and Argentina, the public sector is prevalent and includes some of this sector's most prestigious institutions. Although Mexico has a dominant public sector, it has also developed an elite secular model, although this is still fairly small.²

Generally speaking, private higher education is more prevalent in non-university institutions than in university institutions. The private sector accounts for only 27% of universities, whereas it accounts for 47% of non-university institutions.

Countries with a high degree of private sector presence - such as Brazil, Chile and Colombia, also cover a large proportion of non-university enrolments. However, this is not the case with the Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Paraguay. These countries, despite their high percentage of private enrolments, account for a small proportion of enrolments in non-university institutions.

Table 2-9
Classification of countries by percentages of enrolment in non-university HEIs, and in the private sector. 1994

<i>Range of Percentages</i>	<i>Percentage of enrolment in non-university HEI's</i>	<i>Percentage of private enrolment</i>
80%-50%	Cuba (79.1%)	Dominican Rep. (71.2%) El Salvador (69.1%) Colombia (64.1%) Brazil (58.4%) Chile (53.6%)
50%-30%	Peru (42.9%) Brazil (37.7%) Colombia (34.3%) Chile (35.3%)	Paraguay (46.7%) Peru (35.9%) Venezuela (35.6%) Nicaragua (34.2%)

¹ See Klein & Sampaio, 1994; and Balán & García, 1993, for a comparative analysis of privatization policies in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico.

² The elite secular institutions include: Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara, Universidad de Anahuac, Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM), Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), Universidad de las Américas. The two Catholic universities are: Universidad Iberoamericana and Universidad de La Salle.

	Venezuela (32.4%) Mexico (31.2%)	
30%-10%	Argentina (29.5%) Paraguay (20.8%) Uruguay (14.5%)	Guatemala (28.8%) Mexico (25.2%) Costa Rica (23.9) Ecuador (23.2%) Argentina (20.3%) Honduras (12.5%)
Under 10%	Ecuador (6.6%) El Salvador (4.6%) Nicaragua (3.7%) Dominican Rep. (2.2%) Honduras (2.0%) Guatemala (1.4%) Panama (1.2%)	Bolivia (8.5%) Panama (8.4%) Uruguay (6.0%) Cuba (0%)

Source: Table 12, Appendix II

The differentiation in perspective

An institutional differentiation is now occurring not only in Latin America but world-wide too, as an efficient means of meeting the demands posed by the changes.³ According to the available data for the region, it could be said that higher education in Latin America has already developed processes of differentiation in the private-public education sector and in the different formulas of non-university education.

However, in evaluating the differentiation experienced by the region, some specialists coincide in pointing out certain successes, but also a fair amount of limitations. The successes are in having managed to attain the objectives of the private sector, in elite education - which responds to the needs of a sector of comfortably-off students and the demand by graduates from a particular sector of the economy; as well as the absorption of demand - offering short diploma courses in response to fluctuating market needs, to ensure rapid access to the job market.

A large proportion of the private sector institutions have changed their orientation and put on low risk courses - social sciences, management, law, education, leaving the costly ones like medicine, dentistry, engineering, natural and exact sciences, etc. and the complex research and postgraduate activities to the public sector. The same situation is evident in all countries and all models of private education.⁴ The most prominent area in the private sector is Management Studies. Undergraduate programmes in this area are generally markedly business sector and private production sector oriented - although in recent years there has been a diversification towards sectors such as hotel and

³ This approach is upheld by the Unesco Commission for the XXI century (See Delors, 1996).

⁴ Balán, 1993.

catering, agricultural, health, etc. Postgraduate management studies are geared to prepare high level executives who often have degrees in other subjects.

Much of the private education sector has been aimed fundamentally at the absorption of demand model which is characterized by the fact that on the whole it has not reached a high academic level. This has affected the existence of hierarchical circuits as far as quality and status are concerned, where institutional status has prevailed over functional specialization.

In view of the foregoing, it is necessary to strengthen the positive potentialities and mitigate the negative effects of the differentiation in the search for a greater equilibrium of the differentiation in the NHES's. It is therefore necessary to take into account plurality and complexity in the hope of meeting the challenges of "horizontalness," flexibility, interconnection and the highest levels of quality that must characterize all the segments of the system.⁵

In the approach of the UNESCO Commission for the XXI century, the question of how good the differentiation is was raised, based on building bridges between the different routes (universities and other non-university higher education institutions), as well as bringing both routes in line with the needs of society and the economy. Within this context, the university continues to be considered the fundamental institution of the higher education system in terms of helping society to fulfil its most complex and important commitments.

Now, in order for this new differentiation to be consonant with the advantages it offers, sufficient attention must be paid to the quality, status and interconnection between the different networks involved in the current complexity of the NHES's. It is important to avoid the negative effects of a fragmented differentiation, which means that the circuit of institutions that endeavour to capture the wide and varied demand for short courses aimed at specialization, must also be of a high quality and prestigious, and be capable of connecting to the circuit of excellence as required.

⁵ Schwartzman (1995) and Brunner (1995) are among the positions that emphasize the desirability of greater differentiation in Latin America. An innovative proposal for the Colombian case can be found in Gómez, 1995.

Table 2.10
Public universities by date created.

Countries	Centuries									
	XVI XVII XVIII XIX				XX					
					1900-50	1951-60	1961-70	1971-80	1981-90	1991-95
Argentina		1		2	4	2	1	19	3	5
Bolivia		1		5	1		2		2	
Brazil					11	18	27	9	3	
Colombia ^a				5	10	5	7	5	3	
Costa Rica					1			3		
Cuba			1		1	1	1	3		
Chile ^b				1					13	2
Ecuador				5			5	3	3	1
El Salvador				1					1	
Guatemala		1								
Honduras				1		1				
Mexico	3	1	2	11	8	5	3	4	1	1
Nicaragua				2					2	
Panama					1				1	1
Paraguay				1						2
Peru	1	2		3	1	1	13	4	3	1
Dom. Rep.		1								
Uruguay				1						
Venezuela			1	3		1	2	7	3	
Totals	5	6	4	41	38	34	61	57	38	13

a 16 universities - not specified

b 9 universities n/s

Source: Appendix I

Table 2.11
Private universities by date created.

Countries	Centuries											
	XVI				XVII		XVIII		XIX		XX	
	1900-50	1951-60	1961-70	1971-80	1981-90	1991-95						
Argentina ^a		6	15	2						14		
Bolivia ^b									4	19		
Brazil					3	7	16	24	8	1		
Colombia ^c	2	1	1	4	8	10	6	2				
Costa Rica							1	7	12			
Cuba												
Chile			1						47	2		
Ecuador				1		1	3	2	4			
El Salvador						1	4	32	7			
Guatemala ^d						3	1					
Honduras							2	1	1			
Mexico ^e												
Nicaragua						1	1			5		
Panama						1			7	4		
Paraguay										13		
Peru				1		9			14	1		
Dom. Rep. ^f							2	5	13	1		
Uruguay									1			
Venezuela						2	1	2	10			
Totals	...	2	1	2	9	25	59	50	148	84		

a 5 universities - not specified

b 1 universities n/s

c 50 universities n/s

d 1 universities n/s

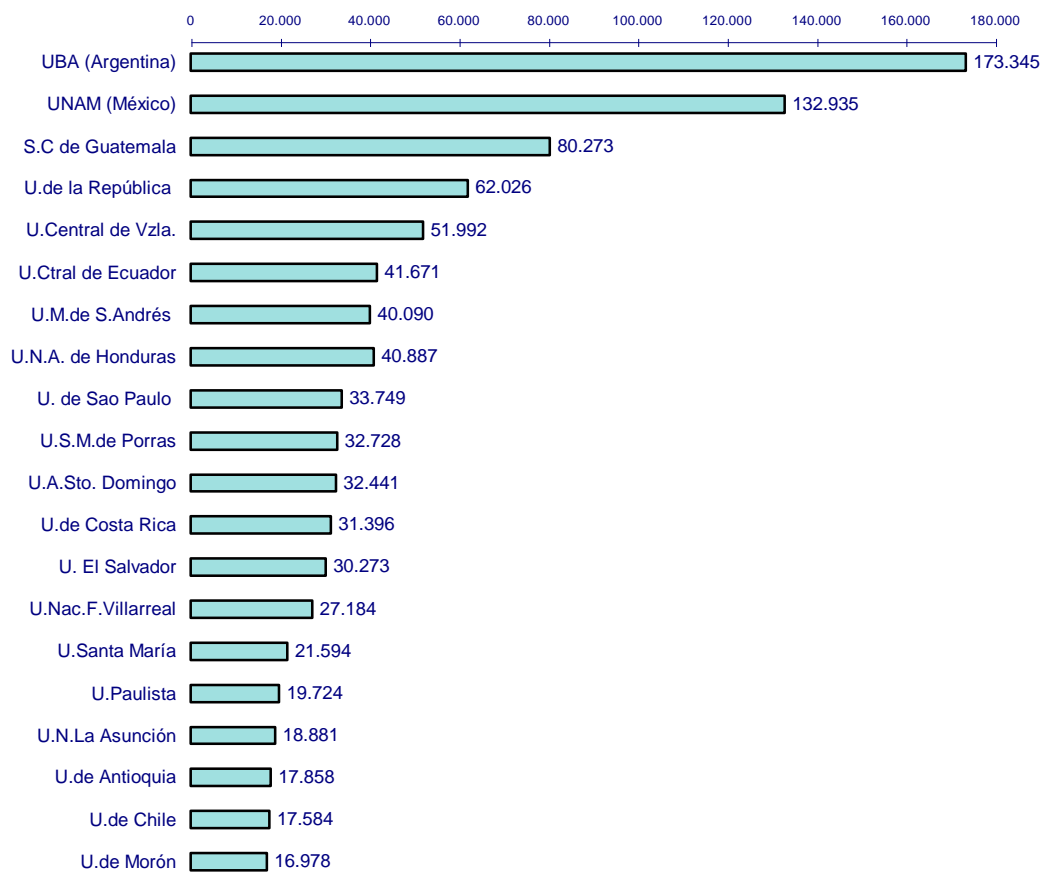
e 49 universities n/s

f 3 universities n/s

Source: Appendix I

Figure 2.4
The twenty universities with the most enrolments in the region.

OJO: Cambiar puntos por comas



Source: Appendix I

Figure 2.5
Number of universities: total, public, private. 1994

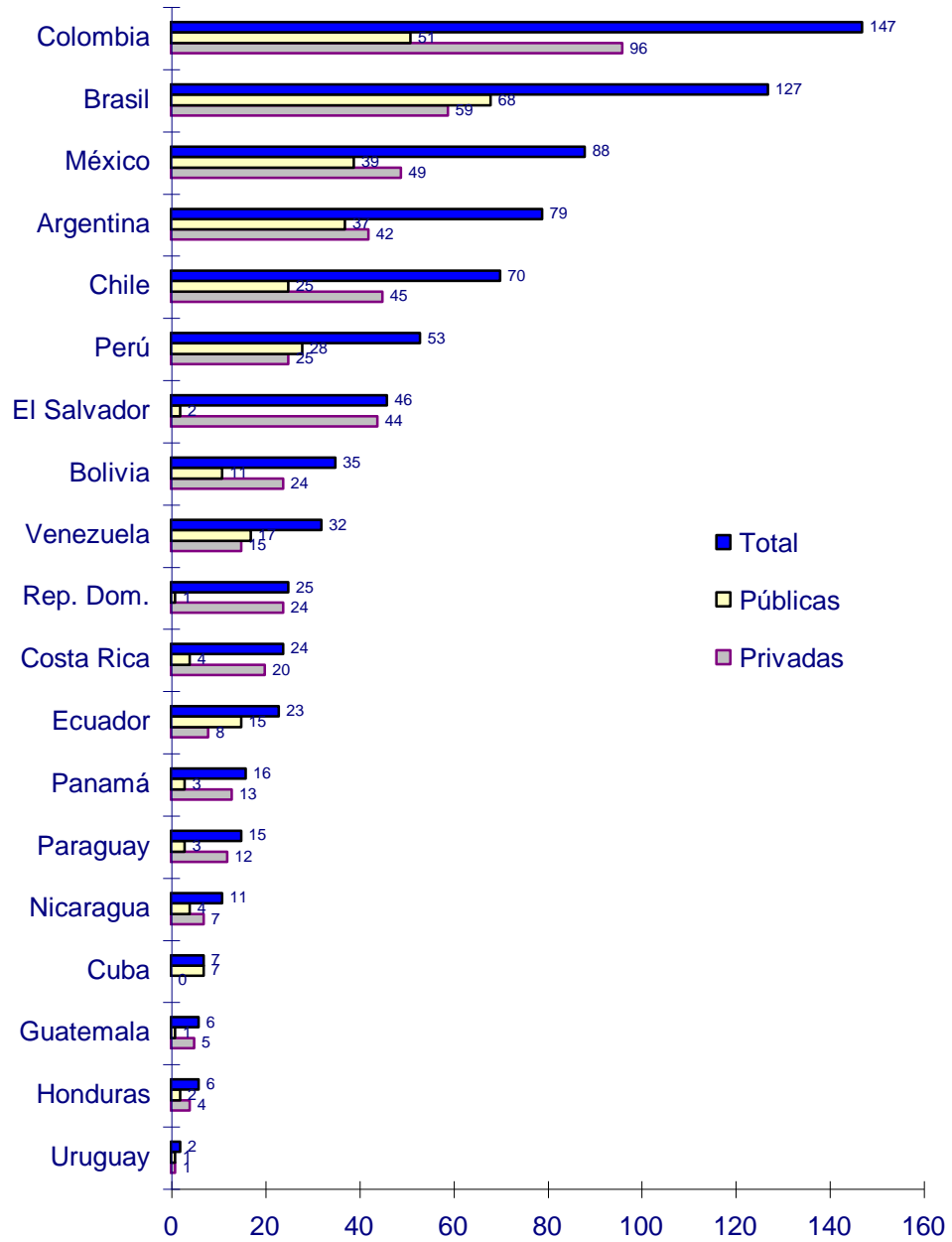
OJO: Cambiar nombres países

y

Total

Public

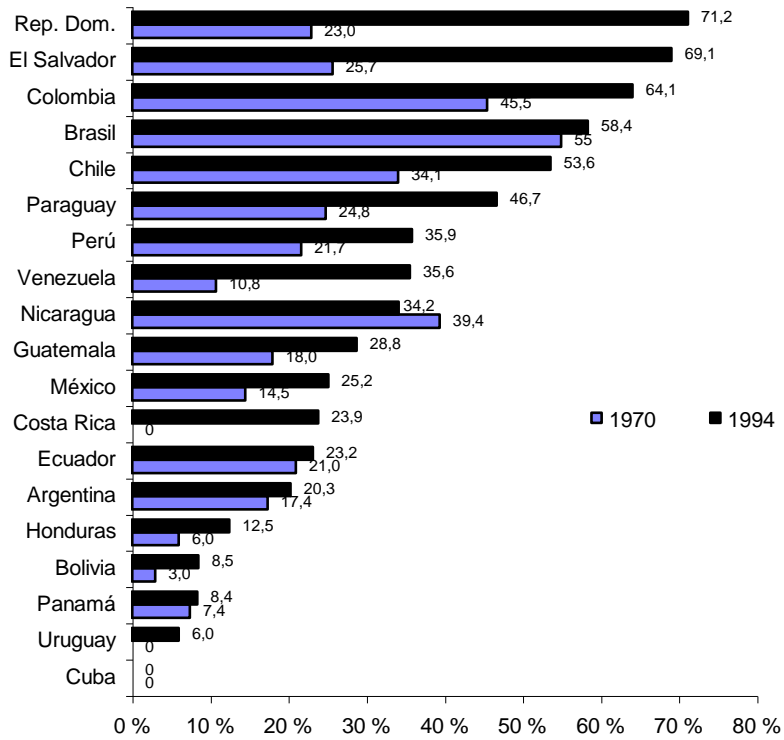
Private



Source: Table 18, Appendix II

Figure 2.6
Comparison of private enrolment in the last 25 years. 1970-1994.

OJO:
Cambiar nombres países y comas por puntos



Source: 1970: García Guadilla, 1996; 1994: Table 12, Appendix