Access to higher education and the reproduction of inequalities in Córdoba, Argentina

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1. *Introduction*

In recent years, we have seen an increase in the supply and demand of higher education in Latin America. Although this growth has not occurred with the same intensity in all the region's countries, for some it has been notable. This phenomenon is the result in the increase in demand for higher education, but also of many public policies that have supported these demands, with guidelines tending towards the democratization of higher education in some of Latin American countries.

Argentina stands as one of the paradigmatic cases of inclusive higher education. The national State has developed some actions s such as eliminating entry exams for university admission or appropriating of funds for the creation of higher level educational institutions other than universities. The city of Córdoba[1] constitutes a paradigmatic case study of higher education because of its historical traits. Córdoba is the site of the country's first public university and Argentina's first private university and has been characterized historically as a site of professional training for the interior provinces of the country as well as neighbouring countries such as Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Colombia and Brazil.

In this article we will analyse the expansion in access to higher education and its varying effects, focusing on the social position that families in Córdoba occupy during the 2003 to 2011 period. Our analysis is part of a larger research programme that studies

[1] Córdoba is the second most important city in Argentina, after the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires. It is the capital of the province of Cordoba, located in the center of the country, with a population of 1.330.023 people in 2010.

family reproduction strategies in the social space of Córdoba in the context of Argentina's recent socio-economic dynamics. In this programme we study a broad spectrum of practices, including labour educational, housing and cultural consumption strategies[2]. This study entails a theoretical-methodological articulation that comprises three stages of analysis[3].

Concentrating on one aspect that concerns the field of education and specifically at the higher education level, here we will emphasize in the first of these analytical stages, primarily with quantitative evidence, secondary sources of data and utilizing information from the Argentina National System of Statistics.

First, we locate the situation of higher education in Córdoba in the framework of Latin American processes in general and Argentina's in particular. Secondly, we propose a relational construction of Córdoba's social space, briefly identifying and characterizing the difference among classes. Thirdly, we present the effects that educational experiences processes have on the academic strategies of Córdoba's families. We hold the hypothesis that those educational processes do not guarantee a decrease in inequality, to the degree that the incidence of other structural factors remains, such the levels of income and distinct, original endowments of cultural capital. Ultimately, we show that these processes establish an educational market that requires remaining in the educational system for more years to maintain a certain

[2] This refers to a research project named *Social reproduction strategies among families of Córdoba: recent dynamics* directed by Alicia B. Gutiérrez and Héctor O. Mansilla, research site in Córdoba. It is funded by the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research, the Foundation for Scientific and Technological Investigation and the National University of Córdoba.

[3] The first stage, mostly quantitative, proposes a relational construction of the social classes and class fractions, of the social space of Córdoba, starting from the ensemble of resources – economic and cultural –that the families have at their disposal for their social reproduction. We complement this part with information drawn from other sources, especially to reconstruct those areas in which these strategies are employed: the labor market, education market, residential market, and public policy (Gutiérrez, Mansilla 2016). Beginning with the identification of classes and fractions of classes in Córdoba's social structure, we select members of representative families of each of these classes and then is undertaken the second stage, mostly qualitative through observation, interviews, and life histories. Here we analyzed the concrete practices, interactions, and representations of families' social reproduction strategies and the way the different possibilities are articulated and the relative limitations of the objective conditions. A third stage will involve identifying the relationship between the different structural conditions, gathered especially in the first stage, with the lived experience and concrete practices of the second and will lead us to devise «typologies of social reproduction strategies system» representative of the different positions in Córdoba's social space.

position in the social space. This process is characterized by adding more complexities to the educational inequality mechanisms rather than lessening them.

2. *General context of processes: supply, demand, and educational policies*

2.1. *Similarities and some differences between Latin American countries*

The educational policies from the first fifteen years of the new century resulted in the expansion of educational rights for many countries in Latin America, from access to all levels of education to the increase in years of compulsory education. These policies, together with the expansion of State funding and the recognition of the rights of excluded and marginalized populations, increased the number of students in schools and universities (Tenti Fanfani *et al.* 2003; García Guadilla 2004; Torres 2008; Rivas 2015).

In addition, in the last years of the Twentieth century and in the first years of the Twenty-first century, the access to higher-level education has increased by a substantial amount and has diversified by a considerable amount[4]. Together with the process of increased enrolment, we observe a greater proportion of women enrolling in higher education and an increase in the number of private institutions of learning. In spite of this, higher education in Latin America continues to be characterized by being mostly public (Rama 2009; García Guadilla 2004; Beneitone *et al.* 2007; Segrera 2016).

The conditions for the ability to access higher-level education vary in each country and many times depend more on the institution and its prestige than does national policy. In some cases, it is the national States that evaluate the candidates using an exit high school competency exam (Rivas 2015). Other times the institutions consider the student high school GPA or use specific

[4] The increase in the number of universities and institutes of pre undergraduate teaching shows the growth in higher education demand and takes place in a process of institutional differentiation by type of administration, years of existence, ratings, international projection, etc. (Suasnábar 2005; Rivas 2015; Segrera 2016).

access tests. Lastly there are some higher education institutions that only require the completion of secondary school, as is the case for Argentina and Uruguay (Beneitone *et al.* 2007; Rama 2009; García de Fanelli, Jacinto 2010; Rivas 2015).

The increase in the private supply and the tuition and fees of public universities in some of the countries has reopened a debate regarding how public education should be conceived in Latin America, as a public or private good. Nevertheless, it has to be clarified that «the public» and «the private» acquire symbolic values and imply different meanings in the region. Taking this into account, and with the objective of regulating in some sense the increase in the supply, the nation States have advanced in the implementation of accreditation and evaluation mechanisms[5] (Rama 2006; García Guadilla 2003; 2004; Beneitone *et al.* 2007; Segrera 2016; Fernández Lamarra 2012; Rama, Vallejo 2015).

2.2. *Argentina: a paradigm of inclusive higher education*

One of the features of Argentina's higher education system is its binary character. Consider: a) on the one hand, the sublevel of the national and provincial universities under public administration, private universities, and university institutes; and b) on the other hand, those higher educational institutions that are not at the university level, some of them under the public administration (in this case, dependent on the provincial jurisdictions and on the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires) and others under private administration. The university sublevel offers pre-undergraduate degrees (certifications and technical degrees), undergraduate degrees (bachelor's and professional) and graduate school (specialization, master's, doctorate and post-doctorate). Whereas, the non-university sublevel, offers teacher preparation and certification programmes, professional and technical development, and art-teaching majors, that last 2 to 4 years, and in some cases, with the possibility of transferring credits to a longer curricular programme at a university level.

[5] Practically all the countries count on mechanisms of this kind, although the organizations in charge of these tasks are diverse: public or private, national or foreign, autonomous or State agencies, according with each country (Rama 2006; García Guadilla 2004; González 2005; Beneitone *et al.* 2007; Rama, Vallejo 2015).

Argentina was configured as one of the paradigms of inclusive higher education, based on a series of characteristics. To present them, we will consider both sublevels of higher education and we will take the period between 1996 and 2014. In the first place, we note that universities or non-university higher education institutions in Argentina do not require entrance examinations to access this level, making Argentina, along with Uruguay, a unique case in Latin America and in the world. Other important aspects of the higher educational system are its enrolment, with more than two and a half million students, and its large amount of establishments: 128 universities and university institutes (63 public and 65 private) and 2,213 non-university higher education institutes (National Ministry of Education 2013; García de Fanelli 2015; Rivas 2015).

On another level, the country has a tendency towards massification of high school education and an increase in number of higher education population[6]. Together with the increased of student enrolment at the higher level education we observe a growing diversification of graduate programmes offer by type of administration (García de Fanelli 2006; Rama 2009; García de Fanelli, Jacinto 2010; García de Fanelli 2015).

Since 1950, and most notably since the 1990s[7], we have experienced a process of privatization of higher education, while public universities witnessed a resistance against losing their spaces of autonomy as well as the tuition-free character of public education (Abratte 2013; Rama 2006). The State's response to these processes was mainly the evaluation and certification of academic programmes that, with the aim of guaranteeing the quality of higher education, remained in the hands of a specific State agency[8]. (Barsky, Dávila 2010; Barsky, Giba 2013; Barsky,

[6] The gross percentage of higher education (university and non-university sublevel) of those between 18 and 24 years of age (the ones that attend higher education divided by the total population of this group) goes from 36% in 2001 to 51% in 2010 (National Ministry of Education 2011). For the European Union, we will point out that during the period 2000-2009, the higher education population grew a median of 22%. The highest level of participation are at age 20, hovering around 30% for men and 42% for women (in Italy, this numbers are 35% and 42%) (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2012).

[7] Between 1956 and 1960 six private universities are created in the country, and after that they increased from 24 in 1989 to 48 in 2000.

[8] In 1996 was created the National Committee of University Accreditation and Evaluation which since then evaluates undergraduate and graduate programmes throughout the country. However, the evaluation and accreditation did not necessarily imply equal

Giménez 2007; Barsky *et al.* 2012; De Deane *et al.* 2016). Likewise, spending in education has been increasing in a sustained manner since 1980, in spite of the drops pronounced in 1982, 1989 and 2002 (Rivas *et al.* 2010). Consequently, the budget for national universities has increased in relation to the gross domestic product in the period between 1996 and 2014, with some exceptions in 1997 and in the period between 2001-2004, going from 0.56% of the GDP to 1.16%.

In addition, the institutions of non-university higher education (both public and private) have increased over the years, going from 1.651 in 1996 to 2.213 in 2014, with some differences: those under private administration witnessed a growth from 1996 until 2009 and a relative stability between 2009 and 2014, while those in public education had their volume decreased in the period from 1998 to 2007, and later regained growth during 2014 (National Ministry of Education).

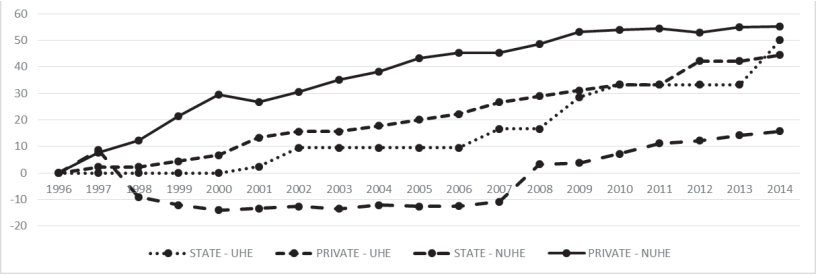


FIG. 1. Percentage of variation of Higher Education Unities 1996-2014.

Source: prepared by the authors based on the data of the Secretariat of University Policies and the National Directorate of Information and the National Directorate of Information and Educational Evaluation – National Ministry of Education.

Analysing the variation of the enrolment in the university sublevel, we see that the growth has been sustained since 1996 for the private sector, whereas for the public sector there have been periods of growth and of stagnation. There was a large increase in enrolment until 2002; in this year a stagnation begins

treatment in the assigning of resources: whereas the public universities are financed almost totally through the national budget, the private ones, since the passing of Law 14.557 in 1958, receive no State support.

that will last until 2007, and subsequently resumes growth until 2014. Enrolment in the public sector practically doubled in the period studied (it went from 812.308 in 1996 to 1.468.072 in 2014), while in the private sector it almost tripled – from 144.892 to 403.373 – (National Ministry of Education).

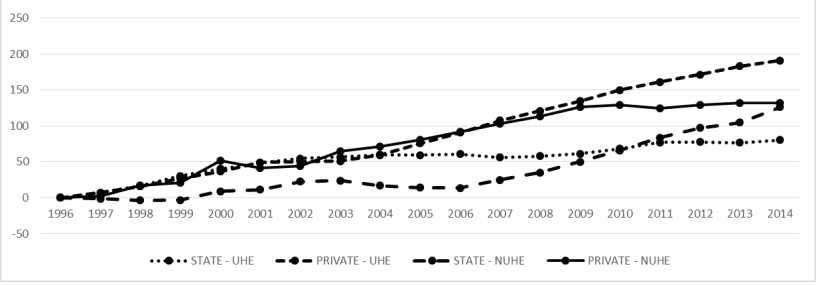


FIG. 2. Percentage of variation of Students Higher Education 1996-2014.

Source: prepared by the authors based on the data of the Secretariat of University Policies and the National Directorate of Information and the National Directorate of Information and Educational Evaluation – National Ministry of Education.

The enrolment at the non-university sublevel witnessed a growth in these years, going from 356.087 in 1996 to 813.490 in 2014. A growth in the private sector evidenced a growth in enrolment until 2009, and later a relative stagnation; in the private sector, the growth in enrolment has been very abrupt since 2006 and practically doubled in 2014. This growth is not observed with the same intensity in the number of State educational institutes, thus, the relation between number of students per educational institution has grown in this period (National Ministry of Education).

In summary, if we consider the whole higher educational level in its entirety, we can observe an important growth in student enrolment and number of establishments over the 18 years we analysed. This growth had different characteristics by type of administration and by sublevel within the higher education level. In this way, we went from 1.3 million students in 1996 to 2.6 million in 2014 in the whole higher education system[9].

[9] For another point of reference, we note that according to the last National Census of Population and Housing (2010) Argentina at that time had some 2.387.921 students

This doubling of enrolment is not represented in the amount of educational establishments, because we have only 47% more universities and 34% more institutes of non-university higher-education, than in 1996.

A set of factors have come into play in these processes. In addition to the demographic growth that increased the age group in conditions of entering the system of higher education, there was also an increase of graduation rates at the intermediate level. Open admission, tuition-free undergraduate studies, the creation of new universities in undeveloped cities and the improvements in infrastructure, together with national programmes of scholarships and tutorials, have undoubtedly benefited publicly run institutions. Beyond certain prestigious institutions with elevated tuition fees that conserve their clientele, the growth of the private sector responds primarily four factors a) the creation of specific academic programmes that were not available in the national universities, b) the creation of campuses in neglected regions, c) supply of distance and online learning courses, d) and the migration of students with low academic achievement from tuition free public universities to the private sector. Due to the space limitations of this paper we cannot elaborate in these aspects, but we note that it has resulted in a situation that is highly heterogeneous and diversified, sometimes characterized as chaotic, to quote Rojas (2012).

2.3. *The performance of higher education in Córdoba*

Higher education institutions with headquarters in the city of Córdoba present the same structure and sublevels as those we have seen in Argentina. The institutions at this level on a whole, practically doubled their enrolment in the period 1996-2014, going from 124.474 students in 1996 to 247.227 in 2014. This growth was not given in an equivalent manner in the other sublevels comprising the higher level educational system: while the university sector increased by 93%, non-university population grew by 128%. It also was not presented in a proportional manner by sector of administration, as the public (university and

in higher education out of a total population of 5.358.862 between the ages of 18 and 24 and a total national population of 40.091.359.

non-university) grew less than the private (university and non-university)[10]. Lastly, the supply at this level also did not expand in the same manner throughout the territory, as the private universities created in the 1990s in Córdoba rapidly expanded by way of multiple educational centres (National Ministry of Education).

Non-university higher education in Córdoba grows strongly in the period and, in contrast to the university sublevel, the sector under public State administration shows a larger growth (147%), compared to the private sector (110%). The increase in Cordoba's State institutions responded mainly to the process of transference of national educational units to the provincial government (Abratte 2013).

Among the publicly run higher education institutions, we include the «National University of Córdoba» (UNC), founded by Jesuits in 1613, the «University Institute of Aeronautics» of 1971 (IUA), and the «Universidad Provincial de Córdoba», created in 2015, with the unification of a sum of institutes of non-university higher education, that functioned previously in the city of Córdoba. Finally, we mention the «National Technological University» (UTN), founded in 1959, as a continuation of the «National Worker's University» of 1948.

Among the private university establishments, we note in first place the «Catholic University of Córdoba» (UCC), licensed to give out degrees since 1956, which already has to its credit a certain tradition in the private supply. More recently, we find the «Blas Pascal University» founded in 1990, the «Business University of the 21st Century» (UES21) created in 1995[11] and, finally, the «University Institute of Biomedical Science of Córdoba», created in 2012.

Universities under public administration accounted for 98.732 students in 1996 and reached 129.375 in 2014, demonstrating a growth of a little more than 30%. For those under private administration we should differentiate: on the one hand, the UCC that grew 79% since 1996 (4.393 students in 1996 to 7.871

[10] For example, the National University of Córdoba (public) saw its enrolment grow at 23% while the Catholic University of Córdoba (private) had a 79% increase.

[11] Both demonstrate an exponential growth, whose effects extend beyond the city of Córdoba. Besides counting on campuses in the entire country, they have resources that hardly can be reduced to a defined geographic space (diverse online programmes, virtual learning). In 2017 the UBP has some 90 learning centres throughout the country and UES21 some 300.

students in 2014) and, on the other hand, the UES21 accounts for a growth of 30 times its 1999 enrolment (1.872 students in 1999 and 57.267 students in 2014) and the UBP, from 4 times its 1996 enrolment (2.256 students in 1996 to 9.106 students in 2014) (National Ministry of Education).

Post-graduate higher education is where the greatest variation in enrolment is observed from 1996 to 2014. In the first year of this period, the educational supply of graduate school formation was incipient and still with a scarce amount of students: 125 students in the UNC, 3 in the IUA and 26 in the UCC. In 2014, this situation changed considerably, reaching 9.798 students in the UNC, 635 in the UTN, 58 in the IUA, and, among the private schools, 2.278 students in the UCC, 202 students in the UES21 and 54 in the UBP (National Ministry of Education).

After having characterized the market of higher education in Córdoba, we will analyse the ways these processes impact household investments according to the position families occupy in the social space.

3. *Social space and educational inequality in Córdoba*

Beginning with Bourdieu's notion of social space (Bourdieu 1990), we propose a relational construction of the classes and fractions of classes of Córdoba, taking into consideration the resources – mostly economic and cultural– that the families have at their disposal to reproduce themselves. We used the multidimensional descriptive statistical methods of the SPAD software, applying jointly Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) and Hierarchical Agglomerative Clustering (HAC) taking as a reference the information of the Permanent Household Survey (EPH)[12] of the third quarters of the years 2003 and 2011.

This survey offers two data bases: one of households and another of individuals. Because our unit of analysis is the family, considered as a domestic unit of production and consumption, we

[12] The Permanent Household Survey (EPH for its Spanish acronym) is a national programme that captures, in a systematic and permanent way, data of the principal demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the population, with relation to the labour force. It is collected quarterly, has national coverage, and includes the principal urban centres of the country. We chose the third quarter because of the possibility of correlating our results with other continuous surveys of the period.

have combined both data bases making some technical decisions in order to accommodate our theoretical and methodological perspective with the information that we have. In this article we utilize as synonyms «family» and «household» and we use the information of the households, head of household (HH) and the spouses (SP).

3.1. *Selection of relevant variables*

We select the relevant variables for the MCA to construct Córdoba's social space and identify different social classes. We prefer those who were related to our analytical perspective and the possibilities that the EPH would offer us. That is why we select properties that would refer to the economic and cultural capital of our units of analysis, that belong as much to the family as to the HH. The HH has a dominant position in the family group, and she or he transfers her or his resources through the relations of distribution that transforms the family into a collective subject.

Thus, with regard to the available economic capital in the family, we consider in first place, the total income of the HH (p47T, the income that comes of his principal occupation and all other incomes –fixed income, inheritance, etc.) Even when this variable functions as one of the principal economic indicator of the family, we also select the per capita income of the family (IPCF) in deciles of the agglomeration) in this way we were able to obtain all the economic resources of the family and establish relations between these resources and the amount of family members. Both variables show the family's economic capacity.

As an indicator of cultural capital we selected the highest level of formal education of the HH (educational capital as sub specie of cultural capital). We considered other indicators that refer to the economic and cultural capital, particularly the ones related to the insertion of the HH in the relations of production. These were the work status, as an indicator of the relative position in the unequal distribution of authority in the labor structure; and the occupational qualification, as an indicator of skills and knowledge associated with the job or position.

Finally, we also consider as active variables sex, age and marital status of the HH, as key elements of social differenti-

ation that refer to certain forms of capturing the life cycle of the family. These eight active variables (with 51 modalities) allow us to construct the two social spaces of Córdoba that we have used here (2003 and 2011), while the rest of the variables that the EPH retrieves were considered as illustrative.

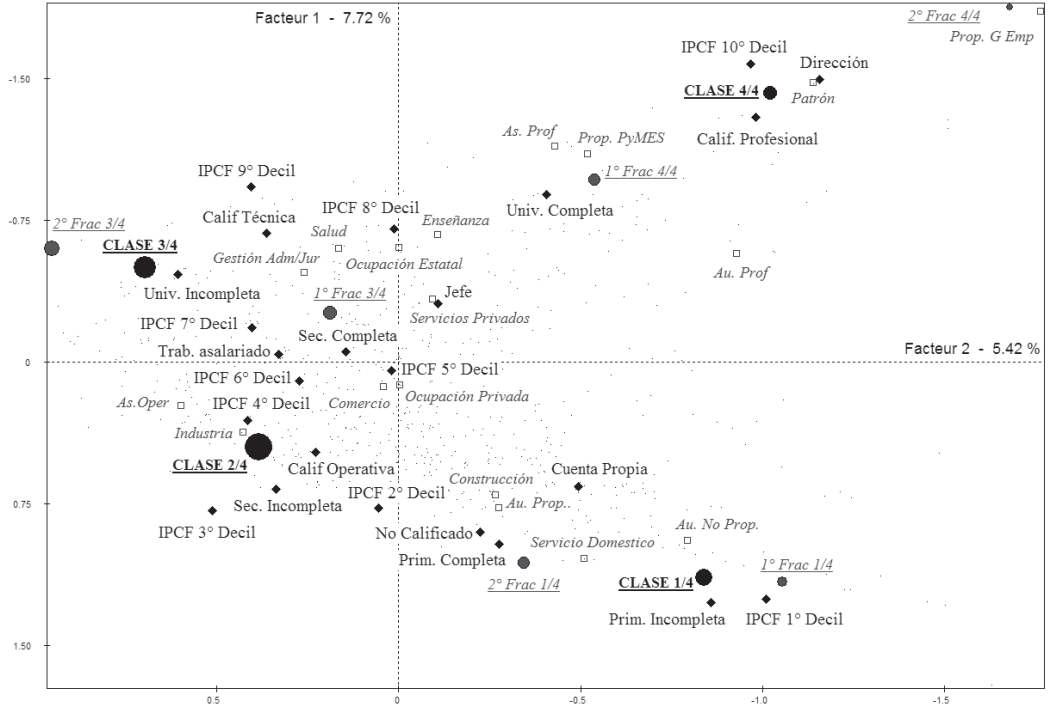
3.2. *The social structure of Córdoba between 2003-2011*

Broadly speaking[13], we can see that the differences that are established between the four large classes that we identified for the year 2011 (fig. 3)[14], refer to the relations of inequality around central aspects of the economic and social reproduction of the families, particularly the highest level of formal education reached and the kind of labour type of the HH.

The section of the lower right quadrant of the social space groups positions (class 1/4, dominated lowed class) occupied by families that have very low capital, both in economic and cultural terms. The differential characteristic that articulates its relationship with the other positions are the HH low level of formal education, and for selling his or her unskilled labour power to poor working conditions contexts. It is the case of

[13] A detailed explanation of other theoretical and methodological points, as well as a detailed description of its classes and class fractions, can be seen in Gutiérrez and Mansilla (2015; 2016) and Mansilla (2017). For this article, we add in the appendix corresponding outputs of the coordinates, contribution and cosine squares of the modalities of the variables selected as active variables for the first five factors (for 2003 and 2011) processed dendrograms.

[14] One of the features of the MCA is Cordoba's social space for the year 2011 which is presented in a summarized fashion in figure 3. This shows a flat representation of a multidimensional space comprised of the two first factors (which express 13.4% of the total inertia). The first factor (represented vertically) contrasts the families better equipped in the global volume of capital with those with fewer resources. It represents 7.2% of the total inertia and is made up of the total contributions of the IPCF (23.9%), the occupational skill of the HH (20.8), their total income (20.6), and their level of education (19.3). The second factor (represented horizontally) delineates the middle strata of the total of capital, differentiating them from the right section of the space, where the first factor contrasts with the vertical high and low points. It represents 5.4% of the total inertia and to that the principal contribution is the total income of the HH (p47T) (24.3) continuing an important contribution – although less than in the first – of the IPCF (14.2) and age takes on relevance of the HH (16.8) and in their marital status (12.5). Also, the contributions of cultural resources decline (both in the HH's level of formal instruction and in their occupational skill) from approximately 20% to 10%. For the year 2003, we have undertaken a similar approach with the data. In the appendix can be seen the tables for both years.



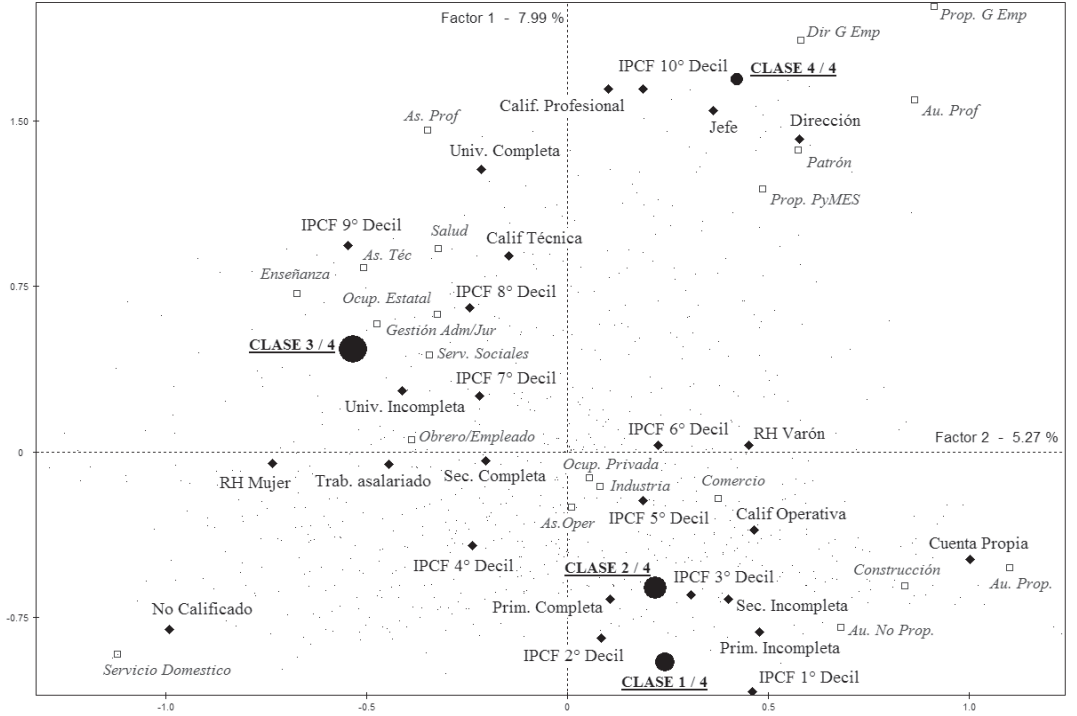
Source: prepared by the research team based on the EPH-INDEC. The information presented in both figures (3 and 4) has been constructed in the framework realized in the aforementioned Research Program, and with the specific assessment of Héctor Mansilla.

FIG. 3. The social space of Cordoba in 2011 in axes 1 and 2 (13.14% of inertia and 51 active modes).

families where the HH sells his or her labour power, in a labour market characterized by requiring no kinds of working skill, offering no health and social benefits and with very low wages. On the other hand, the families that are placed in the dominated middle sections (class 2/4, dominated middle class) are characterized by a formal education of the HH superior to the former group, and for selling their labour power with low or middle working skills. This aspect differentiates them as much from previous class as from the middle sectors that, located in better social positions, sell their more skilled labour power. This is related to the educational level of the HH and influences directly the income they receive.

It is possible that the differences between the superior quadrants (left and right), with HH that have achieved a greater accumulation of educational capital, respond as much to the social division of labour, related to the property/non-property ownership of the means of production, as to the technical division in the work process, between the ones who execute tasks and the ones who direct and control tasks. While the HH of the superior left quadrant (class 3/4, dominant middle class) develop a labour insertion based in the sale of their highly skilled labour power, such as jobs in the public education and health sector, articulating that insertion with their cultural capital (educational capital associated with a university degree); the HH of the superior right quadrant (class 4/4, dominant upper class) have managerial and directorial positions. In turn, the majority of the latter purchase labour power in contrast to the former who sell it.

Additionally, we can assume that the income (limited) of the State wage earners belonging to the dominant middle class could be much lower than the incomes of the families with HH who are owners of business or salaried professional managers in the public or private sector. This allows us to observe what is referred to as a structure in chiasm. That is to say, a structure that, through the factor that represents the global volume of capital, is distinguishes regions where it is possible to observe some primacy of the cultural capital over the economic one (classes and fractions that articulate their strategies of reproduction starting from the potential of their cultural resources that are generally located in the left section of the space) from those others where we can see the primacy of the economic capital in



Source: prepared by the research team based on the EPH-INDEC.

FIG. 4. The social space of Cordoba 2003 in axes 1 and 2 (13.26% of inertia and 51 active modes).

the investments that define their reproductive strategies (located on the right part of the social space)

In order to restore the historical dimension of this structure and to analyse the trajectory of the large social classes with their changes in volume and patrimonial structure, we construct with the same criteria, the social space according to the data of the EPH of the third quarter of 2003 (fig. 4).

With a 3% more than in 2011 (23% for 2003 and 20% for 2011) the class 1/4 presents in 2003 a low global volume of capital, with an asset structure associated with educational capital of elementary level, low job skills and low family income. This class is associated with self-employment, construction and domestic service, with certain job precariousness (neither paid nor deducted health and pension plans). There is also a significant presence of overcrowded households and of receiving welfare. This group presents patrimonial structure similar properties to the ones registered in 2011.

The upper dominant class (class 4/4), shows a similar behaviour, going from a 14% in 2003 to a 17% in 2011. This small increment does not change the properties associated with this class: high income, HH with a complete college education (college degree), manager positions, mostly at the State level and being the owners or bosses of firms. These associated properties define families relationally that comprises this class as a group with a high volume of global capital and with a patrimonial structure associated with the ownership of companies or the administration of the workforce (Owners, Managers and Employers), professional and technical labour qualifications and high incomes.

The simultaneous reading of the associated modalities corresponding to the middle classes of the year 2003, shows that besides certain modification in the percentage of the families (from 29% to 35% for middle dominated-class 2/4 and from 34% to 29% for the middle dominant – class 3/4 –), the asset structures of these groups are similar in general terms, and that allows us to underline a structural homology between the spaces of 2003 and 2011[15]. In other words, the same structure

[15] Nonetheless, it is appropriate to note that for the case of the dominated middle class that in 2011 there occurs an increase in the incidence of labour skills of the HH as a class property, and its insertion in the industrial sector (absent in 2003), which

of distribution of the economic and cultural resources remains in place, generating inequality in the social relations.

3.3. *Higher education in the social space: access, permanence, graduation and continuity*

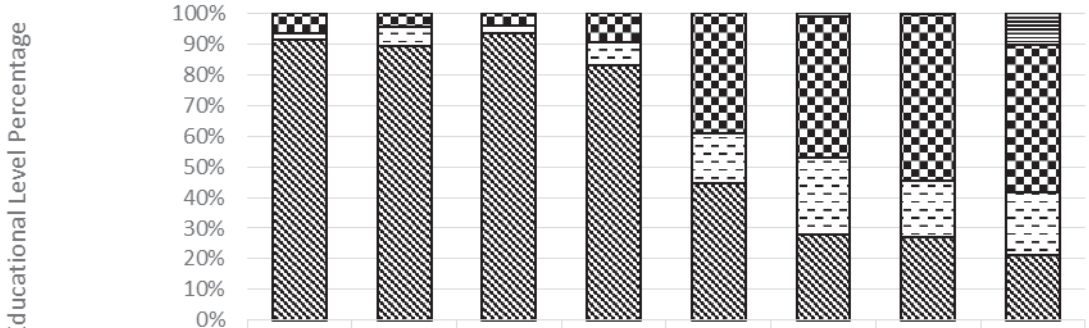
Here we will focus our attention on the inequalities in education, without ignoring the sum of social relations that differentiate and distance families in the constructed social space. In this way, we do not restrict our analysis of educational inequality only to the analysis of the levels of formal education reached by the HH and SP of the families that we are researching, but we also consider simultaneously a group of variables that, in addition to these levels, have an impact, in a relational way, on the reproduction of the inequality.

Within this condition of inequality, we will focus on the access, permanence (retention), graduation and continuity in the studies of higher education, and in this way we will be focusing mostly on the sites occupied by the dominant classes of the social space (middle class dominant class 3/4 – and high class dominant class 4/4 –). However, taking into consideration our relational premise, we cannot understand the inequalities in education of the dominant classes independently from the rest of the classes within the social space, meaning, where those that almost never have access to the high level of education are positioned.

The dominant classes of the constructed social space are characterized by having a great number of households where the HH and the SP were able to gain access to higher education, with more than 70% of the cases in both classes in 2011 (fig. 5). On the other hand, in the dominated classes[16], the access of the HH and SP is slight, not rising above 17% of the total access of both classes and in both moments.

permits formulating a hypothesis that these characteristics could be the result of the industrialization Argentina experienced in the last decade.

[16] We cannot forget that the majority of the HH and SP are not able to finish high school. Thus, for 2011, they only comprise 23% of those who compose the dominated lower class (class 1/4) and 41% of the dominated middle class (class 3/4).



	Dominated Lower Class		Dominated Middle Class		Dominant Middle Class		Dominant Upper Class	
	2003	2011	2003	2011	2003	2011	2003	2011
Postgraduate	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	10%
UHE	6%	5%	4%	10%	39%	46%	54%	48%
NUHE	2%	6%	3%	7%	16%	25%	18%	20%
Up to Full Secondary	91%	89%	93%	83%	45%	28%	27%	21%

FIG. 5. Educational Level of HH and SP by clas 2003/2011.

Source: prepared by the authors based on Social Space and the EPH-INDEC.

This baseline inequality highlights that the tuition-free status of public higher education and the absence of an entry exam are not sufficient to guarantee equal access to higher education for all social classes in the social space. There are other inequalities associated with other variables that obstruct the entry of the lower classes to higher education. And this is because the educational market constitutes a universe of possibilities that is not equally accessible for everyone: beyond declared guidelines, the school world is appropriated in an unequal way, based on amount and kind of capital available to families have who struggle to obtain the benefits in dispute. For that reason, the relative participation of the classes at the various levels in the education market and their ability to enter, remain, and complete each level is a product of the power disparities that each one of them has in this space.

The dominated classes in Argentina have experienced a gradual increase gin access to high school education since 1980, which grew more pronounced subsequently until the establishment of compulsory school attendance through the 2006 Law of Education. Adding to that process is the broadening of enrolment tied to the policies of inclusion and retention in higher education that we have shown above. Nonetheless, it has been noted that an ensemble of factors negatively affect both entry as well as permanence, completion and graduation of the youth of this class in both educational levels: the early insertion into the labour market, above all among those who are from the first generation of families who gain access to it (García de Fanelli, Jacinto 2010) together with the existence of a curricular structure that forces a prolonged daily presence in the educational establishment, which becomes incompatible with work obligations (Foglino *et al.* 2008). If to the economic difficulties and the necessity of compensating the household income we add a class tradition foreign to higher education and a scarce accumulation of family educational capital, we can understand a sum of prevailing factors that make «impossible» and «unthinkable» the access to higher education by lower class families[17].

[17] The advances of the qualitative stage of our investigation show the lived meanings of the structural limits between the HH of the dominated class. Thus, for example, Rafael, a 29 year old carpenter, married to a domestic worker, with two children, recalls: «When I finished high school, I did not even think about it… right to work». For others the school trajectory finishes before: Gustavo, 51 years old, began to work as

At the same time, the families that devise strategies of social reproduction more strongly anchored in the accumulation and protection of their cultural capital and that historically have felt more identified by the educational system of social mobility, constitute the principal beneficiaries of the changes created in the educational market. For all middle class families (class 2/4 and 3/4) access to higher education (university and non-university) grew 27% in 2011, and in that context the families of the dominant middle class (class 3/4) are the protagonists of the growth of 17% in this period. This constitutes a sign that the measures intended to democratize higher education largely benefited a sector of the population that is not the vulnerable and poorest of the constructed social space.

In 2011 the dominant middle class (class 3/4) and the upper class (class 4/4) access in similar proportions to the system of higher education in Córdoba. This phenomenon could lead us to think that we witness a process of a lessening in inequality at least for the families found among the dominant classes. Nonetheless, the inequality in this social space tends to take on a new form.

In order to demonstrate this, at first we will focus on the sublevels of higher education, in order to observe how inequality persists in an endogenous way, that is to say, in the educational structure. Secondly, we will take the variables associated with work conditions of the HH and SP, in order to observe the exogenous effects of this apparent decrease of educational inequality. Analysing each one of these aspects separately, we can understand to what degree the growth in higher education enrolment in the families of greater Córdoba had different effects on the dominant middle class (3/4) and the upper class (4/4).

By differentiating between the sublevels in higher education we can see two differences in the classes under study (fig. 6). The first, resides in that together with the increase of the HH and SP in the upper levels altogether in the households of the dominant middle class, there is a notable growth of unfinished levels. This highlights a fairly discouraging reality: while the

a grocer when he was 9; he recalls that he finished elementary school «with difficulty and pain» and later did not begin high school: «I started to work... it is not even that they ask you... they tell you directly, ´you are going to go with Mr. X to work´ and you begin that way… ».

	Dominant Middle Class		Dominant Upper Class	
	2003	2011	2003	2011
Postgrduate Complete		1,0%	,4%	4,5%
Postgraduate Incomplete		,4%		5,7%
UHE Complete	15,8%	16,6%	42,6%	38,2%
UHE Incomplete	23,4%	29,3%	11,6%	10,1%
NUHE Complete	12,3%	13,7%	16,4%	17,3%
NUHE Incomplete	4,0%	11,3%	1,8%	3,1%

FIG. 6. Last level reached by the HH and SP of higher level by the dominant class 2003/2011.

Source: prepared by the authors based on Social Space and the EPH-INDEC.

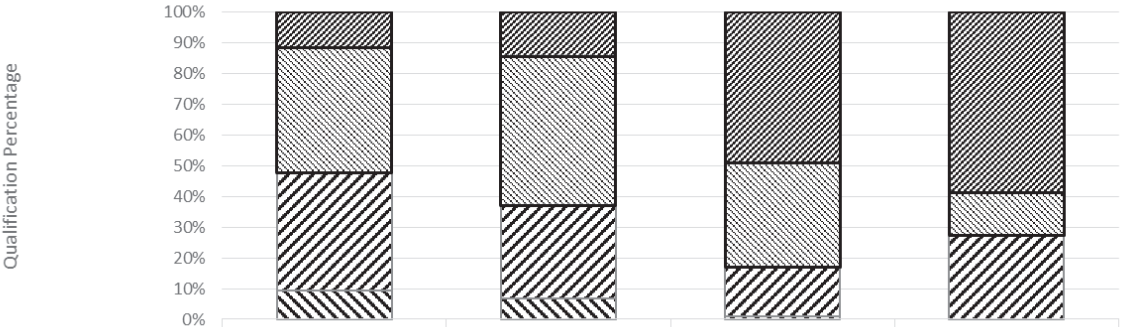
uncompleted levels increase some 13%, the completed ones only increase some 3%.

This data is pointing out that the broadening in the access to higher education by the HH and SP does not mean a broadening in the graduation rate. The gap between the possibilities of access, permanence and graduation, results that the decrease in the inequality of access and their greater retention, does not translate into obtaining their degrees (graduation)[18]. Although one could argue that the experiences of these HH and SP in higher education will provide partial knowledge that potentially might be utilized in the labour market, the truth is many of these HH and SP do not obtain degrees that will qualify them to work in technical or professional occupations.

One survey data to consider is that many of the HH and SP of the dominant middle class enrolled in higher studies do so in non-university institutions (35% *vs* the 26% of the upper classes) which provide teacher preparation and technical career training. In the majority of the cases, the certifications (degrees) of non-university higher education are the product of a shorter training period, in institutions often authorized by provincial governments. The academic programmes in non-university institutions allow their graduates to work on more specific fields, therefore providing what tends to be a lesser symbolic capital than university degrees in moments of competition for certain positions in the labour market.

With respect to the endogenous issues of educational variables, we will consider finally the post-graduate level. Here we observe one of the most striking phenomenon to analyse, given that the increase in post-graduate studies has not occurred in an even way among the dominant classes in the social space. Among the upper class families (class 4/4) this level has grown notably, reaching 10% among HH and SP in the period under study. On the other hand, the HH and SP of the dominant middle class (class 3/4) gain access to the post graduate level at a much lower percentage, barley reaching 1% in 2011. In this way, access to university post-graduate studies of the HH and SP of the upper class is making evident a new form of

[18] These results are in consonance with other studies realized for Argentina (Jorrat 2016; Dalle 2016) and other Latin American countries, where it has already been concluded that, in spite of some differences between the countries (recently, Chile presents a greater growth in the rate of school completion than Argentina and Mexico), permanence in that educational inequality is associated with class origin.



	Dominant Middle Class 2003	Dominant Middle Class 2011	Dominant Upper Class 2003	Dominant Upper Class 2011
Professional qualification	11,4%	14,4%	49,0%	58,7%
Technical qualification	40,9%	48,6%	34,0%	14,1%
Operational qualification	38,4%	30,4%	16,0%	27,2%
Not qualified	9,3%	6,7%	,9%	

FIG. 7. HH and SP with higher level occupational qualification 2003-2011.

Source: prepared by the authors based on Social Space and the EPH – INDEC

educational inequality that maintains their differences and distances from the middle class families in their degree accumulation. Indeed, as Mansilla (2017) points out, although the mechanisms of segregation that we have mentioned contribute to stop the devaluation of school degrees, they do not manage to prevent the full efficiency of the devaluing devices (a high number of degree holders for a labour market of low demand, the growing proportion of women enrolled, students who receive family support or scholarships, the tuition-free university) which intensify the competition and compel the members of the dominant classes to a greater investment in education.

Now we will see what happens with the variables that we have denominated exogenous, which are primarily associated with insertion into the labour market of the HH and their SP with access to higher education. What we show in this section is that, despite achieving equal access to higher education on the part of HH and SP of the dominant sectors of Córdoba, work conditions are far from being similar for the families of the different social classes. We undertake a first analysis on the basis of the hierarchy of employment/jobs obtained by the HH and the SP in the labour market.

The occupation qualifications of the HH and SP (fig. 7) of the dominant middle and upper classes, certainly expresses an inequality in how family members utilize their years of higher education in the labour market. In the case of the dominant middle class, we see that the predominant qualifications for their jobs are «technical» or «machine-oriented» (combined together are 80% of the cases), leaving a very low percentage for professional qualifications (11% in 2003 and 14% in 2011). On the other hand, in the upper class workers obtained a greater revenues of institutional cultural capital, with high levels of access to professional jobs (49% in 2003 and 59% in 2011).

Another factor to consider is the hierarchy of occupations that the HH and SP obtain in the labour market. We have said that despite everyone counting on greater access to higher education, the job qualifications differ from class to class. Now we will see that in the case of the hierarchy of occupations, that the HH and SP reach, the executive and administration positions are also not distributed in a symmetrical way and those who gain access to the highest echelon are in their majority the HH and SP of the upper classes (executive and administration positions).

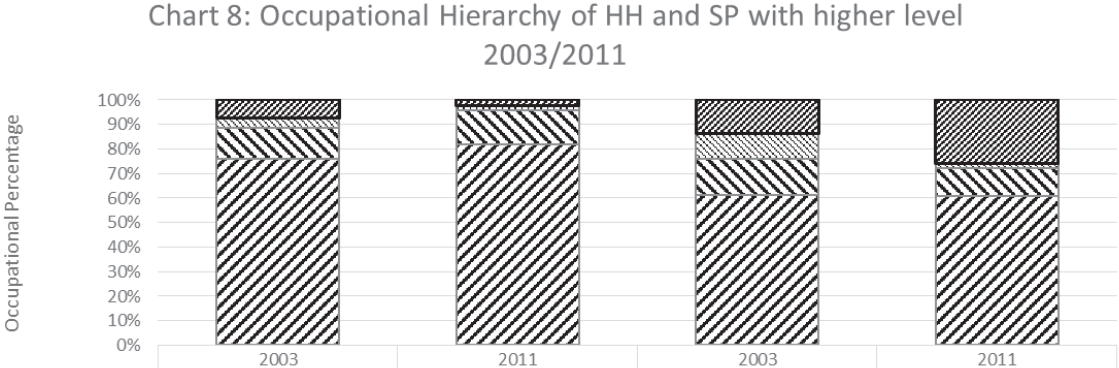


FIG. 8. Occupational Hierarchy of HH and SP with higher level 2003/2011.

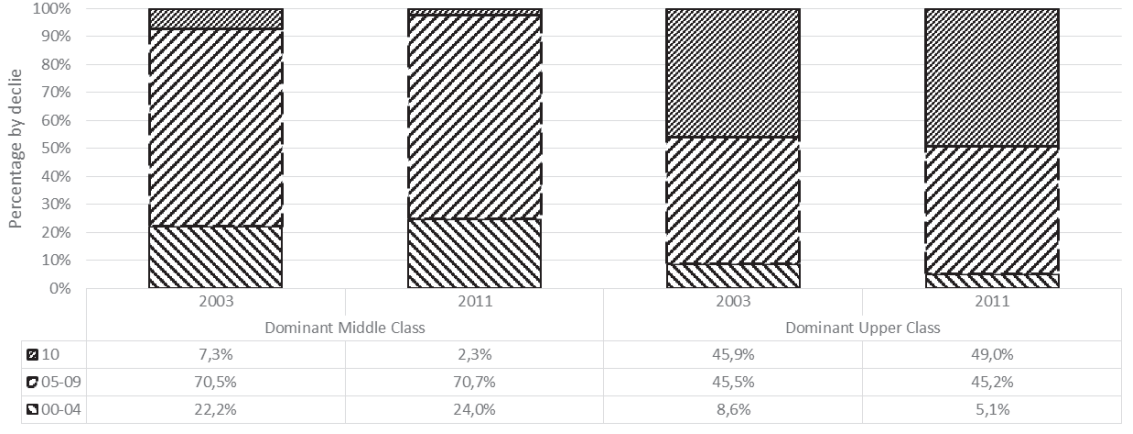
Source: prepared by the authors based on Social Space and the EPH-INDEC.

In figure 8 we can see that the executive positions are obtained primarily by the HH and SP of the upper class (28% of the cases in 2011) and to a lesser extent by the HH and SP of the dominant middle class (4% in 2011). To gain access to these high-level positions, the HH and SP of the upper class families legitimize their societal standing with qualifications obtained in the educational market, but these are not the only advantages. As we in the description of the social space and we will see in the final figure, these positions are associated with the ownership of small, medium and large companies and hereditary cultural capital. Also, in a sense opposite to what we mentioned for the dominated classes, here we find family trajectories characterized by an accumulation of cultural and social capital linked to higher education that favour and consolidate the educational dispositions[19].

Let us see what occurs with the total individual income of the HH and SP of the dominant middle and upper classes. The income of individuals with access to higher education is not equal among the various classes studied – as to be expected – in this particular point of analysis. We have considered the total individual income to the extent we assume that the incomes of families of the classes 3/4 and 4/4 are related to the educational level of their HH and SP.

As we can see in figure 9, the incomes of the HH and SP of the dominant middle class (class 3/4) with access to higher university education, are concentrated more than 70% of the cases in the deciles 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 for 2003 and 2011. If we take the deciles from 0 to 9 we will see there more than 90% of the households of the dominated middle class (class 2/4). On the other hand, in the upper class (class 4/4), the percentage of HH and SP are concentrated almost 50% of the cases in the tenth decile of total individual income for 2011. As can be appreciated, the incomes of the HH and SP of the studied social classes differ greatly among one another.

[19] Eduardo is a typical HH of the dominant class: 48 years old, lawyer graduated from the UNC, the son of a judge and a UNC professor, he is married to a systems engineer and they have two children who attend high school in a private establishment. When speaking of his professional «career», he recalls: «My old man also got to be judge and we, with a friend [*his father had also been a lawyer and had done all of law school*], we note that we went from two or three or four scales that were higher than what they had gone through and this impulse, or this benefit, not everyone has, and to take advantage of it is also in one, but if you do not have it, you cannot take advantage of it».



	Dominant Middle Class		Dominant Upper Class	
	2003	2011	2003	2011
10	7,3%	2,3%	45,9%	49,0%
05-09	70,5%	70,7%	45,5%	45,2%
00-04	22,2%	24,0%	8,6%	5,1%

FIG. 9. Deciles of Total Inscriptions of HH and SP of higher level education 2003/2011.

Source: prepared by the authors based on Social Space and the EPH-INDEC.

This final analysis suggests to us that the HH and SP of the upper class with access to higher university education also count on a greater remuneration than that of the HH and SP of the dominant middle with access to higher university education. This piece of information highlights that access to higher education has a relative impact on income of the HH and SP of the families of the dominant classes, considering differentially the middle dominant (3/4) and upper (class 4/4). To a certain extent, it shows also indirectly, that there are other factors associated to structural inequality that affects the way in which the HH and SP capitalize their school years – at the level of higher education – in the labour market.

4. *Conclusion*

The sum of processes experienced in the majority of the Latin American countries has generated a growth in the supply and demand of higher education, accompanied by public, democratizing policies. Argentina not only is not the exception, but has even been configured, as we have shown, as a paradigmatic case of inclusion at this educational level. Simultaneously, we have also noted that there has been a growth as much in the university sublevel as there has been in the non-university, and in the public as there has been in the private sector, shaping a market that is highly diversified and heterogeneous.

That said, together with these aspects that might have us think that there is a decrease in educational inequality (and with it, a decrease in one of the fundamental dimensions of social inequality), we observe a sum of processes that tend to maintain a social gap, and with it, the permanence of the relations of power between the classes. That way, analysing the expansion of access to higher education in the framework of the strategies of social reproduction in Córdoba, Argentina, we have shown its differential effects, according to the position occupied in the social space, in the period between 2003 and 2011.

a) In the first place, we note that, in terms of access to higher education, the dominated classes of the social space (the lower class and certain sectors of the middle class) continue to have a minimum role. This highlights that the idea of tuition-free status of public higher education and the exemption of an entrance

exam are not sufficient measures to guarantee equality in the access to higher education for all classes of the social space. Educational inequality is only one face of social inequality, and the persistence of external and incorporated structural factors sustain what we might call an «inequality of the first order».

b) In second place, those who have benefited from the processes we have analysed are the families of the dominant classes, as much that of the upper class as that of the middle class. Concentrating on who accesses higher education, we show the permanence of what we might call «inequalities of the second order», made visible in:

– Some of the protagonists of the growth in access, the families of the dominant middle class, do not show a similar growth in the completion of higher education, giving by result a decrease in completion, considering the level of formal education reached by the HH and its SP.

– Together with this process, it is evident that the dominant middle class population had a greater access to non-university higher education, that is to say, a shorter preparation that trains students for technical or artistic activities or for teaching, which in general have less social legitimacy.

– On the other hand, the upper class represents a greater percentage of HH and SP with completed higher education, and with a high percentage of attendance at the highest level of studies: graduate school. This suggests a certain tendency towards the massification of higher level education which is accompanied by way of response, to school strategies that tend to practice distinction and the obtaining of graduate degree titles as symbolic instruments of legitimization of the highest positions within the social structure.

– In relation with this, we have shown that the HH and the SP of the upper class obtain a greater return in its access to higher education, obtaining better qualified jobs that are more hierarchical than that of the dominant middle class. This inequality can be explained, in part, by differential inversions in the sublevels of higher education, but it also responds to economic capital, the social and cultural origins of families, the educational trajectory of the domestic unity, and the family member's access to social connections. All these factors make it so that every year of study in higher education results in a different profitability for the families of the dominant middle class and the upper class.

These aspects in their sum configure a scholar market that demands more years of permanence in the system to maintain the position in the social space. This market makes the mechanisms of educational inequality more complex rather than lowering them.

The development of the qualitative stage of our investigation will allow us to deepen our study and, with it, understand in greater detail the differential access of higher education between the classes, taking into account the themes worked through in this article sublevel: university/non-university, public/private, undergraduate/graduate. In addition, it will allow us to analyse the concrete strategies brought forth by the families, and their symbolic representations according to the level, the sublevels and the areas of administration, and in regards to the value that is assigned to education in general (and higher education in particular) as a mechanism of social reproduction.

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Access to higher education and the reproduction of inequalities in Córdoba, Argentina

The growth of higher education offering in Latin America is the result of both, a rise in student demand and the development of public policies favouring the democratization of universities, as is the case of Argentina, an example of educational inclusion. Córdoba, site of the country's first public university and of the first privately-administered university to receive an official State authorization, serves as a paradigmatic case study.
In this article, we analyse the process of widening access to higher education in Latin America and Argentina since the end of the Twentieth century, to explain how this process took place in Córdoba. Within this framework, we present the effects these processes have on educational inequality in general, and on the reproduction of influential families' cultural capital in particular. Based on the analysis of these processes, we show one dimension of social reproduction and the mechanisms that underpin the connection between power and inequality.

Keywords: educational market, educational inequality, access to higher education, family strategies.

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APPENDIX

TAB. 1. *Social Space Córdoba 2011 – 3rd trimester.*

COORDONNEES, CONTRIBUTIONS ET COSINUS CARRES DES MODALITES ACTIVES
AXES 1 to 5

MODALITES			COORDONNEES				
IDEN - LIBELLE	P.REL	DISTO	1	2	3	4	5
22 . Sex of HH							
SE01 - Male	8.03	0.56	-0.05	0.05	-0.47	-0.18	-0.04
SE02 - Female	4.52	1.77	0.10	-0.09	0.84	0.31	0.07
			CONTRIBUTION CUMULEE =				
23 . Age of HH (15 years interval)							
ED01 - 34 or less	3.88	2.22	-0.40	0.72	0.47	-0.49	-0.26
ED02 - 35 to 49	4.95	1.53	0.12	0.00	-0.27	-0.04	0.40
ED03 - 50 to 64	3.25	2.85	0.28	-0.81	-0.01	0.49	0.12
ED04 - 65 or more	0.47	25.76	0.23	-0.38	-0.90	0.99	-2.94
			CONTRIBUTION CUMULEE =				
26 . Marital status of HH							
SI01 - Cohabiting	2.67	3.68	0.11	0.58	-0.35	-0.59	-0.15
SI02 - Married	4.53	1.76	0.06	-0.07	-0.62	0.46	0.30
SI03 - Estranged or divorced	1.61	6.75	0.31	-0.98	0.38	0.36	0.53
SI04 - Widow	0.43	28.34	0.55	-1.05	0.83	1.10	-2.56
SI05 - Single	3.31	2.78	-0.38	0.24	0.83	-0.48	-0.21
			CONTRIBUTION CUMULEE =				
28 . Educational attainment of HH							
NI01 - Incomplete Prim.	0.71	16.49	1.27	-0.86	0.36	-0.88	-0.35
NI02 - Complete Prim.	1.63	6.66	0.96	-0.28	0.16	-0.06	0.25
NI03 - Incomplete Sec.	2.43	4.14	0.67	0.34	-0.51	0.20	0.39
NI04 - Complete Sec.	2.30	4.43	-0.05	0.14	-0.18	-0.42	-0.67
NI05 - Incomplete Univ.	2.09	4.97	-0.46	0.61	0.21	-0.40	0.15
NI06 - Complete Univ.	3.37	2.71	-0.89	-0.41	0.20	0.60	0.04
			CONTRIBUTION CUMULEE =				
33 . IPCF by decile							
IN01 - IPCF 1°	1.37	8.13	1.26	-1.01	0.37	-0.75	0.22
IN02 - IPCF 2°	1.34	8.36	0.77	0.05	0.18	-0.73	0.11
IN03 - IPCF 3°	1.14	9.99	0.78	0.51	-0.98	0.05	-0.01
IN04 - IPCF 4°	1.14	9.99	0.31	0.42	-0.41	0.34	0.70
IN05 - IPCF 5°	1.33	8.41	0.04	0.02	-0.21	0.65	-1.14
IN06 - IPCF 6°	1.15	9.83	0.10	0.27	0.08	0.12	0.57
IN07 - IPCF 7°	1.39	7.98	-0.18	0.40	0.57	1.07	-0.12
IN08 - IPCF 8°	1.14	9.97	-0.71	0.01	0.05	0.85	0.10
IN09 - IPCF 9°	1.29	8.70	-0.93	0.41	0.24	-0.59	0.16
IN10 - IPCF 10°	1.22	9.23	-1.58	-0.97	-0.10	-0.96	-0.41
			CONTRIBUTION CUMULEE =				
36 . Occupational hierarchy of HH							
JE01 - Management	1.04	10.99	-1.49	-1.16	-0.54	-0.59	0.18
JE02 - Self-employed	2.98	3.19	0.66	-0.49	-0.37	-0.06	-0.46
JE03 - Boss	0.29	41.95	-0.31	-0.11	-0.43	-1.25	0.38
JE04 - Employee	8.17	0.53	-0.04	0.33	0.22	0.14	0.13
			CONTRIBUTION CUMULEE =				
38 . Occupational qualification							
CA01 - Professional Qual.	2.00	5.25	-1.30	-0.98	-0.21	0.04	0.27
CA02 - Technical Qual.	2.75	3.55	-0.68	0.36	0.46	0.25	-0.20
CA03 - Operative Qual.	5.94	1.10	0.48	0.23	-0.52	-0.13	-0.06
CA04 - Unskilled	1.80	5.96	0.90	-0.22	1.28	0.01	0.19
			CONTRIBUTION CUMULEE =				
41 . P47T decile in the Agglomeration							
AD01 - P47T_1°	0.78	15.04	1.29	-1.50	0.60	-0.60	0.16
AD02 - P47T_2°	0.76	15.37	0.81	-0.52	0.70	-1.35	0.55
AD03 - P47T_3°	0.64	18.44	0.64	-0.25	1.09	0.15	0.26
AD04 - P47T_4°	0.86	13.53	0.92	-0.20	-0.19	-0.12	-1.35
AD05 - P47T_5°	1.13	10.10	0.66	0.38	-0.54	0.17	0.06
AD06 - P47T_6°	1.39	8.00	0.27	0.15	0.15	1.11	-0.05
AD07 - P47T_7°	1.35	8.26	-0.14	0.88	0.21	-0.31	-0.60
AD08 - P47T_8°	1.83	5.83	-0.20	0.83	-0.22	0.35	0.48
AD09 - P47T_9°	1.68	6.46	-0.62	0.18	0.07	0.24	0.18
AD10 - P47T_10°	1.93	5.46	-1.29	-0.88	-0.61	-0.38	0.04
			CONTRIBUTION CUMULEE =				

TAB. 1. *segue.*

CONTRIBUTIONS					COSINUS CARRES				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
0.1	0.1	7.6	1.3	0.1	0.01	0.00	0.40	0.06	0.00
0.1	0.1	13.5	2.2	0.1	0.01	0.00	0.40	0.06	0.00
0.2	0.2	21.1	3.4	0.2					
1.7	8.1	3.6	4.6	1.5	0.07	0.24	0.10	0.11	0.03
0.2	0.0	1.6	0.0	4.6	0.01	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.11
0.7	8.5	0.0	3.8	0.3	0.03	0.23	0.00	0.09	0.00
0.1	0.3	1.6	2.2	22.7	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.34
2.7	16.8	6.7	10.7	29.0					
0.1	3.6	1.3	4.6	0.4	0.00	0.09	0.03	0.10	0.01
0.0	0.1	7.3	4.7	2.3	0.00	0.00	0.22	0.12	0.05
0.4	6.2	1.0	1.0	2.5	0.01	0.14	0.02	0.02	0.04
0.4	1.9	1.2	2.5	15.8	0.01	0.04	0.02	0.04	0.23
1.3	0.7	9.5	3.7	0.9	0.05	0.02	0.25	0.08	0.02
2.2	12.5	20.4	16.5	21.9					
3.2	2.1	0.4	2.7	0.5	0.10	0.04	0.01	0.05	0.01
4.2	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.14	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
3.1	1.1	2.7	0.5	2.1	0.11	0.03	0.06	0.01	0.04
0.0	0.2	0.3	2.0	5.8	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.10
1.3	3.1	0.4	1.6	0.3	0.04	0.07	0.01	0.03	0.00
7.4	2.2	0.6	5.9	0.0	0.29	0.06	0.02	0.13	0.00
19.3	9.2	4.5	12.7	9.3					
6.0	5.6	0.8	3.7	0.4	0.19	0.13	0.02	0.07	0.01
2.2	0.0	0.2	3.5	0.1	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00
2.0	1.2	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.06	0.03	0.10	0.00	0.00
0.3	0.8	0.8	0.6	3.2	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.05
0.0	0.0	0.2	2.7	9.8	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.05	0.16
0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	2.1	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03
0.1	0.9	1.9	7.8	0.1	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.14	0.00
1.6	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.1	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00
3.1	0.8	0.3	2.2	0.2	0.10	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.00
8.5	4.6	0.1	5.4	1.2	0.27	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.02
23.9	14.2	8.9	30.1	17.0					
6.5	5.6	1.3	1.8	0.2	0.20	0.12	0.03	0.03	0.00
3.6	2.9	1.7	0.0	3.6	0.14	0.08	0.04	0.00	0.07
0.1	0.0	0.2	2.2	0.2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00
0.0	3.6	1.7	0.8	0.8	0.00	0.21	0.09	0.04	0.03
10.3	12.0	5.0	4.9	4.8					
9.4	7.7	0.4	0.0	0.8	0.32	0.18	0.01	0.00	0.01
3.6	1.4	2.4	0.8	0.6	0.13	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.01
3.8	1.2	6.8	0.5	0.1	0.21	0.05	0.25	0.02	0.00
4.1	0.4	12.4	0.0	0.3	0.14	0.01	0.27	0.00	0.01
20.8	10.7	22.1	1.4	1.9					
3.6	7.0	1.2	1.4	0.1	0.11	0.15	0.02	0.02	0.00
1.4	0.8	1.6	6.8	1.3	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.12	0.02
0.7	0.2	3.2	0.1	0.2	0.02	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00
2.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	8.9	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14
1.4	0.6	1.4	0.2	0.0	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.00
0.3	0.1	0.1	8.3	0.0	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.15	0.00
0.1	4.2	0.3	0.7	2.7	0.00	0.09	0.01	0.01	0.04
0.2	5.1	0.4	1.1	2.3	0.01	0.12	0.01	0.02	0.04
1.8	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
9.0	6.0	3.0	1.4	0.0	0.30	0.14	0.07	0.03	0.00
20.6	24.3	11.4	20.4	15.9					

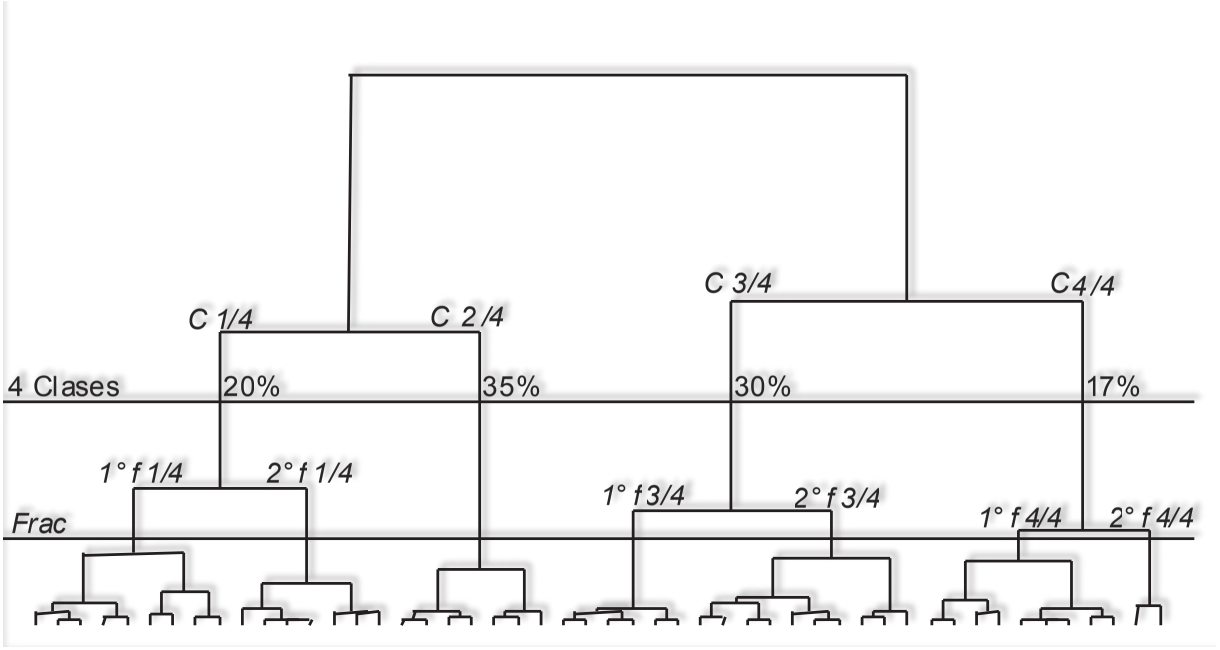

FIG. 10. Social Space Córdoba 2011 – Dendrogram of the HAC for the first 4 factors (22.69% of inertia – 89.16% corrected according to Benzécri –). Partitions for 4 classes and 6 fractions.

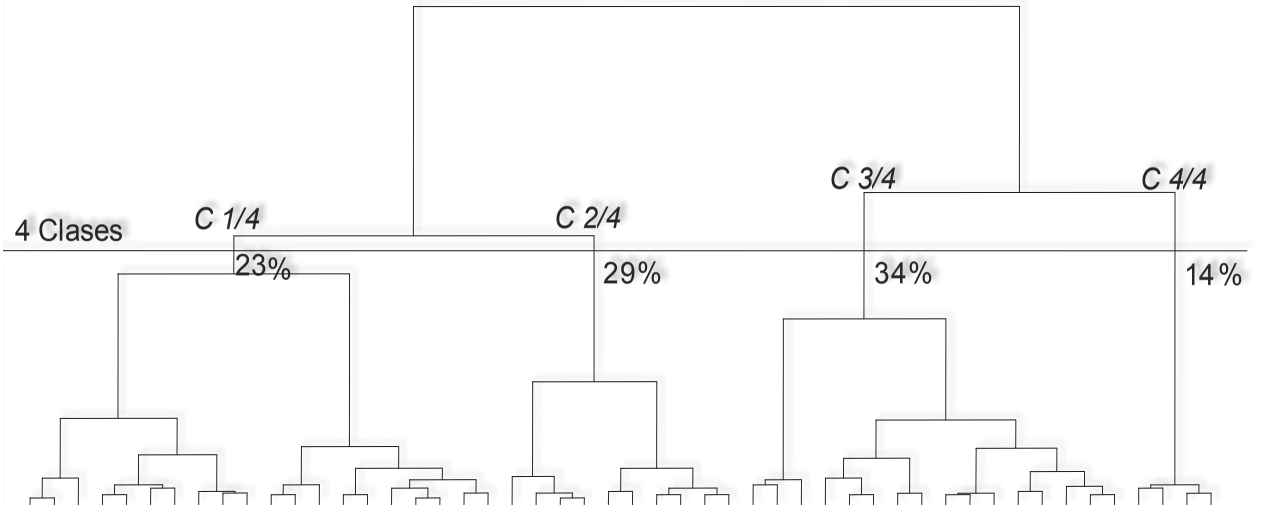

FIG. 11. Social Space Córdoba 3rd trimester 2003 – Dendrogram of the HAC for the frst 6 factors (29.98% of inertia – 95.42%, recalculated according to Benzécri –). Partitions for 4 classes.