TVET Policies in Chile. A critical analysis of dominant policy discourses

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Introduction

This document provides a general overview of the context, objectives, analytical framework and methodology of the first module of the TVETCHILE project. The focus of this module is TVET policy development at national level. We are interested to analyse the orientations and objectives of national TVET policies, the wider imaginaries where these are framed, the agendas of the actors involved, the expectations towards to secondary TVET students, and the potential intended and unintended effects on their post-school trajectories.

Context

While in the past TVET policies were designed to offer educational opportunities for disadvantaged youth seeking a quick insertion in the labour market, today the orientations and the objectives of these policies are less clear given the larger number of secondary TVET graduates that pursue tertiary education and combine education and work in their trajectories after schooling. In this context, TVET continues to be a strategic sector for improving the skills of most disadvantaged youth over their life course but the transitions of these students from secondary to tertiary education and from education to work are becoming more problematic due to the high stratification of tertiary education supply, the scarcity of qualified jobs in the economy and the poor coordination of local and regional actors in supporting these transitions.

Little policy attention has been paid in Chile to TVET for a long time but this situation seems to be changing and TVET is gaining momentum due to its relevance for the education and training of lower-income populations. However, the TVET policy field in Chile seems to be tensioned by several problematic nodes that difficult the recognition of the needs of its students and the provision of adequate support in their post-school trajectories. Firstly, the ambivalence between the orientation of the studies towards a quick insertion into a labour market that is not offering qualified job opportunities to TVET
graduates and, on the other hand, the orientation of the studies to their continuation in a highly segregated and privatized HE market, whose curriculum is not articulated with the secondary TVET schools. Secondly, the repeated failures (i.e. ChileCalifica) to coordinate different governmental and non-governmental actors in the provision of initial and continued TVET through a lifelong learning perspective. Thirdly, an inflation of educational aspirations, boosted by a marketised model of education and an hegemonic human capital mantra, that do not question the capacity of the country and its economy to offer decent working conditions to the manual labour force. Fourthly, the prevalence of a subsidiary model of State that delegates all the responsibility into the market and it is not able to organise institutional mechanisms of collaboration between employers, unions and the public sector in the training of the workforce. And fifthly, the lack of understanding of the needs, interests and circumstances of young people, that translates into the absence of effective mechanisms of support in their transitions and dedicated policies to correct the inequalities between them.

Research objectives

The research objectives of this module are:

- To identify the different and potentially competing orientations and objectives of TVET policy agendas in Chile.
- To understand the factors that explain the subsidiary role of TVET in national development strategies and the difficulties to agree upon and consolidate policy reforms in the TVET sector.
- To map the relevant TVET policy actors and investigate their interests-perceptions-strategies, level of power (hard and soft) as well as their time horizons and scales of action.
- To elucidate how national policies and policy discourses delineate the desirable post-school trajectories of secondary TVET and how they define the expectations towards them.
- To explore the potential intended and unintended effects of these national policies on the capacity of these young people to articulate and develop their life projects.

Analytical framework

Conceptually the project is based on three major theoretical perspectives –Cultural Political Economy, Governance and Life Course Research– but the CPE approach is the
dominant one in this module. CPE is a recent analytical approach that attempts to combine contributions from the critical political economy and the critical analysis of discourse to the field of policy studies (Jessop, 2004; Sum & Jessop, 2013). Jessop defines CPE as “an emerging post-disciplinary approach that highlights the contribution of the cultural turn to the analysis of the articulation between the economic and the political and their embedding in broader sets of social relations” (2010, p. 337).

The critical political economy tradition in social research is an amalgam of competing perspectives that study how the relationships between individuals and society, and between markets and the state, affect the production, distribution and consumption of resources, by paying specific attention to power asymmetries and using a diverse set of concepts and methods drawn from different social sciences, mainly economics, political science and sociology (Novelli et al.). In its application to the education field, the critical political economy approach is interested in the interplay between the politics of education and education politics (Dale, 1994). In other words, it is interested in investigating the rules of the game, the paradigmatic settings that set the limits to what is considered possible and desirable from education (e.g. neoliberalism) and how these rules of the game shape the who and the how of policymaking in education.

The critical discourse analysis approach brings the critical tradition in social analysis into language studies, and contributes to the critical social analysis of discourse, and relations between discourse and other social elements (power, ideologies, institutions, social identities etc.). Critical discourse analysis recognizes the importance to transcend the division between discursive and textual analysis of policy (Fairclough, 2013: 178) so, text analysis is an essential part of discourse analysis, but discourse analysis is not merely the linguistic analysis of texts. Critical discourse analysis oscillates between the focus on specific texts and the focus on what Fairclough (2003: 2-3) calls the `order of discourse', the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices.

By integrating both approaches CPE intends to go beyond the analysis of particular events/interactions/texts and extrapolate them to the analysis of the production, reproduction, contestation and transformation of hegemonies in current capitalist societies. CPE tries to integrate analysis of concrete interactional realities (through critical discourse analysis) with the analysis of underlying political economy trends, their
translation into hegemonic strategies and projects, and their institutionalization into specific structures and practices. Although CPE is mainly applied in the field of political economy, its general propositions and the heuristic that informs can also be applied to fields like Education Policy Analysis by combining the same semiotic analysis with concepts appropriate to educational institutions, processes and practices.

The CPE approach highlights the importance of the cultural dimension – understood as semiosis or meaning making – in the interpretation and explanation of the complexity of social formations such as policies. While it encompasses different types of cultural turns (thematic, methodological, or ontological), its focus is primarily on an ontological turn. By doing so, it argues that “culture” is foundational to the social world. In this way, CPE understands semiosis as causally efficacious as well as meaningful. It suggests that meaning making serves not only to interpret the world but also to contribute to its explanation. Thus, CPE does not seek to add “culture” to economics and politics or to apply “cultural theory” in policy analysis, because the political and the economic are already semiotically construed.

The concepts of hyper-complexity, complexity reduction, and imaginaries play an important role in CPE’s approach. The concept of hyper-complexity that it is impossible to observe and explain the natural and social worlds in real time. CPE distinguishes the actually existing economy as the chaotic sum of all economic activities from “economy” as an imaginatively narrated, more or less coherent subset of these activities (Jessop and Oosterlynck, 2008). Complexity reduction is a condition for “going on” in the world. Because it has both semiotic and structural aspects, complexity reduction turns meaningless and unstructured complexity (hyper-complexity) into meaningful complexity (social construal) and structured complexity (social construction). Hence, as Jessop puts it: “CPE offers a ‘third way’ between a structuralist and a constructivist stands. It aims to explore the dialectic of the emergent extra-semiotic features of social relations and the constitutive role of semiosis. (2010, p. 340)”.

The product of complexity reduction processes are imaginaries (social, political, economic). An imaginary is a semiotic system that gives meaning and shape to the social and natural world, working as a theoretical representation, and as a powerful strategic policy model in several fields of social practice. It represents a specific set of genres,
discourses, and styles that constitute the semiotic moment of a network of social practices in a given social field, institutional order, or wider social formation (Fairclough, 2003).

It is also important to highlight for our research the idea of technologies as “social practices that are mediated through specific instruments of classification, registration, calculation, and so on, that may discipline social action” (Jessop, 2010, p. 339). For CPE, technology is not concerned to the productive forces involved in the appropriation and transformation of nature (as it is understood by orthodox political economy), but to the mechanisms involved in the governance of conduct. In this way, it understands that technology (in this case, policies, policy decisions techniques, policy instruments, and policy evaluation) are important instruments deployed by agents within the process of selection and retention of policies discourses. As follows, CPE approach is connected to the idea of governance (or governmentality as proposed by Foucault), and combining it with Gramscian concepts such as hegemony and domination, it addresses questions as to how techniques of government are strategically used across different policy discourses to produce hegemony and to govern the subjects.

The main contribution of the CPE approach to education policy analysis is the need to take seriously the importance of the mobilization of policy ideas, and the perceptions of political actors, in the explanation of education policy dynamics and policy outcomes. We need to pay specific attention to the role of policy advisers, policy entrepreneurs, knowledge-brokers, think tanks …and the mechanisms of persuasion and construction of meaning (soft power). Policy makers are thrown to the world in its complexity and need to selectively attribute meaning to some aspects of the world rather than others. They encounter different pre-interpretations of the world and must engage with some of them in order to make sense of the environment where they make policy decisions, and they end up relying on existing meaning systems (policy discourses, political and economic imaginaries).

There is no straightforward operationalization of the theoretical premises of CPE to education policy analysis. However, Bob Jessop has offered some conceptual tools to use in our task. According to Jessop, all institutional transformations can be explained by the iterative interaction of material and semiotic factors through the evolutionary mechanisms of variation, selection and retention. We will follow the operationalization of these three mechanisms to education policy analysis proposed by Verger (2016). These
three mechanisms can help us to explain why and how some TVET policy reforms emerge, are selected and get embodied/embrained (or not) in individual agents or routinized in organizational operations, are facilitated or hindered by specific social technologies, and become embedded in specific social structures ranging from routine interactions via institutional orders to large-scale social formations.

**Variation** starts when dominant policy discourses and practices need to be revisited because of the emergence of new narratives that problematize educational processes. The possible causes of variation can be of very different nature. We can classify these causes among those internal and those external to the education field. Typical external triggers of variation tend to be emerge from the economic domain. The perception of persistent/severe economic problems like low productivity, poverty or unemployment can potentially be very powerful reasons to question the aims and the functioning of education and training systems. Many of the explanations (narratives) of the economic challenges faced by a country bring education as part of the problem or the solution (youth unemployment, low skills, skills mismatch, unemployed activation). However, not all triggers of variation are external to the educational field. Sometimes the perception of educational problems, often as the result of the comparative use of standardized assessments data and rankings (no improvement in national exams, low PISA results, large inequalities), is the main driving force to question the existing state of arts in the educational sector. All these elements and circumstances would put pressure on policymakers to introduce substantive changes into their education systems. Some of the questions that we need to answer about the variation of TVET policies are:

- Which are the external/internal international/national triggers of variation/innovation in TVET policies in Chile?
- How different triggers and narratives of variation define in different terms the social and educational problems to be addressed?
- What political and economic imaginaries guide the problematization of educational issues and to what extent this exercise makes possible the emergence, reformulation or recovery of old/new imaginaries?

**Selection** implies the identification of the most suitable interpretations of existing problems, as well as the most complementary policy solutions. The selection of these solutions tends to be highly affected by the political economy structures and the pre-eminence of particular ideological coalitions in the country. We can classify the factors
that explain differences in the selection of policy solutions between those of an institutional and those of an ideational nature. Among the institutional factors we can name the educational model, the installed institutional capacities, and the labour market regulations. Among the ideological factors we should consider the dominant cognitive frames in the field, policy paradigms, ideologies and public sentiments. Although some of the factors can seem more material or more ideational, they share a relative high level of structuration, indicating that the repertoire of policy solutions that are thinkable, reasonable and possible is limited and by any means not random. Some of the questions that we need to answer about the selection of TVET policies are:

- To what extent the proposed solutions respond to a particular definition and interpretation of the causes of the alleged problems/challenges?
- What is the theory of change underlying this policy intervention? How is it going to achieve its goals?
- What is the rationale behind the selection of these policy solutions over alternative courses of action? (Technical superiority, ideological orientation, democratic consultation, cultural/institutional fit, installed capacity/convenience, inevitability) What evidence base (sources of knowledge) are used and cited?
- To what extent the observed regularities and pattern respond to institutional path-dependencies (inertia) or to different ideological frameworks and coalitions?
- How is defined what is possible and feasible in a particular moment and sectorial context and how the changes in the state and in society transform these horizons?

Retention of new TVET policies means their institutionalization and inclusion into the regulatory framework, and into the network of educational technologies and practices of a system. Retention is the most potentially contentious of all the mechanisms. This is due to the fact that it represents the materialization of a policy change and, as such, policy retention is also often the crystallization point of conflicts and oppositional movements. Retention represents a final and necessary step for the realization of a policy change. There are many policies that are selected by decision-makers, but they end up not being finally retained in their particular local and institutional settings. Once a government announces its education reform plans, political actors and key stakeholders of a different nature tend to strategically position themselves in relation to the new proposals and, according to their level of (dis)agreement with them, they articulate strategies of opposition or support. The consequent negotiation and conflict may result in the transformation, or partial or total ‘displacement’ of government plans. Some of the questions that we need to answer about the retention of TVET policies are:
• Which are the main actors involved in the final decision of retention and re-shaping of policy solutions and its implementation?
• What is the level and the nature of the power that they exercise? Which are their interests and strategies and how selective contexts make their strategies more probable and effective?
• At what scales and time horizons they operate and to what extent this multiscalar governance of TVET shapes the re-contextualization and enactment of policy reforms?
• What governance technologies are put in place to govern the subjects (TVET students, practitioners) and what new subjectivities, identities and inequalities emerge as a result of that?

The **Governance Perspective** complements CPE in the analysis of education policies because it calls our attention to the important changes occurring in the distribution of activities between the State, the Market, Families and the Civil Society and the coordination of these activities at multiple scales (global, national, local). We are particularly interested in understanding how these social arrangements shape the possibilities of policy change in the TVET sector along the different phases of the policy process. While the focus of this module will be basically national, it will important to shed light on how global trends, ideas and actors influence national agendas, as well as what local interests and experiences are more present in the decisions of policymakers at national level. Given the multi-stakeholder nature of the TVET policy field, it will also be important to map out how the business sector articulates at the national level, the companies they represent and the level of inclusion/exclusion of the trade union representatives in these political processes. Due the highly privatization of the social services in Chile, mechanisms of market coordination between providers and users are expected to dominate, but it is also important to pay attention to the political ties and mechanisms of influence of these private sector associations and the power counterbalance that organised civil society (i.e. student movement) can exercise. Some of the research questions that the governance perspective helps us address, amongst others, are:

Finally, **Life Course Research** should help us to interrogate national TVET policies from the perspective of the potential beneficiaries of these initiatives. All social and education policies aim to bring about preferred visions of personal and social development that frame the regulation of different domains of activity and the behaviour of individuals. In
the case of TVET, national policies define the educational and social goals of the TVET sector and a set of imagined standardized trajectories that lead individuals to the achievement of these goals. The critical analysis of national TVET policies will unveil how these populations and their needs are constructed in the policy discourses, what expectations are generated towards them, and what structures are put in place to support individuals in the course of these trajectories.

Research questions

Informed by the three theoretical perspectives, the main research questions of this module are:

1. CPE: What are the orientations and objectives of TVET policies? What are the main policy imaginaries driving TVET policymaking? What is the social and economic role assigned to TVET in national strategies of development? What theories of education and development have informed these policies? What factors (ideational/material, agential/structural) explain the secondary role of TVET in these national strategies and the lack of sustained policy reform activity in TVET?
2. GOV: Who are the main actors involved in the definition of national TVET policy agendas and to what extent do their interpretations differ and are in conflict? What mechanisms and forms of influence do they use to shape TVET policy and at what stages and scales of the policy process?
3. LCR: How do different policy discourses construct secondary TVET students as a target group? What are the expectations towards secondary TVET graduates? How their needs are discursively constructed and what material support and structures are put in place to facilitate these trajectories? What are the potential intended and unintended effects of these policies on the post-school trajectories of secondary TVET graduates?

Research design and methodology

The empirical work of this module is based on the content analysis of policy documents and the thematic analysis of the content of semi-structured interviews with key national policy actors. While the interviews with policy actors covers the period between the curricular reform of the 90’s to nowadays, the analysis of the policy documents is
restricted the last three government administrations (2006 -2016). The selection of policy documents (see Table 1) is guided by the following criteria:

- Being representative of a particular historical period.
- Being discursively rich so allowing an in-depth content analysis.
- Being publicly available so we can cite them in academic publications.

Table 1. Extended chronology of important events and related TVET policy documents (2006 -2016)

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<tr>
<th>Hito</th>
<th>Reseña</th>
<th>Documento Asociado</th>
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<tr>
<td>2008-2009 Creación Comisión Externa y Secretaría ETP.</td>
<td>El gobierno convoca a una Comisión especial para la ETP a objeto de revisar recomendaciones previas, e iniciativas en curso, y elaborar propuestas para fortalecer esta formación. Si identifica una falta de política integral que de sentido a los recursos destinados a los liceos TP. En paralelo se crea Secretaría Ejecutiva de Educación Técnica para coordinar trabajo de la Comisión y ejecutar las acciones propuestas.</td>
<td>-Presentación H. Araneda con síntesis de recomendaciones previas para la ETP. -Documento Bases para una Política de ETP en Chile.</td>
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<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>El gobierno convoca a una segunda Comisión para complementar los antecedentes recabados por la</td>
<td>-Documento Antecedentes y</td>
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<td>Año</td>
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<td>2011 (Gobierno Piñera)</td>
<td>El nuevo gobierno analiza los documentos de propuesta de política existentes y decide complementar los antecedentes, con un nuevo diagnóstico sobre la situación de la ETP. En paralelo convoca a mesas técnica de trabajo.</td>
<td>-Documento Antecedentes y claves de diagnóstico de la ETP en Chile.</td>
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</table>
| 2012-2013   | Se elabora documento de política de ETP, el que no sale a la luz. Nuevo Ministro de Educación decide concentrar esfuerzos en Nuevas Bases Curriculares para la EMTP y la ejecución de un estudio de trayectorias laborales que permita aportar a las decisiones de política de ETP (Estudio PNUD). | -Documento Borrador Política de ETP (no citar)  
| 2014-2016 (Gobierno Bachelet II) | A partir del Programa Bachelet, discurso y esfuerzos del nuevo gobierno se concentran principalmente en los CFT públicos. Se contrata al BID para apoyar la implementación de las acciones contempladas en el programa.  
Se trabaja en la elaboración de una Política de ETP del Gobierno, la que aún no sale a la luz. Se habla de nuevo sistema de Educación Técnico-Profesional. | -Paginas Programa Bachelet referentes a la ETP escolar y superior.  
-Presentación BID Programa Fortalecimiento ETP.  
-Columna y Entrevista autoridades Mineduc.                                                                                                    |
| 2015-2016   | Gobierno trabajo en Reforma a la Educación Superior, que afecta también a los CFT e IP. No se habla de política para la ETP superior. Oferentes organizados en Vertebral expresan su desconfianza con la propuesta de política. Antes lanzan su propia propuesta. | Documentos Vertebral:  
-Refortaleciendo la ESTP.  
-Reforma y ESTP.                                                                                                                                |
The systematic analysis of policy documents and the extraction of information from them is initially structured around the evolutionary mechanism defined by the CPE approach:

BLOCK 1 VARIATION

- Which are the external/internal international/national triggers of variation/innovation?
- How does the document define the social and educational problems to be addressed?
- What political and economic imaginaries guide the problematization of educational issues and to what extent this exercise makes possible the emergence, reformulation or recovery of old/new imaginaries?

BLOCK 2 SELECTION

- To what extent the proposed solutions respond to a particular definition and interpretation of the causes of the alleged problems/challenges?
- How urgent is the adoption of these policy solutions and what are the risks associated to the inaction?
- What is the rationale behind the selection of these policy solutions over alternative courses of action? (Technical superiority, ideological orientation, democratic consultation, cultural/institutional fit, installed capacity/convenience, inevitability)
- What evidence base (sources of knowledge) are used and cited?
- How is defined what is desirable, possible and feasible in a particular national and sectorial context and how these policy solutions will transform these horizons?
- How the policy defines the criteria for evaluating its success?
- What is the theory of change underlying this policy intervention? How is it going to achieve its goals?

BLOCK 3 RETENTION

- How the policy document allocates responsibilities of monitoring, implementation, enactment and evaluation of this intervention and what is the rationale behind these allocations?
- To what extent the policy intervention is planning to alter existing structures of power and accountability in the sector and how these changes are justified?
- What governance technologies are put in place to govern the subjects (beneficiaries, target groups, practitioners) and assure sustainable effects?
- What desired subject qualities are pursued among beneficiaries and practitioners?
To what extent diversity of motivations, interests and opportunities among beneficiaries and communities are recognized and how this is going to be dealt about?

After consulting with key gatekeepers and through snowballing procedures, the research team identified a list of potential informants for this module. In order to ensure the generation of a comprehensive and diverse list of informants, we defined five key historical moments in the development of TVET reforms and debates in Chile. For each of these five moments we identified 4-5 interviewees from different institutions (see Table 2). The idea was to capture different perspectives and visions around this historical moment and policy reform with the aim of contrasting them and getting a better understanding of the processes that led to these policy changes. These interviews (approx. 20) have been complemented by other interviews with key national policy actors carried out by the Alberto Hurtado University for another project (approx.. 10).

Table 2. Mapping of key policy developments and actors for the interviews (1998-2016)

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<tr>
<th>Hito</th>
<th>Acontecimiento relevante</th>
<th>Nombre Entrevistado</th>
<th>Cargo o función clave</th>
<th>Ubicación actual</th>
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<tr>
<td>Reforma Curricular EMTP (1998) en el marco de la reforma educacional de los años 90</td>
<td>Impulso de Reforma Educacional / Comisión Brunner; Documentos CEPAL/UNESCO</td>
<td>Cristián Cox</td>
<td>Implementación Programas de Mejoramiento de la Calidad y Equidad de la Educación, MECE, del Ministerio de Educación y responsable de la Unidad de Curriculum y Evaluación, y del Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación (SIMCE)</td>
<td>Facultad de Educación de la Universidad Diego Portales</td>
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<td>Nombre</td>
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<tr>
<td>María José Lemaitre</td>
<td>Entre 1980 y 1990 trabajó en la Corporación de Promoción Universitaria (CPU) a cargo de actividades de investigación relativas a la educación media y superior. Secretaria Ejecutiva del Consejo Superior de Educación 1990 hasta 1998, a cargo del diseño e implementación de los procesos de autorización y seguimiento de la educación superior privada.</td>
<td>Directora Ejecutiva de CINDA; Centro Universitario de Desarrollo</td>
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<tr>
<td>José Joaquín Brunner</td>
<td>Presidió la Comisión Nacional Para La Modernización De La Educación</td>
<td>Universidad Diego Portales</td>
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<tr>
<td>Martín Miranda</td>
<td>Coordinador del Componente Currículum de la Unidad de Currículum y Evaluación del Ministerio de Educación; responsable del desarrollo de la modificación curricular TP</td>
<td>Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano</td>
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<tr>
<td>Implementación Programa ChileCalifica 2002-2009</td>
<td>Programa Liceo para todos</td>
<td>Carlos Concha</td>
<td>Tuvo a su cargo la preparación del Programa de Educación y Capacitación Permanente</td>
<td>Facultad de Educación Universidad Alberto Hurtado</td>
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<td>Crisis MINEDUC subvenciones escolares (2006)</td>
<td>Ignacio Canales</td>
<td>Director del Programa ChileCalifica</td>
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<td>Isabel Infante</td>
<td>Coordinadora Nacional de Educación de Adultos</td>
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<td>Virginia Astorga</td>
<td>Sub-directora del programa ChileCalifica</td>
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<td>Vanessa Arévalo</td>
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<td>Hasta 2015 Fundación Chile</td>
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<td>Juan Eduardo García-Huidobro</td>
<td>Ex Presidente del Consejo Asesor Presidencial para la Educación.</td>
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<td>Ramón Castillo</td>
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<td>Comisión de Educación Técnico Profesional (2008-2009)</td>
<td>Movilizaciones docentes por deuda histórica</td>
<td>Hernán Araneda</td>
<td>Gerente del Centro de Innovación en Capital Humano de la Fundación Chile</td>
<td>Fundación Chile</td>
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<td>Ministra Jiménez: énfasis EMTP</td>
<td>Alicia Díaz</td>
<td>Ministerio del Trabajo; integrante de la Comisión</td>
<td>Oficial de Género de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo OIT</td>
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<td>Patricio Meller</td>
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<td>Eduardo Alfaro</td>
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<td>Alejandro Espejo</td>
<td>Comisión Nacional de Acreditación/CORFO</td>
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<td>Secretaría Ejecutiva de Educación Técnico Profesional 2009</td>
<td>Post fracaso ChileCalifica</td>
<td>Consultora privada; Asesora Programa BID 2015</td>
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<td>Alejandra Villarzú</td>
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<td>Alejandro Weinstein</td>
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<td>Patricio Traslaviña</td>
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<td>Directora Ejecutiva Educación 2020</td>
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<td>Gonzalo Vargas</td>
<td>Presidente de Vertebral. Asociación de CFT e IP Acreditados</td>
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<td>Cristóbal</td>
<td>Responsable Programa</td>
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The objective of this interviews was to focus on the policy reforms that these actors were involved in. This is why we started all the interview questioning them about their direct participation in these reforms. Once this was established, the rest of the questions were more open and included their opinion about the TVET sector in general and the future directions it should take (see interview questionnaire below). Policy actors tend to get involved in policy reforms in different moments of their life, not just in one, and obviously they reconstruct their past participation in historical reforms from their position and interests in current debates. This is one of the reasons for the inclusion of the second block in the questionnaire. In each case, interviewers had the flexibility to focus more on one particular policy development, if this was possible, or to focus on the second block of the questionnaire is this proved to be more relevant.

**Bloque 1: Relativo a la política específica X**

1. ¿Cuál fue su relación y su papel en el proceso de elaboración de la política X?
2. ¿Cuáles eran los principales objetivos de esta política?
   a. ¿Qué necesidades querían resolver?
3. ¿Hasta qué punto se consiguieron estos objetivos?
   a. ¿Qué factores tuvieron que ver con la consecución o no de estos objetivos?
4. ¿Cuáles fueron los actores clave y hasta qué punto su participación fue decisiva en los resultados de la política?

**Bloque 2: Opinión general sobre el sistema de ETP en Chile**

1. ¿Cuál cree que debería ser la función principal de la ETP en el contexto Chileno?
2. ¿Cuáles cree que son las reformas políticas pendientes en ETP?
a. Qué papel debería jugar el Estado en estas reformas?
3. Cuáles cree que son las principales necesidades de formación en Chile desde la perspectiva del sector productivo?
   a. Cómo cree que la ETP podría dar respuesta a estas necesidades de formación?
4. Hasta qué punto un joven graduado en EMTP está preparado para los retos de la sociedad actual y en qué medida la política pública puede ayudarles en sus trayectorias post-escuela?
   a. En qué se diferencian de otros jóvenes?

List of references


