THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: THE CASES OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN ECUADOR AND TANZANIA

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INTRODUCTION
CROSSROADS FOR UNIVERSITIES AND KNOWLEDGE IN LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA[1]

Universities and knowledge production play a crucial role in establishing national projects in countries of the Global South. While universities are widely valued for their potential role in social mobility -a role that emerged with the democratization and popularization of universities in the late 20th century- their contemporary importance to nation-states is even more critical. In the current context of cognitive capitalism, institutions of higher learning are in fact entrusted with the economic development of the country and the nation's position in the global economy. In this new landscape, knowledge is expected to play a privileged role in productive structures and national economies.

In Latin America's university reform movement of 1918, democratization of the university was seen as a key condition for the democratization of society. This historical milestone took place in the city of Cordoba, Argentina. Students took over the oldest university in Argentina and called for inclusion of the growing middle classes as opposed to solely the traditional hierarchies. The university became the vanguard of Latin American liberal and illustrated modernity; its efforts in favor of working class-student solidarity committed intellectuals to challenging social and international inequalities (Bialakowsky to the to. 2014). The second university reform proposed by Ecuadorian Manuel Agustín Aguirre in 1973 focused on Latin American university demands for social transformation through Latin American universities.

In Africa, universities have a much shorter history. In spite of the different timeframes, however, there were similar dynamics of formation and reproduction among the emerging local elites in the beginning, followed by the post-independence transformation of higher education and its intellectual production to shape more egalitarian societies. In the middle of the 20th century, development was a key concept for debates, reassessments and clashes over international theories and programs of modernization, dependence, human capital, and Marxist or socialist approaches, among

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others. The United Nations declared the sixties "the decade of development" and, together with the World Bank, hosted the important Conference on the Development of Education in Africa in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1961. The definitions of the role of education in the economic development of the emergent independent African states influenced how these countries came to regard higher education.

Education figured prominently in the plans for socioeconomic development of diverse African countries, from those more liberal and pro-Western, such as Botswana, the Republic of the Ivory Coast and Togo; those defined by socialist or Marxist-Leninist ideologies, such as Benin, Algeria and Zimbabwe; and those dedicated to creating an African socialism, such as Mali and Tanzania. The Republic of Tanzania was created in 1964, led by educator and politician Julius Nyerere. The country's founding president defined Tanzania as an autonomous (self-reliant) and egalitarian economy. Nyerere described Tanzanian society with the Swahili word *Ujamaa,* which means "extended family" and characterizes individuals in terms of their membership in the larger community. Education was central to his vision (Nyerere, 1967; Wangwe and Chat, 2005).

The political and socioeconomic reforms of Ujamaa involved the expansion of access to education to satisfy the increasing demand of national educational needs. Through the important Education for Self-Reliance showed and his educational policies, Nyerere stressed three important roles for the African university: as a participant in the social revolution and in the struggles against all kinds of discrimination, and as a place for the development of critical thought that produced individuals prepared to serve the public (Nyerere, 1966: 218-219). In Tanzania, then, from the beginning of its independence, higher education was central to public policy, a key institution for the promotion of the country's social and economic development.

Ecuadorian intellectual and politician Manuel Agustín Aguirre had similar ideas for Ecuador's public universities. He never became President of the Republic as Nyerere did, but Manuel Agustín Aguirre was a leader of the Socialist party of Ecuador and later the chancellor of the Central University. So, he took with him a political program of revolutionary transformation to the public university. His book, *The Second University Reform*, described the main postulates of his project: to integrate universities with the uprisings against social injustices, to open up the university across socioeconomic divides and to relate scientific studies to social problems linked to workers and popular sectors. His primary goal was to constitute a "politically active university" and encourage an "indissoluble union between the University and the people" (Aguirre, 1973). Aguirre's leadership at the Central University ended abruptly when the dictatorial government of Velasco Ibarra closed the public universities in 1970.

In Tanzania as in Ecuador, then, the universities have had important relationships with social and political actors, opening their teaching to popular sectors,

researching roads to national development, and linking university activity with social sectors in fields such as health, education, housing and human rights (Arocena and Sutz, 2005). Despite their similarities, each country's universities have adopted different approaches due to their unique social, economic and political circumstances. In Ecuador, to accommodate the institutional importance of student movements, public universities maintained strong ties with collective actors like trade unions and leftist parties. On the other hand, its relations with industry and government were distant and often antagonistic (Moreano, 1990; Red, 2011). In Tanzania, in contrast, the close ties between the national government and the most important public university, the University of Giving in Dar-es-Salaam, allowed for an intellectual and political synergy that produced significant works and African thought with international influence, such as *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Rodney, 1972).

Ecuador and Tanzania share postcolonial histories and dependent economies that have given their universities prominent roles in the construction of their respective states, societies and national economies. Just as classrooms and studies at the Central University of Ecuador, the University of Dar-es-Salaam became a key player in the democratization of the country (Campuzano, 2005; Lulat, 2005). In the 1960s and 1970s, during the euphoric period following the Cuban Revolution and the independence of many African countries, universities in Latin America and Africa committed themselves to the struggles against political and social inequalities and strengthened their ties to popular sectors.

This report has been organized in three sections. From the standpoint of political economy, the first provides background for analyzing higher education in the context of the historical conditions in which capitalist accumulation and inequality have occurred at the global level. It also discusses the trajectory of the relationships among universities, politics and knowledge in Latin America and Africa, with special emphasis on Ecuador and Tanzania.

The second and third sections analyze the field work done at two rural universities, one in Ecuador and one in Tanzania. On the basis of work with documents and the positioning of various stakeholders (leaders, activists in social and educational movements, professors, politicians), the analysis makes it possible to understand the articulation between the production of knowledge within the universities and the shifts in designing educational plans within the frameworks of political disputes and the correlation of forces within the framework of globalization.

In Section 2 of the report, we examine the 1960s to the 1980s, as Ecuadorian universities engaged with agrarian problems and professionalization, while higher education in Tanzania in that period aimed to serve development in the newly independent nation. We look, in particular, at the establishment of research and teaching agendas for the provincial public universities of the State University of Bolivar in Ecuador and Mzumbe University in Tanzania, to understand the ways that these

peripheral instititutions defined and legitimized local knowledge in the context of national and global transformations.

Section 3 examines the political economy of higher education in these two countries towards the end of the 20th century and into the 21st century. We analyze, on the one hand, the selected universities' distinct local responses to the impacts of structural adjustment. In this section we also look at the ways that these universities have responded to the globalization of education in the 21st century, focusing on the importance of social sciences in the reconstruction of the State in the 20th century, in the context of a globalized economy. We end the report by discussing some of our research findings that could contribute to establishing agendas for South-South dialogue.

CHAPTER I
CAPITALIST ACCUMULATION AND INSTITUTIONS OF KNOWLEDGE

A political economy of knowledge is "the study of the power in a society derived from the set of rights relative to the private ownership, the historical development of the relations of power and the social and cultural relations like construction" (Marchak, 1985 cit. in Towers, 2008). In the 21st century, this necessarily implies beginning with an analysis of regional roles in the global geopolitics of dependent economies (Bebbington 2012; Gudynas 2011; Sawyer, 2004) and the effects of these roles on the possibilities for national democracies (Watts, 2001; Coronil, 1997). The relationship of these structures to the increasing importance of knowledge and its formalization in higher education and academic research (Fourcade 2009) leads us to focus on the globalization of higher education (Nennes and Helsten, 2005; Altbach, 2004), economies based on knowledge (Berman, 2012; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004) and new forms of cognitive capitalism (Vercellone, 2013; Fumagalli, 2007).

Nevertheless, in keeping with the approach of Towers, Pannu and Bacchur (2008), an analysis of the political economy of knowledge would not exclude an analysis of the educational development of societies in relation to the global processes of capitalist accumulation and the historical conditions of capitalist expansion and colonization. In this sense, it is important to note that the causes and consequences of e educational expansion prior to the Second World War are treated as irrelevant in development theory after 1945. Although the colonial and postcolonial periods represent different frameworks for capitalist accumulation, colonial education determined the parameters of later educational growth, and in this way also determines knowledge production. In chronological terms the colonial and post-colonial periods in Latin America and Africa differ, but the two regions share certain characteristics in the ways they define the specific configuration of the relationship between production of knowledge and global accumulation. We can speak about capitalist accumulation and education in a both colonial and post-colonial orders.

In keeping with Towers, Pannu and Bacchur (2008), capitalist accumulation during colonialism might be characterized by the trajectory of accumulation towards the consolidation of the colonial State. The colonial order integrated pre-colonial systems (not regulated by the State) with direct dependence on natural resources, to administrative systems of coercion and control that allowed resource extraction within the structural inequality of the colonial market. The point of education was to calculate how best to maximize the extraction of resources and the creation of wage-earning labor.

In Africa, the introduction of European colonialism meant a deviation in the purpose of higher education, to serve the course of colonial expansion. Higher education in Africa did not have the opportunity to consolidate and to expand into

diverse forms, but was rendered discontinuous and annulled by slavery and colonization:

> […] one of the main features of the contemporary systems of formal education, especially in higher education, in Africa is the absence of associate - historical continuity and contemporary social connection between the existing institutions of higher learning and the prevailing modes of indigenous education, and the overall social surrounding. (Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 31)

In addition to the expropriation of resources, the plans undertaken in the colonnies required an ideological dimension to justify and maintain the colonial system. Within the forms of administration of colonial power, there were two major models: the French and the British. "France developed centralized, relatively uniform systems whereas England instituted decentralized systems that differed as a function of the specific features of the incorporation of different societies in a given colonial territory." (Gentili, 2012: 237). The former were known as doctrines of *assimilation*; the latter, as *indirect rule.* Indirect rule did not come from a universalist view of the human condition, but rather from cultural and racial diversity in establishing administrative systems and therefore in a certain way it preserved native cultures. However, as Assié-Lumumba pointed out (2006: 33), "They devised this philosophy not out of respect for African culture, but rather in the context of social Darwinism, which basically argued that culture is hereditary and that it would be a futile exercise to try to make the natives acquire the full British culture."

Thus, colonial domination was maintained through moral and religious discourse that validated the submission of African people as 'good' and 'positive' as part of a project to civilize and Christianize them. The type of knowledge produced in a pre-colonial stage determined the understanding of the world, nature, society, relationships with God and other deities as well as the the development of agriculture, medicine, literature and philosophy (Ajavi, 1996).

The issue does not lie solely in determining how the European presence in African education altered operating standards, but also in examining the dichotomy produced by this incursion. On the one hand, there was a tendency to overvalue European thought over African thought, thereby subordinating African history to the colonial period (which was considerably shorter than Africa's pre-colonial history). On the other hand, there was an ideological backdrop, which, while it emphasized the transformations that occurred because of the European presence, reproduced the dichotomies of barbaric/civilized, dark/light, conservative/progressive and primitive/modern, for the purpose of detracting from the legitimacy of the African educational experience:

> Historically, long before the arrival of European colonialism, those parts of Africa that possessed institutions of higher learning could

> boast of a tradition of a higher education that included the belief that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake was a worthy endeavor that any society would want to encourage […] (Lulat, 2005:3).

In the British colonies the presence of educational institutions for Africans was considered a potential threat to the colonial project; however, in that context institutions known as colleges appeared, e.g., Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum, Sudan, Makerere Government College in Kampala, Uganda, Yaba Higher College in Lagos, Nigeria, and Princess of Wales School and College in Achimota, Ghana. They appeared between the late 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th abd functioned more like secondary schools that offered technical or vocational training.

According to a World Bank study (1991:10), at the time of independence, fewer than one fourth of all of the civil administration jobs were held by Africans, most industry and commerce was foreign-owned, and only 3% of school-aged students received secondary-school education. In 1961, the universities of East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda) had a total of 99 graduates, within a population of 23 million.

Early on, the colonial conditions under which the formal education system was implemented in Africa led to rejection by Africans because the system negated their previous educational experience and was founded on racial premises. However, this position gradually changed over time. According to Sanz Martín (2011), this change responded to the fact that during the colonial regime it could be seen that people who attended school and completed their studies obtained important positions in the colonial administration and exerted greater influence within the power structure.

Furthermore, once the African elites had access to higher education, they used the knowledge imparted by Europe to question and rise up against colonial domination. Hence, formal education began to reveal its emanicipatory nature to fight oppression:

> Conceived first by the colonial administrations and the Churches also as a means for developing profitable use of the human resources of the colonies, it became the instrument through which the foundation of colonial domination was being questioned, by those who were schooled, by force, in European institutions. (Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 30)

Thus, between the 1930s and 1950s the African elites educated in Europe, known as "African Westerners," called for European education to be universal and present in all regions, regardless of the type of colonial administration. One of the reasons for this was the perception of the potential of Western education because, in the opinion of the African elites, this education was useful: if it had attained significant outcomes in Europe, something similar could occur in Africa.

In contrast to the relationship between economic structures and education in the colonial period, that of the post-colonial period was characterized by the rise of the

bourgeoisie in society and in the State apparatus. This new nationalist State directed efforts towards social and economic development aimed at capitalist accumulation, while at the same time it needed to address increasingly mobilized social movements. In the postcolonial period, then, there were several phases in the relationship between the State and higher education: 1) the State's need to incorporate national society into the global economic system; 2) social movement demands for autonomy with regard to capitalist accumulation, which led to decreasing investments in public education; 3) and educational crises and a loss of legitimacy for the capitalist State, in which sectorial policies and educational models responded to external debts, not national needs.

Sociologist Ashis Nandy (2011) affirmed that "development came to the world of the South in two parallel processes: modern science united to evolutionism and the theory of progress, and modern colonialism, in search of legitimacy in a new civilizing mission." Development programs and technology transfers are one entry point for examining the political economy of knowledge. Such a political economy analysis claims that it is possible to understand diverse and particular ways of producing knowledge based on the processes and conditions of the actors involved in knowledge production.

These technology transfer programs were related to specific entities that participated in programs to fund research in 'underdeveloped' countries and are considered an entryway to the issue of knowledge from the perspective of political economy. Thus, the point of departure for a political economy analysis is the fact that it is possible to identify the key structures of the various specific ways to produce knowledge through the ways in which the work conditions of the actors involved in these dynamics were reproduced.[2]

Studying the ways that the social sciences have developed in the South implies recognizing the sociopolitical context of the production of knowledge, as well as its strictly academic conditions. In this sense, though academic disciplines may very well serve to understand social reality, they also "discipline" (filter) knowledge by legitimizing what may be called 'science' and marginalizing other forms of knowledge production. As Wallerstein (1996) reminded us, the five main disciplines of the social sciences (history, economy, political science, sociology and anthropology) arose in the 19th century in only five countries: Germany, Italy, France, England and the United States. These disciplines' pretension of universality masked their origin and produces a global hierarchical structuring of knowledge that is expressed even more forcefully in the current neoliberal capitalism. According to Nandy (2011: 89-90), such hierarchical

[2] As noted by Torres, Panny and Bachur (2008, 99), "The timing and the form of particular historical insertion of national political economies within the process of global accumulation, such as the legacy of the educational systems that existed before that insertion and the social and cultural specificities of their social structures, constitute three groups of stakeholders that have been, and continue to be, crucial in the formation of the structure and growth of educational systems."

structuring occurs within an assessment scale not only based on the fact that modern systems do not recognize knowledge that operates from different premises, but also essentially based on "ignoring or shelving knowledge that is irreverent or alien to development" (2011, 89-90).

In the case of Latin America, the development/underdevelopment issue has had to do with the ways in which efforts have been made to overcome the raw materials-based export model (1830-1920). This meant political will to overcome the heavy concentration of wealth among the land-owning and mining elites that existed alongside a small middle class and cheap labor (Bulmer-Thomas, 2003: 29).

For Latin America, the development of import substitution strategies represented overcoming primary sector exports (1830-1920) based on raw materials. This meant political will to overcome the heavy concentration of wealth among the land-owning and mining elites that existed alongside a small middle class and cheap labor. The main sectors of the economy referred to an organized export sector and a more traditional and informal domestic sector tied to farming. According to Victor Bulmer-Thomas (2003, p. 29) this agro-export dualism responded to a colonial pattern of property ownership that persisted after Latin American independence:

> "Important elements of continuity with the colonial economy also continued to exist after independence. The land-tenure system, revolving as it did around the plantation, the *hacienda*, the small farm, and communal Indian lands, was barely affected. Furthermore, where land grants were made by the newly independent countries on a massive scale […], they tended to follow the colonial pattern."

This agro-export dualism also implied forms of domestic colonialism in which the non-export sector was subordinate to the export sector. However, it coincided in the international sphere with a system of very low tariff barriers for products and, therefore, with a tendency towards saturation (because several countries could grow the same crop). Railroads connected production areas to ports, and this reinforced the logic of the enclaves.

In the cultural realm this had repercussions in assigning international identities according to the commodities that the countries exported while immigration (another attribute of this model) was conceived of from racist positions that in turn implied a very negative conception of the local population. The nature of capitalism was also expressed in the creation of fetishes for goods imported from the West.

In this framework, the import substitution model of industrialization (ISI) called for the State to play a larger role. This entailed changes at two general levels: a) at the level of the conceptualization of the State in economic theory and b) with respect to the structuring of people's socioeconomic life as a result of the State's new political and economic role (Thorp, 1998). It is also important to note that the criticism from Latin America referred to the universality of the general economic theory, considering the

terms of trade unfavorable and detrimental for the countries of the periphery (Prebisch 1986). This was accompanied by an educational model closely tied to social struggles and connected to the debates of politically organized stakeholders in the production of a knowledge tied to social realities (Gutiérrez, 1985). However, a rationalist view also arose among "a new kind of technocrats, with technical knowledge of economics, planning, management and engineering" (Thorp 1998: 150). Meanwhile, the economy was subject to political control and State interventionism that enabled the countries to leave aside the "regulating market" model.

With regard to the development of the domestic market, industrialization managed to move beyond an economy based on "the commodity lottery" because commodities predestined the countries of Latin America to work with given products on the international scene. Pre-industrialization conditions also changed, e.g., the existence of a non-export sector that occupied most of the labor force and was characterized by a subsistence economy and by low-yield agriculture (Lewis 1999), and it was possible to displace the Church as a source of credit embedded in an "economy of salvation" that offered long-term loans.[3] Finally, "the strategy of growth 'from within' served as a complement to other forces in the creation of a significant middle class […], a broad urbanization movement, and progress in the area of public services" (Ibid, 211).

In Latin America, the neoliberal discourse of the 1980s and 1990s revolved around the causes of the ISI model's stagnation and led to the formulation of a structural adjustment model. Neoliberalism considered 'State interventionism' and the political control of the economy 'market distortions' and sought to make prices 'real.' Even though direct foreign investment sought to take advantage of protectionism to penetrate captive markets, this model entered into crisis in the late 1970s with the foreign debt crisis, given its weight in Latin American economies. From the standpoint of the political agenda imposed by the Washington Consensus, these years represented neoliberalism's peak. There was a move towards the authority of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the organization that was consolidated as the granter of loans aimed at helping the countries level out their economies, but at the same time demanded that the States adapt to global competition. In this process, the central banks of key world countries systematically became key players in the international economy and left citizens aside (Stiglitz 2002).

As of the establishment of conditions for trade relations in the global arena, the countries of the South operated from the perspective of privatization and liberalization. These two points were found at the core of higher education policies, especially

[3] Long before industrialization in Latin America, when the States in Latin America were barely beginning to take shape, Colin M. Lewis (Lewis, 1999, p. 101) acknowledged that "the only organizations to survive were the landed estate and the Roman Catholic Church, though in most regions the influence of the Chuch was weakened by the destruction of property, loss of personnel, and ultimately, by a rising tide of anti-clericalism".

influenced by the Anglo-Saxon West, and they defined research agendas. In neoliberal capitalism this occurred alongside a certain way of ordering production-circulation processes and knowledge consumption exclusively in the framework of transnational company profitability that belittled the possibility of valuing knowledge that did not fit into plans to accumulate capital through the market.

Speaking for Latin America, we can say that the mercantile logic that invaded higher education ever more strongly was consolidated because of the efforts of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Education became a commodity of a global nature, in which national governments would come to lack "jurisdiction to manage the educational processes that take place within their own territory" (Follari 2008). This was imbued with an ideological nature and justified by access to, and the use of, technology.

In the case of the social sciences and work in the universities, José Sánchez Parga (2007) noted that there was a significant difference between the industrial phase of capitalist development and the moment of neoliberalism's peak. The first of these would correspond to a 'real economy' whereas the second was based on financial capital and would correspond to a 'virtual' economy. Thus, while the orientation of the former came from a *reason of State* (whose interest was to produce society), the current moment is guided by a reason *of Market*. As the author stated:

> "Unlike the industrial phase of development, when capital used, industialized and consumed knowledge about physical and material realities, in the current financial phase capital uses, makes an intrsument of and consumes the non-material knowledge of individuals and society, and at the same time dehumanizes the human and social sciences." (Sánchez Parga 2007, 45)

During neoliberal times, the social sciences found themselves in a crisis that was useful and functional for the new world order, which ultimately responded to the destruction of what was social insofar as it endeavored to limit capital (Sánchez Parga, 2007, 46; Alves, 2010).

The actors that defined the type of research that arose during neoliberalism could be cited as: 1) an intellectual shift from 'research logic' to 'consulting logic,' 2) a shift from the research agendas that responded to social issues and the issues inherent to scientific development to agendas that accepted the processes imposed by international finance and 3) the distancing of the social sciences from social realities due to their shift towards the mercantile logic of supply and demand (Sánchez Parga 2007, 80-81).

In this framework, during the neoliberal era Latin American universities ceased to be more institutions of society and became more market 'organizations' (Sánchez Parga, 2007, 275-280). That process could clearly be seen in the discourse regarding university modernization, which led to privatization and occurred with the pretense of 'freeing' public universities and thereby establishing distance between them and

society. The loss of identification with society as a whole would become the focus that the groups with economic power would attempt to propose within the institutions involved in the production of knowledge, thereby hampering thinking about sociopolitical issues, achieving the "creation of fetishes and overvaluation of direct stakeholders" (Follari, 2008:19) and impeding the politicization of issues and the questioning of the predatory capitalism in which Latin America was immersed.

James Ferguson (2006) analyzed Africa in the neoliberal order, and the ways that the application of structural adjustments in the countries of the center and south of Africa were accompanied by the postulates of a "scientific capitalism." For Ferguson, the structural adjustments that neoliberalism introduced were largely obtained through a language found in the World Bank's legitimization of its strategies through scientific capitalism. This scientific capitalism is based on the de-moralization of the economy, with the legitimization of a "proper economy" responding to technical criteria. Thus, any appeal for a "just economy" would be considered detrimental to the pragmatism necessary for the economic growth.

In this operation promoting a de-moralization of the economy (from the standpoint of this strategy, the economy being understood to be pure, objective and exempt of values), in it necessary to appropriate a moral language of legitimization. At this point punto the constitutive antagonism to neoliberal capitalism became visible, for in this case, although a scientific reason (in its technocractic variation) intended to disconnect the economy from the world of life, it could only insert itself into a particular space through the use of a local language, even if this called for adopting a certain moral discourse. It seems to us that this was the meaning of Ferguson's affirmation: "*In Africa, capitalism would have to learn -just as socialism had learned- to abandon its 'scientific' pretensions and speak a local language of moral legitimization*" (2006: 81).

In hindsight, it is clear that the "structural adjustments" of the eighties worked as universal recipes for all the countries of the Global South. Nevertheless, the so-called "scientific capitalism" applied in Africa is a result of what Bourdieu called the universalist strategy of disinterest, in the service of the universalization of domination through the character of objectivity that awards the dominant sectors universality as reason (Bourdieu, 1999: 161-168).

In the case of disinterest, understood as the manifestation of a sacrifice of the selfish interests of certain stakeholders in order to universally favor human groups (Bourdieu, 1999: 165-166), it is evident that scientific capitalism, by presenting itself as "exempt of values" was supposedly in favor of the "development of Africa." Nevertheless, this could be no more more than an effort to universalize the presuppositions aimed, through technoocratic reason, at exploiting the African continent for the purposes of the interests of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank. What allowed Ferguson to discount the supposed neutrality of the adjustment

plans was precisely his questioning of the capitalist principle of the subjection of trade and production to the *comparative advantages* that a given country and/or region might have in the worldwide system. According to Ferguson (2006:80):

> Yet a whole set of moral premises are implicit in these technicizing arguments. Notions of the inviolate rights of individuals, the sanctity of private property, the nobility of capitalist accumulation, and the intrinsic value of "freedom" (understood as the freedom to engage in economic transactions) lie just below the surface of much of the discourse of scientific capitalism.

Such values-oriented discourse destroyed worlds of life that responded to a connection among the social and economic spheres and cosmological orders oriented by materiality and distribution criteria ("feeding the people" instead of "eating" them) instead of the moral sphere of the market economy. In this strategy, de-moralization of the economy was also seen (in honor of a supposed scientificity). This accounted for the impossibility of valuing knowledge outside the rules of capitalism.

A. Politics, economics and knowledge in the history of universities in Latin America and Ecuador

Despite having been constructed on the basis of European models and traditions, Latin American universities have defined themselves in a singular way through their leading role in the constitution of the region's democracies in the 20th century. It is in this historical context that we must understand the particular features, possibilities and limitations of our universities, and the role currently played by the adoption of U.S., European and Asian educational models.

As John Meyer and John Frank (2010) argue, European universities were founded on a single universalist culture based on general principles. Though eventually based on scientific rationality, European universities never left their transcendental medieval principles of abstraction and universality. Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2010) uses the term *abysmal thought* to refer to the way that modern science had a monopoly on the distinctions between the real and the false, and dismissed other forms of knowledge that were not adaptable to its science.

Along these lines, the knowledge produced in the periphery has been framed within the *false promises of modernity* (Santos 2003). The *false promise of equality* has been revealed in the conditions of inequality at the global level, as made evident in the control of production and consumption: "the advanced capitalist countries with 21% of the world population, control 78% of the world production of goods and services and consume 75% of all the energy produced" (Santos, 2003: 23). This 2003 assessment has since worsened. The *false promise of freedom* has been seen in human rights violations. In contexts that labeled themselves democratic, there were significant increases in this

area, fostering a *diaspora of freedom*: "police and penitentiary violence reached a fevered pitch in Brazil and Venezuela […] sexual violence against women, child prostitution, the 'street children' […] the victims of land mines […] the discrimination against the drug addicts, HIV carriers or homosexuals […]" (Santos 2003, 24). Finally, Santos cited the *false promise of peace* as expressed in the perverse nature of development as domination of nature over the last 50 years while one fifth of humanity lacks access to potable water. Furthermore, after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the post-war era, national and international conflicts have arisen and turned peace into a *false mirage.*

From the mid-18th century to the early 19th century, consolidation was seen in the public sphere, in the national community and in citizens' personal identity. Industrial production nurtured the consolidation of the European nation-states, and knowledge was directed at achieving what was considered to be in the collective national interests. In this context, national literature and stories thrived (Shofer and Meyer 2005). In this period, the knowledge used by capital did not come, strictly speaking, from the universities. Practical knowledge born out of trades was the most relevant (Vercellone 2013). Workers in the textile mills of England and Germany relied on their know-how, which was basically artisanal, to cope with new production requirements (Biernacki 1995).

It was with the second industrial revolution that European and American universities firmly established their central role in the relationship between knowledge and capital. From the end of the 19th century through the beginning of the 20th century, science led the massive technological transformations of electrification and large-scale production. Universities were the production sites where scientific knowledge applied universal principles to local practices and made tremendous contributions to production, thereby earning a leading role in social, political and economic transformations. The formation of large companies and the "scientific organization of work" was accompanied by the establishment of research laboratories and innovation. In this period of industrial capitalism, making knowledge functional and commercial depended on the possibility of applying general and abstract rules to specific problems (Wallerstein 1996). In this context, research aimed at revealing universal principles became an essential part of the activity of Northern universities.

The realities of knowledge, capital and universities in Latin America at the beginning of the 20th century were quite different from the social and economic dynamism taking place in Europe and the United States. In this same period, the economies of Latin America also experienced a process of growth due to the exportation of raw materials necessary for the industrialization of the central regions (Coatsworth 2008). The expansion of export sectors meant enormous benefits for the elites who controlled the natural resources of land and minerals. Gains for these elites, however, led to increasing inequality. Between 1870 and 1913, inequality in Latin America increased 30%, reaching the highest level in its history (Williamson 2009).

In this context of rising inequality, the Southern Cone received 8.4 million European migrants between 1881 and 1930 (Sánchez 2007). In the city of Cordoba, Argentina, university students, many of them immigrants' children, led anti-oligarchy protests against the traditional hierarchies of the clerical universities. In 1918, the emerging student movement took over Argentina's oldest university, setting off the university reform movement that would affect social and national structures in the entire region.

The students of Cordoba demanded institutional autonomy, academic freedom, student co-government and open access to the institution. Supported by popular political parties and by union movements, the students' demands resonated with struggles and debates regarding the new forms of democracy in the region. In contrast with university actors who dominated the production and control of scientific knowledge in industrialized countries, Latin American university students were not only trying to think through how to scientifically solve the problems of the society but were also insisting on the university's necessary participation in social and political dynamics.

Aligned with the liberal trends of the second decade of the new century, the university reform movement fanned the flames of the cultural, intellectual and political climate in Latin America and positioned democratization of the university as a key condition for democratizing society. In addition to opening up the university to popular sectors and committing to research for national development, the universities promoted university extensions. This third purpose of the universities linked university activity to popular social sectors in fields such as health, education, housing and law (Arocena and Sutz 2005).

Co-government was the linchpin of the university organization proposed by the student movement, It sought "to strengthen the university as a space that, beyond being a transmitter of knowledge, would be defined as a bridge between criticality and the formation of identities and the everyday issue of the different social fabrics" (Basabe 2004, p.34). Co-government called for the autonomous management of universities by students, teachers and staff. The broad participation of these sectors would provide a precautionary measure against academia's tendency to remove itself from the political needs of the popular sectors.

Due to the orientations of the student movements and their institutional importance, public universities were in a very particular position in relation to Latin American societies: on the one hand, universities maintained strong ties to collective stakeholders such as unions and parties of the Left and, on the other, their relationships with industry and government were distant and often antagonistic.

Given such positioning, Latin American universities focused very different kinds of knowledge and analysis from those that dominated the industrialized countries' abstract, universalist science– and also pragmatic science, in the U.S. version. During the first half of the 20th century, knowledge's growing importance for progress and the

scientific trend aimed at producing classifications and systematization led to the diversification and professionalization of knowledge in the developed world. Research agendas began to be defined as a function of disciplinary concerns and hierarchies (Foucault 1975). The disciplines in turn gradually gave rise to increasingly closer connections to specialized colleagues in different places. This unleashed the progressive fragmentation of the academic community inside the universities as well as disassociation from the immediate intellectual and political environment.

Given these positions, Latin American universities produced analyses very different from those that dominated the abstract and universalizing - in addition to pragmatic, in its American version - science of the industrialized countries. The Latin American university became the vanguard of liberal and illustrated modernity, and its commitment to working class-student solidarity made social and international inequalities its focus (Bialakowsky et al. 2014, p.5). The science and research done at Latin American universities was expected to help solve national social problems. This was clear in the Latin American conception of university extensions, which addressed very different research problems and methodologies than those of the North (Arocena and Sutz 2005, p.9). A good example of these types of processes are the analyses of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), which in the 1950s led to the development of national strategies and economic policies that attempted to redefine the region's situation of dependence on the world system (Wallerstein).

In ECLAC's analyses, addressing the problems of development and underdevelopment of the region's economies meant moving beyond the model of primary commodities exportation that dominated from 1830-1920. This meant that there had to be political will to overcome the model with wealth concentrated among the land- and mine-owning elite, a limited middle class and ample low-cost labor (Bulmer-Thomas, 2003: 29). It is important to point out that the criticism originating from Latin America was aimed at challenging the universality of general economic theory by showing that the unfavorable terms of trade harmed peripheral countries (Prebisch 1986). This period and the types of analyses were accompanied by educational institutions connected to social struggles and political debates and a form of knowledge production closely tied to social reality (Gutiérrez, 1985). Nevertheless, in this period a rationalist vision also began to develop to shape “a new class of technocrats, with technical economy, planning, management and engineering knowledge” (Thorp 1998: 150).

These dynamics were reflected in Ecuador, where the role of the universities in the definition of democracy was visible in the disputes for university autonomy that accompanied the growing university student population of the 1960s and 1970s. This growth in higher education access was due to the rising socioeconomic expectations from the banana exportation boom in the 1950s and increasing urban migration after the land reforms of the 1960s. The percentage of Ecuadorians in urban centers grew from

28% in 1950 to 41% in 1974, while the annual growth of university enrollment grew from 10.8% in the fifties to 27.4% in the seventies (Rosemary 2002). This growing student body took part in the radicalization of politics at the regional level that was detonated by the Cuban Revolution. Ecuadorian students organized in groups such as the *Unión Revolucionaria de la Juventud Ecuatoriana* ("Revolutionary Union of Ecuadorian Youth") and the *Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios de Ecuador* ("Ecuadorian Federation of University Students," FEUE). These groups found themselves closely watched by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, and pressure from them led to the 1963 dictatorship (Cueva 1998 [1972]).

In 1964, the Military Junta, in addition to enacting martial law in in Guayaquil, passed the Law for Higher Education, which gave the Ministry of Education authority to create, modify, restructure or eliminate schools (departments) and institutes of higher learning and "to shut down and partially or totally reorganize universities" (Arts. 6 and 7). The Military Junta intervened in the universities of Quito, Guayaquil, Cuenca and Loja, and shut down the Central University of Ecuador three times, replaced its officials and professors and had troops occupy its campus.

In addition to these repressive incidents at the national and regional levels, the international insurrections in Paris, Mexico and the United States contributed to student radicalization. In 1969, high-school students occupied the *Casona Universitaria* in the city of Guayaquil and demanded free admission to the university. Then President Velasco Ibarra responded with a brutal repression, the massacre of more than 30 young people and the incarceration of another 140. The same day of the massacre, Manuel Agustín Aguirre became the chancellor of the Central University in Quito.

Manuel Agustín Aguirre was a leader of the Socialist party of Ecuador and took its political program of revolutionary transformation to the public university. His book *The Second University Reform* identifies the main postulates of his project: to integrate the university into the struggles against social injustices, to open the university to full access by all sectors and to link scientific studies to the social problems of the working class and poor sectors. The fundamental aims of this reform were to constitute a "politically active university" and to encourage an "indissoluble union between the University and the people" (Aguirre 1973). Agustin Aguirre's leadership at the Central University ended abruptly when the dictatorial government of Velasco Ibarra closed public universities in 1970.

There are different readings of the difficulties that Ecuadorian universities experienced after the 1970s, following the end of its "heroic cycle" (Brunner 1990). Throughout Latin America, military governments' attacks on universities, the growing importance of the role of higher education in labor markets and the specialization, professionalization and globalization of science and knowledge transformed the role of universities in society and their relationship to national projects. In any case, the analysis of Ecuador's universities during the 1980s shows that crisis was a common

conceit. By the 1990s, it was clear that the context of Latin American universities had completely shifted, and its commitment to social and political issues was no longer so clear.

B. Politics, economics and knowledge in the history of universities in Africa and Tanzania

The African experience in higher education is usually divided into the stages of pre-colonization, colonization and the period aftere independence. Although each of these stages exhibits distinctive features, it is necessary to avoid dichotomies that can overlook the complexity of historical processes and institutions (Lulat, 2005). Such a Eurocentric approach tends to, on the one hand, value European perspectives more than African ones and, in doing so, make African history secondary to colonization. Lulat also pointed out the ideological background that, in emphasizing the transformations produced by the European presence in Africa, reproduces the dichotomies of barbaric/ civilized, dark/light, conservative/progressive, primitive/modern and reduced the legitimacy of non-Western educational experiences in Africa. African higher education, in fact, began long before European colonization: "Indeed, historical facts attest to the ancient and indigenous roots and long experience of institutionalized higher learning in Africa, with variable coverage of the population and degrees of systematization according to subregional specificities in different historical periods." (Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 5). It can thus be understood that higher education is not a phenomenon originating in Europe or an effect of European colonization, but instead had its own story.

It is also possible to de-legitimize the claim that, without European colonization, progress in Africa would not have been possible. This argument has served as the basis for making Africa's processes of higher education invisible, for it has dominated the picture of this continent's social processes:

> the bizarre idea first popularized by the likes of such Western intellectuals as Georg Hegel that prior to the arrival of Europeans, Africa was a dark continent immobilized in time and peopled by childlike savages who could not have possibly made any history may no longer be articulated today, but if the continuation of the racist discourse in Western countries […] is any indication, such sentiments continue to plague the Western psyche, even if only at subterranean levels among the majority of the populace. (Lulat, 2005: 81)

Even though in this stage higher education had no structured academic system like that of higher education in modern times, it fulfilled similar objectives. As Lulat indicated, "Historically, long before the arrival of European colonialism, those parts of Africa that possessed institutions of higher learning could boast of a tradition of a

higher education that included the belief that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake was a worthy endeavor that any society would want to encourage." (2005:3).

The type of knowledge produced there, according to Ajavi (1996:5), made it possible to understand the world, nature, society, and the relationship with God and other deities as well as to develop agriculture, medicine, literature and philosophy. In sum, the knowledge produced was in line with the type of society that existed and was a function of its requirements.

With the introduction of European colonialism, higher education was diverted from its course and began to function according to the requirements of colonial expansion. So, unlike Europe, Africa did not have the opportunity to consolidate and expand different forms of higher education because these were interrupted and annulled by the processes of slavery and colonization:

> one of the main features of the contemporary systems of formal education, especially in higher education, in Africa is the absence of sociohistorical continuity and contemporary social connection between the existing institutions of higher learning and the prevailing modes of indigenous education, and the overall social surrounding. (Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 31)

With the introduction of European colonialism, higher education in Africa became functional for colonial expansion. In the context of slavery and colonization, many African societies were unable to consolidate and expand those diverse forms of higher education.

This occurred because the expropriation of resources called for an ideological dimension to justtfy and maintain the colonial system. Colonial domination was thus supported by moral and religous discourse that validated the subjection of the African people as 'good' and 'positive' as part of the project to civilize and Christianze them. In writing about 19th century British imperialism, Rudyard Kipling described this mission as "the White Man's burden." He was referring to a poem that was popular at the time and that represented the colonizers' view on the process of domination. To illustrate this, it is useful to quote the first part of that poem, which emphasizes the slaves' minority condition and justifies their domination:

> Take up the White Man's burden, Send forth the best ye breed
> Go bind your sons to exile, to serve your captives' need;
> To wait in heavy harness, On fluttered folk and wild—
> Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child.

The process of colonial domination was legitimized and spread by a social Darwinism belief that European cultures were superior to colonized cultures, further voiding the cultural expressions of the colonized peoples and establishing a system of social and racial hierarchies.

In terms of forms of colonial administration in Africa, there were two dominant models, the French and the British. “France developed centralized and relatively uniform systems, while England restored decentralized systems that differed according to the specific characteristics of incorporation of the diverse societies in a certain colonial territory.” (Gentili, 2012: 237). The former models are known as assimilationist models, while the latter are known as indirect rule.

Indirect rule does not start with a universalist vision of the human condition, but it does incorporate cultural and racial diversity to establish administrative systems and thus in a certain way preserve native cultures. However, as Assié-Lumumba pointed out, colonial administrators "devised this philosophy not out of respect for African culture, but rather in the context of social Darwinism, which basically argued that culture is hereditary and that it would be a futile exercise to try to make the natives acquire the full British culture.” (2006: 33). This form of cultural development had important consequences for education, as it was assumed that Africans were unable to learn beyond a basic or technical education level, and their access to higher education was thus restricted. Even this basic education, however, led to unexpected consequences for the colonial project. In particular, the need to make Africans literate in order to incorporate them as technical labor also paved the way for education that served liberation processes.

However, the question of Africans’ access to education, though framed within a colonial project, led to two paradoxical, or at least unexpected, consequences. On the one hand, the need to make Africans literate for the purposes of communication and employment also meant that education could serve for liberation processes; and on the other hand, it was necessary to have more professionals with some type of educational certificate or diploma. Therefore, in order to avoid expanding the educational system, the colonies established various strategies, e.g., to “truncate and constrict the metropolitan curriculum upon its transplantation to the colony and at the same time place artificial barriers on the educational ladder by providing minimal or no access to post-secondary or sometimes even post-primary education.” (Lulat, 2005: 11).

In the case of the African countries with Islamic majorities, the colonizing countries had to deal with the Islamic educational system of the *madraza*. They sought to create a new educational system that would not recognize Islamic schools and also instituted a new curriculum and confiscated goods in order to diminish funding for the *madraza*.

It can thus be seen that education in the colonies was not simply an adaptation of European systems to the African colonies, but that it rather formed part of the strategies to control the colonies. As Lulat wrote, “the system was to be adapted to suit, on one hand, the mental capabilities of an entire people –judged to be an intellectually inferior people (namely blacks and other colonized peoples) – and on the other, the subservient

political and economic status of the same people relative to their colonial masters." (Lulat, 2005: 13).

Meanwhile, education in the British colonies did not expand at the same pace, Some of these considered the presence of educational isntitutions for Africans a potential threat that could jeopardize their interests. In this context, a few educational institutions called colleges appeared, such as: Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum, Sudan, Makerere Government College in Kampala, Uganda, Yaba Higher College in Lagos, Nigeria and Princess of Wales School and College in Achimota, Ghana. These appeared at the end of the 19th century and in the first two decades of the 20th. In the British colonies, higher education was to fulfill the function of training the elite needed for colonial administration. In this sense, higher education was conceived as an instrument that would facilitate the administration of the colonial societies, as well as maintain already existing inequalities in African societies. Thus, the selection of teachers, the organization of the curricula, and even approvals for graduation depended on the colonial authorities, and in no way on the interests of the African countries.

In any case, despite the diversity of colonial administrations and educational experiencies within this regime, it is possible to identify common elements that characterized higher education in Africa's colonial period. Lulat (2005:16-17), Ng'ethe (2003: 9) and Teferra and Altbach (2004: 23-24) cited the following elements:

1) In the African colonies if was assumed that blacks had inferior conditions with respect to whites and therefore did not need a complete education because they did not have sufficient aptitudes. Africans were given only a basic education that could provide them with technical tools for work.

2) Christian missionaries were the first to form part of formal education in the colonies; they therefore controlled the educational agenda with the aims of religious prosletyzing and keeping higher education from becoming secular.

3) Access to higher education was hugely restricted for Africans because its expansion, even in the context of colonization, would have propitiated social mobility. This exclusion was mostly seen among the inhabitants of rural areas and was more visible in the British colonies, which were interested in educating some Africans to help with the colonial administration.

4) The limitations imposed on access to the university system basically favored the access of African elites, although in the French colonies it was open to all those students who had finished secondary school.

5) In order to reduce the cost of colonial administration, it was necessary to educate Africans for administrative or teaching positions, thereby giving some sectors of the population a certain kind of higher education. In terms of disciplines, emphasis was placed on the areas of humanities, with little development of science and technology.

6) The metropolitan areas were not interested in developing higher education in Africa since, on the one hand, the African colonies were viewed as a market for the mass consumption of economical goods produced for the metropolian areas and, on the other hand, they were viewed as a source of natural resources for the benefit of the metropolitan areas.

7) The languages used in teaching were the languages of the respective colonial powers, so they superseded the previous educational experiences offered in local languages.

8) The research produced by the universities was not related to the needs of most of the population. Likewise, there were limitations with respect to academic freedom and curriculum organization. With respect to the latter, colonial administration sought to emphasize law or similar areas that could be used for the purposes of colonial administration. Research in the areas of science and technology was limited.

In the British colonies, depending on the type of colonial administration, higher education had the role of educating the elite required for colonial administration. So, in that sense, higher education was conceived of as an instrument that would facilitate the administration of the colonies. British rulers were not interested in initiating a process of 'enlightenment' in African society (Tadesse Woldegiorgis & Doevenspeck, 2013) because that would have called for offering higher education to a large part of the population. Rather, they preferred education to be a function of the administration of the colonies and to maintain the inequality of the times. Therefore, the selection of faculty, the organization of the curriculum and even graduation depended on colonial officials, not on the interests of the African countries.

According to a study by the World Bank (1991:10), at the time of independence fewer than one fourth of all the civil administration positions were held by Africans, almost all industrial and commercial property was foreign-owned, and only 3% of school-age students received secondary education. In 1961, the universities of East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda) had a total of 99 graduates, in a region of 23 million inhabitants. Between 1930 and 1950 there was a demand on the part of African elites educated in Europe that European education be made universal and established throughout the region, regardless of the type of colonial administration. African elites hoped that, through Western education, the countries of the region might attain the development results that higher education in Europe had brought about.

Early on, the colonial conditions under which the formal education system was implemented in Africa led to rejection by Africans because the system negated their previous educational experience and was founded on racial premises. However, this position gradually changed over time. According to Sanz Martín (2011), this change responded to the fact that during the colonial regime it could be seen that people who attended school and completed their studies obtained important positions in the colonial administration and exerted greater influence within the power structure.

Furthermore, once the African elites had access to higher education, they used the knowledge imparted by Europe to question and rise up against colonial domination. Hence, formal education began to reveal its emanicipatory nature to fight oppression:

> Conceived first by the colonial administrations and the Churches also as a means for developing profitable use of the human resources of the colonies, it became the instrument through which the foundation of colonial domination was being questioned, by those who were schooled, by force, in European institutions. (Assié-Lumumba, 2006: 30)

Thus, between the 1930s and 1950s the Europe-educated African elites -known as the *African Westerners*- called for European education to be made universal and implemented in every region, regardles of the type of colonial administration in place. One of the reasons behind this was the perception of the potential of Western education because in the opinion of African elites this education was useful and achieved significant outcomes in Europe, something simlar could occur in Africa.

Most of the continent's universities were created in the 1960s, in the periods just before and after the African countries' independence. The number of students increased by 8.7% annually, until reaching approximately four million students during the first decade of the 21st century (World Bank, 2009). Furthermore, during this period in the emerging universities it was possible to see a shift in their make-up and operational proposals: "they have developed relevant curricula and revised content to reflect African priorities, legitimized research and established specialized institutional research units, largely replaced expatriate faculty with indigenous staff, and fostered fledgling intellectual communities" (Saint, 1992: 1).

It should be noted, however, that the universities created during the independence period maintained a certain distance from the new African governments, at least during the first decade after independence. As Coleman noted (1994: 258), this responded among other things s to the idea of university auttonomy that had oriented the founding of these universities, as well as the fact that these universities were created under the sponosrhip of European universities or international cooperation agencies. Likewise, the return of expatriate scholars trained at universities in the former colonial powers made the European model of education be prominent because these scholars' background and their academic identity and reference groups were still in Europe..

According to Saint, "During this formative period for African universities, European linkages served to establish standards, ensure access to international scientific information, train national staff, initiate research programs, and provide a ready frame of reference for institutional development decisions." (1992:2). At the time of independence there were few Africans that could take charge of the new public

institutions, and worse yet of the universities. Furthermore, as indicated previously, these institutions were not trusted because of their colonial origins.

For that reason, as we will see in detail in the next chapter, in the 1960s and 1970s the States would make an effort to frame higher education within the countries' development strategies. So, it was possible at that time to see how those institutions, would take on the responsibility of being agents of economic growth because of State policies. It is important to note that the States were the drivers behind this role of the emerging universities because, unlike what occurred in other regions, the African universities were not interacting with other sectors of society. Instead, their colonial heritage made them seem to be part of the structures of domination. According to Tadesse Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, "the roles of higher education institutions in Africa after independence were not constructed out of social interaction among the society, the state and the academic oligarchy; instead they were a product of government policies to address the challenges of colonial artifact imposed on African societies." (2013: 38).

It is in this context that the idea of a "developmental university" appeared, which generally speaking can be defined as "an institution that in all its aspects is singularly animated and concerned, rhetorically and practically, with the 'solution' of the concrete problems of social development." (Coleman J. S., 1986: 477). From this perspective, it pursued the development of a university curriculum whose application would be productive and immediate. Thus, university education became represented as an agent capable of expanding the economy and increasing productivity, and therefore, a tool for development.

CHAPTER II
UNIVERSITIES AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF BOLIVAR IN ECUADOR AND MZUMBE UNIVERSITY IN TANZANIA

In order to establish a new approach to understanding power relations on multiple scales (Bebbington 2003, Perrault 2003), it is necessary to investigate the configurations of three different aspects of social reality: the epistemological, political and economic aspects. These complex relations can be examined through the historical and geographical constitution of forms of knowledge in countries of the Global South, and their connection to sociopolitical actors and projects (Quijano 2007, Coronil 1995, Comaroffs 2012).

As Brunner and Sunkel (1993) indicated, the literature that addresses topics related to the utilization of knowledge is skewed. This means that the processes to produce knowledge are discussed on the one hand, and the use given to knowledge on the other. For that reason, the author suggests making conceptual proposals that would integrate the system of knowledge production, the system of knowledge use and its respective levels, the system of knowledge brokering, the dynamics of knowledge and the funding of social research. Each of these elements is present in our work on the State University of Bolivar and Mzumbe University, with a focus on their interrelationships but for the purpose of differentiating between the elements that comprise each of these aspects.

For the authors, a *system of knowledge production* is a system of social research that encompasses the dynamics related to creating, adapting, importing and transforming knowledge. Such a system would be composed of production units such as research institutions, consulting firms and projects. Within these units, we would also find individual producers (social researchers) (Brunner and Sunkel 1993, 43). The means whereby systems are legitimized are through reproduction mechanisms including education and training and the economic resources allocated to them, and on the other hand mechanisms for transmitting the knowledge produced. These mechanisms respond to the social conditions or contexts in which the knowledge production machinery is installed. Such conditions are given by the orientation of the system in a global context, by the approaches that condition objectives, by the selection of paradigms and by the use of certain concepts or methods. Another way to refer to such conditions is in the form of the questions What is produced? How is it produced? and Why is it produced? (Ibid, 44).

The *system of knowledge use* can be understood as a variety of instances, actors and situations in which the knowledge produced is perceived as appropriate or implementable, within a multiplicity of possible aims. This being understood, the author proposes an analytical movement in this context to locate five levels of knowledge use (Brunner and Sunkel 1993, 44-46). The first level corresponds to "common sense" and the second to "ideological orientation." The latter understands that knowledge is used by groups of specialized social influence for the purpose of constructing, identifying, legitimizing or

modifying the primary aspects of society. Since it functions in the field of ideology, knowledge can be used to justify the social forms in effect. This level is subject to disputes when determining the most important aspects to be addressed by society and is therefore used in the field of politics. From this perspective, it is possible to attempt to sway common sense and social stakeholders' self-understanding with the aim of transforming them in the direction that an ideology may prescribe.

The third level is framed within the "identification of problems," in which knowledge is used to identify, formulate and explain the issues or problems that deserve public attention and need to be the subject of policies or actions geared to addressing them. In this sense, knowledge can be translated into empirical data or logical or conceptual designs that attempt to justify the attention that a given issue or problem deserves. The fourth level of a system of knowledge use is the field of the "decision-making arenas." It is understood that the specialized knowledge is used to address public issues defined by a political agenda. At the level of strategies, what is sought is to solve, neutralize or mitigate problems. To this end, either previous knowledge is used or new knowledge is produced. Since we are working in the plane of intervention in different issues, we should mention that the progress made in the processes to make certain societies more technical determines knowledge use at this level.

The finish line for a system of knowledge use can be found in the field of knowledge production based on other knowledge. In other words, knowledge becomes the vehicle for producing new conceptual categories, refining research methods and defining approaches to argumentation within certain explanatory paradigms. This level directly influences other levels. It is decisive for social researchers' training, development and expansion. It is a specialized level with a language of its own and a sophisticated means of using knowledge (Brunner and Sunkel 1993, 60).

In order to explore the political economy of knowledge in regions of the South through the mutual constitution of local practices and experiences, national and international institutions and global structures of capital and power, it is necessary to establish an empirical and theoretical approach to the production and material circulation of knowledge (Tsing 2005, Smith 2001).

Comparisons herein are based on experiences in two countries in which the public university projects have been strongly influenced by actors, programs, social policies and national economic development plans. In the countries of Ecuador and Tanzania, documentary methods were used, and experts, authorities and university figures were interviewed in order to collect historical and institutional information that would help map the actors that determined research policies and projects.

To better understand the relevance of university production by subnational organizations and actors, we have not focused solely on the central public universities located in the capitals of Ecuador and Tanzania (the Central University of Ecuador and the University of Dar es Salaam, respectively), but have rather analyzed universities located in rural areas of these two countries. In the case of Ecuador, we analyzed the State University of Bolivar,

located in the city of Guaranda, which initiated as an extension program of the State University of Guayaquil in 1977 and became an autonomous university in 1989. Mzumbe University was established as an institute by the British Colonial Administration to train native chiefs and authorities. Once Tanzania obtained its independence, it also began to devote itself to the education of local officials and to rural development. As was the case with the State University of Bolivar, Mzumbe University operated for a time as an extension program, in the case of the University of Dar es Salaam. In Ecuador and Tanzania, respectively, these are two of only a few public and provincial universities that offer social science degrees in addition to technical careers.

This research project analyzes the ways in which the production of knowledge in countries of the Global South – specifically in the research produced by public universities in Ecuador and Tanzania – has responded historically to actors, projects and policies involved in the construction of their respective national states, societies and economies. Through a sociological and political economic approach to intellectual production in each of these two countries, this project contributes to a better understanding of the relationship between the material and concrete processes through which, on the one hand, research and analyses are constructed and, on the other, forms of knowledge and claims are legitimized. In doing so, this work sheds light on the global system for production of both knowledge and capital.

The fieldwork for the project involved collecting data to help us accomplish the research objectives, which included the following: (1) selecting and mapping relevant actors, programs and policies that have influenced university research projects in Ecuador and Tanzania, during the periods of nationalism (1970s), neoliberalism (1980s) and the current period of university reforms and implementation of international standards; and (2) identifying and classifying the research projects at one central public university and another, provincial public university in each of the two countries, in representative years for each of the three periods; and (3) analyzing the research conducted in the social sciences at these universities in order to compare the transformations of their subjects s of study, methodologies, references and theoretical frameworks during these periods.

A. The 1970s and 1980s in Ecuador: Universities at the intersection of academic and political networks and policies in the face of State modernization

2. Universities, development and professionalization in Ecuador

The transformations of the Ecuadorian universities described above were accompanied by professionalization. Campuzano Arteta (2005) shows that the university model shifted its aims from educating political actors, to educating the kind of workforce needed for the capitalization of the economy. This shift responded, in turn, to the shift in the idea of *progress* to that of *development*, as a central theme for State as well as university priorities. With this idea of development, dominant classes claimed for themselves the domain of technical instruments in order to manage economic policies.

In the 1970s, the role that Ecuadorian universities played in training professionals began to change. Before the petroleum boom (1972-1982) that financed State modernization projects and economic production and accumulation structures, the Central University of Ecuador had largely aimed to shape "men of the State" (Campuzano 2005), that is, professionals in the legal field. Despite efforts in this period to radicalize universities in order to transform unequal social structures (Agustín Aguirre 1973), by the end of this period, university training had shifted towards the education of workers needed for the capitalization of the economy. The widespread belief was that progress was to be achieved by having the State provide not only education but also "enlightenment" to its citizens. Universities were to be the site for the mitigation of social inequalities, though not for their transformation.

However, with the idea of development, the dominant classes wanted to claim for themselves the domain of technical instruments for managing the economy and public policies. Thus, the Ecuador of the 1970s began a military development project of modernization grounded in the ECLAC postulates of import-substitution industrialization. The petroleum boom allowed the State to undertake modernization projects that facilitated the process of change in production and capital accumulation. Quintero and Silva pointed out the following:

> As of 1972 there was considerable growth and strengthening of the petite bourgeoisie and middle classes […], which were favored by the reaccommodation of old internal structures, the dissolution of anachronistic relations in agricultural production, the progressive de-concentration of income and modernization of the country's productive and social infrastructure, promoted by the State. (2001, 260)

One of the dimensions of the country's modernization process was the educational sphere, since the State is important in ensuring a workforce trained in the management of new technologies and production. The idea that humans are one of the actors involved in production was instituted as well as the idea that the better they are prepared, the larger their influence on production processes. On this subject, the Development Plan for 1973-1977 read as follows:

> It has often been affirmed that it is possible to drive a country's progress to a large degree by increasing the cultural and technical level of its population. […] the endowment of natural resources and capital determines only one part of growth because there is a preponderant third factor within the development process, which is related mainly to labor's level of education and training.

Thus, this decade saw growing efforts by the State to improve education, at least at the levels of access and budgets.

According to Moreano (1990), from 1970 to 1982 the education sector underwent some important changes. On the one hand, the massive migration of rural dwellers to cities exerted pressure to expand the educational system at its different levels, since there was a

shared perception that the educational system was the means of guaranteeing social mobility. In that regard, Moreano indicated the following:

> In the decades of the sixties and seventies, the reform sectors and imperialist powers promoted an ideology that saw education as one of the panaceas of change and social progress. In the predominant discourse, education's legitimacy did not lie so much in the effectiveness or profitability of the potential use of the skilled labor force as it did in its humanistic, democratic and social value and its contribution to the democratization of society. Universities were not judged merely as institutions that produced professionals and technical experts, but also as cultural and humanistic centers. (Moreano, 1990: 107)

All of this translated into a growing State investment in the education system. Moreano (1990: 14) contributed some interesting data: illiteracy fell from 31.6% to 16.1% between 1970 and 1982 whereas it the 1960s it had only decreased from 32.5% to 31.6%. Likewise, in the 1970s, the growth rate of students who enrolled and remained in primary school education was very high, with a 55.7% retention rate. Meanwhile, retention in secondary school education was 46.2%. Until 1970 the largest percentage of State investment in education had been concentrated at the level of primary school, but as of 1970 it was possible to see higher investments in secondary and tertiary education. For example, prior to 1960 there were six universities in the country, but by 1988 there were 17. Enrollment also rose from 39,000 students in 1970 to 273,000 in 1981. The university studies coefficient went from 6.2% in 1970 to 28.8% in 1980.

As noted previously, all of this investment in education was justified by the role assigned to universities as guarantors of national development:

In the university environment, development strategies grew out of transformation demands, especially to respond to the technical requirements of industrialization (including industrialization in the countryside), but also grew out of the modernization of the State apparatus and services (Carvajal, 2013: 53)

As can be seen, one of the important elements that characterized universities in the 1970s was the effort at democratization because income considerations were eliminated and the middle class thus attained massive access. However, the context in which open admission policies were set were not favorable because the conditions of university operations propitiated students' desertion or failure, and this detracted from institutional effectiveness (Pacheco Prado, 1992: 59). Furthermore, the popular sectors could not manage to enter universities because there were still gaps in access to primary and secondary education. This situation directly impacted the democratization of universities. Moreno and Celi noted the following:

> Between the 1960s and the 1970s, the promotion of policies for the democratization of universities had led to an increase in the university population; however, this did not mean that the lower class had access to

> higher education, because it was mostly middle- and upper-class students that enrolled in universities. For example, in the 1968-69 and 1969-70 academic years, the children of workers and tradesmen enrolled in the first year [of college] accounted for 7.2% of the students; and in 1971-72, 8.7%. (2013: 210)

However, despite all of the policies to invest in higher education, there was not an effective relationship among universities, the State and the productive sectors because there was no correspondence between changes in the social, political and economic structure of the country and what was happening inside the universities. In this regard, as Posso Salgado pointed out:

> Society expects dramatic technical and scientific advances for development and calls for professionals in technical areas and greater specialization in the different areas of knowledge; however, at most universities there is resistance to changing the classical, traditional and Napoleonic structure of professionalization. (1999: 448)

It is important to note that State development planning insists on giving education a leading role in achieving national development aims. Thus, for example, the *Comprehensive Plan for Transformation and Development 1973–1977* indicated the following:

> One of the direct aims of education planning is to provide a country with the manpower that, with all of its capacity developed, can participate fully in the economic and social development process […]

The group of engineers would have the largest share within the total number of professionals that were to graduate over the next five-year period. This was significant because this group included the specializations most required for economic and social development, given the highly technical nature of training for this type of professionals.

However, the State's planning in the area of higher education did not manage to translate into effective relations between the State and the universities, both at the level of allocating funds for the latter's operations and at the level of budget allocations to research. Thus, the development plans usually prepared by the National Council for Development (CONADE) were not in line with the policies and research implemented by the universities. Similar issues existed between the National Council of Science and Technology (CONACYT) and the centers of higher education. Meanwhile, the business and productive sectors in general remain divorced from the State's planning agencies and the universities. (Posso Salgado, 1999: 447)

The productive sectors have not had a trajectory of research development in the country since they have instead concentrated their efforts on technology transfer processes and, in order to increase their competitiveness, have bought technology packages from other countries.

After the country's relative growth in the 1970s, the 1980s were marked by a crisis that led to a reduction in the education budget. According to estimates of the investment in research that the State would have to make between 1982 and 1994, an investment of 1.3 billion sucres was expected, but the amount actually allocated was 960 million. Nonetheless, in the 1980s there was funding for 600 research projects that were not necessarily closely related to the State's development plans.

The separation between University and State can be clearly seen in the events following Velasco Ibarra's 1970 decree that the universities be shut down. In 1971 a new law of higher education was enacted, but it was heavily questioned and rejected by all of the universities. For instance, the First National Congress of Universities and Polytechnic Schools of Ecuador was held in Quito in May 1973, and it emphatically ratified rejection of that law.

The position of the universities led them to opt for abiding by the law issued in May 1966 during the presidency of Clemente Yerovi Indaburo. In the opinion of university students, it "was inspired by university-educated men, guaranteed the free action of universities and polytechnic schools, and consecrated universities' principles and their conquests attained throughout History" (General Summary of Resolutions. *Proceedings*. First National Congress of Universities and Polytechnic Schools of Ecuador).

However, the State's lack of mediation in regulating the application of the 1966 law meant that each institution could apply it according to its own criteria and interests. As Malo noted, "In the 1970s this situation meant that the universities lived through an era of legal confusion, to say the least, with two laws being -or not being- in force." (Malo, 1993: 123). The State's function amid this legal confusion was limited to allocating funds to the universities, for them to administer as they saw fit. For Roldós Aguilera:

> The Permanent Secretariat for the National Higher Education Council was only a bridge for transferring funds, but each university was absolutely autonomous. Even worse than the massification of university studies, this was a breeding ground for university irresponsibility that led to demagogical decisions such as joint professor-teacher participation on universities' governing bodies. (1993: 41).

In any case, the lack of articulation among the universities, the productive sectors and the State was also an expression of the State's development crisis. The government of Rodríguez Lara proposed an ambitious program of structural transformation for the country; however, it did not have the expected outcomes because the policies geared to improving income distribution were not very efficient and income disparities ended up affecting the popular sectors to a greater extent. Furthermore, there were distortions and a lack of effectiveness in the agrarian reform efforts of the 1970s.

The Ecuadorian economy was also in a process of transnationalization and was affected because the economic groups that took advantage of State subsidies simultaneously opposed State intervention in the economic arena. All of this led to an exaggerated growth of

the service sectors (business and finance) but stagnation in productive sectors such as agriculture and industry.

In this framework, universities, as in the case of the Central University, became focal points for political and ideological controversies in light of the inconsistencies of the developmental model. However, this political dispute varied between public and private universities. "Private universities […] captured increasingly more of the education of the system's political and technical teams whereas the public universities tended to express the conflict of the times, between the needs of the system and the affirmation of critical thinking." (Unda, 2011: 49).

Thus, in the 1970s the universities found thrmdrlvrd at a crossroads in which, on the one hand, they felt the pressure of adapting to the demands to professionalize development policies but, on the other hand, to respond to demands growing out of social mobilization. So, for example, the Central University strengthened some initiatives such as the People's University, or maintained active ties to the *Comité del Pueblo* (the "People's Committee").

The arrival of the 1980s was accompanied by the depletion of the developmental model and the appearance of structural adjustment plans that would take the universities into a period of crisis and privatization.

3. A peripheral scenario within the periphery: the city of Guaranda

The State University of Bolivar is located in the city of Guaranda, the capital of the Province of Bolivar, in the highlands region of Ecuador and in the center-west of the country. It borders with the province of Cotopaxi to the north; with the provinces of Cañar and Guayas to the south; and with the provinces of Tungurahua and Chimborazo to the east. The province is comprised by seven cantons: Caluma, Chillanes, Chimbo, Echeandía, Guaranda, Las Naves and San Miguel. (GADB, no date).

According to data from the most recent census conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses, the province had 183,641 inhabitants. That same source showed how the population had grown, according to the Administrative Political Division in effect each year.

Table 1: Evolution of the Population of the Province of Bolivar, 1950-2010

1950	1962	1974	1982	1990	2001	2010
109,305	139,593	144,593	152,101	163,149	169,370	183,641

Source: INEC (2010 population census)

The main activities there are farming (at a variety of ecological levels), livestock-raising (mainly dairy cows) and logging. Bolivar is currently the Ecuadorian province with the highest illiteracy rate, even though the percentage has decreased over those of previous years.

In 2010 literacy had dropped to 13.9% compared to the 17.5% figure for 2001 and 21% for 1990. The Canton of Guaranda accounts for 44.5% of the total number of educational establishments and also has the largest concentration of teachers and professors. The situation of basic education (through the ninth grade) is critical in the countryside, but in the city there are even some higher levels of instruction.

Guaranda is the capital of the Province of Bolivar, and its canton represents 48% of the territory of the Province of Bolivar (approximately 19,000 km^2). The canton also boasts 91,900 inhabitants, nearly 50% of the population of the entire province. The population is 26% urban and the 74% rural, 54% female and 46% male.

The inhabitants of the Province of Bolivar define themselves mostly as mestizos (69.6%), and this percentage has not varied significantly since 2001 (66.6%). In second place, 25.4% considered themselves indigenous in 2010 compared to 23.7% in 2001. Those who considered themselves white represented only 2.7%, a figure much lower than the 8.3% of 2001 (INEC, 2010).

The same 2010 census indicated that the growth rate of the Canton of Guaranda was lower than the national rate but high with respect to the Province of Bolivar. Te rural parishes of Facundo Vela, San Lorenzo and Santa Fe had negative growth rates; these could be attributed to lower birth rates, migration processes and few employment opportunities. The parishes with the highest growth rates were Simiatug and San Luis de Pambil, in which most of the population lived (State University of Bolivar, 2013).

On October 22, 1977, an extension program of the State University of Guayaquil began to function in the city of Guaranda, Province of Bolivar. It came about as a result of efforts by local leaders, as described in detail farther below. It initially functioned as an extension program of the State University of Guayaquil's School of Administrative Sciences and operated normally until September 15, 1983, when the Honorable University Council of the State University of Guayaquil revoked the agreement with the Provincial Council. This made it possible to request the first center of higher education for the Province of Bolivar. That same year the corresponding procedures were undertaken for the designation of a state university for Bolivar, but they would take a number of years.

Creation of the UEB was eventually approved by the Honorable National Congress on June 20, 1989; then signed on June 29, 1989, as Executive Decree No. 32 by the then constitutional president Dr. Rodrigo Borja, from the Democratic Left political party; and published in Official Record No. 225 on July 4, 1989. The university was given the status of a legal person with which it began the stage of internal organization and structuring of proposals for professional education.

In 1989, programs began in the areas of physical education, aviculture technology and public accounting; the latter changed its name to accounting and auditing in 1990. The university currently operates with five schools, the most recent being the law school, created on June 12, 2002. By 2015, the university was offering degrees in Administrative Sciences, Agricultural/Livestock Sciences, Education Sciences, Health Sciences and Jurisprudence –

Social and Political Sciences. In 2013 the university was accredited by the Ecuadorian Council for the Assessment and Assurance of Quality in Higher Education and ranked in Category "C," which meant that it needed considerable improvement in terms of faculty and research.

As for the lines of research, the State University of Bolivar works in the following: 1) Health Sciences: genetics and biotechnology, health care management, prevalent infectious and non-infectious disease transmission, and animal health; 2) Agricultural/ Livestock Sciences: agriculture and livestock-raising, agroindustry, biomass, aquaculture, information and communication technologies, natural diversity and heritage, hydrology, and risks and catastrophes; 3) Administrative Sciences: administration and business management; 4) Education Sciences: education, knowledge, and interculturality; 5) Jurisprudence -Social and Political Sciences: rights and guarantees of the government plan for "Living Well." For the purposes of our research, we have focused primarily on these last two lines of research.

4. The State University of Bolivar: Higher education in the face of colonial features, agrarian problems and regional elites

Local leaders orchestrated the establishment of an extension program for the State University of Guayaquil in Guaranda. They formed the *Association de Promotores Pro-Universidad de Bolívar*, whose president was professor Ángel Arellano and whose vide-president was engineer Gabriel Galarza, who would later become the first chancellor for the State University of Bolivar (UEB). The association was composed mostly of primary school and secondary school teachers that shared the idea that education was one of the key players in transforming living conditions in the city and in the province. In that regard, Gabriel Galarza noted that the circumstance that enabled the association to be formed was the founding of a school with social projection:

> "A private night school began operating. There had been no night schools in the province, and one was started with the name '10th of November,' the date of Guaranda's independence. […] People that could not study during the day were able to study at this very inexpensive private school, members of the middle class, low-income or poor people. So, they were asking, "And how can we continue our studies? How can we go to Quito, to Guayaquil?" (GG)

This school made it possible, first of all, to support the aspirations of a group of educators to expand educational coverage at the secondary school level in the city of Guaranda. However, it is important to take into account the fact that the motivations of these professors had less to do with an enlightened project to spread knowledge in the province, and more to do with obtaining social mobility, especially among those people that had not had access to the educational system. Galarza contextualized it as follows: "It was the era of the encyclicals and of the Popes who began to talk about the issue of the Church of the Poor" (GG).

As will be seen farther on, one of the important issues to be understood for the academic development of the State University of Bolivar was the ties of its main stakeholders

to militancy in the Christian Left. For now, suffice it to say that the references made to the encyclicals and to the "Church of the Poor" reflect the distinctive tenor of the era in which the association began. As Ecuadorian sociologist Alejandro Moreano noted: "In the decades of the sixties and seventies, the reform sectors and imperialist powers promoted an ideology that saw education as one of the panaceas of change and social progress." (1990: 107).

The Province of Bolivar, from the perspective of stakeholders in education, did not remain outside the debates on social thought, and the creation of the aforementioned school was evidence of that. As Galarza indicated:

> "In the province there was that climate and we [the initial group] told ourselves […] many of us in that association were school teachers, and we said that if couldn't find people in Bolivar, if we didn't focus on education, we weren't going to leave. That was the start because there were a lot of teachers in that association. The president himself had an undergraduate degree in education, the principal of a private night school that later became a public school." (GG)

So, it can be seen that the concern about development in the Province of Bolivar and the transformation of living conditions was born in the field of education, and these teachers formed the political and academic networks that would enable the creation of a university extension program in Guaranda.

As noted in other studies (Goetschel, 2008), as of the early 20th century the education that grew out of the tutelage of the Church, the large landowners or the bourgeoisie became one of the key elements in the formation of a middle class in the country. In that same regard, Betty Espinosa indicated, "It could be said that education was a strategy for weakening dependency on the dominant classes; it was a kind of emancipation or a forcing of acknowledgement and respect through the development of human resources, and also a willingness to worry about oneself and achieve autonomy." (Espinosa, 2010: 386)

In the case of Guaranda, the intention behind creating an extension program was to curb migration to the country's major cities (Quito, Guayaquil and Cuenca) and thereby open up possibilities for people that did not have the economic resources to move to another city. They could stay in their own province and not feel forced to migrate. One of the people interviewed explained:

> "The university was created out of the province's need for higher education. Before, for example, the people that were educated were the ones that could afford to travel to Quito, Guayaquil or Cuenca to study. So, the people that did not have the economic resources couldn't study. An analysis was done, and it was determined that there were many public servants, many teachers, for instance, that taught or held public sector positions without a college education. When they were asked why they hadn't continued their studies, they cited the economic situation." (MP)

It is worthwhile to note that the Province of Bolivar, specifically the city of Guaranda, was isolated from the rest of the country, and this led to a high migration index and also to stagnation in economic growth. According to Gabriel Galarza, this responded to the fact that the construction of Ecuador's trans-Andean railroad –completed during the government of Eloy Alfaro in 1908– curtailed commercial and academic activities in the area around Guaranda because it was no longer a route between the country's coastal and highland regions. The railroad did not go through Guaranda, and this gave rise to a process of isolation, defined as follows by one of the people interviewed:

> "I did a study about this and compared the populations of Latacunga, Ambato, Riobamba, Guaranda and Babahoyo. The situation of Guaranda's economy and population was about as good as those of Riobamba, Ambato and Latacunga, and better than Babahoyo's. But then it started being isolated, and that isolation even created an isolation of ideas because Guaranda had also been a point of transfer for the ideas of independence. Many battles for independence occurred there, for the formation of the republic, struggles from the first governments until García Moreno. In the *alfarada,*[4] Guaranda was the first to rise up, but it was before the railroad was laid because people came through and stayed there. They brought books, they brought their worldviews, there was an exchange with outsiders from around the country, but later they became cloistered and had old colonial ideas. That is still true today." (GG)

So, the origins of university extension programs seem to be closely tied to a way of understanding and relating to the State. The Guaranda population's access to higher education was viewed as the possibility of recovering from the "neglect" that the State had caused by marginalizing the area from national development when the railroad route was chosen. Furthermore, higher education was one of the supports aimed at reconnecting Guaranda with the Ecuadorian nation because its "cloistered" existence had brought about very limited cultural exchange with the rest of the country and even, as the interviewee said, to a lack of renewal at the level of the development of social thought, for the Guaranda society still had an "old colonial" mindset.

This introduction to Guaranda and the Province of Bolivar has made it possible to infer that the higher education project was articulated, initially, with both an economic development intention for the province, and with a desire for recognition and visibility within the nation. In other words, there was a desire to stop being so isolated and to show the region as capable of producing thought that would be relevant for the country.

The idea of a university, as it was put forward by the pro-University of Bolivar association, was not completely embraced inside Guaranda society or by the State. The Guaranda elites, with ties to colonial and feudal administration, were reluctant to offer higher

[4] This refers to a cycle of insurrections that were part of the liberal revolution started in 1864 and led by Eloy Alfaro.

education to all sectors of the population since they considered higher education a privilege granted to those who could afford to pay for it. In the interview, Gabriel Galarza had this to say:

> "There were many families whose heritage dated back to the colony and who had a conservative way of thinking and said, 'Why do they want a university? Do they want the poor people here, the sons and daughters of our cooks' –in those words- 'to be educated so that we won't even have any servants in our house?' That is the level of their response. 'Why?' they would ask. 'Let the ones that have money send them to Quito and Guayaquil. Why are we going to want this here in Guaranda? There is already the Guaranda Technical Institute. Let them be technicians, mechanics, electricians. That's what it's for.' In other words, the class structure, even though it was not a society like the one in Riobamba, where there were huge landowners, still had that colonial mentality of the supposedly noble people of Guaranda, with certain last names. They didn't want the Guamáns or the Toapantas to go to college. If they wanted [more education], they could attend the Guaranda Technical Institute, and the ones that had money could send their children to Quito and Guayaquil. So, there was social egoism. There was resistance." (GG)

The way in which the elites understood education did not only respond to the colonial matrix of organization and hierarchy of the social space because it legitimized some people's access to education and, therefore, to the management of science and technology. The members of the Guaranda elite themselves, due to a division of classes, were interested in keeping the region isolated by preventing other actors from becoming connected to, or participating in, economic activities. For that reason, the person interviewed spoke of "social egoism" as an attitude held by these social groups in order to ensure their economic position. In any case, it is interesting to note the shared perception that education per se was a factor in social mobility and, according to Galarza, that was what actually worried the elites.

In addition, the fact that the State University of Bolivar began to function as an extension program of the University of Guayaquil was due to the scant support received from the State to make Guaranda's university project a reality. The reason for this was the State's interest in promoting industrialization policies that would lead to strengthening the large cities and, as is to be supposed, to weakening the rural sector. According to Arnaldo Bocco:

> In the rural sector, the two governments [that of Rodríguez Lara and that of the Military Triumvirate] designed similar policies, keeping wages below what workers in the cities earned. So, the strategy of accumulation in the urban sectors operated with a supply of migrant workers from rural areas, attracted by higher wages, by more satisfying living conditions than those of the rural areas, and by the slow growth of paid farm work. The traditional sector was articulated to the modern sector by supplying workforce needs, and the industrial reserve

army operated as a source of the resources needed to expand employment in the industrial-urban sector. (1989: 161)

This situation directly affected the university. In the case of Guaranda, Gabriel Galarza explained [the effect of] the State's interest in strengthening the areas of industry and production and therefore prioritizing university education in the country's major cities:

> "General Rodríguez Lara took power and used many of his resources to industrialize the country. The so-called "appliance industry" was really more the assembly of refrigerators, stoves, etc. He even started a vehicle assembly process at the time, in the south of Quito and in Guayaquil, and the tire industry in Cuenca, etc. These three cities started to grow, and the Ecuadorian population started turning to those cities. These processes took place in the sixties, seventies. Back then, many young professionals from Bolivar stayed in those cities, mainly in Quito and Guayaquil, but in Riobamba also. There was a kind of de-population of the Province of Bolivar." (GG)

In this context it can be argued that the knowledge production that generated value for the State was directly linked to productive activities because they were inscribed within the development model. In this sense, the conditions of knowledge production were of an industrial and also urban nature.

It is important to note that the processes of State modernization promoted during the second half of the twentieth century hoped to modernize the agricultural sector and eradicate traditional forms of hacienda management– this being one of the objectives of agrarian reform. However, it was not possible to do so completely. The bulk of State investment, as indicated previously, went to industrialization and led to a significant reduction in rural sector wages and precarious living conditions in the countryside (Bocco, 1989: 172). In Galarza's words, all of this process led to the "expulsion" of poor rural inhabitants:

> "That is to say, the agrarian reform, one of the impacts it caused in the country, was that it expelled many people from rural areas of small cities, to places where there were poles of an apparent industrialization. Quito began to grow, especially in the south, in some places in the north, but above all in the south. So, the Quito with 250,000 inhabitants started to change in the sixties and seventies. I saw that process first-hand. Guayaquil also began to grow. They were small cities in the Latin American context, but the processes of industrialization, that special industrialization that occurred, not broad industrialization, attracted a lot of workers, and Ecuador's agrarian reform expelled a lot of workers. So, they left the provinces and these cities began to grow." (GG)

The education sector was affected by the processes of State modernization because it was clearly tied to the requirements of the development model. In that regard, as the *Comprehensive Plan for Transformation and Development 1973-1977* asserted, "One fundamental point refers to the role that corresponds to education as an instrument of training

the labor required by the economic sectors so that they can perform their activities in a harmonious way."

One of educational planning's direct goals is to provide a country with the human resources that, with all their capacity developed, can participate fully in the process of economic and social development. (JUNAPLA, 1972: 393)

In the area of education, cities like Guaranda that were not directly related to the industrial activities of the time were constrained to generating labor for larger cities and were not sites of knowledge production. From that perspective, the "social egoism" of the members of Guaranda's elite is tied to the country's economic structure since the creation of a "colonial difference" between these groups and the Indians and peasant farmers was based on economic relations that saw in the latter cheap labor for the industries to which these elites were linked, for their economic activity was also related to industry (Acosta, 2005:114).

All of these restrictions forced the pro-University of Bolivar association to change its strategy. Instead of requesting the State to create a university, they went directly to Ecuadorian universities to ask for an extension program for the city of Guaranda.

At the time there was an atmosphere propitious for creating extension programs or satellite campuses because reflection about higher education had hugely accentuated the need for Ecuadorian universities to get closer to those sectors lacking higher education. Manuel Agustín Aguirre, to whom we referred earlier, a well-known intellectual and proponent of the country's second university reform, referred to extension programs in these terms during the speech he gave when he took office as chancellor of the Central University,:

> If people cannot go to universities, universities must go to the people. We have said this repeatedly. Through the media we shall struggle untiringly against cultural marginalization and the outside influences that are deforming our people's national mindset. I have already said that the Workers University built inside the Central University campus will definitely consolidate the University-People partnership. (Aguirre, 1973: 193)

In the debates of that time, it was assumed that universities were the place from which knowledge should irradiate to the rest of the population and support the transformation of the population's living conditions. It must be asked, then, what motivated the public university of Guayaquil to create an extension program in Guaranda.

According to Gabriel Galarza, migration from Guaranda and from the Province of Bolivar in general had mainly been to the city of Guayaquil. As part of the social and cultural policy of the natives of Bolivar living in Guayaquil, a social center was created (the "*Centro Social Bolivarense*"). Some of its members had ties to the education sector of Guayaquil, and they were the ones that helped contact university officials. The center's origin, nature and functions were described by Galarza as follows:

> "This Bolivar Social Center brought together people that had left to work in Guayaquil in the sixties and seventies. Some of them had become

> professionals, mainly in the area of education too. If the Province of Bolivar is characterized by something, it is that it has trained teachers for Los Ríos and for Guayas. Many people in Guayas owned private schools or worked at private schools. Some were even attorneys but worked as teachers at schools in Guayaquil. They formed the Bolivar Social Center, and there were quite a few families from Bolivar, like the Estuardo Sánchez family. He has his very traditional stores in in Guayaquil, and they are famous […].In Quito an association of people from Bolivar was also formed, but it did not have the same weight as this other social center. In the case of the university Guayaquil extension program, in the era of the extension program, the different presidents of the social center helped us a lot, and the board of directors. There was euphoria. They had also realized that a university could be a solution for Bolivar to overcome this situation, especially the high level of migration from the province, a really high level of migration." (GG)

Officials at the State University of Guayaquil reacted favorably to the proposal of an extension program in the city of Guaranda. In fact, as noted in the quotation from Aguirre, Ecuadorian universities were seen as a place in which the aspirations of the "people" could become a reality. The first intention was to start an extension program of the School of Education, given the notable lack of teachers for the Province of Bolivar, but that did not work out. So, instead, the School of Administration was put in charge of opening an extension program for a degree in Administration of Agroindustrial Enterprises.

For the State University of Guayaquil, opening up an extension program in Guaranda provided an opportunity to make its commitment to the "people" more visible. Thus, during a speech by the university's vice-chancellor on the occasion of the 111th anniversary of its founding, he remarked as follows:

> "Our tight budget has not kept us from undertaking projects that the towns that have approached us have dreamed of having. They have asked us to open up more doors so that their [future] generations will be able to realize their dreams. An extension program is functioning in Guaranda, in the field of agricultural/livestock management. We are assisting it with our experience and technology, and tomorrow, out of those classrooms, will come people capable of writing a positive chapter in the life of the fertile lands of Bolivar." (State University of Guayaquil magazine, 1994, p. 32)

Even though these remarks had the characteristics inherent to the discourse of such events, a discourse of exaltation, they contained some affirmations that should be contrasted with the perspective of the Bolivar actors involved in the process of creating the extension program. On the one hand, as noted previously, the project was not meant for the "people" of Guaranda, but rather for one sector, specifically that sector with a certain amount of intellectualism with links to education. Furthermore, the reference to the "fertile lands of

Bolivar" was no more than a rhetorical device that ignored the province's lack of the material conditions and level of communications needed for it to insert itself into the country's process of modernization. Finally, the technological "assistance" and experience to which reference was made should also be called into question because of the way Guaranda experienced the era of the extension program. In that regard, Gabriel Galarza noted:

> "Then, at the end of the year [1982], elections were held for the direction of the extension program. I was named director and on the basis of this extension program we undertook a huge effort to increase the majors because the only one available was Engineering for the Administration of Agroindustrial Enterprises. That was a long program in the area of administration, but it did not offer many conditions for technological development. In other words, there were no laboratories, nothing. It functioned at the offices of the Provincial Council Bolivar, in the early evenings and on weekends […] It did not train students as agroindustrial engineers. There were no laboratories. So, [they were] engineers in business administration, and the 'agroindustrial' part was thrown in. So, it was practically training managers without companies, without knowledge of agroindustries, just some classes that oriented this future engineer a little in agroindustry and then the students were taken to visit some agroindustrial plants in Ambato, in Quito, in Guayaquil, on their famous field trips and visits, but back then we couldn't have laboratories." (GG)

As can be seen, the degree in Administration of Agroindustrial Enterprises at the time did not have the necessary conditions for optimal outcomes, so it was not in a position to fulfill its study plan. This basically responded to the lack of resources that was affecting the State University of Guayaquil. In the speech mentioned above, the vice-chancellor affirmed:

> "The University of Guayaquil, which opens its doors widely, and has to because that is its nature and its purpose, cannot block the path of studies to any young people thirsty for wisdom and opportunities. With each class of students this becomes more complicated and, logically, more overwhelming because of the economic issue that there is no way of curbing, worse yet halting. (State University of Guayaquil magazine, 1994, p.31)

The initial proposal to have an extension program for the School of Education, in addition to having issues in the area of education, also responded to the fact that a degree in education required a smaller investment. However, this did not work out, and the agroindustrial administration degree was the one that finally launched the extension program in Guaranda.

Agrarian reform and industrialization –basic elements in the process of State modernization– swayed State University of Guayaquil officials to promote the degree of Engineering for the Administration of Agroindustrial Enterprises. This certainly called for a change in the intentionality of university studies in Guaranda as first conceived by the

association. This meant moving from a university project related to teacher training to a more technical one related to administration in the countryside.

The extension program in Guaranda began to function during the years in which the Law for Agrarian Reform was being applied; however, the way the extension program posed the agrarian issue was related to the way the country's land-owning elites imposed that reform, i.e., the reform efforts emanating from the State did not manage to reverse the land-tenure structure. The agrarian reform therefore ceased to be an issue of land ownership and became one of a technical nature, tied to profitable management. So, the agrarian debate focused on the technical aspects of production:

> The decisive action of land-owning groups weakened the reform policies and in 1976, when the second stage of the military regime got underway, the reform effort was completely abandoned in favor of a set of policies geared instead to maintaining the land tenure of the times and supporting a type of development based on the accelerated penetration of capital and technology in rural areas. (Bocco, 1989: 173)

In that regard, the degree in Administration of Agroindustrial Enterprises appeared as a field of knowledge that would justify the presence of an institution of higher educatiotn in Guaranda. Its aim, depsite the lack of instittutional conditions for correctly implementing the study plan, would be geared to business management for farming. So, it would not prove contradictoty for the School of Administrative Sciences of the State University of Guayaquil to be in chage of implementing the extension program project, rather than the School of Agronomy (Agricultural Sciences), precisely because from the stance of the State the orientation of agrarian reform had become more geared to administration and modernization.

However, it is worthwhile to note that the pressures to modernize the countryside did not come only from the country's oligarchic sectors or public administration. The configuration of the academic fields involved in studying and managing land led to similar conclusions. Particularly inside the social sciences there had been disputes about the way to understand problem of land tenure and management.

A study conducted for the School of Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine of the State University of Guayaquil in 1975, on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversry, began by stating the folloiwing:

> The farmlands of Ecuador and the world are DEFINITELY a STATIC resource, at risk for reducing their capacity for growing crops and for being irreversibly lost to erosion due to [poor] growing practices and [poor] soil conservation […].
>
> Ecuadorians and the world population constitute a DEFINITELY DYNAMIC resource. As a result, the number of hectares per person is seeing a DECLINING trend because of a GROWING population.
>
> If we accept the two facts made evident above, we are providing criteria for inferring that in the short term the social pressure for owning land will

> DEFINITELY be an UNSOLVABLE PROBLEM. Therefore, State action to distribute land does not have a scientific basis but is rather demagogical. (Gonzáles Holmes, 1975: 1)

The issue of the agrarian reform, as noted by this study, must be situated outside the field of politics, and it therefore does not need to be analyzed in terms of social inqueality or power relations in the countryside. As the author affirmed, it was of a "demagogical" nature since the land tenure problem could not be solved alone. Land is a finite resource that is to be distributed among numbers of people that are growing at a fast pace.

According to this study, the "scientific" approach would be to remove the issue from the political arena and instead articulate it with productive and economic issues because efforts to address the agricultural sector's problems, in the opinion of the author, must be geared to making production more efficient. Seen from this standpoint, it would not be logical to give peasant farmers land because they did not have the scientific and technological tools to manage it.

The study went on to say that even the elimination of the hacienda regime for "demagogical" reasons has had negative repercussions for the country's economy. "The incredible increase in the prices of milk, meat and other basic necessities is due to the abolition of precarious jobs and the application of the Law for Agrarian Reform. What have we gotten as a result? We have gotten high prices and a BUSINESS RECESSION." (Gonzáles Holmes, 1975: 2). The conclusion at which Gonzáles Holmes arrives is that effective utilization of the countryside will only be attained by promoting agricultural or agroindustrial enterprises with the capacity to be productive and competitive on the market. All of this is outside political considerations and, instead, a function of technical and scientific proposals.

The study ends by quoting U.S. author Lewis F. Carr:

> Here I have a large population [referring to small farmers, farmworkers and leasers of land in the U.S. South], poor, demeaned, dirty, without ambitions, unfortunate. These people need adequate food, hygiene, incentives and work, with technical direction until they can become self-sufficient. (Gonzáles Holmes, 1975: 3).

This study was sent to engineer Pedro Moncayo, chairman of the National Planning Board at that time. Thus, in the framework of this research, it indicates how the agraian debate was shaping up and, above all, the trends present in the State University of Guayaquil insofar as the agrarian reform and relations with peasant farmers.

According to Gabriel Galarza, the pressures to have technical colleges came mainly from the State and the imperalist policies disseminated throughout the Latin American region. On this matter, he noted:

> "On the one hand, the universities were pushed specifically to generate professions for these industries, and on the other, to make technological changes in the agricultural/livestock sector. The old hacienda, the huge old farm was to

> become a modern hacienda, using machinery and green farming, using agrochemicals, etc. […] So, in general, a lot of technical careers were needed. The country began to change after the reforms proposed by the so-called Alliance for Progress began, with the gathering in Montevideo, when people were afraid that the Cuban revolution was over and the North was saying instead of revolution let's have reform. Let's take these countries with huge farms and modernize them. So, instead of revolutions, reforms were started. That happened from Mexico to Argentina." (GG)

This reflects the tension that characterized the years in which the extension program operated in Guaranda. Even though it was critical of the State's development policies, it was obliged to offer a degree in line with the development model that was being promoted by the State and also within some sectors of academia. Nevertheless, the ties that the professors at the extension program in Guaranda had with other scholars and social organizations were characterized by staying within the militancy of the Left. Gabriel Galarza also defined himself as a leftist: "I was always in the Left. Back then it wasn't the Communist Party. We followed the Socialist line because socialism encompassed all of these movements that cropped up after the Cuban revolution." (GG). Those are the ties that had a decisive influence on the extension program's ability to find its own funding.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the economic situation of the State University of Guayaquil was not auspicious for maintaining the extension program. So, the networks that professors in Guaranda had with Socialist Party legislators made it possible to fund the extension program.

Thanks to this, the extension program had the opportunity to break ties with the Provincial Council of Bolivar, the entity in charge of paying extension program professors. However, in the opinion of Gabriel Galarza, it did not contribute effectively to the operation of the extension program. Moreover, the presence of the Provincial Council was viewed as the government intervention from which they wanted to be independent: "The Prefect practically wanted to run the extension program, and was [running it]." (GG). Thus, the State University of Guayaquil itself, through Chancellor Jaime Pólit Alcívar, expressed the need to form an autonomous university capable of procuring its own resources and managing its academics. On June 22, 1980, the dean of the School of Administrative Sciences of the State University of Guayaquil formally rejected the, involvement of the Prefect of Bolivar, specifically the attributions he had assumed by hiring and dismissing extension program professors, and argued in favor of the university's autonomy in conducting its academic life.

Because of the subrogation of the Prefect's functions, the University Council of the State University of Guayaquil terminated the agreement established with the Provincial Council. This meant that the extension program in Guaranda lost its funding from the Prefect's Office and had to rely on support from the Socialist Party legislators who, at the time, were able to allocate budget resources.

Furthermore, it is important to note that another of the setbacks experienced by the extension program in Guaranda was the lack of autonomy in organizing the academic program for the degree in Administration of Agroindustrial Enterprises. This was because the implementation of that program responded to what had been designed by the State University of Guayaquil, without the professors in Guaranda being able to make modifications. Likewise, as an extension program, it was impossible to expand the academic offerings or adapt the plan of studies to be more in keeping with local reality. One of the people interviewed pointed out:

> "When we opened up accounting and auditing, on our own, we had a run-in with the School of Administrative Sciences there. We used the same curriculum as the State University of Guayaquil. […] The School's steering council practically put me on trial since I was the director, and Mr. Lucio, who was the deputy director. We had to go before the University Council so that they wouldn't sanction us. We gained their support and continued offering that major, but it was always created on the basis of the curriculum of the State University of Guayaquil. When we became a university and opened up new degrees, we basically used programs prepared by Ecuadorians and foreigners." (GG)

Certainly, one of the important reasons for founding the State University of Bolivar was the possibility of having greater autonomy in formulating the academic proposal. During the years in which it functioned as an extension of the State University of Guayaquil, it opened up degrees in Aviculture Technology (1985), Authorized Public Accounting (1987), Physical Education, Sports and Recreation (1988) and Community Nursing (1988), but in all these cases the curriculum of the State University of Guayaquil was used.

The extension program's rapid growth was one of the reasons that influenced the presentation of the project to create a university, but that could not happen until there was a favorable political "moment." According to French philosopher Jacques Rancière, such a moment is not simply a point that vanishes over time. It also refers to momentum, a shift in balances and the beginning of another course of time." (2010: 141). In the case of Guaranda, the best time to create a university was when the political networks that it had built up were better able to influence national politics. Gabriel Galarza explained it this way:

> "The moment came in the year 1987, when this group of Socialist legislators[5] accepted the project as a bill for the National Congress. Fernando Guerrero –a legislator from the Ecuadorian Socialist Party– was the acting chairman. He was a congressman from Chimborazo, and he helped us get the project submitted and reviewed. Then the next year, it just so happened that the Province of Bolivar organized a march, especially to ask for roads and other public works, and we went to the National Congress and proposed the project

[5] That year the congressmen from the Socialist Party were: Diego Delgado (Azuay), Second Serrano (Cañar), Fernando Guerrero, Gerardo Niama Rodríguez (Chimborazo) and Enrique Ayala Mora (Imbabura).

> of creating a university. In 1989 Congress discussed the project and we had a positive response. The National Congress's report was favorable, and the law went to the Office of the President of the Republic --at that time Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos was the President of the Republic-- and when the law was passed by Congress, legislators from different parties supported us." (GG)

This project became a reality on June 20, 1989, when then President of the Republic Rodrigo Borja signed a decree to create the State University of Bolivar. It was difficult to makes its creation a reality because the State had a different idea of what universities should be like. So, as Gabriel Galarza noted, "We fought not to have it be called the Technical University of Bolivar. That was the name they wanted to use for it. We said, "No, sir. In the worst of cases, call it the State University of Bolivar, but it has to be a university that covers all of the fields that scientific and technological development need, and we said even philosophical and artistic ones." (GG).

When the State University of Bolivar first became an autonomous entity, it proposed to be a center for research and knowledge production with national and international outreach. For that reason, one of the first projects it promoted was the creation of a magazine to disseminate knowledge: *Enlace Universitario*, the first issue of which came out in 1991. It was viewed as a way to share the research conducted by the State University of Bolivar and other foreign institutions of higher education.

However, in addition to the academic purposes proposed for that magazine, it seemed to fulfill another important function: reinforcing universities' international academic networks. In fact, according to the current director of the UEB research department, the university has only one research journal, *Talentos*. In that regard, he said:

> "Our journal *Talentos* came out last year. There was no magazine, the department had no journal. It was published last year, and we hope to have it indexed in Latindex by the end of this year. There was a large delay in the area of research. […] There is *Academus*, but it depends on graduate students, and then there is also *Enlace Universitario*, but an actual research publication that can be indexed, there is only ours, *Talentos*, and that is what we are working on." (MM)

When the content of the magazine *Enlace Universitario* is analyzed, it can be seen that the different issues mentioned the agreements that the UEB had signed with universities abroad. This is not minor information because this university's possibilities for functioning depended on the academic networks it built up. As Gabriel Galarza noted:

> "We began the process of internationalization in the 1990s. It was a strong point of our university. We did not have many professors locally because all of them were going to Quito or Guayaquil, entire families. So, given that shortage, we signed agreements mainly with universities in Argentina, Chile and Cuba, and in Colombia; and those agreements not only brought about the process of

internationalization, but also led to our professors' education abroad and the beginning of our creation of master's degrees." (GG)

The then chancellor explained that his own education abroad, in Argentina, enabled him to enter into the agreements. He even served as the vice-president of the Regional Network of Latin American Universities, which was created in 1996 by a group of university chancellors from Ecuador, Colombia and Chile with the aim of propitiating academic exchanges and joint actions to strengthen higher education and support the processes of State modernization.

In any case, what is interesting is that the academic and political networks maintained by the UEB enabled it to become a university and to expand its academic offerings.

B. The first decades of independence: *Ujamaa* and education for autonomy

1. Tanzania and African socialism

The United Republic of Tanzania is located in the region of Africa south of the Sahara. It borders with Kenya and Uganda to the north; Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the west; Zambia, Malaui and Mozambique to the south; and the Indian Ocean to the east. It covers a surface area of 947,300 km2, of which 334,280 km2 correspond to jungle regions. At the end of 2014 the country's population was estimated as 51.82 million (World Bank, 2015), three times the figure for when the country of Tanzania was established in 1964, when Tanganyika, which had gained independence in 1961, merged with the Zanzibar archipielago, which had become independent in 1963.

Tanzania's economy is mainly based on farming and fishing. However, tourism has a signficant amount of importance thanks to the number of national parks and the promotion of sites such as Mt. Kilimanjaro or Serengeti. The fishing industry is one of Tanzania's most important activities due to the a number of natural bodies of water, including lakes (Victoria, Tanganyika, Manyara, Natron, Eyasi, Rukwa and Nyasa) and rivers (Nile, Congo, Kagera and Ruiji). Most of Tanzania is located about 200 meters above sea level, but there are some major elevations such as that of Mt. Kilimajaro (at 5895 m.a.s.l.). Climatic conditions vary: May to October is characterized by a long dry period, whereas rains between November and April favor the country's agricultural production.

In 2014, the Tanzanian population of more than 51 million had a growth rate of 3.15% over the previous year. Fertility indexes (birth rates) had increased and mortality rates had decreased. Life expectancy was 61 years (Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014). Between 1965 and 2014, the population grew by approximately 3% annually and reached a a density of 45 inhabitants/km2.

Table 2: Evolution of the Population of the Province of Bolivar, 1950-2010

	1965	1975	1985	1990	2000	2006	2010
Population	11,683,511	15,980,265	21,842,087	25,458,208	33,991,590	40,260,847	45,648,525
Annual growth rate (%)	2.99	3.2	3.09	3.17	2.55	3.01	3.17

Compiled by: FLACSO project; Source: World Bank

The official languages are Swahili and English, but the approximately 120 ethnic groups of African, Portuguese and Arab descent speak languages of their own. The adult literacy rate (% of people 15 years or older) rose from 67.8 % in 2010 to 70% in 2012. In education-related areas, the "gross primary school enrollment ratio" indicates that more people currently have access to that level, as opposed to numbers for previous decades, e.g., only 53% around 1975.

Table 3: Enrollment in primary education in Tanzania 1965-2014

	1965	1975	1985	1990	2000	2006	2010	2014
Secondary-school enrollment (gross %)	32.00	53.16	76.23	69.48	68.17	108.21	101.68	n.a.

Compiled by: FLACSO project; Source: World Bank

Meanwhile, if we look at the gross secondary school enrollment ratio, in 2010 only 31.65% of the population in the anticipated age ranges had access to that level of education. Although this figure showed room for improvement, it represented signficiant progress over the coverage of previous years.

Table 4: Enrollment in secondary education in Tanzania 1965-2014

	1965	1975	1985	1990	2000	2006	2010	2014
Secondary-school enrollment (gross %)	2.00	3.07	3.42	n.a.	n.a	n.a	31.65	n.a

Compiled by: FLACSO project; Source: World Bank

Likewise, World Bank figures can help us understand the situation of teritiary (university) education in the country: only 4% of the population had access to this level of education. One extreme data source indicated that around 1990 only 21 out of every 100,000 inhabitants accessed higher education.

For 2010, research and development expenditures accounted for 0.56% of the GDP (World Bank, 2015). The country had a GDP of USD 49.18 billion and was regarded by the World Bank as a "low-income country" (World Bank, 2015).

In order to understand Tanzania's current reality, we must look back to the end of the country's colonial period, when it belonged to the British government. In 1954 Julius Nyerere founded the Tanganikan African National Union (TANU) political party with the aim of fighting against racial discrimination, colonists' appropriation of tribal lands and the colonialist policies of the British government. Under the banner of sovereignty for Tanganyika, the TANU became an important political organization, and in 1960 Nyerere served as a minister in the British administration and later as prime minister, after the country gained independence on December 9, 1961. In 1964 the country known as Tanzania was legally established as the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, with Nyerere going from being the president of Tanganyika to being the president of the Federation of Tanzania. His time in office ended in in 1985 when he voluntarily resigned because he was unwilling to be subject to IMF mandates.

The important turn towards national socialism occurred in 1967, with the Arusha Declaration, which put the means of production in the hands of the State, for a massive nationalization. The declaration expressed the principle of self-reliance with priority for the development of agriculture under a community-owned property system known as *ujamaa* (which means extended family and, by extension, socialism). The need to centralize education, health and secondary roads was identified in 1969.

Local governments and authorities were eliminated, and a central system of government was established. The poor qualifications of the people responsible for government detracted from their crediblity, leading several towns to protest and name their own agents or representatives. President Julius Nyerere continued to lead the country in these major transformations until 1985. During that time. he sought to remain distant from foreign determination and dependence, within a model of African socialism. This period of relative stability was interrupted by the oil crisis, the war with Uganda and the breakdown of the East African Community.

Together with Leopoldo Senghor of Senegal, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sekou Toure of Guinea, Julius Nyerere is considered one of the architects of African socialism (Friedland and Rosberg 1964). The theories of African socialism differed from those of European socialism, and it was understood to be built around deeply-rooted African community life, not Marxist class struggles. It sought to incorporate a pan-African model of social development with a large public sector.

2. The "developmental university" model at the service of African sovereignty

In the 1960s and 1970s, the focus of attention for most African universities was to build an institution that could shape the professionals required to occupy leadership positions in society; to create a curriculum relevant for the newly independent nations; to revise textbooks; and to ensure a faculty that could guide this process. According to Altbach and McGill Peterson (1999: 32), the African universities had to face three challenges during the independence period: 1) they took on the task of preparing high-level members of the labor force to lead the new nations; 2) they were expected, on the one hand, to maintain the colonial period's best practices for academia and knowledge development and, on the other hand, to respond to the incipient nations' actual problems, needs and aspirations; and 3) they were also to serve as the driver of economic development, although few universities fulfilled this role.

According to a World Bank study (1991), the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) was one of the few in which the school of economics and its research had contributed significantly to the analysis of the country's economic policy. This university housed the *Economic Research Bureau* (ERB), which began its work in 1965 thanks to support from the Rockefeller Foundation. It was initially composed of foreigners, and Tanzanian scholars completed their graduate studies outside the country. This center functioned until 1971, when the Rockefeller Foundation's support was suspended; however, it resumed its work in 1979, when the School of Economics of Sweden's Lund University began supporting it.

By the 1990s, the ERB had dozens of Tanzanian researchers that were contributing to analyses for public policy-making. According to the World Bank, four factors contributed to UDSM economists's political involvement: 1) support from international institutions so that UDSM could become a center of excellence for research; 2) Tanzanian authorities' willingness to have public debate about public policies; 3) the relevancy of the UDSM economists' analyses for the needs of the country; and 4) the donors' realization that having local experts is beneficial for their work. It is estimated that between 1961 and 1973 the Rockefeller Foundation invested some 7.1 million dollars in the institutional development of the Makerere, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam universities.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that, during the 1960s and 1970s the theory of human capital formulated by Adam Smith (1994) had an important application in the field of education. This theory proposed that the more years of education that a person has, the higher his or her productivity. This made it possible to establish a connection between formal education and development.

Although the origins of the idea of a developmental university come from different traditions, they can be traced back to the late 19th century until the mid-20th century, when attention centered on the debate about higher education. In this regard,

Julius Nyerere, in his June 27, 1966 inaugural speech for the World University Service Assembly held in Tanzania, affirmed that:

> The work of universities in a developing society must place emphasis on subjects of immediate urgency for the nation in which they exist, and must be committed to the people of that nation and their humanistic goals […] We in poor societies can only justify expenditure on a university –of any type- if it promotes real development of our people […] The role of a university in a developing nation is to contribute; to drive ideas, manpower, and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity and human development. (cited by Coleman, 1986: 478)

The United Nations labeled the 1960s the "Decade of Development" and 1961 the "Year of Africa." In that framework, in 1962 UNESCO held the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, which established that higher education must be the determining social factor in developing African society and that it must also raise the intellectual standards of the population, improve the quality of education at all levels, and provide training and preparation as a function of the countries' needs. The role of higher education in Africa was established at that conference and stipulated as follows:

1. To maintain adherence and loyalty to world academic standards;

2. To ensure the unification of Africa;

3. To encourage elucidation of and appreciation for African culture and heritage and to dispel misconceptions of Africa, through research and teaching of African studies;

4. To develop completely the human resources for meeting manpower needs;

5. To train the 'whole man' for nation building;

6. To evolve over the years a truly African pattern of higher learning dedicated to Africa and its people yet promoting a bond of kinship to the larger human society. (UNESCO, 1963: 19)

A decade later, in July 1972, the Association of African Universities issued a statement in which it reiterated that all universities had to be "developmental universities." These gatherings and others held in Ghana, Khartoum and Addis Ababa clearly affirmed that the African governments should regard higher education as the best ally for devising development strategies for the region. This idea would be reflected in public policy documents in most African countries during the 1960s and 1970s (Tadesse Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, 2013).

The functions assigned to this developmental university were broader than those traditionally fulfilled by universities, i.e., teaching, conducting research and being engaged with society at large. In the case of teaching, what was sought was to generate

curricula relevant for African societies and to address practical development issues. The university extension program became part of the curricula. In the area of research, the generation of applied research proposals was encouraged: proposals related to the requirements of the governments' ministries of development or favoring technological development. As for the area of ties to society, professors were invited to participate in public policy-making, and training programs were devised for other members of society outside the university system.

Coleman (1986: 484-485) also noted that, in order to perform the aforementioned functions of the developmental university, it would be necessary to ensure some policies, for example: to align the universities's development plans with those of the governments; to coordinate their actions with othdr public and private agencies, especially with those that also offered post-secondary education; to recognize professors that are involved in development activities, and to ensure the continuity and promotion of their work; to provide the structure necessary for implementing development activities; and to emphasize the developmental role of universities in public actions and public policy-making.

In addition to the functions already cited, developmental universities perform others related to cultural and identity issues. Thus, in the 1960s and 1970s it was possible to see how they played the the role of an agent of Africanization, i.e., the institutions of higher education became instruments for the creation of an African identity inside these colonial institutions. "Africanization" is understood as a way to defend aspirations, heritages, the ways of thinking and the identity of Africa, under the premise that social institutions, due to their colonial heritage, had not fulfilled that role. In the case of the universities, they had to undergo a change in order to respond to the specificities of African culture.

As part of the Africanization process, therefore, new national universities were created in a number of African countries, with diversified curricula and types of institutions markedly different from those of colonial universities. Some of these universities were the Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria, the University of Science and Technology in Ghana, the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Nairobi (Tadesse Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, 2013: 39)

The role of Africanization was amply endorsed by nationalists, who found in it a way to overcome colonialism; however, this idea was questioned because of its Afrocentric tendency, which could lead to the continent's isolation from the rest of the world. Implementing this Africanization policy was not so easy because knowledge and research have universal trends, i.e., they are not circumscribed to a single region or locality. For that reason, maintining the idea of Africanization encountered a series of difficulties and contradictions. Furthermore, the African professors who began teaching at the incipient universities came mostly from a European educational background and therefore approached higher education in terms of international collaboration.

This meant that the idea of Africanization was replaced by the notion of contextualization, which basically referred to the fact that scientific knowledge, regardless of its origin, should be geared to analyzing and solving the problems of African societies. It also meant that research done in collaboration with universities and researchers in the rest of the world should be encouraged.

According to Aarts and Greijin (2010), developing countries have little infrastructure for the generation of knowledge, and this hinders their efforts to attain the desired development. The gap between Africa and other developing countries is large with respect to the generation of knowledge. According to these authors, for that reason poor countries need a great deal of support in technical assistance and international cooperation to develop appropriate policies for the development of knowledge. To achieve this, contextualization is one of the most important strategies. In this regard, they affirm: "innovation in the South is not about copying the North, but about tapping knowledge from global sources and using it to develop solutions that are suitable for specific local contexts" (Aarts and Greijin, 2010: 11). Thus, in the 1970s discussions began about the contextualization of higher education in Africa, as one of the characteristics of the generation of knowledge.

In order to achieve the foregoing, it was concluded that the main intrument in the generation of contextualized knowledge was research. This idea was taken from the North American university model, which emphasized the ties between research and teaching processes. Thus, there was a shift away from the European university model to the U.S. one, which was well received by the African universities.

Along these lines, another of the roles assigned to the developmental university during the 1960s and 1970s was the role of nation builder. In other words, the function of being an agency of nationality-building was added to to the university's classical functions noted above. Thus, "African governments were trying to reconstruct African identity by creating strong African institutions which could display the sense of nationalism among the public." (Tadesse Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, 2013: 40). Strengthening public institutions called for forming a middle class that could occupy bureaucaratic positions, and universities were therefore encouraged to educate accountants, teachers, doctors, technical experts and engineers. These professions were considered important for rebuilding nations.

This idea of university was also in keeping with the pan-African movement of the 1960s, which found in the university a propitious space for in its efforts to vindicate nationalism. In this regard, Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of the pan-African movement, at the inaugural session of the University College of Ghana in 1956, noted: "We must in the development of our universities bear in mind that once it has been planted in the African soil it must take root amidst African traditions and cultures" (cited by Letsekha, 2003: 9). As can be seen, during this period the universities took on multiple functions because they were expected to exert political and economic influence and also to be

involved in the reconstruction of culture and identity. Due to all of this, it is important to indicate that, by the 1960s and even prior to that decade, the university student movement had a very significant political component. According to Gentili:

Universities and various other institutes of higher education became centers for dissident political organization and became radicalized during the 1960s in areas such as democratic freedoms, land rights, freedom of expression and freedom of the press, the question of nationalities, and the right to self-determination. (Gentili, 2012: 236)

This meant that during the independence period the student movement took a leading role within African societies, with the aim of creating patriotic awareness about the national liberation struggles. The student movement even helped to create alliances among different organizations, so that they could wage an articulated fight against colonial domination. Once independence was achieved, the student movement remained active in making political demands, for it opposed the political structures that were appearing. For example, the student movement called for creating a federal union of a new kind instead of creating new States.

One of the most important grievances was that, in spite of independence, a new bourgeoisie was being formed in the newly independent republics, reproducing social inequalities and maintaining the population in a state of neocolonialism. Sow (1994: 30) indicated what the student movement was calling for during this period: 1) to have a total break with all colonial institutions and imperialist powers, 2) to dismantle all foreign bases in national territories, 3) to put an end to all monopolies, and 4) to organize democratic institutions to ensure the the participation of the masses in nation-building.

In any case, it can be seen that the identity issue extended across African societies during the 1960s, and the universities were not indifferent to that. In fact, they started a process of curriculum review in order to adapt teaching content to Africa's new political situation.

The dependent and decontextualized nature of the higher education curricula on the continent called for a fundamental overhaul of the whole epistemological model underlying the educational system. Given Africa's history of colonial subjugation, the basic idea of Africanization of education encapsulating a quest for relevance was not implausible. (Letsekha, 2003: 9)

However, despite the political nature of the Africanization of university education, it was not fully supported by all sectors of academia. There was some criticism of this proposal and of the postulates of a developmental university in general. As noted by Cloete and Maasen (2015), the idea was widely accepted and endorsed by more nationalistic professors because it gave them value added with respect to those professors that were expatriates. The latter group felt much more compfortable with the traditional university model of a self-governing institution in which the university elite was in charge of producing the human capital required for development.

3. From the colonial British Local Government School to the Institute of Development Management of the University of Dar es Salaam

The city capital of Tanzania is Dar es Salaam, which is also an economic hub. Large ports sit along its coast on the Indian Ocean and see a wide variety of products moving through them. Since the city is growing and continuing to develop trade, many of the country's higher education offerings focus on training for business and business administration. In the city, public transportation stops display signs for Chinese cooperation. Many people from India are also seen in Dar es Salaam, and in general there are many buildings, especially in the central area. In the peripheral area, there is much informal commerce, and traffic is heavy because police officers are at the traffic lights and can stop vehicles for more than ten minutes to allow vehicles to pass in the other direction.

The city of Mzumbe, in the region of Morogoro, some four hours by bus from Dar es Salaam, is located in a mountainous area in which there are large hotels for tourists because of its proximity to one of the national parks: the Mikumi. Although English is the official language, it is not spoken in everyday life. In stores, on buses, and among street vendors, Swahili is used. In primary schools, classes are taught in Swahili, but in high schools and universities they are taught in English, which is a sign of formal education.

In contrast with Mzumbe University, the campus of the University of Dar es Salaam is quite large, and it offers majors oriented especially to business, administration and economics. As we will see in the last chapter, on the development of the social sciences, this has become a trend in university degrees in Tanzania. In Dar es Salaam, there is even a Mzumbe University campus that only offers graduate degrees in administration and business. Despite the fact that those interviewed said that Mzumbe University was one of the country's small universities, it is very well known for its majors and many students from other cities go to study there. The university has a couple of research journals, the main one of which is *Uongozi* (Leadership) with a focus on social sciences, and it has had the largest number of issues published.

The beginnings of Mzumbe University date back to 1953, when the administration of the British Local Government School was created in Mzumbe during the colonial period, for the purpose of educating local chiefs and their children as native authorities at the service of the colonial structure, as tax collectors, court secretaries, etc. The origin of the institution as a trainer of local government administrators adapted to the colonial structure has marked the institutional mission despite the major transformations that took place in the sociopolitical context during the second half of the 20th century. It is one of very few provincial universities that have a school of social sciences, but from the standpoint of its own stakeholders the institution has never

opted for critical positions but has rather been a university serving a functional role for the government.

With the independence of Tanganyika in 1961, a system of local governments adapted to the colonial structure was established, relying on districts and municipal councils. The central government gave local governments some funds for education, health care and infrastructure, but by 1964 some had gone bankrupt and drastic measures, including oversight and control, had to be taken. In this context, the Local Government School continued to operate, but now devoted to training personnel in the fields of local government administration, finance, accounting and law for later employment in the government and lower courts.

In 1967 the Arusha Declaration transformed the situation for State government and also for education. As a project to adapt the principles of socialism to conditions in Tanzania –using the community life model of the Arusha people– the program stressed self-sufficiency and the nationalization of all means of production.

> There was a massive nationalization of all major means of production in economy, industry and trade in 1967. We became socialists which therefore meant that there was a huge demand for personnel to manage new public enterprises industries and trade institutions. This was followed by state decentralization, in which there was a move to transfer power to the regions. Again this created a demand for experts to handle regional administration and therefore the Local Government School became an institute to provide the needed training. (JK)

Socialism in Tanzania therefore required advanced education in management to respond to the need to train professionals for the nationalized companies and the decentralized administrations.

In its second national development plan, the government of Tanzania gave priority to setting up an institute for development management (Habi 1991, p.90). Prior to that advanced training in management had only been available abroad. “It was thus found imperative that such training should be provided in Tanzania where it would be required… to be responsive to the needs, aspirations, policies and background of Tanzania” (Ibid). Furthermore, it was pointed out that dependence on foreign institutions went against the national policy of self-sufficiency or self-reliance. The Local Government School merged with the Public Administration Institute of the University of Dar is Salaam and legally became the Institute of Development Management (IDM) in 1970. The institute was established as a center of government and formed part of the central division central in the Office of the President. In 1972 the National Assembly enacted a law establishing the IDM as an autonomous State organization and making it a legal entity with a governing body of its own. After the suspension of local governments, the institute continued to offer training and

consultancy in the areas of management planning, business administration and accounting.

In this period, the academic work of Dar es Salaam's new extension campus in Mzumbe reflected its role in the new socialist setting. According to a Mzumbe University professor that experienced these changes in the institute's concerns:

> The institution's main concern was to conduct the designated training and educational program and activities, which first produced graduates to be employed in various public service positions. Second, members of the academic staff carried out some outreach services including commissioned research studies whose outputs were used by the Government and by para-State, public and private organizations for better planning and decision making. (MM)

During this period and the early 1980s, critical issues for dependent international relations were researched, as well as issues related to the need to foster citizens' and workers' participation in the management of the socialist government. Some of the research undertaken by Mzumbe University and its professors during that period included: "International trade as an engine of unequal growth: The irrelevance of traditional theory"; "Disengagement from imperialism: an imperative for the structural transformation of Tanzanian-Type Economies"; "What do Tanzanian workers like in their jobs? Let the workers themselves tell"; "Workers' participation in management"; and "Civil Servants value system and public policy making in Africa for the 1980s."

Quotes from this latter article, published in 1981, show the period's general concern about orienting the transformation of a post-colonial society to serve the nation's population:

> What social value system(s) ought to be possessed by the African public servant in view of his critical role in the ongoing socio-economic and political changes in his country? The most pressing problems facing African nations, and which are likely to be of major concern for some decades to come, centre around the challenges of under-development and nation-building... Public servants should be motivated significantly towards sacrifice for the greater welfare of society, that is, towards a commitment to serve the bulk of society. (Kadzamira and Namalomba 1982, pp.25-26)

Of note in this article is the insistence on the importance of understanding and incorporating endogenous African traditions and culture into the new institutions that could steer the continent's new nations towards more just societies. In their reflections on the education and values of Tanzanian public servants, Kadzamira and Namalomba incorporate an insightful analysis of institutionalized colonialism:

> The bias that public bureaucracies reflect toward the ruling elite is not deliberate; rather, it arises from the value systems which have been acquired and reinforced through many decades of colonial experience and continued dependence on Western institutions and practices. For example, we find that the major role of the colonial bureaucracies was that of policing institutions, observing fervently the need for law and order which, in essence, meant overcoming any forces which would endanger or offset the interests of colonial rulers. (p.30)

In the Kadzamira and Namalomba article, we can also see influences of both the pan-Africanism that was being articulated in nearby Dar es Salaam and Nyerere's call for an African form of nation, State and economy:

> When Western liberalism is grafted onto the African set-up, we note a lack of congruity. This is more accentuated when we put the economic dimension into perspective. The picture that emerges tells us that public administration machineries are used for personal and corporate group interests by elites... We argue that most of the societal problems being experienced by African nations can be explained in terms of the asymmetrical synchronization of Western values and institutions with the socio-cultural environment of these new nations. ... However, it is neither the civil servants nor the elites who suffer from this 'value institutional' gap; rather, it is the majority of the population of these societies [and] the welfare of the masses... (pp.30-31)

Thus, the trajectories of the universities in the Global South, especially in the cases of Ecuador and Tanzania, were marked by the immersion of rural projects in national development efforts. These "local" projects responded not only to the demands of the States, but also to the way in which the latter participated in global systems. That participation came from the particular readings that the Province of Bolivar and the region of Morogoro had of their possibilities for action given their peripheral conditions compared to those of other, larger-scale educational projects. In the framework of this research, what proves essential is for studies about the Global South not to attempt merely to find similarities but rather to identify the ways that processes are acquired (whether they are processes of transformation or not) within production conditions that must articulate global aspects with local aspects. Nevertheless, in the cases of Ecuador and Tanzania it is possible to see that the development of higher education programs in rural areas was affected by readings of the colonial condition. These meant that the aim became to surmount the past and set their sights on ideals framed within the special form taken by the itinerary of modernity in the Global South, an itinerary that in the 1980s and 1990s meant assessing "progress'" as a function of the issue of "development."

CHAPTER III
FROM THE CRISES OF THE LAST DECADES OF THE 20TH CENTURY TO THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

During this period, the number of institutions of higher education in Latin America rose from de 330 in 1975 to approximately 2000 in 2003 (Fernández and Perez 2013). Meanwhile, university enrollment in developing countries increased more than ten-fold, going from almost 7 million students in 1970 to more than 75 million in 2004 (Gurus 2011, p. 28). Academic capitalism expanded thanks to the universalization of knowledge and the globalization of capital (Montenegro 2010).

The period between 1980 and 1990 saw differences in the ways the territories of the Global South responded to the complex and subordinate relationship between South and North. However, when considering the dynamics whereby rural areas combined knowledge production conditions, these were characterized by local strategies that did not permit visualizing the issue on two levels: the dynamics of differentiation of spaces inside the States; and within this differentiation, the ways in which the State as a whole responded to global capitalism.

A. University responses to national contexts of structural adjustments

1. Ecuador: Massification, privatization of higher education and cultural spaces for the epistemic proposal of the UEB's School of Andean Culture and Education (EECA)

The number of university students in Ecuador increased by 855.29% between the 1970s, when the oil boom began, and the 1980s (Paladines 2003). However, the lack of investment in public education during the 1970s meant that the institutions were ill prepared for this massive influx of students (Hurtado 1994). This translated into an insufficient number of professors, the lack of true research development (Moreano 1990), continued dependence on foreign scientific and economic output and the definitive installation of party politics in university organization (Pacheco 2103). The stories about the Ecuadorian university system's crisis in the last decades of the 20th century are well known. The crisis was due to the fact that this period was marked by an unchecked increase in "garage universities," as well as the fragmentation, differentiation and privatization of higher education and the decline of "university quality," which has also been amply discussed in a number of papers (Long 2013).

Nevertheless, as Patricio Pilca (2014) pointed out, the historicity of readings is limited, focused almost solely on institutional deficiencies, party interests and the mercantile functions of university education in the 1980s and 1990s (Ramirez and Minteguiaga 2010), which allowed partial responses to the problem of educational "quality." It was precisely the scant attention paid to longer historical trajectories and contexts of Latin American, and Ecuadorian, universities in their previous commitments

that promote and justify the State's unilateral intervention through higher education reform.

Even so, it is unquestionable that the transformations of educational institutions in the late 20th century led to a university system with urgent needs. In 1976, there had been 14 universities and polytechnic schools in Ecuador. Thirty years later, in 2006, that number had increased five-fold to 71 Ecuadorian universities, 32 of which were self-financed private universities.

In that context, the creation of the State University of Bolivar was an important moment in the history of higher education in the Province of Bolivar, because that enabled greater autonomy in the design and implementation of academic programs. From the start, Guaranda's university project was closely connected to the idea of serving as a model for the province's transformation process. However, as noted, the future of that project had to rely on the academic and political networks that State University of Bolivar officials had built up.

The ties with Bolivar natives living in Guayaquil made it possible to create an extension program. Members of the Socialist Party first facilitated funds for the extension program and then introduced the university bill to the National Congress. Likewise, the relationship with Socialist Party politicians enabled the university to be considered as such and not be restricted to only technical options.

The early 1990s saw a turning point in UEB operations: the School of Andean Culture and Education (EECA) was founded in 1992. What is singular about this project is that it was the first higher-education proposal aimed at the indigenous population. Unlike the projects to create the extension program and the University of Guaranda, in which the academic and political networks functioned as vehicles to channel the internal demands of professors in Guaranda, EECA was a project that came from outside the UEB, but the latter provided institutional support. Thus, the political commitments of the EECA founders translated into epistemological premises and academic policy proposals geared to rebuilding the dominant project of Nation-State. In its efforts to become an institution, the School of Andean Education and Culture turned to the State University of Bolivar, due to the ideological and party-line like-mindedness of Gabriel Galarza (the university's founder and first chancellor) and Cuenca sociologists Milton Cáceres and Cecilia Andrade:

> "When I met them - Milton Cáceres and Cecilia Andrade – I asked them to help me set up a school for some indigenous people there in Bolivar. I met them at meetings of the revolutionary Left here in Quito, before FADI, the *Frente Amplio de Izquierdas* [the leftist front], and all that was formed. [...] I made the proposal and they said 'Let's do it.' They were on

board. They were good friends of Monsignor Proaño[6] and they brought people, teachers, from Riobamba too, to start the EECA." (GG)

"So we said this is what we have to do: [make] a space for indigenous education but not with an indigenous focus, with an education focus, where indigenous cultures can start a dialogue with the cultures of the West. [...]They thought that we were going to provide a space for trivial cultures […] no university was interested. They were interested in indigenous education, literacy, kind of their own offering of knowledge. The only university that opened its doors was the University of Bolivar. When Gabriel Galarza, a friend of ours, was the chancellor. So, we packed our bags and went there. [That's how] the school was born, and in the field of education, that was the indigenous world's way into the universities." (MC)

The political ties of both Gabriel Galarza and Milton Cáceres to the militant Left became academic cooperation ties to make the EECA a reality. However, this was certainly possible thanks to a shared way of understanding that transformations were needed in the thought and militancy of the Left. Gabriel Galarza recognized the limitations of classic Marxism:

"The revolution in Latin America, especially in the Andean countries, does not make progress, does not advance, if Indians aren't involved. The indigenous people form part [of it] and break with some of the orthodox Marxist schemes because they incorporate cultural and ethnic aspects, as Gramsci said. Marx didn't say it. [...] So, the Communist Party, very connected to the Soviet world, took it as a catechism and there were some that said, 'No, sir, first of all here there are no workers of the State, there are no industries here. What we have are peasant farmers and indigenous people, who are peasant farmers too, and indigenous peasants.' And that reality has to be taken into account for any change here in Ecuador." (GG)

In other words, what the person interviewed said is that the debate within the Left was divided between those who stressed the capital-work contradiction and the issue of access to means of production, and those, like Galarza or Cáceres, who considered the issue of cultural identity relevant when thinking about revolutionary processes:

"And in those same reflections of the Ecuadorian Marxist Left, of which I've formed part, that is where there are the largest debts for the process of reflection. The fact that these cultures that are not only "anti-capitalist" but

[6] A Catholic bishop who devoted himself to working with indigenous communities along the lines of Liberation Theology.

> also "non-capitalist" is overlooked. It is not possible to build another country without taking into account this incredible contribution." (MC)

In that regard, the people interviewed affirmed that the underlying debate within the Ecuadorian Left, was related to the definition of the "conveyor" of the revolution. If it is lies in the State modernization policies, there are two ways of understanding it and relating it to Ecuadorian modernization.

It could be argued that the classic Left was in line with the public policies of modernization, because, whether via industrialization –in the 1970s- or via business privatization –in the 1990s- the site of development was the cities. Within Marist thought, the very contradictions that capitalism generates are the ones that produce the revolution. In the Ecuadorian case, as can be seen in the interviews, the high degree of migration to the country's major cities, to become part of industrial activities, would make it possible to assume that that was where the revolution was going to develop. As Ecuadorian philosopher Bolívar Echeverría said, the city is a metaphor for modernity, and the place where it settles:

> The constitution of the world of life as a *substitute* for chaos and of civilization for barbarism is channeled through certain special requirements. These are the process of building a very particular entity: the Grand City, as an exclusive space for what is human. (1995, 161)

In this sense, it would be the city [and] the workers settled there who would be in charge of ousting capitalism. However, from the perspective of the actors involved in the EECA, an individual outside modernity was needed, someone with the capacity to generate an alternative model of society. For that reason, Milton Cáceres characterized the indigenous communities as "non-capitalists," which made it possible to infer that a reflection exercise regarding its cultural matrix could provide the conditions for building a truly alternative society.

This identity-related concern meant that the Leftist militancy of the EECA actors would abandon the classic party line and begin dialogues with other perspectives within the Left, specifically those from the Christian Left. The Liberation Theology movement, in which Monsignor Leonidas Proaño was a key player in the country's central highlands, managed to do systematic work that contributed to the organization of indigenous and peasant farmer communities. Thus, the political networks that Milton Cáceres and Cecilia Andrade had established prior to the founding of the EECA were inscribed within the circle of militants from the Christian Left. As one of the people interviewed noted:

> "Leaders of the Christian Left: Gerardo Venegas de la Torre, he's a researcher [...] at the Catholic University in Quito. For quite a while he was a professor in Cuenca. He was an ideologue, and a very serious guy in his theoretical profession, but these people from the Christian Left, we really have this style of not being so involved in public life. Pablo Suárez

> [...] Aldo Muñoz, Francisco Muñoz. Gerardo Venegas is from Riobamba but he lived in Quito for years, and he lived in Cuenca for years. Pablo Suárez is from Quito. He worked quite a while at the Embassy of The Netherlands and in some government office. Francisco Muñoz Works at the Central University. Aldo Muñoz works at the magazine *Tendencia*. He's in charge of publishing that magazine, and there are articles by all of them. [...] Some of the youngest people were priests, and they were persecuted during that commotion when a lot of people from Ecuador were arrested. There was the leader, one of the first leaders, of Ecuarunari, something like Ulcuango. He must be pretty old now. Sara Oviedo de Riobamba; and here locally, Pablo Estrella, Carlos Castro, José Guashima. Ecuarunari was very involved in this revolutionary movement of the Christian Left. Actually, when everybody was behind the worker movement because it was supposedly the vanguard movement in the issue of the peasant farmer movement and, also in that understanding of the Indian issue little by little, there was Christian influence. We were militants of the Christian Left." (CA)

Later on, the Christian Left movement saw a division between one faction known as National Liberation and another one known as Social Tendency. Milton Cáceres and Cecilia Andrade severed their ties with the Christian Left because of an ideological radicalization. As one of them commented, within their militancy experience, maintaining ties with the "priests" was not sustainable. Moreover, from what could be discerned in one of the interviews, the connections with indigenous thought meant that the EECA reflection did not ascribe to any religious tendency but rather promoted what they labeled "inter-spirituality":

> "I was brought up with a Christian background, as we people from Ecuador and from Cuenca are, but sure I always took the side of Liberation Theology when I was 18 years old. I'm a Christian, but I'm no longer Catholic, not since I understood the Vatican State. I literally walked out on that, but I was still a Christian. I am very fond of Christianity because it awoke something spiritual in me, but at that time my proposal was totally inter-spiritual and Andean, and not only Andean. It included other spiritual options from Abya Yala and the other was Eastern. I've also been into that. I believe in inter-spirituality. I worship with anyone. There are different paths to the same place. [...] And that's what is transmitted to students. [...] One nun said that she had to leave the convent because she couldn't handle the two things, and that happened even though we never harped on it, and the courses weren't like that either. We had students that said their life had changed." (CA).

As can be construed from the foregoing, the political networks established by the founders of the EECA originated in Milton Cáceres' ties to the indigenous

communities. In fact, he helped to organize the Azuay Union of Peasant Organizations (UNASAY), which was affiliated to Ecuarunari, the organization that was involved in the fight over the agrarian reform. He was also involved in the development cooperation work done by the *Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio* (FEPP). All this allowed him to be in contact with indigenous and peasant farmer communities in Azuay, Cañar, Loja and Zamora Chinchipe (Quishpe Bolaños, 2015: 22).

The people interviewed coincided in Milton Cáceres' signficant role of leadership and legitimacy within the indigenous movement. They even cited him as one of the key players in the organization of the 1991 indigenous uprising:

> "Back then, Milton especially and Gerardo Venegas were ideologues for the 91 uprising […]. When they were preparing the uprising, there was going to be a meeting in Pujilí against [having] an uprising, but then we had a thought, and it was that there was no reason to call it a national strike […] the CONAIE didn't have to call for a national strike because that wasn't culturally appropriate, and we saw […] calling for an uprising. We talked about that, and our leader proposed it as an idea that was okay at the time. So, they agreed, and that was the first uprising. I mean, something was already going to happen. I don't mean to say that we put together the uprising, but even the name changed from national strike. That was an idea, an output, a reflection from our group. It also occurred to us that there was no reason to talk about a platform for a struggle, but instead a community mandate." (CA)

Therefore, the political involvement of the founders of the EECA translated into epistemological premises and academic policy proposals aimed at rebuilding the predominant Nation-State project. For that reason, one of the people interviewed affirmed that the EECA's influence later led to the incorporation of some important points into the last Constitution:

> "With the approval of the Constitution of 2008, there was practically more emphasis on the intercultural aspects that we had worked on since 1990. We even worked with some of the committees when the Constitution was being drafted. They asked for advising from here so that some aspects of interculturality in the area of education could be included." (JA)

Of course, it is important to bear in mind that both Milton Cáceres and Cecilia Andrade linked political militancy to education and academia. So, in addition to being professors at the University of Cuenca before the EECA was founded, they had participated in, and organized, unionizing activities such as the Ecuadorian Confederation of Free Labor Organizations (CEOSL), the Ecuadorian Central for Class Organizations (CEDO), and the Workers Confederation of Ecuador (CTE).

The EECA was in some way nurtured by these experiences in which Cáceres and Andrade were involved. However, it is only possible to understand how the EECA

eventually took shape when there was a cultural shift and they began to propose the indigenous issue as central. In this sense, the Eugenio Chusig School for political training, in which Cáceres and Andrade participated, would be the closest forerunner to the EECA. That school's aim was to educate UNASAY leaders in political and cultural matters. According to Marcelo Quishpe, "Founded for the purpose of going from a peasant movement to an indigenous movement, it seeks to 'recover indigenous wisdom' in order to '*indigenize*' the leaders [make them more aware of their heritage] and give the fight for land and education a deeper sense." (2015: 22). As it has been argued, such *'indigenization*' would have two meanings: first, the intention to recover and legitimize thought, traditions and forms of social organization coming out of the indigenous world; and second, the inclusion of all of the elements within the social struggle and the militancy of the Left, in order to orient them towards processes of challenging the State and the predominant economic models.

The idea of "indigenizing" meant (re)shaping the identity of some individuals, based on pre-established principles. As anthropologist José Sánchez Parga (2013) suggested, what is "indigenous" is a discourse constructed from the realms of anthropolgy and science in order to establish the frontiers of identity, but leaving out the individuals themselves from their own narration.

As for the EECA and its forerunner, the Eugenio Chusig School, it could be argued that they performed the function of constructing one discourse on another: what was indigenous, from the standpoint of pedagogy. In other words, what was being sought was to show some people what they *were* and show them how to teach others what they were as well. As part of this cultural shift, the indigenous identity needed to be investigated, discovered and researched in the communities' past and traditions.. One of the EECA students made the following remark when asked about research interests:

> "Well, what we really wanted to do, and what many of us had thought about, was to learn more in depth about the cultural knowledge of each one of the [indigenous] peoples […] what kind of knowledge is still alive and what that can contribute to improving quality of life" (FS).

This means that the EECA began within a context in which some identities were "indigenous" and other were less so or were not indigenous at all. Therefore, what was "indigenous" would not be what the individuals that self-identified as such did or said, but rather what they did or said within the previously established identity. As we have been insisting, the recovery of identity, both in the Eugenio Chusig School Project and in the EECA, was a question of a political nature. Hence, the proposal to create the EECA read as follows: "This recovery of an identity could lead us to trace the path to continuation and, thus, to a historic surmounting of the past for another future, of self-determination." (1991: 1).

The identity- and culture-related issue transformed the way to handle politics. If we return to the agrarian debate, it can be argued that the question of land ownership, use and management could shift to the question of the identity of those who worked the land. From this perspective, the EECA's objective consisted of devising strategies for the recognition of the individuals and the place from which they came. One of the EECA students referred to this in the following terms:

> "Now that we are about to complete our studies and everything, the great contribution for me personally, as a human being, is really understanding what interculturality is, as a meeting of human beings, a meeting of cultures, a way really to understand others. So, this has meant becoming more open to and aware of the particular features of one's space." (FS)

The issue of interculturality became the linchpin of the EECA's academic proposal and also of the project it wanted to promote for society and the country. In other words, the EECA's intentions went beyond what was strictly academic and professionalizing because the actors involved recognized that the country's emerging reality was gestating there. In the context of national history, the EECA therefore represented a point of inflection in the ability to transform Ecuadorian society's present and future:

> "It seemed to us that the real waste and incongruous attitude was the fact that we would want to build a country without including the amazing historical contribution of the indigenous cultures, beyond all the paternalism, especially some of the Amazon cultures. How can you imagine a new, different country and not include that? It would be totally absurd." (MC)

Nonetheless, some of the people interviewed acknowledged that such discourse was not also welcomed by students, some of whom were simply seeking a university degree because the indigenous communities were also exposed to "external" factors such as competitiveness or the pursuit of better positions within society. Thus, as can be discerned from the interviews, all of the aspects related to reflection on, and development of, the issue of interculturality are still today a political strategy for rebuilding project for society and State.

So, in synthesis, the political militancy experience of Milton Cáceres and Cecilia Andrade, first with union organization and later with Ecuarunari and the indigenous movement, impacted the educational praxis whose maximum representation was the EECA, which started operating in January 1992. As we have argued, this academic proposal came to fruition because of the political networking of Milton Cáceres, Cecilia Andrade and Gabriel Galarza himself.

The political moment became an epistemic moment when, in the language of Bachelard, the EECA proposed to cause an *epistemological break.* It sought to produce a break with the Western mode of knowledge production, which had not considered the

issue of indigenous or intercultural knowledge for the construction of the field of science. For that reason, the EECA presented itself as a space capable of redefining the nature of the university:

> "The 'uni-*versity*' is an academic space in which there is an effort to study one of many "*versities*" [...]. It is not another space, where other "*versities*" have been studied, not the black, not the Andean. The Amazon *versities*, the gender *versities*, the generation *versities* have not been studied, only the Western *versity*. So, for years we said we needed to construct a space in which we would also learn from other *versities* that exist in Ecuador, but without leaving out the other, Western *versity*." (MC)

Given the limitations of modern universities, the EECA project sought to include other voices to construct its academic proposal since the country's university structure and therefore, the UEB's, would not lend itself to effecting epistemological breaks such as those proposed by the EECA. That meant that the political and academic networks would be used to define the proposed curriculum.

As for the political networks, one of the distinctive features of the EECA was the dialogue with indigenous movements regarding the collective construction of the academic proposal. With respect to that point, one of the people interviewed shared the following:

> "FACAP --and FENOCIN and FEINE were there too—with representatives, especially indigenous leaders. We worked with them, we came up with a curriculum proposal, not from us but rather a consensus together with them because we also had to respond to the cultures' cosmovision, especially. We made a proposal from the standpoint of the university, a sound academic proposal geared to the indicators that I just mentioned, but it was also necessary to hold workshops with the leaders, especially, above all, with representatives from peasant organizations." (JA)

The results of the talks with the indigenous leaders served, on the one hand, to define the EECA's academic project and, on the other, to bring together students from different parts of the country. The political network built up by the EECA organizers later translated into the presence of indigenous students from outside the Province of Bolivar. The number of students from the country's southern highlands even became the majority, thanks to the political efforts of Cáceres and Andrade in that region. That is why it was deemed advisable to transfer EECA's main campus from Guaranda to Cuenca in 2001.

The dialogues and workshops held with indigenous communities were eventually systematized by the EECA team, specifically by Milton Cáceres and Cecilia Andrade, who, as mentioned in our interviews, were the most stable members of the

group of professors that worked with the EECA. The synthesis they prepared was put into the study plans.

As for the EECA's academic networks, these were mainly built up through researchers on interculturality issues from outside Guaranda and even from outside the country because that is where the EECA found greater reception for its proposals.

> "The vast majority were outside educators with insights into the study of cultures, for example […] the anthropologist Estuardo Gallegos. He's from Riobamba, for example, and he worked quite a bit with Monsignor Leonidas Proaño. […] Armando Miyulema, for example, was an excellent professor. He's working now in the U.S., at the University of Houston, on issues related to the study of cultures. Fernando Regalado –I don't know if you have heard of him, but him too." (JA)

It is also important to point out that, within the academic networks EECA built up, there were academics well-known at the international level, such as Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, Josef Estermann, Leonardo Boff and Bolívar Echeverría, some of which –as in the case of the first two- became guest professors at the EECA.

The EECA also organized several international gatherings for academic reflection on Andean and intercultural issues, with the aim of receiving support from researchers in these fields of study. So, it is interesting to note that, just a few months after the EECA was founded, the First International Workshop on the Andean Cosmovision and Western Knowledge: Towards Renewal of Human Sciences in Indo-America was organized. It was held in Guaranda in July 1992 and attended by indigenous leaders, researchers and academics from Ecuador and abroad, in order to propose epistemic alternatives to the scientific paradigm of the West, on the basis of Andean thought.

These ties to scholars abroad, as we have said previously, also responded to the fact that the proposal for the EECA had not had the expected impact on the structure of the UEB. In other words, the other faculty members and the very institutionality of the university, according to some of the people interviewed, did not come to understand fully the academic proposal that was being generated in the EECA. Through the interviews it could be seen that the principle of university autonomy was somehow used to keep other UEB faculty members from interfering in curriculum development and under that same principle the UEB approved program offerings with the content and methodology proposed by Cáceres and Andrade. According to one of the people interviewed:

> "It would not be accurate to say that the school transformed the University of Bolivar. That is not an opinion. I'm stating a fact. Physically, we

> functioned in another place[7], totally separate. We had the backing of some officials. […] some of them even treated us a little badly. For example, they made fun of us. Some professors in the rest of the university came up with nicknames like 'referee school' because the Saraguros wore short pants, the '*rutushcas*'. So, [they would say] 'it's time for the *rutushcas* to get here' or 'the little guy with the *rutushca* is coming.'" (CA)

The EECA proposal was aimed at transforming the nature of the university. Because the academic and political networks it built up were outside the UEB, that made it possible to consider that, as of the 1990s, the UEB was the seat for two ways of understanding the role of higher education and the transformations that it should seek in order to respond more faithfully to its mission. This could be appreciated in the inaugural addresses given at that first international workshop organized by the EECA.

For Gabriel Galarza –who was chancellor of the UEB in 1992– the university needed to be transformed in order to produce an alternative way of thinking that could impact the development of society: "The university, given its nature, should not only educate the new generation [that will be] in charge of preparing the proposal for an open future for Andean society, but should also contribute to formulating an alternative way of thinking and community communication." (Galarza, 1992: 13). For Galarza, the task of having the university was to open up to other ways of thinking and, from there, from the connections to other epistmes, to contribute to an institution that would model development.

As seen before, Gabriel Galarza's university project conceived of higher education as closely tied to the possibilities for development in the Province of Bolivar. So, more education meant more opportunities to leave behind the province's cultural, economic and productive "isolation."

From this perspective, the UEB was conceived of an a project to "re-found" the region:

> "We, and I say 'we' because many of us people at the University of Bolivar have wanted the university to be involved in everything to do with the region […], [wanted] the city to be a cultural city, an intellectual city, a university city like in Belgium, make it a university city. (GG).

This meant considering regional development an academic matter beause it germinated in the university and then projected out to society.

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[7] Those interviewed said that, in the beginning, the EECA operated in one of the buildings that was like a large storeroom or workshop, on an off-campus piece of property. Later on, at the initiative of the professors, they took over the Old Guaranda Hospital facilities, which had been abandoned. The EECA faculty took possession and, later on, through UEB officials, it obtained permission to use those buildings for the EECA.

According to Galzarza, the city had to reproduce the university model and in that sense organize itself according to the criteria of science, knowledge and technology. Even though Galarza acknowledged that the incorporation of Andean knowledge was a priority task for the Ecuadorian university, that did not mean it could not be a reference for development rather than the opposite, i.e., that the university would assimilate society's model and reconstruct society as it existed.

This way of understanding the university translated into a way of generating knowledge. So, according to Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos:

> University knowledge […] throughout the 20th century was predominantly discipline-centered knowledge whose autonomy imposed a relatively decontextualized production process with respect to the everyday needs of societies. In keeping with the logic of this process, it is the researchers who determine the scientific issues to be addressed, define relevancy and establish the methodology and pace of research. (2010: 155)

The EECA, on the other hand, had other intentionalities. First of all, as mentioned previously, it not only proposed to contribute to the Province of Bolivar but was also conceived of as a project to rebuild the Nation-State. Second, it did not seek to include Andean knowledge in the university, but rather to transform the university structure. In this regard, Milton Cáceres' remarks at the inaugural address at the aforementioned workshop were important:

> The creation of the EECA within the Ecuadorian university took a turn and found a place for a process, a path, a space for historic developments…
>
> It took a roundabout course, as does history itself- roundabout because those with smaller criteria rose up to call us demagogues, heretics lacking scientific rigor, potential political manipulators at the service of rubber stamps and organizations, preparers of armed subversives, but also admirable rescuers of those with handicaps, and professionalizers […], but just for Indians…
>
> But this school needs a *minga* [shared effort] of diversities of knowledge to nurture the heresy launched. (Cáceres, 1992: 8)

Western science's label of "heretics" mentioned by Cáceres reinforced the idea that, in order for the EECA to become a reality, it needed political and academic networks outside the unversity structure in effect at that time. Although the latter had development intentions and in turn shared concerns about culture, these did not have the EECA's epistemic and political perspective.

Cáceres agreed with what German philosopher Walter Benjamin would call "history against the grain" (Benjamin, 2008). In other words, the EECA was not a consequence of the country's development processes but neither was it a product of the

Ecuadorian university's internal structure in the sense that, in dialectic terms, the Ecuadorian university gradually paved the way for EECA to appear.

To the contrary, the EECA's "heresy" lay in its dialogue with community organization processes and social demands, with epistemic perspectives and with cosmovisions that throughout history had been invisible, treated as non-existent and, therefore, outside the limits of what had been considered "civilization" and "scientific rigor."

The EECA applied an academic policy strategy of serving the predominant institutionalities in order to go against them, i.e., it functioned *with* the university *against* the university*, with* science *against* science, *with* academia *against* academia. In that regard, the people interviewed mentioned that at first courses received names outside classic academic fields, names related to Andean issues, and this was possible thanks to their academic autonomy. The university later suggested, however, that more conventional names be used so that it would be easier to ensure State and higher education recognition of course credits. Nonetheless, despite the name changes, the course content and intentionality remained the same.

It is worthwhile to discuss the original EECA proposal (1992), which mentioned the following areas of study: theory of the Andean community, pedagogy of the Andean community, and research on the historical-social processes of the Andean community. The revised proposal of 1994 included the following areas of study: basic studies (pedagogy, anthropology, history, language, workshop on worldwide social processes), functional studies (study methodology and research techniques, didactics, computer science), creation and experience (community work, art and art appreciation, health, literature, agroecology, culture promotion).

The autonomy to which the people interviewed alluded was certainly favored by some State policies that emphasized the unrestricted growth of universities. In that context, nearly 20 universities were established in the country in the 1990s, and this seems to point to favorable conditions for expanding the country's higher education offerings. The EECA was one way in which Ecuadorian universities diversified. Paradoxically, private universities sprung up with clear commercial aims at the same time as others such as the EECA appeared with political interests tied to indigenous communities.

For that reason, the issue of university autonomy had to be problematic since independence from the State did not mean that the universities would not be subject to interests of other kinds. Carlos Arcos Cabrera explained this as follows:

> If we start with the concept of autonomy as [part of] an autonomy-heteronomy continuum, in the case of Ecuadorian universities autonomy was one-dimensional: radical against the State and governments but totally heteronomous with the corporate groups that existed inside them, with the market and with economic and professional groups, different kinds of

> power groups, that have different interests in higher education. (Arcos Cabrera, 2010: 80)

It is important to indicate that originally the EECA was not conceived of as a school of education, because the early project, as conceived of by Cáceres y Andrade, consisted of a school of scoeiology and anthropology geared to educating community leaders and to supporting the organization of the indigenous movement and research into their knowledge. The shift to education was due to the fact that the dialogues with leaders brought to light that there was a notable dearth of access to education within the indigenous communities. For that reason, the decision was made to opt for degrees related to pedagogy. The bachelor's degree in Andean Culture and Education was thus the EECA's first academic offering. However, even though its aim was to train educators, the socioanthropological component was always present.

Metholodigcally speaking, the EECA also wanted to break with the classic models of university teaching. The approach to studying included on-site modules for which students from all over the country went to Guaranda for courses and workshops. There were also projects in their own communities, where the students had to relate their education to the dialogue of the communities. Members of the faculty also went to those communities in order to share in the population's day-to-day life and use that as an element to develop the curriculum.

For the EECA, the way of understanding knowledge had a relevant social and political component because the way to validate and legitimize knowlede could be found in the social processes to which knowledge was linked. One of the people interviewed mentioned this with regard to the students' theses:

> "An example of this [was] that they practically gave us a lot of results because the theses incorporated the aspirations of the communities. They weren't just compilations of information and isolated research. All of that research helped. Many of them [the students] even received funding from the communities. Their communities supported them when they were writing their theses and doing their work. So, that is how we worked. It had to be different. It had to have an intercultural weight that could be seen, provide a solution to a problem but for their communities. […] Students could propose topics that they wanted to research, but those topics had to be worked on jointly with the community, discussed with the community and then practically given feedback on what the students proposed." (JA)

The actors involved in the EECA defined its research processes as different from classic or Western-style research protocols for producing and legitimizing science. So, what was important was not the generation of knowledge, but rather the collective construction of knowledge by the researchers and the community, so that the knowledge would later be incorporated into community development processes.

According to Quishpe (2015: 54-56), it is possible to see how in the thesis work done between 1998 and 2008 the most prevalent topics had more to do with recovering memory than with problems related directly to pedagogy and teaching processes. The approach to memory focused on its different dimensions: productive, social, organizational, health-related and food-related. During that period, only one thesis was written about development, and it was written by a mestizo. This reflected the scope and level of knowledge production, and the cultural shift that the EECA formed part of. As mentioned previously, the primary interest was to "recover" the cultural identity of the indigenous peoples, and "returning to the past" became the students' most commonly used strategy.

2. Tanzania: Universities as a luxury and the introduction of more technical knowledge production at Mzumbe University in the 1980s and early 1990s

Despite all of the declarations and ideas regarding universities' leading role in the development of the country, these did not effectively translate into government investments to promote it. This occurred in part because many of the governments did not have a clear idea of the type of development that they wanted to achieve, and therefore they could not find the way to orient the universities. The result of all of this is that many government officials and scholars became skeptical about the universities' capacity to contribute effectively to development. The rates of investment in higher education were a reflection of this moment:

> "[p]ublic expenditure per tertiary student has fallen from US$6,800 in 1980, to US$1,200 in 2002, and recently averaged just US$981 in 33 low-income SSA countries. The ratio of academic staff to students has fallen significantly, producing overcrowded classrooms and unrelenting workloads for teaching staff." (World Bank, 2009: xxvii).

These figures are in line with the report published by the World Bank in 1986, which analyzed the rate of return on investments in education in developing countries. One of the conclusions of that report was that in order to achieve a higher "yield" in education, it would be necessary to reduce the investment in higher education, to concentrate efforts on primary education, and also to provide incentives for the privatization of education (World Bank, 1986). According to that study, the arguments that justified this view of education were, on the one hand, that the rate of return on investments in education was higher in primary and secondary education than in higher education and, on the other hand, that the concern about equity in access to education was mainly conceived of with regard to basic education.

Cloete and Maasen expanded on this and mentioned the following: "At a meeting with African vice-chancellors in Harare in 1986, the World Bank went so far

as to argue that higher education in Africa was a 'luxury' and that most African countries would be better off closing their universities at home and training graduates overseas instead." (2005:8). This would lead to the fact that the African universities would undergo a period of crisis in the the 1980s because their accelerated growth was not in sync with State investment or with job offers on the labor market, support for other institutions, and infrastructure development.

Hence, both at the level of theoretical foundations and in terms of economic and political conditions, the developmental university faced a series of obstacles that were not favorable for its continuity as a model for African universities. However, as Coombe noted (1991:1), it would not be prudent to inexorably affirm that the university scene was totally on the decline in the 1980s since, according to this author, the crisis was felt in different ways in different countries, schools and degree programs.

The limitations of the developmental university model must be understood as part of the crisis affecting Africa in the 1980s. In that period the expression "the African condition" used by Ali Mazrui even became a widespread way to define the crisis. Aina (2010: 26-28) listed some of the elements needed to understand the crisis of the 1980s. First of all, the 1970s had seen a number of adverse events such as the crisis of the commodities market and the rapid rise of oil prices, which led to post-colonial Africa's first fiscal crisis. As a result, many governments found themselves with balance-of-payment deficits and recurred to international financing: short- and long-term credits from other countries, international agencies and private firms. The main institutions involved in these negotiations were Bretton Woods, the World Bank and the IMF. All of this brought about high levels of debt in the African countries, so by the 1980s the continent had the largest debts in the world, totalling approximately 300 trillion dollars. .

Second, it is important to note that, alongside this economic crisis, there was a political crisis. During this period the nationalist coalitions that had participaed actively in the independence process started to break down and in their place authoritatian politics emerged. These could be seen in military coups, military governments and one-party States. Even the Cold War conflict affected forms of expression, organization and mobilization among Africa's democratic Right. Therefore, these years are known as Africa's "lost decades," for they were decades of economic crises and authoritarian governments.

Tanzania's University of Dar es Salaam is valued as one of the few institutions of higher education that played an important and effective role in generating development policies and applying internal reforms to improve its operations. The Swiss cooperation received by this university, as noted previously, was key:

> The University of Dar es Salaam, with Swiss development support, has embarked on a complete reorganization of its maintenance system which

> is already recording a threefold increase in productivity. The improvements in the quality of communal living, morale, and efficiency, which ensue from a high-quality maintenance regime, hardly need emphasis, not to speak of the savings accruing from protecting the value of the university's capital investment and avoiding the high but inevitable long-term costs of rehabilitation or replacement. (Coombe, 1991: 32)

Nevertheless, the broader African scenario of the 1980s was marked by a university crisis, which was in turn a reflection of these countries' economic crises. That made sustaining the idea of a developmental university more problematic. Coleman (1986: 488-492) noted some of the obstacles.

First of all, an effective government commitment to generating development policies was lacking because, after the "euphoria" of independence, these countries were unable to determine policies and in some countries the policies even maintained class inequality and strengthened the elites.

Second, there was a problem with university autonomy and its critical function because, since the universities were so committed by government plans, they could not criticize these or distance themselves from them and conduct their own research. As Coleman pointed out, the professors with ties to the government were co-opted by it and their criticality was compromised. Thus, the ideal balance between the development of university research and the generstion of State policies never materialized. However, it should be noted that in Julius Nyerere's ideal this was considered possible: "both a complete objectivity in the search for truth, and also commitment to our society -a desire to serve it. We expect the two things equally." (cited por Coleman, 1986: 489).

Third, there was a problem with the professors who were to educate for development. There were really not trained to do that, and they did not have experience in that field either. So, they ended up reproducing traditional ways of teaching, but framed them within a development discourse. These professores tried to defend their teaching style, for it was what they were familiar with and how they themselves had been educated.

Finally, Coleman notes that assigning development tasks to university professors and students was excessive and ended up beoming a burden for them because they could not implement these tasks in line with State expectations.

So, given the above, higher education was significantly affected, even in countries such as Tanzania, where the person in power at that time came from a background in education. In analyzing the case of the University of Dar es Salaam, he explained:

> The crisis of the developmentalist university was part of the larger crisis of nationalism. The more nationalism turned into a state project, the more there were pressures on the developmentalist university to

> implement a state-determined agenda. The more this happened, the more critical thought was taken as subversive of the national project. (2008: 6)

Nonetheless, despite these tensions with the State, according to Aina the universities continued their task of generating critical thinking. This led to conflict-ridden relations between certain members of the university communities (professors and students) and politicians and government leaders. Referring to teaching as "erroneous" or "subversive" became a popular response when the teaching was not aligned with State interests. For example, during the 1970s at the University of Abidjan, teaching sociology was banned because it was considered a discipline that would create troublemakers for society.

At the time of the 1970s and 1980s crises, the investment in higher education declined –as indicated previously– as a result of the recommendations made by the World Bank, which believed that the investment in education should focus on the primary-school sector. Furthermore, alongside these difficulties of a structural nature, there were other types of obstacles inside the universities, e.g. the crisis in their autonomy, their academic freedom, redefinition of their place and role in the post-colonial context, and their struggle to gain legitimacy and acceptance from academic communities in the rest of the world (Aina, 2010: 28). Thus, in November 1990 some African academics came together and signed the *Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility,* which basically laid out the fundamental rights of academic freedom, some principles of social responsibility for universities, and the State's obligations in light of these.

In sum, according to Tadesse Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, the African countries' situation of dependence:

> had inhibited the development of African institutions and the capacity of Africans to develop educational policies which were socially relevant and financially feasible. Thus African higher education institutions in 1980s had a marginalized role in African societies as they were deprived of both international and domestic supports. (2013: 41)

Aina (2010: 29-30) noted other ways in which the crisis of the 1980s was evident: 1) reduction in funds for research and teaching; 2) unchecked increases in enrollment, which led to university overpopulation; 3) inadequate infrastructure, including buildings, equipment, laboratories and Internet connections; 4) few well-trained staff members, especially due to the "brain drain"; 5) insufficient research or lack of articulation between teaching and research; 6) out-of-date or irrelevant curricula and teaching methodologies; 7) intellectual and academic communities with weak connections to the rest of the world; 8) administrative systems with little transparency and oversight; 9) frequent protests, which in some cases led to the temporary shutdown

of universities; 10) increased violence, sexism, bureaucratic corruption and interference from political parties inside the universities.

Because of all this, the developmental university model ceased to be a benchmark for public policies for education, and a new frame of reference appeared, characterized by a series of discourses, practices and policies that were basically neoliberal and tied to the market. Thus, in the late 1970s and in the 1980s and 1990s, the structural adjustment programs promoted by the World Bank and the IMF served as the cornerstones for responding to the economic crisis. These programs sought, first of all, to make market forces more flexible by reducing the rigidity of production, commercialization, pricing and exchange rates. Second, they sought to reduce the size of the State so that it would participate to a lesser extent in regulating the economy and, alongside this, they were geared to having the countries' economies open up to the international market. In the economic arena this entailed costs because it led African countries into progressive de-industrialization and into a loss of control over economic and social policies (Sawyerr, 2004: 5).

Higher education was also affected by the application of neoliberal policies. As Aina explained: "they involved the introduction of privatization, cost-sharing, financial decentralization, rationalization, retrenchment of staff, and dilution of academic programs" (2010: 29). With regard to the last of these, instead of academic programs, there were *vocational programs*, understood to be job-oriented technical training, in response to the World Bank's financial, market-oriented perspective, and not necessarily a development focus.

These dynamics are clearly reflected in the transformations that took place at Mzumbe University in the 1980s and early 1990s. With the re-introduction of local governments in 1982, the Institute of Development Management (IDM) once more assumed its role of training teams and professionals to serve the government. As a long-time professor and administrative authority of the university commented:

> Given the pressures from the World Bank, the country started to change. From a socialist program, we went back to a market driven and liberalized economy. [At IDM], we had to help solve the crises, that was the reason that we established a number of programs in the training institution. (JK)

In both 1980 and 1988, the IDM charter was amende, in order to establish further roles in the IDM's provision of courses and consultancies to meet the needs of expanding corporations, decentralization programs and administrative reforms scattered all over the country. Another university authority noted that during this time, "The IDM was expected to play active roles not only in training but also in carrying out outreach services" (MM). In 1982, the same year that local governments were re-introduced in Tanzania, IDM's Journal of Development Management, UONGOZI (Swahili for "Leadership") published its first issue. In the editorial of this first issue, it highlighted

its mission: “To provide an opportunity for developing local management information… particularly [with] articles that are providing insight into ways of solving particular management problems in Tanzania”. (REF)

Between 1984 and 1985, in collaboration with the local government, the IDM began to offer middle-level training in local government administration and finance. During 1986-1990, after Julius Nyerere’s resignation as president of Tanzania, Economic Recovery Programs (ERPs) were implemented. These entailed major administrative reforms, and agricultural growth was given special emphasis. From 1985 to 1990, the president was Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who reversed his predecessor’s socialist policies and supported private investment. In the context of the nation’s deep financial crisis, in the early 1980s the National Economic Rehabilitation Program (NERP) was introduced, as well as the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). This meant that councils were reinstated in rural areas, towns, municipalities and cities in urban areas.

During the structural adjustment phases, the IDM needed to develop skills to strengthen the management of the changes and reforms underway in the framework of a free market, competition, innovation, proactive stances, governance and accounting. In that context, between 1987 and 1988, the IDM set up advanced diplomas and certificates in four areas a Certificate in Local Government Administration (LGA), a Certificate in Local Government Finance (LGF), an Advanced Diploma in Local Government Administration (ADLA), and an Advanced Diploma in Local Government Accounting and Finance. Short courses and consulting were also offered in several areas of management and local government.

The changes throughout the country were enormous. In the early 1990s, Tanzania went from being a one-party republic to being a multi-party State. During president Ali Hassan Mwinyi’s second term in office (1990-1995), he was accused of corruption and tax evasion, while inflation and an economic crisis continued to afflict the country. Mwinyi’s government ended with the first elections of council members under the multi-party system, in 1994. Throughout this period of transition from a centralist, socialist economy to a market-based economy, public sector employment declined substantially, and the informal sector gained importance (Mukyanuzi, 2003).

In response to these changes, the University of Dar es Salaam went through a transformation process in which, amongst other activities, it adjusted its academic programs so that they would be more relevant to the demands of society. This transformation was popularly known as the Institutional Transformation Program (ITP) or “UDSM 2000“ (Luhanga, 2010). The integration of entrepreneurship education in the curriculum was among the issues initiated in response to the ITP. This was in line with studies conducted among university dropouts and graduates. (Kalimasi 2013, 17)

In turn, the IDM continued to respond to State needs, as it had since it was first established, but this now meant working in response to transformations of State-

operated enterprises (SOEs). An article published in that period discussed both the changing context and the IDM's response.

As the SOE reform, privatization, divestiture, denationalization and load shedding accelerated, some SOEs would operate as joint ventures with the private sector, both local and foreign. Some SOEs would be sold off, while others would have to sell shares to their employees, the general public and the private sector. The implication of these changes from largely public to possibly largely private was a change in management orientation for the mangers... These managers would have to learn to be innovative, entrepreneurial, and risk taking as this would enable them to survive in this new business environment. (Ntukamazina 1991, p.434)

Moreover, as was the case in Dar es Salaam, the growing informal sector had to be addressed, particularly since this period saw the number of university graduates entering the labor market growing faster than wage employment (Alsamarai, 2003 cited in Kalimasi).

With para-State reforms and the privatization process, it became necessary to support the development of domestic entrepreneurs dominating the informal sector. Businesses in this sector are small-scale in operation, easy to start, family-owned, labor-intensive and unregulated. They also rely on local resources and use adapted technology. (p.438)

The response in this context was similar to the one noted above in the case of the University of Dar es Salaam. It was considered that the IDM "should equip its graduates with a capability to compete business wise [and] underscore the importance of initiative, innovation, risk taking etc." (p.435).

Other articles published in the early 1990s reflected the concern over transitioning to a market economy, as expressed in the above-cited article by D.A. Ntukamazina: "In [this] setting competition is the order of the day and one will survive if one delivers the goods" (p.434). In terms of research, the "goods" to be delivered included a research agenda and issues that could find support from private and international funders as public support for the university and its research waned.

As we will see in the following section, from the 1990s onward, research on the international context and political economy decreased, and research became more focused on national development. As international funders became increasingly central to the financial support of Tanzanian scholars' research, the subjects of study shifted. The experience of the Institute of Development Management's academics in these years was similar to the changes described by Amy Jamison (2010) in her dissertation on scholars' experiences at the University of Dar es Salaam. She wrote on the university's Institute of Development Studies (IDS):

> When African socialism ended in Tanzania in the 1980s, this political and economic change had a disproportionate effect on IDS because its

> identity as an academic unit had been so closely tied to the state and its socialist agenda. It still maintained its emphasis on national development, but had to search for new ways to address these issues because of Tanzania's transition to structural adjustment reforms… Research topics associated with African socialism, self-reliance, and even labor relations were replaced with a focus on issues such as technology, gender issues, and highlight environmental planning. (p.170-171).

Furthermore, in Morogoro, as a provincial institute, agricultural technology and sustainability was of particular interest. Almost half of the articles on national development published in *Uongozi* between 1991 and 1996 were on topics related to environment, gender and family and environmental management.

In response to the reform program for national civil service and given the demand to train public servants, the IDM established a Center for Local Government in 1996, with two core areas: Entrepreneurship and Small Business Development, and Local Government. These areas responded to the six components of the civil service reform program, which included improvement of services, autonomy and democratic government. Between 1997 and 1998, three PhD research projects, related to entrepreneurship got underway with collaboration from Adger University College (AUC). In the mid-1990s, the IDM requested a consultancy from the Ministry of Manpower Development (which later became the Centre for Public Service Management). The consultants recommended that the IDM should become a state university, the third one in the country, and this idea finally came to fruition in 2001.

B. The social sciences and reconstruction of the State at the turn of the century

In the industrialized countries, the role given to science and knowledge after the Second World War was fully consolidated by the late 20th century. With the liberal victory, attacks on particular ethnic, religious and national groups were censured and stigmatized (Meyer and Ramírez 2010). This encouraged the formation of a new idea of world society composed of atomized individuals endowed with universal qualities and rights resulting from an exercise of biased abstraction. These inclusive views based on universal principles common to all individuals explain, for example, the peak in medical sciences at universities, which was based on the universal value of life and the human body (Boli 2005). Scientific development at universities expanded alongside a global view of knowledge:

> With the accumulation of universalized meanings, the different entities are achieving their singularity through their own sets of universal

> principles. Thus, a world that evolves towards one same destination because it is subjected to some general causal laws is increasingly fuller of differences […] Given their virtues in both rationalization and ontology, universities are perfectly prepared to take on processes that homogenize and at the same time particularize, no matter where they may occur (Meyer and Ramírez p.235).

A parallel dynamic occurred in that same period with respect to the differentiation of specific places and general and abstract criteria of capital. The decentralization of industrial production and services depended on local variations that international capital could take advantage of and generate, given the shortening of distances that occurred thanks to innovations in transportation and communications (Harvey 1992).

With the restructuring of the global capital accumulation system following the crisis of the Ford model, the process was relaunched through new modalities of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services with a strong symbolic and non-material component. This called for the intense incorporation and generation of flexible and precarious subjectivities (Berardi 2012, Moulier-Boutang 2007, Fumagalli 2010, Federici 2013). The so-called "cognitive capitalism" highlights the incredible source of business that these activities offer nowadays compared to other formulations such as the information society or the theory of human capital. The notion of human capital was developed within the enterprising spirit of the 1980s, to give education a new, leading role in technological innovation, the creation of new occupations and greater prosperity (Bridges et al 2006). Knowledge production in the university realm was inscribed within a new management function and a renewed architecture of alliances between universities and businesses (Sevilla 2010). In any case, globalized universities found a new role in the world economy, but for that they needed to undertake a series of reforms.

1. University reforms in Ecuador and the pursuit of State presence in the country's isolated center

This new role was tempting for the renewal of the Ecuadorian university system, which was subject to the pressing academic, administrative and political issues mentioned previously. These also occurred amid the political and economic crises that the country experienced at the turn of the century. As of the late 1980s, the National Council of Universities and Polytechnic Schools called the situation of these entities distressing, and the 1990s saw a significant output of analyses of the critical problems affecting the country's universities (Pacheco 1992, Hurtado 1994, Coello et al. 1994, Misión 1995).

Around the turn of the century, at the international level the legitimacy of generalizable, universal knowledge and its place within the market economy and the

universities' role had led to a global systematization of higher education. Within this new order, the most transcendental factors that could be extracted and applied were more important than techniques, experiences and informal knowledge. Furthermore, it was the generalizable knowledge, duly certified by quality assessment agencies that could grant stability and legitimacy to local university systems, thus making them increasingly homogeneous. The Bologna Process of 1999, which standardized European higher education, arrived in the region in 2003, through the Tuning Project for Latin America.

The implementation of these reforms through the Tuning Project in Ecuador led to the start of internationalization dynamics in Ecuadorian universities in 2005. According to Aboites (2010), the Tuning Project in the region involved applying a European model of cognitive skills without any adaptation acknowledging the local context. It also promoted the mercantile function of university education by defining commercial skills. The homogeneity and universality of the European and United States university model found fertile ground in Latin American higher education.

This international model provided the universities of the region with a way out of the serious problems of small investment, party politics and chaotic privatization that they were experiencing in the late 20th century. Incorporation of the international model also enabled national participation in the international knowledge economy. The model promoted by Latin American, and Ecuadorian, universities committed to society, and the practice of taking concrete political stances was gradually replaced by a general university model based on universal, abstract and globalized knowledge.

With the 1998 Law of Higher Education, consolidation got underway of a national oversight system for institutions of higher education. This task was entrusted to the National Council for Higher Education (CONESUP). As its name implies, the National Council for Evaluation and Accreditation (CONEA) was put in charge of evaluating and accrediting these institutions. The latter began its activities in 2002, with academic and financial contributions from the United Nations International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean and collaboration from the Ibero-American Network for Accreditation of Quality in Higher Education. This effort was also able to rely on exchanges with the national agencies of university evaluation and accreditation of Spain, Argentina and Chile, among others.

The UEB currently has a School of Jurisprudence and Political Science, which offers degrees in law and sociology. Unlike what had occurred in previous periods, for the creation of these programs there was less influence from the academic and political networks of UEB stakeholders. Thus, these academic offerings seem disconnected from the conflicts generated by the State during its modernization process.

The law degree was the first to be created, in 2000, and it basically responded to the needs of one group of students. As one of the people interviewed explained:

> "The School of Jurisprudence was basically created at the request of a group of Guaranda citizens that had been studying at the University of Loja. But due to the economic costs and the distance, they completed their coursework but never wrote the thesis required to graduate with an official degree. So, they asked the university, a young university that was just beginning to function, to create a law program." (MP)

Once again the issues of distance and costs appeared as limitations for access to higher education by people living in Bolivar. However, in the case of law, the primary motivation was to fill a void in the fields of knowledge available in Guaranda. A request from citizens was being filled, and the university created a law school and a law degree.

In the case of sociology, which was added in 2010, there was a process of reflection inside the university. This program was born out of a specific intentionality: to educate public servants. "The sociology degree was also created in response to a need, a need seen at the level of public institutions. Hence, sociologists' importance in the province's changes and social transformation." (MP).

The isolation that had affected the Province of Bolivar was one of the underlying reasons for the creation of the sociology program because there was interest in having State presence in the province and in local territories. When this is viewed from the country's current political process, in which the State directs economic development and production, it is interesting to see that social sciences at the UEB are geared to supporting the country's development for educating professionals capable of executing State action plans.

As for the professional profile, "They are primarily planners. The intention is for them to work as planners, more oriented to public-sector functions." (MP). However according to the people interviewed, sociology grew out of reflection at the university itself, not a request from the State. Therefore, the greater presence of the State would be the way to have a concrete vehicle for local development.

The importance of recovering the State's role influenced the actors involved in creating the sociology program as a function of the needs of graduating students and potential employers. However, the social demands carried less weight than the students' needs, and that is why the idea that it was seeking to satisfy "employers' needs" was stressed.

As mentioned previously, all of this was geared to de-politicizing the UEB networks because, as pointed out by one of the people interviewed, politicization of her major would not offer any benefits:

> "In this time of conflicts that we are living through in the country, we cannot take up the banner for a struggle, because otherwise they're going to fault us or think that the department is favoring one sector

over another, and we have tried to get different sectors involved, the government and popular sectors." (MP)

The education of planners and public servants in this context would be the "politically correct" way to think about the university-society relationship, since instead of aligning with any specific movement, the students would become professionals in the area of public policy designed and implemented from more of a technical standpoint.

It can be argued that the way sociology was conceived at the UEB responded to a functional or strategic rationality that, according to Habermas (1986, 54), was only concerned with making the right choice of strategies by removing them from the larger web of social interests. Thus, from the Habermas perspective the actors lost political bargaining power, and technocratic means of making decisions or of generating local development projects were put in place.

This brought into the sociology program the issue of interculturality, which had been a political-epistemic focal point in the previous decade, through EECA, but was now devoid of all its political content and reduced to a didactic matter or an educational innovation matter. In other words, the political demands of the indigenous movements that had placed the issue of interculturality at the center of Ecuadorian debate, as a possibility for rebuilding the State, were not incorporated into the UEB's sociology program. What was important for that program were the technical responses to development problems. On that subject, one of the people interviewed remarked as follows:

> "In the sociology program, we practically don't have courses [related to interculturality]. Efforts are being made for interculturality not to be seen as an underlying thread but rather as a subject of discussion. In other words, it is always present in the topics we discuss. And with the presence of our professors in cultural diversity of course, they are trying to position this view of interculturality in the classroom." (MP)

Therefore, the most recent stage in UEB's evolution has been characterized by a suspension of political influences, in terms of recognizing social contradictions, and it is now accentuating technical and functional aspects when organizing and defining degrees.

2. International influences on administrative and university reforms in Tanzania

The article "The right approach to the right policies: Reflections on Tanzania," written by James W. Adams (1995), former World Bank country director for Tanzania, defended the economic restructuring model, or program of neoliberal policies, promoted by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the mid-1990s, especially during the Mkapa administration. Adams contrasted the regime

of Julius Nyerere, which he defined as African socialism (1964-1985), with the regimes of Nyerere's successors, Ali Hassam Mwinyi (1985-1995) and Benjamin William Mkapa (1995-2005).

Adams criticized Nyerere for his meager alliances with financial agencies (IMF-World Bank) and donors, and noted that Mwinyi and Mkapa proved open to such organizations and their influence when defining and applying public policies in Tanzania. In a sarcastic tone, he recriminated Nyerere for the 1980s crisis and criticized his "I asked for money, not advice" attitude and his rejection of any IMF or World Bank effort to have any influence whatsoever on Tanzanian policy. Meanwhile, he described Mwinyi's government as "short on funds" and willing to approach the IMF and the World Bank. The relationship with international agencies and donors started by Mwinyi improved during the administration of Mkapa, who was described as "an effective leader and guide for economic progress." The Mkapa administration was the focus of Adams' analysis of "the right approach to the right policies," i.e., the implementation of the restructuring adjustments (or neoliberal program) that would be occur in Tanzania as of 1995.

Mkapa gave free rein to IMF-World Bank technical assistance to the Tanzanian government. As an outgrowth of this technical assistance, Adams reassess the role played by Gerry Helleiner in preparing evaluation and follow-up reports on the application of the policies suggested by the donor organizations. That report's recommendations included a reference to the continuity of international assistance selected by the Tanzanian government in coordination with IMF-World Bank. On the basis of that assistance, the donors would continue to fund projects to be carried out in Tanzania. Likewise, the report stressed the importance of integrating personnel educated in Tanzania into the technical advising for the government and of having them share in the policies recommended by the IMF and the World Bank. Within that integration, Adams discussed a group of economists that had received training through seminars given at the University of Dar-es Salaam around the 1980s and had managed to obtain employment at the IMF and to contribute to the design and application of the policies needed for "economic success." One notable economist in this group was Benno Ndulu, who headed the annual "Public Spending Review Project," which determined the government budget for this sector.

Another document that resulted from the technical assistance required by the donor organization was entitled "Strategies for reducing poverty in Tanzania." It agreed with the recommendations made in the Washington Consensus, which were applied by the Mkapa administration. This document addressed areas such as fiscal management; monetary and exchange rate policy; privatization of the national brewery, ports, telecommunications and the National Bank of Commerce; procedures for faster "investments" and the legal framework for investor protection; governance and corruption control; and fiscal spending policies.

In Africa, the university reform undertaken in the 1990s was basically of a managerial nature, for it dealt with the universities' procedures, operations and functions with a view to increasing efficiency and effectiveness. However, the reform left aside questions tied to power relations:

> it does not question the racism or hierarchy of the colonial order that surfaced as soon as colonialists began to be replaced with nationals; it does not question sexism or offer affirmative action for women; it does not question the international division of academic and intellectual labor, recommending new laboratories, libraries, and capacity-building for academics without engaging the structures of global academic mobility or the politics of international publishing, the definition of standards, and academic ratings. (Aina, 2010: 30)

The reforms of that period did not grow out of a debate inside the universities, but were rather put together by the State or international organizations involved directly in redefining higher education. During that decade, a tendency to de-regulate higher education was seen, as well as impressive growth in private education.

Since 1990, private colleges, universities, and tertiary-level professional institutes have been established at a far faster rate than public ones. While public universities doubled from roughly 100 to nearly 200 between 1990 and 2007, the number of private tertiary institutions exploded during the same period, from two dozen to an estimated 468 (World Bank, 2009: 48).

It is possible to identify certain trends in private higher education, such as the fact that it responds to the massive number of students seeking admission to universities and its programs center on social sciences, economics, business and law because these programs require low levels of investment and are geared to satisfying the needs of local markets. Private institutions are found primarily in urban areas, in contrast to public institutions that are set up more in rural areas and focus more on science, technology, research and development.

In any case, the university debates of the 1990s were understood as a period of "revitalization" for higher education. This was due in part to the fact that the African economy grew significantly during this period because of oil exports and its participation on the international market. This growth refocused attention on higher education, which was expected to educate a new generation of professionals that could respond to the economic transformations.

In this way, universities began to be agents for economy-based knowlede, specifically for the economic system in which Africa was participating. In this regard, Tadesse Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck noted, "The role of higher education institutions in knowledge production was recognized as one of the most important vehicles for the knowledge economy in the 1990s. African higher education institutions have repositioned their role once again to be engines of economic growth

and development since the mid-1990s." (2013: 41). All of this in turn led the World Bank to change its position regarding higher education in Africa. It abandoned its position of the 1980s, in which higher education was not considered relevant in the economies of developing countries and stressed the idea that higher education is indeed key to economic growth. This change was in response to several studies (Bloom, Canning, & Chan, 2006) that demonstrated how productive investment in higher education can be, and that noted how central higher education is to reforms throughout the educational system.

Part of this process of university revitalization was the intention to drive science and technology as fields of knowledge relevant to economic development and to support the insertion of university graduates into the labor market. "Liberal arts preparation for public service is expected to give way to the science, engineering and business management training needed to support private sector development and respond to growing opportunities for self-employment." (Saint, 1992: 5). Thus, universities proposed to be the place where leaders are shaped, where the technical knowledge needed for economic growth is transmitted, where standards for educational systems are established, and where research provides a reference for public policy-making.

Saint (1992: 129), in a report prepared for the World Bank, mentioned that university reform must take into account aspects such as financing, access, growth, accreditation and performance. He also proposed that the system of higher education be diversified in order to respond effectively to market demands. The latter point is important because:

> The traditional model of public universities with its one-tier program structure had proven to be expensive and not relevant as to the new market demands of Africa. The new market largely needs graduates that are trained in diverse programs on more of practical rather than theoretical levels and ready to engage in the labor force with short period of time. In order to accommodate new demands, African higher education systems moved from one-tiered mono systems to diversified dual systems—incorporating both private and non-university institutions like colleges, vocational institutions and training centers.

The neoliberal framework for university reform affected another important factor: the understanding of educational quality. Until the 1970s the issue of quality was linked to the assimilation of international standards for education and to the universities' contributions to development and to the strengthening of idenity. As of the 1990s, a change could be seen. According to Sawyerr, "The principal contribution of a university to society turns on the quality of the knowledge it generates and imparts, the habits of critical thought and problem-solving it institutionalises and inculcates in its graduates, and the values of openness and

democratic governance it promotes and demonstrates." (2004: 12). In other words, the question of contributions to development was replaced by the question of the quality of knoweldge generated and imparted. So, the application of knowledge was not a matter of having "good intentions" but rather of being rigorous in generating knowledge. The universities' contributions to society would therefore depend on the quality of knowledge produced.

Since the late 1990s and early 2000s, the issue of the knowledge economy has become relevant because higher education is reponsible for teaching and conducting the research necessaty to generate new knowledge and develop new skills for applying knowledge in the framework of a globalized world.

The paradigm shift towards a knowledge economy has been influenced enormously by the theoretical contributions of Manuel Castells, who during this period posed a debate on the issue of knowledge in the economy. This author's influence can be seen, first of all, in the positive response from the World Bank. In 1993 that institution published a study that included a seminar given by Castells a couple of years before. There, Castells argued that science and technology played a role equivalent to the role played by factories during the industrial era, and that higher education therefore became the key resource that any development process should take into account. According to this author:

> They [the institutions of higher learning, whether public or private] must provide the skilled labor force that is needed for technology transfer and technology development, both in terms of specific skills (for example, engineering) and in terms of general learning ability; they must generate the scientific foundation and the research and development (R&D) activities that will be necessary to connect with the process of knowledge generation throughout the world; they will have to adapt innovations produced in other contexts and for other needs; and they will have to perform such tasks in close connection with the industrial structure, but with a level of autonomy that will enable them to take the necessary long-term view for scientific strategy and educational planning. (Castells, 1993: 70)

The World Bank later published a report including the presuppositions for the knowledge economy. These were to serve as benchmarks when thinking about the field of higher education, both in terms of its conceptual framework and at the level of public policy-making. That report affirmed, "The ability of a society to produce, select, adapt, commercialize, and use knowledge is critical for sustained economic growth and improved living standards. Knowledge has become the most important factor in economic development." (World Bank, 2002: 7). Higher education is assigned a key role because it can support economic growth by generating knowledge

and training the professionals needed to manage macroeconomics and the public sector.

In this context, higher education, through academic and research activities, can support and bolster the systems of national innovation. It also makes the institutions depositories of information and knowledge. This proposal affirms that higher education contributes to building democratic societies grounded in knowledge through the following strategies:

- Supporting innovation by generating new knowledge, accessing global stores of knowledge, and adapting knowledge to local use
- Contributing to human capital formation by training a qualified and adaptable labor force, including high-level scientists, professionals, technicians, basic and secondary education teachers, and future government, civil service, and business leaders
- Providing the foundation for democracy, nation building, and social cohesion. (World Bank, 2002: 24)

It is also important to note that in June and July 2000 Castells led a seminar on the knowledge economy in South Africa. This seminar was at the invitation of Nico Cloete, director of the Center for Higher Education Transformation (CHET), and it was attended not only by academics but also by public officials and government representatives.

Alongside discussions of the role that higher education plays in the knowledge economy, in the first decades of the 21st century the topic of internationalization of universities also appeared. In this regard, it was affirmed that higher education could only achieved the proposed objectives if it were given an international dimension and were capable of creating connections with other institutions. Otherwise, higher education would find it impossible to iribute effectively to the development of African societies.

Institutions need to be able to count on the sustained commitment of the global knowledge society. The international dimension of higher education and the opportunities that it offers therefore became essential in supplementing the efforts of African universities. Strong and proactive international partnerships within the higher education sector therefore played a crucial role in addressing these goals (Jowi, Knight, & Sehoole, 2013: 16-17).

It is important to indicate that the idea of university internationalization was also endorsed by the World Conference on Higher Education organized by UNESCO in 2009. The final report of that conference contains a special section devoted to Africa, in which a number of recommendations are made, for example: higher education must diversify so that it can receive a larger number of students: the governments must invest more in education; focus must be on the fields of science

and technology, as key elements for development; and a "culture of quality" must be implemented so that higher education will be inscribed within international standards. There was also insistence on the need to forge and strengthen international ties in order to, on the one hand, avoid having trained individuals immigrate to other countries in order to further their studies and, on the other, maintain ties with those living outside the continent (UNESCO, 2009).

In this context, it is worthwhile to mention the imaginaries related to higher education in Tanzania. Louise Morley (2014) noted that, through 200 interviews, the project known as "Widening Participation in Higher Education in Ghana and Tanzania: Developing an Equity Scorecard" revealed some of the concerns of university students in Tanzania. Among these, the following can be highlighted: the student loans and scholarships available for unviersity studies; the instrumental, transformative role of higher education in providing financial independence, professional identity and status to women; and the possibility that higher education can allow one "to be somebody" (cfr. Morley, 2014).

3. The establishment of Mzumbe University and the creation of social sciences at the service of Morogoro

The influence of international funding on the direction and subjects of Tanzanian scholars' research has been significant. This was particularly the case in the social sciences, as Jamison (2010) noted, "areas which examine political, economic, and social interactions and are often associated with more ideologically-laden analyses" (p.135). Multilateral agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank, foreign governments such as northern European and British governments, and international foundations such as the Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie Foundations became sources of funding for research. Jamison examined the shift in the research agenda at the University of Dar es Salaam:

> The majority of faculty members expressed concerns about over-reliance on outside funding sources. An academic audit at the university in 1998-1999 was quite critical of the quality of research on campus and stressed that an overdependence on donor funding was part of the problem. The audit claimed that 'dependence on external funding has affected research priorities' (Maude et al., 2003, p. 27). A development studies senior lecturer's comments illustrated this concern. 'When it comes to the support of some of this research, the support comes with some strings, ok? Yeah, I mean someone comes with his money and says, we are conducting this research in this area, and we are looking for people who are ecologists because we want to do this and this and this.' (p.182)

In the late 1990s and the early 2000s, this was the context for the transformation of the IDM into Mzumbe University. At that time, Tanzania was the East African country with the lowest rate of university education, despite having one of the largest populations in the region. Under pressures to expand higher education, Mzumbe University was established in 2001 as the third public university in the country, after the University of Dar es Salaam and the Sokoine University of Agriculture. With the 2001 change, the IDM's programs become the university's faculties. There are now five faculties in the university: Law, Social Sciences, Commerce, Public Administration, and Science and Technology.

The university began with 1100 students. The IDM had previously been issuing certificates equivalent to bachelor's degrees. Although it may seem to be primarily a formality, the shift from institute to university called for closer ties to national policies, including those related to admissions. The students entering the university come from around the country, with a high percentage from outside Mzumbe. Therefore, Mzumbe University has expanded: it now has a campus for graduate programs in Dar es Salaam, and other campuses in Mbeya, Mwanza and Tanga.

A current professor in Mzumbe University's Faculty of Public Administration explained the transition from institute to university:

> There was high demand for university education. So there was need from the top, policy level but also from demand from the bottom, from the citizens themselves who wanted more university education. So the Institute had to be transformed into a university. After all, Mzumbe already had capacity of running as a university… A University is more grounded on a theoretical perspective, while an Institute is more like a Polytechnic, training people to be real workers, not the thinkers and analysts and so forth. (4R)

Part of the constitution of the new university was the 2005 establishment of graduate programs offered in Dar es Salaam, situated in the area of the Dar es Salaam Port, "where many companies do business connecting inside and out of the country… This campus was established mainly for the educative needs for businesses around Dar es Salaam" (SV). That same year the Universities Act created the Tanzanian Commission on Universities, which is the regulatory authority for all universities in the country. A Mzumbe University administrator explained: "The Tanzania Commission for University (sic) provides the minimum requirements for all universities, from quality assurance, to programme structuring and offerings, assessment criteria in all the areas that concerning quality provision in higher education" (Aloyce). Finally, 2005 was also the year that Jajaya Kikwete began his administration as president of Tanzania. From the beginning of his administration, the

importance of strengthening primary education was stressed, and this meant that a larger number of teachers was needed.

The Faculty of Social Sciences at Mzumbe University was originally founded with only an Economics Department. The current dean of Social Sciences recounted the establishment of the Education program: "This was the request by the government of Tanzania, which required all universities to offer degree programs [in education] because of the shortage of education experts, especially in secondary schools and in teacher training colleges they are lacked due to capacity and education areas" (dean SS). The Education Department was established gradually between 2005 and 2007, yet almost 10 years later, a professor in the Education Department noted the continued isolation of the department from the rest of the university, "It is kind of a foreign department" (PK). There are now three programs in the Education Department: Economics and Mathematics, Swahili and English, and Accounting and Business. A current professor of Development Economics, also part of the Faculty of Social Sciences, noted the need for a faculty that would include language and humanities:

> We are confusing ourselves if we look at social science economics and see no difference from business. You see, the school of business here teaches many of the same things as economics… For development studies, you need humanities… If you take a linguist and an economist to sit down and discuss a theme together, you can increase the effectiveness of the university. (AA)

The Mzumbe University Prospectus itself shows a conception of social sciences in the services of management and development, rather than the development of critical skills to analyze unequal social and economic structures. The prospectus states:

> The Department of Education Foundations and Teaching Management provides training in areas of education that relate to philosophy, psychology, sociology and management, for the effective functioning of teachers and other educators. It also conducts research in areas of education and provides consultancy services geared toward the solution of problems in the education sector in Tanzania and beyond. (MU Prospectus)

This sense of a functional social science faculty – in one of the very few provincial universities to even have a social science faculty – is reflected in the Education Department's emphasis on entrepreneurial education. A professor of the department wrote:

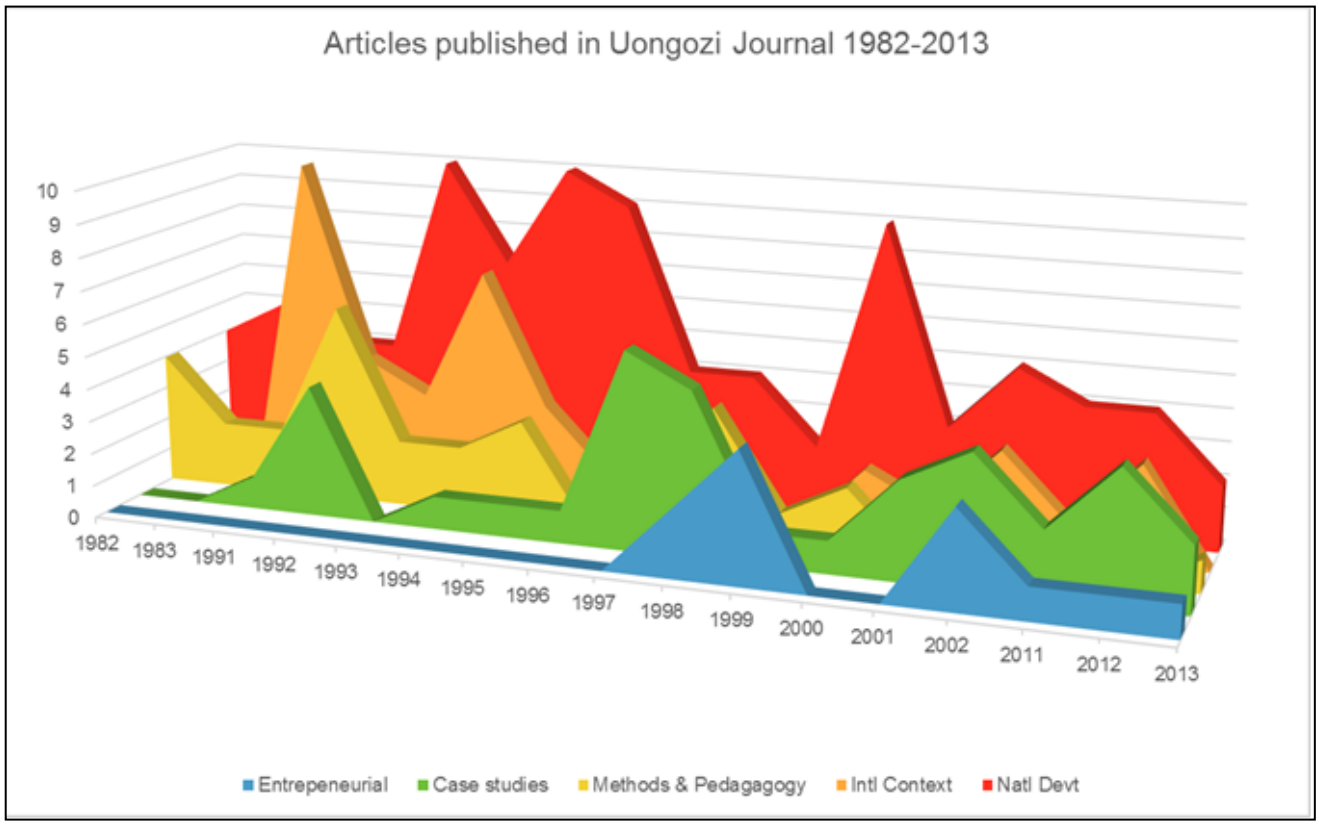
> "Universities and other training institutions are expected to inculcate entrepreneurial knowledge and skills in graduates to improve their employability and their ambitions to engage in self-employment…

Among the key needs is for the country to continue to strive in terms of global competition and to impart entrepreneurship skills to the youth" (K thesis pp.101-102).

It is in this context that we can understand the following chart, which shows the subjects of articles published in the Mzumbe University's journal *Uongozi* from 1982 through 2013. No journal issues were published in the late 1980s, in large part because of the critical national economic crises noted in sections above, which had a serious and detrimental impact on research and teaching.

Figure 1

Articles published in *Uogozi Journal* 1982-2013

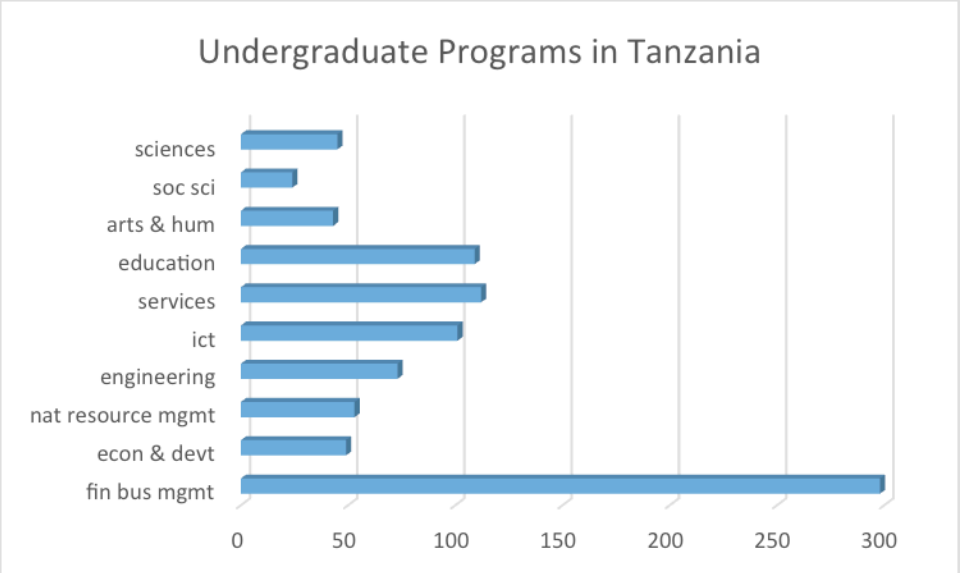


As is clear from the chart, there was still a relatively significant amount of research that focused on the international context at the beginning of the 1990s; such subjects decreased, however, to a small part of the studies published in the journal. Case studies, as well as research on entrepreneurial issues, increased in that period. This is significant insofar as the research that situated local and national development issues in an analysis of the international political economy. Topics that were clearly part of the African intellectual agenda in the 1970s and early 1980s, e.g, underdevelopment theory, became increasingly rare.

If, as we began this chapter proposing, social sciences are the field of study most apt for critiquing unequal social and economic structures, then the neoliberalization of higher education in Tanzania has marginalized these fields both in terms of content as well as in number. In the following chart of nationwide undergraduate programs in the 2013-2014 academic year, we can see that the social science programs make up a tiny percentage (less than 3%) of the total number of undergraduate programs in the country.

Figure 2

Undergraduate Programs in Tanzania



(Source for calculations: Admissions Guidebook for Higher Education Institutions in Tanzania 2013-14, Tanzania Commission on Universities)

Out of a total of 907 undergraduate programs in Tanzania (in 2013-2014), there were only 24 social science programs. These included sociology and anthropology, but excluded economics and education. Details of the categories are as follows:

- Sciences include earth sciences, math & natural sciences and there were a total of 45 programs in these fields nationwide.
- Social Sciences were separate from Arts and Humanities in order to emphasize the number of programs in each: 24 and 43, respectively.
- There were 109 undergraduate Education programs.
- Services majors included tourism, public services and human and health services, and there were 112 undergraduate programs in these fields.
- There were 101 Information, Communication and Technology programs.

- Aside from all the engineering specializations, the Engineering category included infrastructure building and architecture and offered a total of 73 programs.
- Natural resource management included animal husbandry, agriculture and extractive industries, with 53 programs nationwide.
- There were 49 Economics and Development undergraduate programs.
- And finally, the largest number by far of undergraduate programs in Tanzania was in Finance, Business and Management, with 298 programs.

We have argued that this lack of social science programs is not only part of the political economy of knowledge production, but is also is a characteristic of the university and research structure in a peripheral country such as Tanzania that actively *prevents* the critique of that political economy based on unequal hierarchies of economies, politics and knowledge.

We have also argued that these changes in the knowledge production – what is produced and to what purpose – are intimately linked to whom the knowledge is produced for, and the actors with whom the university is engaged. The hierarchical structures of knowledge in the social sciences at Mzumbe University are part and parcel of both the changing politics of the country as well as the role of the university in those transformations. In 2010, Mzumbe University defined the functions of its Directorate of External Linkages and Community Engagement of the Mzumbe University as follows: Issuing policies and guidelines for short courses and consultancy activities at the University; coordinating all short courses and consultancy activities at the University; providing "market intelligence" for short courses and consultancies to schools and faculties; coordinating international and national collaborations between Mzumbe University and its partners; assuring the quality of all assignments and providing feedback to schools and faculties; coordinating the operations of the Lumumba Complex (amongst other things, linking Lumumba with short courses run by the university).

We can compare that definition of community engagement to the one in effect in the mid-1970s, when Institute of Development Studies of the University of Dar es Salaam wrote that the IDS "shall especially involve itself in the problems of socialist construction in Tanzania and in this it shall base its programme on the principles and policies of TANU" (Institute of Development Studies, 1975, p. 8 quoted in Jamison 2010). Jamison also quoted one of the senior scholars of the IDS recalling the research project "Problems and Strategies of Building Ujamaa Villages": "[T]he students and some of the members of staff were encouraged to go in[to] the surrounding villages. They used to go and help in the villages... Some of them went as far as Tanga, and so, it was quite exciting" (quoted in Jamison p.107).

Through the transformations necessary to resolve the economic crises in which they found themselves, and the shift in the landscape of actors with whom they interacted, the research focus in Tanzania's universities has changed enormously since Nyerere's hopeful inauguration with the opening of the University of Dar es Salaam:

> We believe that through having our own higher educational institution in this country, we shall obtain the kind of high-level manpower we need to build a socialist society, and we shall get the emphasis we need on investigating the particular problems which face us. In other words, we expect that our University will be of such a nature that all who pass through it will be prepared both in knowledge and attitude for giving maximum service to the community. (Nyerere, 1970, pp. 4-5)

An analysis of the political economy of knowledge calls for understanding how in the Global South the ways in which capitalism, through its institutions, permeated the systems of higher education and caused responses related to the need to rethink national projects. Thus, the State became the conveyor of the interests of global capitalism, and local spaces sought to respond to these demands of the State. In the case of the State University of Bolivar in Ecuador, the process followed the logics of identity within a political perspective, where local development and business administration programs were the main initiative at Mzumbe University. These two processes t have to be understood in terms of the material conditions that made it possible to articulate political and academic discourse. In Ecuador, the vindication of ancestral knowledge supported criticism of the renewed nature of colonization that was made viable by an unambiguous account of development, whereas in Tanzania, the State, which had previously found in the university a strong point for de-colonization, sought to consolidate its administrative apparatus through rural education. So, these are two local configurations in which the higher education policy for rural areas occurred within two fields of efforts: the effort to produce knowledge pertinent to organizing processes for emancipation or processes for training qualified personnel for the bureaucratic machinery; and the effort to occupy a place on the national scene, since the hierarchical structure of institutions of knowledge gave provincial universities the role of serving as extensions of the State outside large urban centers.

C. In Closing

The gravest periods of the economic crises of the 1980s changed expectations for public universities. In this context of reduced public spending within structural adjustment policies and programs, universities had to support economic development in the underdeveloped countries and to provide a workforce that could attain social mobility.

The peripheral positions of Ecuador and Tanzania still need to be explored. However, despite their peripheral conditions, they fostered the expectation that the science and research done at their universities would help to address collective national problems. Given the positions of a number of their intellectuals, universities in the Global South have aimed at knowledge and analysis very different from what has prevailed in the abstract and universalist science of the industrialized coutnries of the North, science that is also pragmatic in its U.S. version (Meyer and Ramírez 2010). In the developed world during the first half of the 20th century, knolwedge's growing importance for progress and the scientific trend aimed at producing classifications and systematizations led to diversifying and professionalizing knowledge. Research agendas guided by discipline-related concerns and hierarchies began to be defined (Foucault, 1975), and within the disciplines every stronger ties were forged among specialized colleagues in different places. A progressive fragmentation of the academic community was unleased inside the universities, and disassociation from the immediate intellectual and political surroundings.

As of the late 20th century and the early 21st, we have found ourselves transitioning to a model of higher education in which information and communication technologies are redefining the relevancy of knowledge for economies and societies, and we have moved into a new stage of restructuring forms of accumulation, related to non-material work and production in the framework of cognitive capitalism.

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