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**Epistemic independence struggles:
A comparative analysis of two indigenous universities in
Peru and Ecuador**

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Cajamarca 1532:

... And then the friar Velarde arrived with a bible in his hand and explained to Atahualpa how God in trinity created the sky and the earth... that if he believed in God and the baptism, the King Carlos would protect him and if he would make the contrary the King would give him bloody war (...) Atahualpa asked him how he would know about the veracity of all the things the friar said. The friar replied that God put his words in the bible. Atahualpa asked him the bible, opened it and reviewed the pages. He said that that book did not say anything and throw it. The friar turned to the Spanish shouting: "to them, to

them!"

Agustin Zarate: *History of the discovery and conquest of the provinces of Peru*. Amberes 1555.

"Letter sings" (Carta canta) in: Peruvian Traditions. Ricardo Palma (1833-1919)

"...The steward chose ten of the best melons and packed them in two boxes and put them on the shoulders of two Indians mitayos (forced labourers), giving them a letter.

They had advanced some miles and sat down to rest next to a wall. As was natural, the scent of the fruit aroused the curiosity of the mitayos and their minds engaged in tough battle between hunger and fear.

- Do you know brother - said at last one of them in their native dialect, "I found the way that we can eat without being discovered? Let's hide the letter behind the wall. If she doesn't see us eating, she won't be able to denounce us.

The simple ignorance of the Indians attached to writing a devilish and wonderful reputation. They believed that the letters were not symbols, but spirits, that letters worked not only as messengers, but also as watchmen and spies. The idea must have seemed wise to the other mitayo, because without saying a word, put the letter behind the wall, placing a stone on top, and - made this operation- took to eat the friendly and inviting fruit..."

“This laboratory allows us to tell to the world that here in our nations and nationalities, indigenous science exists, although we spent more than five centuries of neglect, denial, even if they wanted to embed in our culture other values, to tell the world that our University can contribute in the concert of the various sciences and that we also want to de-monopolizing the sciences as such by the fact that there is currently a monopoly of a point of view, a worldview of a way of seeing the world.”(Speech of Luis Fernando Sarango, Rector of UINPI)

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List of Acronyms

AEU	Assembly of the Ecuadorian University
AIDSESEP	Interethnic association of Development of the Peruvian Jungle
ANR	National Association of Rectors
APRA	Popular Revolutionary American Alliance
CCP	Peasant Confederation of Peru
CAN	National Agrarian Confederation
CEUPA	Ecuadorian Corporation of Private Universities
CODENPE	National Council for Development of the Nationalities and people of Ecuador
CONACAMI	National Coordinator of Communities Affected by Mining in Peru
CONAFU	National Council for the Authorization of New universities
CONAIE	Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador
CONAP	Confederation of Amazon Nationalities of Peru
CONAPA	National Commission of Amazon, Andean and Afroperuvian peoples
CONEA	National Council of Evaluation and Accreditation
CONESUP	National Council of Higher Education
CONFENIAE	Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon
COPPIP	Permanent Conference of indigenous Peoples of Peru
CTE	Confederation of Ecuadorian Workers
CVR	Commission of Truth and Reconciliation
DINEBI	National Office of Intercultural Bilingual Education
DINEIB	National Direction of Intercultural Bilingual Education
DINEIBIR	National Office of Intercultural Bilingual and Rural Education
ECUARUNARI	Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazonia
FENOC	Federation of Peasant Organizations
FEI	Ecuadorian Federation of Indians
FORMABIAP	Training Program of Bilingual Teachers in the Peruvian Amazon
GLE	General Law of Education
ICCI	Scientific Institute of Indigenous Cultures
INDEPA	National Institute of Development of Andean, Amazon and Afroperuvian peoples
MBA	Market-Based approach
PDPIA	Development of Indigenous people and afroperuvians
PCE	Communist Party of Ecuador

SAP	Structural Adjustment Programs
SETAI	Technical Secretariat of Indigenous Affairs
SL	Shining Path
UC	Cuenca University
UINPI	Intercultural University of Nationalities and Indigenous People of Ecuador: “Amawtay Wasi”
UNIA	Intercultural National University of the Amazon
UPS	Salesian Polytechnic University

Abstract

This paper analyzes the rise of two indigenous universities -UNIA and UINPI- in Peru and Ecuador; two Andean post-colonial countries in which neoliberal policies have been applied since the 1980's. Despite of similar conditions of their countries, UINPI (Ecuador) and UNIA (Peru) present marked differences; while the first has been able to challenge to the traditional Ecuadorian higher education system, the second has followed traditional patterns in the production and reproduction of scientific and technical knowledge. Based on a neo-gramscian approach, this paper argue that the reasons to the different trajectory of every university must be found not just in the political conjuncture of both countries but paying attention to three inextricably linked scenarios: first, the constitution of the national state project of every country; second, the historical conformation and development of their respective higher education systems; and third, the way in which the indigenous communities has been articulated and have articulated themselves in the nation state project and the Higher Education System of every country.

Relevance to Development Studies

Latin American universities have been one of the milestones in the creation and reproduction of the so called “development discourse” (Escobar, 1995). The rise of the neoliberal agenda in the 1980's has implied a gradual process of transformation of the academic knowledge production toward a more marked-based type of development. In this light it is important to reflect on the processes of knowledge production that can be an alternative to the mainstream vision of development. The creation of indigenous universities might be a possibility to break the epistemic dependence of Latin American universities. However, the achievement of epistemic justice will be uncertain if we are not able to unveil the material and ideological conditions -historically articulated- that impose limits to our actions and the material and ideological sources used by social movements to influence in the design of public policies. This paper aims to contribute to these purposes presenting two unique experiences in the region.

Keywords

Indigenous, universities, knowledge, Neo gramscian, Gramsci, Higher Education, Peru, Ecuador, Neoliberalism, post structuralism, market based approach, social movements.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The indigenous communities in Latin America have been exposed to long historical processes of material and symbolic dispossession. Their forced subjugation led to near annihilation in some parts of the continent, while in others they resisted the structural violence imposed since colonial times. Two important and related spaces of colonialism and resistance have been the Andean and Amazon regions: the first region hosts many ancient cultures, agglutinated under the Incas Empire to the arrival of the Spanish invaders; the second comprised a diversity of ethnic groups that remained relatively isolated during the colonial and early republican periods due to the geographic difficulty of accessing the region for European settlers and subsequent elites.

Three countries in Latin America in particular have hosted these cultural matrixes: Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. Their respective indigenous populations are the largest in South America and historically they have been labelled pejoratively as the “indigenous spot” (“la mancha india”) of South America. Despite the hegemony of the mono-cultural state project promoted by the Latin American criollo-elites since the nineteenth century and the corresponding “mestizo discourse” as the “solution” to the impasse between the European and indigenous matrixes, the indigenous groups have progressively won – albeit limited – recognition as a valid force in the political arena. The recognition, however, continues to be underpinned by conditions of exclusion that remain firmly entrenched in these countries.

The field of education has been an important space of domination and resistance. In the last decade Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia have experienced growing demand from the indigenous communities for access to the higher education system – the right to basic intercultural education being one of the communities main achievements. As a result, projects to create indigenous universities or policies of affirmative action to promote the access of indigenous people to traditional universities have been implemented in these countries. This process has paradoxically run alongside with the predominance of neoliberal policies that privilege the production of market oriented knowledge disregarding other type of knowledges (Lynch 2006, Mignolo 2000).

1.1 Research Argument, objective and questions

The indigenous communities in Latin America have been historically excluded from the higher education system throughout a series of institutional barriers (IESALC 2006). This exclusion has also resulted in the systematic exclusion of the indigenous knowledge from the institutional structure of knowledge production of the Latin American universities, despite its great (but neglected) importance in the formation of the Andean and Amazonian societies (Mignolo 2000, Quijano 2000). As part of what Escobar calls the “development industry

(Escobar 1995), there has been a considerable effort of many Latin American governments since the mid 1950's to expand and transform their higher education system, democratizing and making it more inclusive through the creation of public universities. This effort has been characterised by an epistemic dependence in the production of knowledge in the Higher Education System (HES) of Latin American countries, intimately linked to processes of historical processes of colonization (Quijano 2000).

The global ascendancy of the Neoliberal agenda and its implementation in Latin America since the 1980's, informed a progressive process of privatization of the HES and homogenization of academic programs in a number of specializations (Lauder, 2006) shifting the system and pedagogy towards a market-oriented approach (Conghan, Malloy and Abugattas 1990, Burdick 2009). During the same period, indigenous social movements have started to have a greater presence in the political arena of countries like Bolivia and Ecuador, demanding the recognition of their social, economic and cultural systems of organization. Surprisingly this has not been the case of Peru despite sharing similar historical conditions to those of Ecuador and Bolivia (Albo , 2002, 2008; Degregory 1995, 1999)

In this context, indigenous universities have been created in Peru and Ecuador since the 1990's: the National Intercultural University of the Amazon (UNIA) and the Intercultural University of Nationalities and Indigenous People of Ecuador: "Amawtay Wasi" (UINPI) respectively. How can the rise of these universities in the political context be understood?

Research Objective

The main objective of this research paper is to analyze the material and ideological conditions that have made possible the rise of these indigenous universities, paying attention not just to the formal characteristics of the Higher Education System of both countries but to historical configuration of the indigenous social movements and the economic political scenario that both countries have been facing in the last 20 years since the rise of neoliberal policies in the region.

Research questions

- How has the creation of two indigenous universities in Peru and Ecuador been possible in a marked context of regional neoliberal hegemony?
 - What were the material and ideological factors that made possible the birth of these universities?
 - What have been the historical transformations of the Latin American universities and specifically of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian cases?

- How the indigenous movements have articulated within the political context of these countries?
- Why have there been differences in the trajectories followed by each university despite “similar” socio-historical configurations of both countries?
- What strategies were used by the indigenous populations to demand better conditions of access to the higher education system in each country?
- How the relations of force of each country influenced in the configuration of each university?

1.2 Justification

My interest for the present topic is related with my personal conviction, based on professional and personal experiences that the access to higher education can be either a liberating or oppressive process depending on the predominant conceptions of the academic community about diversity, inequality and justice. Unfortunately the public higher education system in Latin America has deteriorated over the past 30 years, with higher education institutions increasingly concerned with the generation of profits rather than with the education of citizens as part of a nation building agenda. This shift has important consequences for the egalitarian construction of society, or lack thereof.

The active participation of social movements demanding and proposing alternatives for higher education can be seen as an opportunity to generate a more holistic paradigm of policy analysis. Their participation highlights the need to rescue the political dimension within the consideration of policy analysis and design, rather than regard the analysis and design as a box of tools, uncritically applicable to any political scenario. From this perspective, we must pay attention not just to those topics considered programmatically relevant (relevant for whom?) such as accreditation processes or the internationalization of the higher education, but critically review topics that have been made invisible. Despite the historical significance of the indigenous peoples in the Andean region, the creation of indigenous universities has been made invisible in the field of educational policies. This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of the process of participation of social movements in the design or implementation of educational policies.

Finally the construction of life projects alternative to the mainstream tendencies of development require the analysis of the structural and historical constrains that such projects of life face to materialize their aspiration. Only by understanding these limitations will we be able to go beyond the hegemonic views of development.

1.3 Scope and limitations

This paper has a number of limitations. The most important is the absence of any process of inter-subjective interchange with the actors who participated directly in the implementation of these universities. The paper thus limits itself to the analysis of documents and reports produced by these actors or by third parties and propose that this provide the basis for further research in this important field.

The universities under analysis are relatively young, having started to function in 2005 and the period of analysis has been established until 2009. Therefore there is not yet enough elements speak about processes of institutional consolidation. What it is possible to analyze is the process of creation of each university and the links between the characteristics of the educational project and the characteristics of the social movements promoting each initiative.

The analysis of the configuration of the indigenous social movements in every country goes back to the historical juncture that took place the end of the nineteenth century. Only by making such analysis will it be possible to understand the differences between the indigenous social movements of Ecuador and the rural social movements in Peru.

Finally, despite its importance in the generation of indigenous social movements Bolivia has been excluded from this paper due to limitations of space. I have chosen Peru and Ecuador because these countries have greater similarities in geographical terms. Further research should be conducted to incorporate Bolivia in this analysis.

1.4 Research Methodology

Taking into account that the methodology used is tributary of the type of theory chosen, and following the distinction made by Cox between problem-solving and critical theory this paper situated itself in the second type of theory, one that *“stands apart from the prevailing order of the world and asks how that order came about. Critical theory, unlike problem-solving theory, does not take institutions and social and power relations for granted but calls into question by concerning itself with the origins and how and whether they might be in the process of changing (Cox, 1981, p. 129).* Therefore the type of analysis is carried on *“not looking from the top “in terms of the requisites for its equilibrium or reproduction (...) but rather from the bottom or from outside in terms of the conflicts which arise within it and open the possibility of its transformation” (Cox 1981, p. 135)*

Additionally I will focus my attention not just in the specific context of creation of the universities but looking at the past *“and to the earlier thinkers in a creative way but with no illusion, in order to gain insight that were germane to the present*

and to the potential future (...) looking at the historical situation (or conjuncture) and its political possibilities” (Gill: 2008, p. xx)

By contrast with the dominant management approach in policy analysis that “*reflects the needs of dominant power and its intellectual orthodoxy*”, the theoretical and practical analysis of my research question would try to be “*from ‘the bottom upwards’, as well as ‘the top downwards’ in an approach concerned with ‘movement’, rather than management*”. (Gill 2008, p. 12)

In order to accomplish these purposes first we may critically review the interpretation about the process of construction of ethnic identities in Ecuador and Perú by key scholars, and use this as a lens to examine the constitution of the higher education system of each country.

Chapter 2 Indigenous people and Higher Education in Peru

In this chapter I describe four aspects: how the question of indigenous people has been understood in the Peruvian context, how the HES has been articulated in the last 30 years, what has been the participation of indigenous students in the HES and the characteristics of the only indigenous university of Peru: the National Intercultural University of the Amazon (UNIA), created in 1999.

2.1 The indigenous issue in Perú: a problem

Unlike Ecuador and Bolivia, Peru was the first Andean country where the indigenous population was explicitly treated and considered as a “problem” by the political and intellectual Peruvian elites. After the defeat of Peru in the Pacific war¹ (1879-1883), the elites started a process of “national reconstruction” that implied not just the reconstruction of the productive apparatus but the creation and articulation of discourses to explain the reasons for the defeat. The indios and their “backward conditions” were one of the explanations. Living in conditions of oppression, isolated of the modern world and “without any patriotism”, the indios were subject to a “civilizing” set of policies that ranged from education policies to miscegenation between indios and other “races” considered superior. The policies applied to the indios living in the Highlands (Sierra) and Coast and endured in accordance with the prevailing view that indigenous inhabitants of the Amazon region were simply savages and the Amazon was a region to be colonized.

The emergence of leftist political parties and social movements in the first 20 years of the twentieth century challenged the “aristocratic republic” and opened the space for a different type of debate in relation to the indio. Additional to the mainstream idea of transforming and redeeming to the indios throughout a progressive and controlled program lead by the government, leftist forces (with leading figures like Mariategui and Haya) started to question the material and ideological conditions that made possible the exploitation of much of the Peruvian population. For Mariategui the main problem of the “indios” rested not in their “cultural backwardness”, but in the material conditions in which they were living. The problem with the “indios” was first and foremost a problem of land distribution created first by the colonial regime and then continued by the capitalist system. The solution passed by land redistribution throughout a socialist revolution led by the working class. Mariategui’s perspective and the role assigned to the indios in the revolutionary

¹ The Pacific war (1879-1883) was an international conflict between Chile and the Peruvian-Bolivian alliance.

process (not as the leaders but as support forces) shaped the type of relation that the leftist movements established with indigenous movements and the ways in which the indigenous movements built their political identity to enter in the political Peruvian scenario: in classist rather than in ethnic terms.

In 1947 the Peasant Confederation of Peru (CCP) was funded with the support of the Peruvian Communist Party. The CCP accompanied processes of land invasion and protests against landlords. By the end of the 1950's, however, the CCP had lost convening power and, in many parts of the Peruvian Highlands, peasant movements started to take lands of landlords by force. (Albo: 2008). By the 1960's three guerrilla movements appeared almost simultaneously, all subsequently suppressed by the Peruvian army. In this scenario of conflict the government attempted to make gradual processes of land redistribution but they were permanently blocked in the parliament by an opposition representing the interests of the landlords. In this context, in 1969, the Peruvian army led by the General Velasco installed a dictatorship², starting a process of land expropriation and redistribution among peasants. During almost 6 years the regime recruited social scientists that had a strong influence in the treatment of the "indigenous populations" (Degregori, 1995). On the one hand the rural inhabitants of the Highlands and Cost were labeled as "*peasants*" while the ancient inhabitants of the Amazon region were labeled as "*native communities*", avoiding using the concept of indio, as long as it was considered a pejorative term imposed by the Spanish conquistadors. In 1972 the government created a parallel institution to the CCP, the National Agrarian Confederation (CAN) in order to gain control over the rural organizations. In the next two decades both organizations, CAN and CCP will have a limited capacity to articulate any social movement. In 1975 General Velasco was ousted by General Bermudez who started a slow process of contra-reform.

In 1979 Peru returned to democracy alongside Ecuador. A Constituent Assembly was installed to promulgate a new Constitution and one year later, a new regime was elected democratically³. For the first time in the Peruvian history the illiterate could exercise their right to vote. At the same time, in Ayacucho (paradoxically the region where the Spanish colonial rule in South America was finally defeated in 1826) the Shining Path (of Maoist inspiration) started what they called "the popular war", inaugurating a period of internal violence that according to the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (CVR) caused

² Unlike the dictatorship installed almost simultaneously in South America like Chile, Argentina, Brazil or Uruguay, the Peruvian dictatorship was considered as from a leftist tendency. Actually the Soviet Union was one of their main allies.

³ Fernando Belaunde was elected for a period of 5 years from 1981 to 1985. His government applied a set of regressive policies to dismantle the reforms made by the previous military government.

more than 60 mil deaths in a period of 14 years, with the 75% of the victims being quichua speakers or of other languages different to Spanish. (CVR 2003)

In a context of growing political and ideological polarization and repression from the guerrilla⁴ and the State sides, during the 1980's the rural organizations of the Highland and Cost had little political space to articulate any organic social force despite the regressive agrarian policies applied for Belaunde regime and despite the economic crisis left Peruvian society in shock toward the end of the decade. In contrast to the rural organizations of the Highlands and the Coast, the Amazon communities were able to articulate the vast diversity of organizations throughout AIDSESEP in 1980 (Interethnic association of Development of the Peruvian Jungle) and through the CONAP (Confederation of Amazon Nationalities of Peru) in 1987. Since then both organizations have played a central role in the social gains of the Amazon indigenous communities.

During the 1990's, Fujimory's regime obtained high levels of popular support despite the application of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) due to the defeat of Shining Path. In 1993 a new constitution was approved. In addition to the strong emphasis on the idea of a market-based economy, the new Constitution recognized for the first time the multiethnic (pluriétnico) character of the Peruvian nation. In 1998 and almost concluding his regime Fujimori created the Technical Secretariat of Indigenous Affairs (SETAI) "*since the beginning associated to the interest of the World Bank to promote activities with indigenous communities*" (Albo: 2008, p. 220). The SETAI started a project "Development of Indigenous people and afroperuvians" (PDPIA) financed with a World Bank loan of 5 million dollars.

Just one year before the COPPIP (Permanent Conference of indigenous Peoples of Peru) had been created with the participation AIDSESEP, CONAP, CPA and CNA and the support of OXFAM. For 2001 COPPIP had expanded the number of members to 16, including the CONACAMI (National Coordinator of Communities Affected by Mining in Peru), an organization funded in 1999 to represent to those communities affected by mining and oil activities. Despite its non-ethnic claim, CONACAMI played an important role in the direction of the COPPIP (Albo 2008, 223) in part due to the support received from OXFAM.

⁴ According to the CVR the Shining Path's leadership was formed by middle class urban intellectuals

By 2001, Toledo ascended to power with a campaign that emphasised his indigenous roots⁵. Toledo's leadership was accompanied by a shift in perception about the role and capacity of indios in Peru." In this context, the SETAI was replaced by the CONAPA(National Commission of Amazon, Andean and Afroperuvian peoples), continuing with the PDPIA World Bank project and incorporating to the COPPIP in the execution of the project. Conflicts between some members of COPPIP and the CONAPA led to the division of the COPPIP in two parallel organizations. According to Albo (2008), the one that did not follow the government orientations has been the most active and connected with the grassroots organizations, counting with the support of OXFAM (Albo, 2008, 222). Almost by the end of Toledo's regime, the CONAPA was closed due to accusations of corruption. A new institution was created INDEPA (National Institute of Development of Andean, Amazon and Afroperuvian peoples) recognized as a public organism with ministerial level and a higher degree of participation of indigenous organizations.

By 2006, the second-term election of García was accompanied by the deactivation of many of the pro-indigenous reforms. The INDEPA almost disappeared, and the National Office of Intercultural Bilingual Education (DINEBI), created in the 1970's by the Velasco's regime, was modified as National Office of Intercultural Bilingual and Rural Education (DINEIBIR), giving to the intercultural education a rural connotation. This government has faced many social protests but just the protests in the Amazon region have used explicitly the discourse of ethnicity to give support to their claims. In this context, the role of the AIDSESEP has been again important to articulate a strategy of resistance against the government attempts to implement policies favouring mining and oil activities in Peru. This strategy has gone beyond the claims to stop the over exploitation of natural resources, incorporating in their agenda other aspects like the right to receive an intercultural education. As it will be shown in the next section, it is no coincidence that AIDSESEP is the only indigenous organization that has worked explicitly in the promotion of education projects in the field of higher education.

2.2 Higher Education and Indigenous People

The legal and institutional setting of the Peruvian Higher Education System

⁵ Toledo claimed to come from a poor family. He went to study at Stanford University with a scholarship where he knows to his wife the Belgian anthropologist Eliane Karp.

The main legal instruments under which the UNIA has been created are the Constitution of 1993, the Law of the National Council for the Authorization of New universities (CONAFU) (1995), the General Law of Education (GLE) of 2003 and the Law of Universities (1983). The 1993 Constitution promulgated during the Fujimori's regime replaced the 1979 Constitution, establishing the legal framework to promote the process of liberalization of the Peruvian economy, including special measures to foster the participation of the private sector in the provision of educational services in the HES.

The GLE, established during the Toledo's government, organize the Peruvian educational system in 2 stages (etapas): basic and higher education. The HE is compounded by the Non University sector (Pedagogical Institutes, and Higher Technological Institutes) and University sector. The universities sector was formed by public and private universities and – unlike the Ecuadorian case – since the application of the Legislative Decree N° 882 in 1996, it became possible to have for profit educational institutions. The offer of private universities flourished in the 1990's as a result of the decree.

Since the 1990s, the academic and administrative autonomy of universities has been undermined by higher levels of interference in the running of universities. This has been achieved through the process of empowering the National Assembly of Rectors (ANR). Formed by the rectors of all the Peruvian universities, the ANR has the power to intervene and take corrective measures in public and private universities when an “irregularity” is detected. Additionally, the creation of the CONAFU (1995) as an autonomous body of the ANR, means that all universities have the obligation to pass through a process of accreditation and the new universities are created through this body.

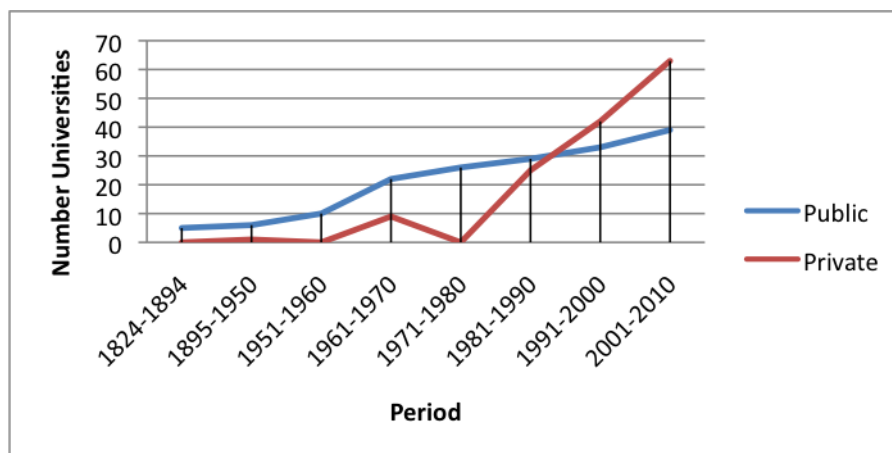
Unlike the Ecuadorian case, the ANR and CONAFU are more autonomous in relation to other spheres of the Peruvian society. In their conformation there is a minimal formal participation of representatives of any business association or organization of civil society. At the State level, they are financially dependent of the Minister of Economy to maintain their activities.

The Peruvian Higher Education in numbers

In comparison to the Ecuadorian HES, the private sector has a longer history of participation in the Peruvian HES. The first wave of private sector participation took place in the 1960's when the most prestigious private universities were created (9) almost in the same proportion of public universities. This tendency slowed in the 1970's but by the end of 1980's the private universities accounted for the 46% of the university sector. As it can be seen in Figure 2.1, the private sector surpassed the public sector in the 1990's, deepening this tendency in the 2000's.

In contrast the Public Universities demonstrate the opposite tendency with few public universities created in the last 20 years. However two aspects stand out: first the creation of public universities has taken place in those regions where the intervention of the private sector is unlikely to happen, being the Amazon region one of them. This tendency confirms the materialization of the hegemonic discourse about the complementary role of the State in the development of the educational sector. Second the public sector still concentrates the greatest amount of students. For 2002, when the UNIA was in process of creation, the public universities concentrated the 59% of the enrolment at the university level (Gonzales, 2004).

Figure 2.1 Changes in the provision of Higher Education⁶ in Peru



Source: Own elaboration. Based on ANR 2006

Higher education policies and indigenous populations

The main policy instruments in the field of education developed in Peru in the last 30 years recognize the multi cultural character of the Peruvian society and the need for intercultural education at all the levels. The constitution of 1993 and the National Educational Project⁷ (2005) mention the right of the Peruvian citizens to be educated in their original languages. However there have not been national policies addressing specifically the issue of indigenous education at the higher education level. Few specific experiences have been developed by universities or institutes but they do not respond to any national state policy.

⁶ It takes in consideration just the Universities, being excluded the polytechnics.

⁷ The National Educational Project was a initiative promoted by the government of Paniagua (2000-2001) to establish a long-term educational project (20 years). It was led by the National Council of Education (CNE) and achieved a high degree of legitimacy by civil and state actors linked to the educational sector.

Among the most relevant experiences, Peru has the Training Program of Bilingual Teachers in the Peruvian Amazon (FORMABIAP), a project created in 1988 by the Pedagogical Institute of Loreto (a public institution, located in Iquitos)⁸ and AIDSESEP, with the financing of Terra Nouva. The main objective of FORMABIAP was to train indigenous people to work as teachers in bilingual primary schools located in native communities⁹ of the Amazon region.

Unlike Ecuador, three Peruvian universities have developed programs of Affirmative Action to foster the access of indigenous students to their institutions. The development of these experiences is related in part to institutionalized limitations imposed by the Peruvian HES to the free access of students. While in Ecuador the access to public universities is free, in Peru students has to take tests to be admitted. The institutional configuration in Peru increases the gaps of access to higher education of those students coming from a non urban Spanish-speaking context.

In 1998 the National University of San Marcos started a program oriented to indigenous students of the Amazon region, establishing a quota of 2% of vacancies in every university department to foster the incorporation of Amazon indigenous students in the University. AIDSESEP and CONAP played an important role but just at a level of lobby without any direct participation in the elaboration of the pedagogical proposal. Additionally, since 2002 the Ford Foundation has promoted two projects of affirmative action in San Antonio Abad and San Cristobal de Huamanga, two public universities located in the Peruvian highlands. The Pathways to higher Education (PHE) program is a regional initiative of the Ford Foundation developed in Mexico, Brasil, Chile and Peru.

Two common factors are shared across these three initiatives: the indigenous students are considered mainly as “consumers of a type of knowledge with pretensions of universality” and the offices in charge of these programs have faced internal institutional barriers to develop their actions. With the exception of academic departments like linguistic or anthropology, the majority of academic departments use exclusively Spanish as teaching language. The presence of indigenous professors is minimal and the directors of these programs have expressed the institutional hostility to host this kind of initiatives inside these universities. (Diaz-Romero 2006, Garcia 2007). The context described below makes special the creation of the UNIA as long as until 1999,

⁸ Iquitos is the capital city of Loreto, the biggest Amazon region of Peru.

⁹ “Native communities” is a term used in Peru to make reference to towns located mainly in the Amazon region, where Spanish is not the predominant language.

when the UNIA was created, there was not any experience of a university oriented specifically to respond to the needs of indigenous student.

2.3 The Intercultural National University of the Amazon (UNIA)

The UNIA was created as a public university in December of 1999 (Law N° 27250) at the end of Fujimori's regime. By its geographical location (Yarinacocha Distric, in the Region of Ucayali) the UNIA was oriented specifically to ethno-linguistic groups of the Amazon region (Ashaninkas, aguaruna, shipibos). Among its ends the UNIA envisaged the "integral training, scientific research and promotion of cultural activities of ethno-linguistic groups of the Amazon region". To accomplish this purpose the UNIA established four academic programs: education, agro-forestry-aquaculture engineering, agro-industrial engineering, and natural pharmacological sciences.

The UNIA commenced its academic activities in 2005, following a six-year process of bargaining with the Peruvian government, and specifically with the CONAFU and the Minister of Finance to receive the budget required. Although the UNIA was created in part as result of the demand of AIDSESEP, a special committee designed by the CONAFU was tasked with the implementation of the project. Formed by three members, this committee has been changed three times by the CONAFU due to indigenous student's protests of maltreatment, authoritarianism and racism of the authorities designed. Students also blamed a "lack of competence" for the failure of the committee to execute its strategy effectively and with intercultural criteria.

According to María Cortez¹⁰, administrate vice President of the third organising committee designed in June of 2010 by CONAFU, the main problems faced by the UNIA has been: the weak preparation of the previous commissioners in topics of intercultural education, the absence of indigenous members in the academic body of the university and the progressive presence of "mestizo" students, denaturalizing the initial purpose of the university: to give preference to indigenous students.

In contrast with the Amawtay Wasy University, the process of creation and implementation of the UNIA have had a low degree of participation of any indigenous social organization, despite the fact that the original project envisaged the incorporation of an advisory body formed by members of indigenous communities. The AIDSESEP participated basically at the beginning of

¹⁰ Interview made by SERVINDI an organization specialized in indigenous topics. The interview can be seen in <http://www.servindi.org/actualidad/34458>

the process exercising political influence over politicians to approve the creation of this project and during the implementation when they emitted reports denouncing the problems of UNIA. A revision of the documents and reports published in the web page of the UNIA¹¹ reveal the absence of any substantive link between the UNIA and AIDSESEP. There is not any mention to the political or environmental problems facing the indigenous communities in the Amazon region, even in moments of high political tension between indigenous communities and the government.

2.4 In summary

The way in which the indigenous question has been addressed in Peru has had strong implications for the achievements that social groups with subaltern cultures have obtained in the field of higher education in the last 20 years. While in other Andean countries like Bolivia and Ecuador ethnic identity has been a strong factor to empower and unify the social movements and its capacity to influence in the design of education policies, in the Peruvian case, the ethnic identity has remained strong solely in the Amazon region. The main progress to include to the indigenous population in the HES has been achieved in the Amazon region, where organizations like AIDSESEP has opened their agenda to other issues rather than just land redistribution.

The structuring of the Peruvian HES has followed international trends oriented to strengthen the connection of Universities with the demands of the hegemonic model of economic development. The policies implemented since the Fujimori's government has given priority to the liberalization of the HES and the implementation of mechanisms to standardize the educational supply according international parameters of quality (processes of accreditation).

The scenario described above has constrained the development of the UNIA. On the one hand the exigency of the CONAFU for the UNIA adjusts its academic project to non-intercultural criteria; on the other hand, the rooted racist ideas of the Peruvian society have contributed to the reproduction of discrimination actions against indigenous students at the local level. The same prejudice informs the continued underestimation of indigenous knowledge to build the educational project of the UNIA.

¹¹ This revision was carried on from July to November of 2010, accessing to this link: <http://www.uniavirtual.net/>

Chapter 3 Indigenous people and Higher Education in Ecuador

In this chapter I describe four aspects: how the question of indigenous people has been understood in the Ecuadorian context, how the HES has been articulated in the last 30 years, what has been the participation of indigenous students in the HES and the characteristics of the only indigenous university of Ecuador: the Intercultural University of Nationalities and Indigenous People of Ecuador: “Amawtay Wasi” (UINPI), created in 2000 (one year after the creation of the UNIA in Peru).

3.1 The indigenous “issue” in Ecuador

Like in Peru, “race and ethnicity” are two topics largely discussed in the history of Ecuador. The first half of the Ecuadorian twentieth century has been dominated by the hegemony of what some authors like Cueva (1988) and Ayala (1988) had labelled as the “liberal oligarchic regime”: a period that started in 1894 with the Liberal Revolution and the weakening of the landlord structure of economic power located in the Highlands (with Quito as its center) in favour of an emergent bourgeois located mainly in the Ecuadorian coast (Guayaquil). The role played by the indios in the liberal side was important for the liberals to obtain the victory. Once in power, the liberal regime established a set of measures aimed to protect the indios starting an ideological debate about the type of policies required to protect to these citizens.

Unlike Peru, where the debate about the “indio” ran between two poles (on the one side a left position led by the new APRA and Communist parties, on the other side an undeclared alliance between liberals and conservatives), in the Ecuadorian case the progressive hegemonic consolidation of the liberal regime did not generate enough political space for the participation of any socialist movement. Therefore the discussion about the condition of the indios was monopolized by the liberal-conservative debate, one that stressed the treatment of subaltern groups in legal, educational and cultural terms, situating the problem in ethnic rather than in class terms.

The accelerated process of penetration of the global capitalism order in this country since the post war period created profound changes in the Ecuadorian society¹². One of particular importance was the rise of indigenous

¹² According Pedro Romero until the Second War World, the Ecuadorian economy remained relatively isolated from the process of capitalism global expansion. The best

movements that, unlike in any other Andean country (Peru or Bolivia), established organic relations with political parties, specifically with the Communist Political Party of Ecuador (PCE). In 1944 this party created the Confederation of Ecuadorian Workers (CTE) and inside this the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians (FEI). In the next 30 years FEI and other indigenous organizations¹³ participated in the political scenario promoting especially land reform and land redistribution. The presence of demands in the field of higher education were absent in these mobilizations.

The year 1991 marked a turning point in the Ecuadorian society. In response to a set of structural reforms made in the frame of the Washington Consensus, an indigenous mobilization coined as *Inti Raymi*¹⁴ and led by the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) paralyzed the country. This mobilization had strong implications in the political scenario for the next 20 years of Ecuador. Indigenous demands were beyond the “land issues”, covering political, social, cultural and economic aspects of the Ecuadorian society. The most visible of these demands was the indigenous claim to recognize the presence of nationalities inside Ecuador and the intercultural character of their society. Access to higher education was one of the key reforms demanded in a variety of domains. To understand the way in which these demands have been channelled by the institutional setting of the Ecuadorian HES we need to understand how the HES has change at least in the last 30 years. This is the purpose of the next section.

proof of this is the low impact of the 1929 financial crisis in the Ecuadorian economy: “In fact, the population of Ecuador was largely, though scattered, in rurales¹⁶ areas, so obtaining food and housing was still possible. The main impact of the Great Depression in the country was received by the foreign trade” (Romero, 2002, p. 9)

¹³ The main indigenous organizations emerged between 1945 and 1986 were the National Federation of Peasant Organizations (FENOC) in 1968, ECUARUNARI (1972), the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazonia (CONFENAIE)

¹⁴ *Inti Raymi* (a kishwa expression meaning 'festival of the Sun') was an ancient Andean religious ceremony in honor of Inti (the sun god), which was performed every winter solstice in the Andes.

3.2 Higher education Policies and Indigenous People

The legal and institutional setting of the Ecuadorian Higher Education

The initiatives of higher education for indigenous people have been developed in the context of three constitutional changes occurred in the last 30 years. The first took place in 1983 with the issuance of the Higher Education Act (HEA) as part of the new Constitution of 1979. The second reform was delivered as part of the change of Constitution occurred in 1998, from which the indigenous social movements played a central role. In 2000 a new HEA was approved, reshaping considerably the characteristics of the HES. The main changes were related to the strengthening of the mechanisms of accreditation and the constitution of the National Council of Higher Education (CONESUP) as a coordinating organism of Universities and Polytechnics. In 2010 a new HEA was promulgated as part of the new Constitution emitted in 2008. In this section I will present the characteristics of the Ecuadorian HES as it was established in the HEA of 2000 as it will help me to explain the process of creation of the UINPI.

According to the 1998 Constitution, the Ecuadorian HES is formed by four types of educational institutions: universities, polytechnics, higher technical institutes and higher technological institutes. The first two attend to the third and fourth level of education, that is to say graduate and post-graduate (master and PhD levels) in the classic disciplines of natural sciences, social sciences, engineers, etc. The other two are oriented to what is known as vocational training usually with duration of 3 years. The universities and polytechnics can be public (integrally financed by the State) or private (either jointly founded by the State or self-financed). In both cases they are non-profit legal bodies and the State recognizes and guarantees their academic and administrative autonomy (Art. 4 HEA).

Two bodies supervise the performance of the HE institutions: the National Council of Higher Education (CONESUP) and the National Council of Evaluation and Accreditation (CONEA). The CONESUP is an autonomous entity formed by nine members with five of them representing to universities, polytechnics and institutes. The main responsibility of the CONESUP is to plan, regulate and coordinate the national system of higher education (Art 11 HEA). Among the 22 functions of CONESUP, two have been relevant for the creation of the UINPI: the elaboration of a final report required by the Congress to approve the creation of the university and the approval of the statutes of universities and polytechnics.

The CONEA is an autonomous body that unlike the CONESUP is formed entirely by eight members of public and private institutions from outside the Higher Education System. It establishes the guidelines for the process-

es of internal and external evaluation of the educational institutions and emits the certificates of institutional accreditation of programs and streams. Based on this, the CONESUP may close or sanction those institutions that do not pass the process of accreditation.

Finally, the 1998 Constitution established to the Assembly of the Ecuadorian University (AEU) as a representative and consultative body that suggest to the CONESUP policies and guidelines for universities and polytechnics. The AEU consist of a large complex system of representation that includes the rectors of all the Ecuadorian Universities, professors, students and administrative workers. Other actors that have a participation in the HES are the Ecuadorian Corporation of Private Universities (CEUPA), the Federation of University Students (FEUE). The CEUPA was created in 1997 and officially recognize by the Ministry of Education. By June of 2005 this institution grouped to 28 of the 37 private universities (the jointly financed 8 universities plus 20 self financed universities), excluding the UINPI. The complexity and variety of actors present in the Ecuadorian HES reflects the interest of the policy makers to incorporate the diversity of voices of all the stakeholders reducing at the same time the discretionary power of the CONESUP.

The Ecuadorian Higher Education in numbers

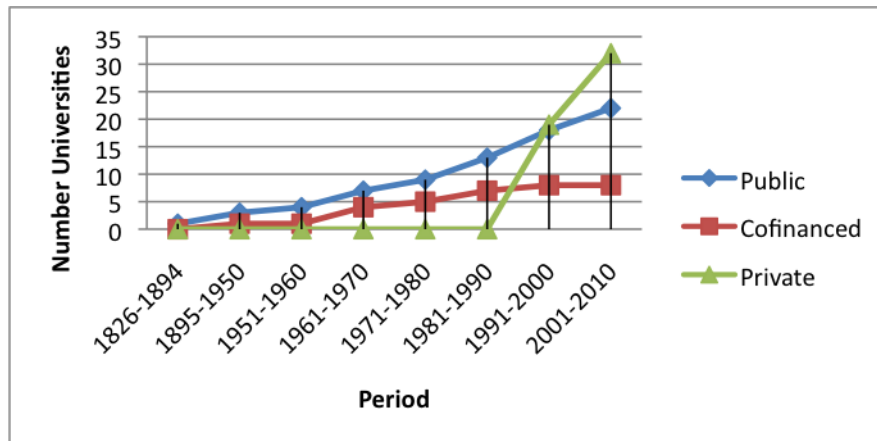
The Ecuadorian HES has followed a similar trajectory to that of the majority of Latin American countries with a growing supply of private education. Until the end of the 1980's there were a greater number of public than private universities, with thirteen public universities, seven private universities co-financed by the State and no self financed university. This trend changed drastically by the end of the 1990, especially at the end of this decade when the new Constitution of 1998 was being implemented and the requirements of the CONEA to create new universities were relaxed. The private sector took advantage of this situation creating fifteen of the nineteen private universities opened in that decade (IESALC 2010). This tendency has continued in the last decade.

Two main aspects are worth emphasising: first, the use of public funds since the independence in 1826 has been indispensable in creating and expanding the public HE until the end of the 1980's, promoting not just public universities but fostering the participation of the private sector through jointly financed universities. Second, the strategy of the State¹⁵ since the 1990s. The Ecuadorian State aggressively promoted the creation of private self financed

¹⁵ As it will be explained in the theoretical framework this paper does not follow the "Weakened State" concept according to which what we have seen since the 1980's is a progressive weakening of the State as result of the process of globalization.

universities and ceased the creation of new jointly financed universities (they have remained eight in the last 20 years). Although new public universities were promoted and created, it was done so to a much lesser degree.

Figure 3.1 Changes in the provision of Higher Education¹⁶ in Ecuador



Source: Own elaboration. Based on CINDA 2006

Despite the trend toward private universities described and presented in Figure 3.1, public universities continue to cater for the majority – by 2006, seventy per cent of students were enrolled in public universities.

Higher Education policies and Indigenous populations

In contrast to the Peruvian case, the Ecuadorian State created the National Direction of Intercultural Bilingual Education (DINEIB) in 1988 - after more than 150 years of independence. The DINEIB is a policy branch directly responsible of educational programs oriented to the needs of this population. The creation of this entity was in part the result of the pressures exerted by indigenous social movements of Ecuador.

The lack of prioritization is even greater in the Higher Education sector. In the case of universities, there are no national educational policies addressing problems such as access¹⁷ and graduation faced by indigenous students despite the existence of programs oriented specifically to address the needs of indigenous people. Before UINPI started its activities in 2005, there were just two

¹⁶ Figure 3.1 only takes in consideration the universities, polytechnics are excluded.

¹⁷ It is important to notice that unlike the Peruvian, the access to the public universities is free not requiring any type of special test. The free access was achieved in the 1960's thanks to the protest of student movements. In theory, the indigenous students would have fewer barriers to access to the higher education system in comparison to the Peruvian case.

universities offering academic programs to indigenous students: the Cuenca University (UC) in the province of Azuay, and the Salesian Polytechnic University (UPS). Both initiatives started in 1991 and 1994 respectively. While the UC offered courses oriented to the professional training of indigenous people in a variety of topics, the UPS oriented its offer specifically to the professionalization of teachers working in rural areas with indigenous populations. Both programs did not incorporate indigenous professors in their staff assuming the role of the indigenous students as merely consumers of knowledge.

The steady privatization of the Ecuadorian HES has disproportionately affected the poorest people in Ecuador¹⁸. By extension, the policies have imposed greater barriers to indigenous peoples' access to higher education. In the next section I will present its main characteristics.

3.3 The Intercultural University of Nationalities and Indigenous People “Amawtay Wasi” (UINPI)

In 1996, the CONAIE and the Scientific Institute of Indigenous Cultures (ICCI), two indigenous organizations intimately linked to the indigenous social movement in Ecuador started the process of creation of the UINPI as part of their political project¹⁹. The organisation was led by two indigenous leaders and members of the Ecuadorian parliament, Luis Macas and Leonidas Iza.

The process of creation of this university involved consultation and negotiation with the members of CONAIE to resolve the expectations and needs of the sponsor institutions (CONAIE and ICCI) and determine the characteristics of the university. The purpose was not only to give to the indigenous students the possibility to access to higher education, learning in their own language but to fundamentally challenge the colonial character of the Ecuadorian HES. Once a level of internal consensus was achieved the project was presented to the educational authorities following the requisites established by the new Constitution of 1998 and the HE Act of 2000. Almost 10 years after, in 2004, this project of university was finally approved and legally recognized by the Ecuadorian State²⁰.

¹⁸ See analysis of Ramirez and Minteguiaga about the consequences of the Higher Education policies in Ecuador for people in conditions of poverty. (IESALC: 2010, p. 140)

¹⁹ In 1994 the CONAIE elaborated a document considered its political manifest: “Political Project of CONAIE: political statement”. This document has been a guideline of the CONAIE.

²⁰ Law No. 2004-40 of July 28, 2004 and published in Official Gazette No. 393 of 5 August 2004.

Since its implementation the university has received international and national support, with non indigenous intellectuals involved in the process. At the international level organizations like «Progressio» Foundation (UK), SWISSAID (Swiss), ECOLNET (Italy), CARE Internacional, AECI (Spain), among other institutions supported this initiative since its creation and continued when the university started to function in 2005. At the national level two institutions stand out: the National Council for Development of the Nationalities and people of Ecuador (CODENPE) and the Central University of Ecuador. The first organization is a governmental institution directly linked to the executive power and created in 1998 to address issues related to the indigenous communities in Ecuador.

The organisation played a central role as a mediator between the indigenous organizations and the government. The Central University of Ecuador provided support to the UINPI since 2007 in the realization post graduate courses in Human Rights and Intercultural Research.

The UINPI started with two types of programs: the program of formal education (pre grade and post grade) and the program of non-formal education aimed to train facilitators that were not able to conclude secondary education. Such division illuminates the purpose behind this project: to provide access to higher education for the significant proportion of the indigenous community who lacked secondary education, not just to attend to the needs of those who had already received formal schooling. Even though the purpose of the university is to attend the needs of indigenous people it is open to non indigenous of students. According to a report of 2009 (IESALC 2009), at 2009 the indigenous population represented 70% of the students and 60% of the professors. The inclusive nature of the university fosters an environment of dialogue and shared knowledge in the context of a university where certain knowledges/epistemes are not necessarily privileged over the other.

The UINPI challenges the Ecuadorian HES in a number of ways, particularly their resistance to the type of epistemological foundations proposed by mainstream universities. As demonstrated in Table 3.2, the epistemological foundations of this university reside in five elements, taken from the Kishwa culture: Yachay (to know), munay (to love), ruray (to make), ushay (power) and kawsay (origin-life). The five centers of knowledge proposed by the UINPI are based on these elements and can be associated or compared with the traditional system of higher education.

The first obstacle to be overcome was to adapt the UINPI project to the standards required by the CONEA. Between the first presentation of the project in October 2000 and its final approval in 2004, the proposal passed through a process of observation, negotiation and delay. The challenge throughout this process was the need to maintain the integrity of the UINPI as an alternative university underpinned by indigenous epistemes. Finally through

a process of social mobilization consisting of a march to the CONEA, in November of 2004, the CONESUP delivered a favourable report and accepted the negotiated proposal of UINPI.

The victory of the promoters of UINPI, however, was interspersed with disappointment. Despite their efforts, the state had not accorded recognition of the UINPI as a public or jointly financed university. Their only possible option was to proceed as a private institution – a paradoxical situation given that the target population of the university were mainly indigenous students, coming from the poorest sectors of the country.

The process of accreditation placed a new set of obstacles which threatened to undermine the credibility of the UINPI project and the authority of the indigenous organisations who had oversight. This administrative obstacle was among the most complex problems faced by the UINPI. All Ecuadorian universities were required to pass through the same process of accreditation – the UINPI project was thus evaluated against mainstream criteria despite having an entirely different epistemic underpinning. Accordingly, the UINPI passed the accreditation in 2009 but was relegated to Category E. The implication of the category was that the control of the university should be taken by a commission designed by the CONESUP or the university should be closed. Additional barriers were established to prevent the opening of new offices in regions of Ecuador with a high presence of indigenous populations, thus limiting the scale and scope of the UINPI's potential impact

Table 3.1 Academic Structure of UINPI

Center of Knowledge	Topics
Yachay Munay	Philosophy, cosmovisions, epistemology, spirituality, simbology, language and communication.
Munay Ruray	Health, integral medicine, agro-ecology, geography, tourism, etc.
Ruray Us hay	Engineer, management, alternative energies, cybernetic, communication technologies, biotechnology, etc.
Us hay Yachay	Political organization, sociology, culture, indoamerican aesthetics, history, anthropology, etc
Kaws ay	This center articulates the other 4 promoting the inter and trans disciplinary work.

Source: own construction. Based on official webpage of UINPI.

3.4 In Summary

The way in which the indigenous question has been addressed in Ecuador has had strong implications for the achievements that social groups with subaltern

cultures have obtained in the field of higher education in the last 20 years. Ethnic identity has been a strong factor to empower and mobilize the social movements and its capacity to influence the design of education policies. The impact has been felt not just among indigenous groups in the Amazon region but as well in the Highlands and Cost regions. The role of CONAIE has been central to obtain these achievements.

The structuring of the Ecuadorian HES has followed international trends oriented to strengthen the connection of Universities with the demands of the hegemonic model of economic development. However the capacity of influence of the indigenous social movements in Ecuador has opened doors to transcend the mere economic ends assigned to the universities.

The achievements of the UINPI are in part a reflection of the counter hegemonic project developed by the indigenous social movements in the last 20 years. However the UINPI has faced important challenges: one of them being the barriers to obtain public financing, despite the conditions of exclusion in which live the majority of students of this university. The other challenge: the barriers imposed by the CONAE to recognize the curricula of the UINPI, in part reflecting the underestimation of the indigenous knowledge in the Ecuadorian society.

Chapter 4

Analytical Framework

The purpose of this chapter is to present critically two theoretical approaches typically used to explain changes and continuities in the higher education field – the Market-Based and Post-Structuralist approaches- and to draw on the Neo-Gramscian perspective, which provides a unique lens for analysis to expand our understanding of the drivers informing the emergence of indigenous universities in the Latin American context. With these purpose I will analyze how these theoretical approach has respond to two central questions: a) What is the nature of knowledge and how it is related to the social context in which it is produced? and b) How can we understand the existence of institutions like Universities?

4.1 Indigenous Universities: a Market-Based approach (MBA)

I use the term “marked-based approach” to make reference to those perspectives that considers the field of education as a market (Clark: 1983, Vught 1999). According to them, the rise of indigenous universities can be understood as part of the changes in the composition of the demand and supply sides of higher education markets, that is to say: public and private response (supply side) to the increasing incorporation of indigenous people to the national and international markets and therefore their increasing demand (demand side) to prepare themselves competitively to enter in these markets. I will present the main theoretical assumptions that sustain this position in the following section.

a. What is the nature of knowledge and how it is related to the social context in which it is produced?

This perspective assumes both the positivist understanding of knowledge and the theory of human capital (Brunner, 2007). According to the positivist point of view, knowledge can be divided between systematic-objective and un-systematic-subjective ways of seeing the world. The former corresponds to what is labelled ‘scientific knowledge’ (attained by a rigorous scientific method) and the latter to what is labelled as ‘traditional knowledge’. According to the positivist hierarchy, scientific knowledge is privileged as long as it will make possible the achievement of a more rational society.

Between the different disciplines in the social sciences, economics is the most recognized as long as it “*deals with “what is”, not with “what ought to be”. Its task is to provide a system of generalizations that can be used to make correct predictions about the consequences of any change in circumstances*” (Friedman, 1953). Knowledge is

appreciated for “what it can make” rather than for “what it could do”. Therefore, there is a focus on their economic consequences (those that can be measured), from which follow the consideration of *Knowledge as human capital*.

As early as the Eighteenth century, Adam Smith had observed the need to measure the amount of resources put in every man to make him productive (Brunner 2007). Following Smith’s logic, the value of knowledge would rest mainly in its contribution to the competitiveness of nations. Leading development institutions like the World Bank have taken this approach fully, emphasizing the greater relevance of knowledge in relation to other factors of production (World Bank 2000). In this context the Higher Education System must be “*integrated into the system of production and accumulation*”. (Rhoads, 2006, p. xxxi). Under this perspective the value of knowledge is reduced to its economic dimension and more precisely to a monetary dimension, dismissing other types of knowledge required for the social reproduction but exogenous to the processes of capitalist accumulation.

b. How can we understand the existence of institutions like Universities?

The Market-Based approach understands universities as institutions created for the production of knowledge required to strengthen the economic performance of any society, measured mainly through social rates of return. According to the same measure, the relevance of the Higher Education were calculated to be lower in comparison to the primary or secondary education. Leading development institutions such as the World Bank used this comparison to justify their non prioritization of Higher Education during the 1960’s and 1970’s. Led to its extreme this type of measure would drive to developing countries toward levels of dependency that make unsustainable any proposal of human development.

Proponents of the market-based approach have tended to explain the levels of “quality and development” of the Higher Education systems paying attention to the interaction between the state and the market: two entities or actors with their own logic, with the State being characterized as inefficient due to higher levels of bureaucratization in comparison to self regulated and efficient mechanism of the market. (Brunner, 2007). This approach also assume that the individuals are utility maximisers willing to choose between those options of higher education that will lead them to obtain the greatest possible benefits.

Under this perspective the crisis of the Latin American universities since the 1980’s has been explained in relationship to two main factors: 1) the oversized role of the state; and 2) the corresponding absence of market mechanisms to regulate the sector according to the human capital needs of every country (Brunner, 2007). An efficient mechanism, would therefore, simultane-

ously relate the human capital needs to the comparative advantages of every national economy.

On the State side “high levels of subsidization and in such cases, guaranteed government employment of graduates” (p. 3) (World Bank: 1994) formed one of the main reasons for the extraordinary expansion of the higher education system since the 1960’s, “In most cases, the outcome of these policies has been fiscally unsustainable enrolment growth and sharp decline in quality” (p. 3). On the market side, those countries that successfully overcame the crisis were precisely those who applied mechanisms of market to adequately develop this sector, like Australia or Ireland “stimulating greater private funding” (p. 3) (World Bank 1994).

4.2 Indigenous universities: post structuralist and post colonial approaches

According to the post structuralist²¹, the rise of indigenous universities could be understood as being the consequence of two corresponding epistemological changes: on the one hand the demise and relativization of the scientific knowledge and on the other hand the recognition and rise of alternative knowledges and their consequent institutional materialization through the creation of such universities. The main theoretical assumptions that sustain this position in relation to the two questions are outlined as follows:

a. What is the nature of knowledge and how it is related to the social context in which it is produced²²?

One of the main contributions of the so-called post-structuralist approach would be the challenge to the idea of objectivity in the production of scientific knowledge: the impossibility to separate the object to be known from the subject attempting to know that reality. From this perspective knowledge is not neutral; it is not “dispassionate but rather an integral part of struggles over power”. From a Foucaultian perspective: “it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is not possible for knowledge not to engender power” (Foucault 1982: p. 52. Cited in Mills (ed): 2003, p. 69). In the same line

²¹ Being highly problematic to establish a precise definition that could summarize the diversity of perspectives agglutinated under the label of “post structuralism”, for the present paper I consider as post structuralist to that line of thought that challenge the notion that assume the existence of immanent structures governing human life, being these, language (in Saussure terms), economic (in an orthodox economicist Marxist interpretation) or psychic structures (on Freudian terms).

²² Here I rely exclusively in Foucault’s analysis of the relation power/knowledge.

knowledge is viewed as a productive and destructive force that can be used by the marginalized to resist processes of oppression. (Mills 2003)

Unlike Marxist theorists, “Foucault is not concerned to set up the notion of truth in opposition to a Marxist notion of ideology or false ideas, false consciousness himself, but simply to analyze the procedures which are used to maintain these distinctions” (Mills 2003, p. 75).

b. How can we understand the existence of institutions like Universities?

The main value of the post structuralist view for the present paper rests in the Foucaultian questioning of the pretended neutrality of the scientific knowledge and the critic that it is possible to do to the universities as aseptic spaces for the production of a pretended universal knowledge²³. Therefore the universities can be understood as spaces generated through power relations. Post colonial thinkers have followed this argument denouncing the Cartesian Eurocentrism (I think, ergo I exist) of the post colonial universities and the need to break such epistemic dependency. (Grosfoguel, 2005; Mignolo 2003)

Particularly relevant for this paper is Mignolo’s interpretation of the transformation of the universities since the Renaissance period. According to him such transformations are related with three epistemic fractures, being the last one related with the emergence of the UINPI:

In contrast with the Renaissance and (...) Enlightenment universities, which generated two colonial fractures (...), and the corporate university, which expanded and introduced a new set of values over the state university (...) **Amawtay Wasi, the Universidad Intercultural de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas**, introduced a fracture of different kind. For the first time in the history of the modern/colonial world a university was created whose epistemic foundation (...) was no longer that of European Renaissance university and its medieval and classical (Greek) foundations. (Mignolo, p. 103)

Being this a valuable interpretation of changes in the nature and characteristics of the process of knowledge production and the consequences in the configuration of the higher education systems, it is not clear how processes like the creation of UINPI took place and why in this particular country and not in

²³ However, as I will explain in the next section, the critic to the pretended objectivity of knowledge was already raised by Marx himself and by subsequent Marxist thinkers like Gramsci.

others with similar historical configurations. This is precisely one of the main reasons that justify the use of a neo-gramscian perspective in this paper, presented in the section 4.4.

4.3 Theoretical balance and policy implications of the MBA and post structuralist approach

It is clear that from a MBA, the rise of educational projects like UINPI cannot be explained insofar this type of universities breaks with the economic rationality that seeks to link knowledge production with the reproduction of the capitalist system. Under this perspective if the so called indigenous knowledge does not have any utility in the strengthening of the economic development, then it should be disregarded or transformed in such a way that it can be commodified. Additionally, under the MBA the knowledge produced in the universities is meant to be objective and depoliticized. Therefore it does not make sense to have indigenous universities as long as *scientific knowledge is universal and should be available* regardless conditions of ethnicity, gender, nationality or class. In the MBA the “should be” part of the previous sentence is meant to be solved through policies of “affirmative action”, aimed to promote the access of “ethnic minorities” in the educational institutions, being the students considered mainly as consumers of knowledge required to enter successfully in the labor market. Despite the multicultural character of the Latin American societies this approach has had enormous influence in the design of public policies in the last 20 years.

Under a post structuralist perspective the logical positivist pretensions to depoliticized scientific knowledge are unveiled and the power relations in the production of knowledge brought to the scenario. However this perspective has some flaws that it is important to mention. First, even if authors like Mignolo relates moments of epistemic fracture with specific moments and changes in the international relations of production (“history of capitalism runs parallel to the history of knowledge”) there is not a clear explanation of how these two spheres (epistemic changes and international relations of production) are produced and reproduced and -more important- when one sphere can have more influence over other, rendering them as two equal forces running in “parallel” but not crossing each other.

Second, a Foucaultian position, taken to its extreme, can end up promoting a level of relativism that trivializes the validity of any historical objective account of reality and thus may end up denying the existence of specific acts of exploitation. In the case of the Higher Education, extremist interpretations of Foucault had led to the absolute relativization of the knowledge produced in the universities with the subsequent loss of priority in the resource allocation. According to Morrow, these views have led to a critic from the left and right demanding a more open university either to connect the university to the needs

of the working class (left) or to the demands of the market (right), undermining the autonomy of the university required to produce independent and critical knowledge. (Morrow, 2006)

Finally, being important the rise of the Amawtay Wasi University as long as this effectively challenges the model of university derived from European and American models, there is not a deeper explanation of the conditions that made possible such rise being difficult to establish what are the possibilities and scope of this project in the context of the Ecuadorian and Latin-American societies.

4.4 A Neo Gramscian approach

The configuration of the higher education systems of Peru and Ecuador requires a more complex reading of the historical constitution of different actors and their interactions among them. Rather than assuming the ontological independence of institutions like the State or the market or reducing any social reality to a matter of discourses and interpretations, it is necessary to have in consideration the complex material-ideal interactions that sustain the constitution and institutionalization of any discourse or State which at the same time support or summarize hegemonic views of what should be a “good/bad, possible/impossible, desirable/undesirable” higher education system.

a. What is the nature of knowledge and how it is related to the social context in which it is produced?

“In reality science, too, is a superstructure, and ideology” (Gramsci)
Hoare & Nowell 1971, p. 168)

In contrast with the market based approach presented above or with Orthodox Marxist (Structural) perspectives about the nature and purpose of the scientific knowledge, Gramsci’s view of knowledge help us to reflect on the social determinants of knowledge. Even before that the so called post structuralist Gramsci had already noticed that the problem of the social determination of knowledge was raised by Marx on *Theses of Feuerbach*. He went beyond Marx recognizing the ideological character of all thought including science. However, his vision of ideology had a positive connotation as long as *“it is in fact on the level of ideology that man becomes conscious of social conflict”* (Salamini, 1981, p. 44).

The recognition of the ideological character of science helps us to unveil the political dimensions behind the assumptions of the logical positivism (the hegemonic way of doing science until today), either in its neoclassical or orthodox Marxist versions:

“the search for patterns and laws governing human behaviour are possible only if we have masses historically unconscious, a-critical and inactive (...) Put simply, the political and social passivity of the masses enhances the chances of predictability of their behaviour. Consequently the triumph of positivist thought is a function of the general passivity and unconsciousness of the masses. (Salamini, 1981, p. 51)

The identification of scientific knowledge with ideology does not imply to reject the possibility to reach objective knowledge or to deny the possibility to forge collective projects of human liberation (as the post-structuralist would affirm). In Gramsci's perspective objectivity represents an inter-subjective consensus among men: that is, objectivity is an historicized and humanized objectivity: *“Objective always means ‘humanly objective’ which can be held to correspond exactly to ‘historically subjective’: in other words objective would mean ‘universal subjective’* (Gramsci: 1971 p. 445, cited in Salamini, p. 44).

Given that knowledge is intimately linked with the social reality in which it is produced, it is important to understand how this social reality is understood in a Neogramscian perspective²⁴. As diverse as it can be, it takes the *“patterns of production relations as the starting point for analysis”* but rejects a fixed vision of class struggle as long as it can lead to *“an undifferentiated mass that obscures the varied and specific forms assumed by social class”*. Instead, *“other forms of identity are included within the rubric of social forces – ethnic, nationalist, gender, sexual- with the aim of addressing how, like class, these derive from common material basis linked to relations of exploitation”*. (Cox 1992, 35, Cited in Bieler and Morton 2003)

In a Neo-gramscian perspective every human action (included the process of reflection, theorization and scientific production of knowledge) takes places within a framework which constitutes its problematic: *“this framework has the form of an historical structure²⁵, a particular combination of thought patterns [ideas], material conditions [material capabilities] and human institutions [Institutions] which has a certain coherence among its elements. These structures do not determine people's actions in any mechanical sense but constitute the context of habits, pressures, expectations and constrains within which action takes place”* (Cox, 1981, p. 135). The relationship between these elements can be assumed to be reciprocal. *“The question of which way the lines of force run is always an historical question to be answered by a study of the particular case”* (Cox, 1981, p. 136) .

²⁴ As Bieler and Morton argue, the rise of the so called Neogramscian approach is in part explained by the rejection to more orthodox Marxist interpretations of the social reality, being two of the most important the “structural Marxism” and the “Open Marxism”. See Bieler and Morton (...XXX

²⁵ This term, coined by R. Cox, makes reference to the Gramscian concept of Historical Bloc.

Unlike Structural Marxism and Open Marxism, Neo-Gramscian perspectives do not reduce ideas to a simple epiphenomenon reflecting the material conditions of production, as long as ideas “*are real historical facts which must be combated and their nature as instruments of domination exposed... precisely for reasons of political struggle*” (Gramsci 1995, 395, cited in Bieler and Morton, 2003, p. 480).

b. How can we understand the existence of institutions like Universities?

Just being aware of the weight of the ideas in the configuration of a framework for collective action and its dialectical relation with material conditions, is that one can appreciate the role of education and the production of knowledge in the perpetuation or transformation of the social reality. Gramsci’s view of education considered it as one of the underpinnings of the political structure in civil society, as long as it “*helped to create in people certain modes of behaviour and expectations consistent with the hegemonic social order*” (Cox, p. 51 in Gill (ed)1993). Without falling in a naive idealism this perspective takes in account the relevance of the “material structure of ideology” that make possible the strength of ideas in a specific historical context.

In this framework the universities could be considered as institutional spaces for the production (research) and reproduction (teaching) of knowledge, part of this *material structure of ideology*. (Bieler and Morton, 2003, p. 479), as long as they provide the institutional and material support for the production of scientific knowledge, considered since the nineteenth century “the knowledge” par excellence. At the same time, the ways in which they have been structured or institutionalized should be understood as the result of power relations, the stabilization and perpetuation of a particular order, or “*particular amalgams of ideas and material power which in turn influence the development of ideas and material capabilities*”, developed through long historical processes. (Cox, 1981, p. 136).

Finally, unlike neoclassical interpretations that posts the debate about higher education in terms of the interaction between two reified and (apparently) opposed entities: i.e. state and market, a neogramscian perspective will seek to understand the evolution of the higher education system as a result of the interaction between national and international forces from which the state and consequently the policies promoted are just one of their materializations. In this perspective the state is considered a “*social relation through which capitalism is expressed*”, an “*entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules*” (Gramsci 1971, p. 244, Cited in Bieler and Morton, 2003, p. 482).

Chapter 5

Peru and Ecuador: Indigenous people and Higher Education in a comparative perspective

I argue that the rise of indigenous universities can be explained not just with regard to the ideological configuration that allowed the emergence of ethnic identities. Rather, one must also take into consideration the following two factors: first the historical institutionalization of specific types of social relations between indigenous movements and the government or other political actors (being one of them the universities); second, the reconfiguration of the State – Society relation in the last 30 years and as part of such reconfiguration taking in consideration the participation of international actors in the processes of global resistance. The analysis of these three aspects offers an important account of the encounter of two *longue durée* processes in the construction of ethnic identities of Perú and Ecuador: the post colonial heritage and the processes of capitalist formation.

5.1 Historical institutionalization of ethnic relations in Peru and Ecuador

The historical processes that made possible the constitution of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian states can be understood as the result of specific social relations in the frame of the expansion of the capitalist system. The configuration of these states required “*entire complex of practical and theoretical activities*” with which the ruling class not only justified and maintained its dominance, but managed “*to win the active consent of those over whom it rules*” (Gramsci 1971, Bieler and Morton, 2003).

By the end of the nineteenth century Peru and Ecuador shared many characteristics in their productive structure and the type of social relations between the state and the civil society. At the economic level the Peruvian and Ecuadorian elites began to foster stronger links of dependency with the international economy through a series of state policies. The processes of economic transformation of both countries toward an agro-export economy concentrated along the coast, required, among other things, to expand work force capacity to respond to the international demands for sugar, cocoa and other agro-export products (Prieto 2003, Cotler 1973). Additionally the ethnic divisions, supported ideologically on the idea of the existence of races, modeled the type of social relations between the ruling classes and what was considered by then the majority of the population the so called indios.

However, as it has been explained in chapters two and three, despite these similarities the national elites were facing two different moments of economic and political consolidation. The resolution of these different economic and political moments has been fundamental to shape the different ways in which the social relations between the ruling classes and other social groups has been articulated in both countries. While a weakened Peruvian Elite was passing throughout a process of reconstruction of its precarious hegemony²⁶; in Ecuador a new coastal elite was emerging in Guayaquil (the main Ecuadorian seaport) at the expense of the traditional highland elite concentrated in Quito.

The different incorporation of the indios during the constitution (Ecuador) or reconstitution (Peru) of the elite's project of both countries in the late nineteenth century shaped the type of social transformations that took place until the 1960's when the contradictions arising from the unequal distribution of land led to social protests pressing for land reforms. In Peru, the construction of a national project by a delegitimized elite required more explicit means of repression and the construction of a discourse able to gain consent in the majority of the population to accept the terms of the nation state project— a discourse in which the indios were identified as one the reasons for the backward conditions of the country. In this context, the construction of a counter hegemonic movement implied an alliance between urban leftist movements and indigenous organizations in which the classist identity played a central role to generate cohesion at the expense of the consolidation of ethnic identities. In Ecuador, the greater level of consent of the national project instituted with the liberal revolution generated less polarization, allowing the indigenous movements to join forces with the urban leftist movements without sacrificing their ethnic identity.

In the context of ideological formation of the national elite projects, Peruvian and Ecuadorian universities were relevant in the formation of discourses in relation to the indio. In the Peruvian case, San Marcos University (the oldest university of South America) and San Antonio Abad (Cusco) became the institutional spaces for intellectual debate that gave rise to the so called “indigenista” group: a group of non indigenous intellectual (usually mestizos or white people) that started to denounce the atrocities committed by landlords against indios in the Highlands. The first private university appeared in 1917, the Catholic University confirming the links between the Peruvian elite and the Catholic Church. By contrast, the corresponding discourse about the indio in the Ecuadorian universities were not as intensely or vividly contested as in the Peruvian universities. The liberal regime started a process of secularization displacing to the Catholic Church in their role of producing cultural values and

²⁶ The Pacific war and its consequences in the consolidation of the Peruvian elite are explained in section 2.1.

ideology in general (Pareja 1986). In 1946 the Catholic Church regained political influence in the educational field by creating the first private university. Influenced by the Cordoba reform²⁷, Universities in both countries started process of consolidation of their autonomy that increased until the 1980's when the universities enter in a process of institutional crisis.

Outside the university system, the economic and social realities of indigenous peoples in Peru and Ecuador led to increased tension. Despite the progressive turn of the universities the indigenous remained excluded from the universities. By the 1960's, the conditions of oppression of the indigenous population, manifested in the unequal distribution of land, the processes urbanization and the international context of socialist revolutions (with Cuba as the main reference of many social movements in Latin America) originated new forms of social protest, repression and reform. The impact of this period reverberated in the way indigenous social movements articulated in the national political context of each country. Peru experienced the rise of the first guerrilla movements in the early 1960's, prior to Ecuador. This can be attributed to the greater process of polarization of the Peruvian society, the greater concentration of land (One of the highest in Latin America, see Table 5.1) and the ideological influence of the Cuban revolution (1959) on many Latin American social movements. In response, many Latin American States, with the support of the United States²⁸ through the Alliance for Progress, promoted gradual implementation of agrarian reform that eventually clashed with the landlord interests.

Preceded by a failed agrarian reform program conducted by a conservative faction of the Peruvian military in 1964, a new and radical agrarian reform was conducted for a more leftist faction of the Peruvian military in 1969. The implementation of a new hegemonic project under the military government of Velasco appealed to broader elements of self identification, particularly in relation to class. This strategy responded to the shaping of new identities in the urban coast cities, where ethnicity played a less important part (Quijano: 1980). The leftist military government effectively reinforced the class identities, en-

²⁷ The Cordoba Reform launched in 1918 have vast consequences for the entire continent. It was the result of a student movement for university and societal democratization, and constituted a grand emancipatory epic that opened a heroic era in the development of Latin American universities. At that time, the student movement was advocating the secularization and democratization of universities. <http://legacy.oise.utoronto.ca/research/edu20/moments/1918cordoba.html>

²⁸ In 1962 took place in Uruguay the so called "Punta del Este" charter, a meeting of the Organization of American States (excluding to Cuba) to promote the development and combat the threat of communism.

couraging ethnic identities to be cast aside in the formation of a new national project.

Table 5.1 Land Gini concentration Index in Peru and Ecuador

Period	Peru	Ecuador
1951 – 60	0.9350	0.8642
1961 – 70	0.9355	--
1971 – 80	0.9150	0.8155

Source: Gottschalk and Justino (2006)

In the Ecuadorian case, the city of Quito maintained its economic relevance despite the consolidation of Guayaquil as the main city in economic terms (concentrating the financial and agro export factions of economic power). As a result, the inhabitants were able to articulate processes of capitalist development in their own terms. In this context, two processes of agrarian reform were carried in 1964 and 1970 by two conservative factions of the Ecuadorian military, explicitly supported by USAID. In the Ecuadorian case, the reforms were associated with fewer tensions resulting from land redistribution than in Peru. The reforms attempted to make structural changes without affecting the interest of the ruling classes. Unlike the Peruvian case, where the reform implied a process of ideological empowerment of social forces formed by rural and urban workers, the Ecuadorian reforms did not imply the economic and (more important) symbolic breakdown of the Ecuadorian oligarchy. In this context the maintenance of an ethnic identity was important for the rural movements to resist the continuation of a nuanced oligarchic order.

The discovery of large oil reserves in the Amazon region of Ecuador in 1972 fundamentally shifted the balance and allowed the country to enter into a faster process of modernisation. Until the end of the 1960's the presence of indigenous movements of the amazon region in both countries were barely distinguishable. However, the form of capitalist development of both countries had a strong impact on the articulation of social forces in both countries. Eight years following the discovery, the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE) was created in response to the conflicts that oil companies were generating in the Amazon region. The CONFENIAE was an indigenous organization with an explicit ethnic discourse. Five years later, CONFENIAE combined forces with other non-amazon indigenous organizations and became one of the main forces in the creation of the largest indigenous organisation in Ecuador, CONAIE in 1985 and led the uprising in indigenous movements in 1991²⁹.

²⁹ See section 3.1

By contrast, in Peru the CCP (founded by the Communist party in 1947) and the CNA (formed by the Military government of Velasco in 1972) remained as the only organizations representing the interests of the indigenous groups. Although in 1980 AIDSESEP appeared in the national scenario to represent the interest of amazon indigenous groups, it took 17 years (1997) to this organization to sum forces with the CNA, CCP and other movements around the COPPIP, the only indigenous organization with ethnic claims that will almost disappear by the 2008.

The differences in the speed of articulation of these indigenous organizations in Peru and Ecuador are related to the political configuration of their respective social forces in the 1980's. Unlike Ecuador, that channelled their social contradictions through mobilizations and pacific protests, the rise in Peru of the Shining Path (SL) in 1981 defined the type of articulation of the indigenous communities with other political actors. SL appeared in a context where the conditions of exclusion were still high. As it can be seen in table 5.1, the land concentration after the land reform period of the 1970's was still high. As Albert argues, the military regime *"targeted the largest, most influential landowners for expropriation, redistributing to peasant workers but leaving out the poorest rural inhabitants - landless workers and indigenous communities"*. (Michael s/f, p. 4). In this context SL would receive an initial support of highland peasant communities, but soon the radical discourse and violent methods of this guerrilla and the violent reaction of the State led to a withdrawal of the peasant support. It is worth to notice that in the Maoist Marxist version of SL the ethnic claims were part of the so called *"super structure"*, therefore considered irrelevant in the class struggles (Degregori 1999).

The processes of reform described below had as one of their pillars the constitution of what Escobar has labelled *"the professionals of the development"* (Escobar 1989). Since the 1950's onwards many Latin American States started the implementation of development projects backed mainly by the United States. In order to do so, they required national professionals able to implement these processes of development. The States created national universities in the main urban areas of the countries. It had a clear impact on the constitution of a more professional bureaucracy required to implement reforms like the agrarian one, always under the supervision of international experts and consultants coming mainly from Unites States or Europe. However, unlike Escobar's analysis, it is important to note that both the old and newly formed universities were also spaces of ideological confrontation, reflecting in some way the contradictions of society as a whole. In both countries the public universities experienced high levels of political participation of the students. Peru evidenced higher levels of political polarization. In the middle 1960's a group of professors led by Abimael Guzman started the conformation of what would become the Shining Path (SL) in San Cristobal de Huamanga, a university created in 1953 with the purpose of promoting the development of the region of Ayacucho (CVR 2003). During the 1980's SL expanded its activities

to other public universities of Peru, seriously affecting the academic life of the universities, deepening their institutional crisis.

5.2 New State society relations: neoliberal reforms and rise of indigenous movements.

The economic breakdown that affected both countries during the 1980's led to the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) in an attempt to implement a new state project (Watson: 2005) toward a market-based society. These attempts had two different effects in both countries: while in Peru such programs were developed without organic resistance, in Ecuador these changes implied the massive reaction of indigenous social movements that since the middle 1980's had started a process of institutional strengthening.

Throughout the period of Structural Adjustment Programs, political parties in Peru lost legitimacy and social organizations were exhausted and disarticulated as consequence of the internal war. By contrast, the Ecuadorian indigenous movements had achieved a gradual process of consolidation since the 1980's. Correspondingly, the new indigenous social movements of Ecuador became the main channel of protest of rural inhabitants, with less fear of being repressed through legitimized state means of violence. During the same period, in Peru any social movement which challenged the Peruvian state policies could be immediately related with SL and repressed in the frame of National Security and Pacification policies³⁰.

The process of consolidation of the Ecuadorian indigenous movements did not happen just in the frame of national and international ideological changes such as the fall of the Berlin wall, the demise of traditional political parties and the celebration of 500 years of indigenous resistance. Rather, the consolidation formed part of the tensions in the social relations of production of this country. The indigenous uprisings that started in 1990 were mainly a consequence of old processes of relation of the indigenous movements with the State and with other political actors, and new processes of land accumulation and policies affecting to small farmers. The sustainability of the indigenous movements relied in its capacity to appeal to an ethnic discourse that could generate not just internal cohesion among the diverse groups but international sympathy in a context where unions and political parties had lost political influence. Since the protests of 1990, the indigenous social movements in

³⁰ Through a series of legal instruments the Fujimori's government implemented measures to combat the "terrorism". The policy of "faceless judges" is probably the best example of State repression during his government. Any person accused of terrorism could be tried summarily by these faceless judges and sent directly to jail.

Ecuador passed from a corporatist agenda toward a more hegemonic agenda, trying to include in their project not just their own interests but the interest of the mestizo and even white populations. Their active participation throughout a turbulent political scenario³¹ meant that they ascended from their station as mere beneficiaries of State policies to become an integral part of the policy making process of the country.

In the Peruvian case, the Fujimori's government was able to gain consensus among weakened Peruvian social forces, first through repressive measures, latter through legal reforms (in what Gills has labelled as new constitutionalism) and patronage relations with rural and urban social organizations. The political space for social organizations contesting the established order were minimal. Processes of liberalization of the economy and subsequent extraordinary growth of investment in mining activities³² (Albo 2008), however, gave rise to the constitution of one of the most important social forces in the last 15 years CONACAMI. This organization represented indigenous minorities affected by mining activities but was not specifically mandated along ethnic lines. The organization have not incorporated the ethnic dimension in its platform, since ethnicity – as elucidated in this paper- had gradually lost its capacity to generate cohesion in the formation of counter hegemonic groups throughout various stages of Peru's history.

The HES of both countries have been as fundamentally affected by the scenario described thus far. Correspondingly, the universities in Ecuador have been able to resist the pressures of the governments to reduce their academic and financial autonomy through policies of accreditation. It has not implied fundamental changes in the hegemonic vision about scientific knowledge as long as the processes of accreditation do not respond to the variety of knowledges in the Ecuadorian society. This has been evident in the obstacles the UINPI faced during the process of accreditation in charge of the CONAFU. In this regard the performance of the CONAFU can be seen as ambiguous in relation to the promotion of interculturality in the Ecuadorian HES. The creation of the UINPI has been possible, among other things, due to the alliance the CONAFU required in a specific moment with the already powerful CONAIE to stop reforms at the government level pretending to limit the autonomy of the universities.

³¹ Since 1992 Ecuador has changed 3 times of Constitution, 6 constitutional presidents and 5 interim presidents. Peru has had 3 constitutional presidents and 1 interim president.

³² According to Bebbington (cited in Albo 2008) while the foreign investment in mining activities in Latin America between 1990 and 1997 growth in 400% in Peru it was 2000% (Bebbington, ed. 2007: 23, Cited in Albo, 2008, p.206)

On the other hand the Peruvian HES, as the rest of institutional spaces, passed during the 1990's by a process of direct intervention of the State to reduce any attempt of contestation or resistance to the policies applied to the sector. In the specific cases of the universities, until 1998 the Fujimori's government sent military forces to take control of the main public universities and eliminate the influence that SL had achieved in the 1980's. Additionally student assassinations were perpetrated by paramilitary forces, prolonging an environment of fear and academic censorship initiated by SL in the 1980's. These events happened with the consent of the university authorities and the ANR. In the process, a discourse stressing the necessity of a "depoliticized education" gained consensus among authorities and students. It implied among other things to promote the creation of decaffeinated private universities responding to the needs of the economic development. It is in this light that the creation of the UNIA followed the same pattern as any other university. Despite their discourse to promote the conservation of the indigenous knowledge, the curriculum reflects instead traditional patterns of scientific and technical knowledge.

Finally, it is important to mention the role played by international organizations (NGOs and international agencies) in the process of formation of these movements in Peru and Ecuador. From OXFAM to the World Bank and according to the political agenda of each international institution there has been an interest to promote these organizations either to reduce the conflict in the relationship between these groups and the governments while the latter implement their policies (World Bank) or to strengthen social actors capable of resisting the implementation of the neoliberal agenda (OXFAM). Their discretion to decide the type of indigenous organizations or projects with which they work has shaped the development of the indigenous social organizations in both countries. This is clearly the case of the indigenous universities analyzed in this paper. While the UINPI has received external support from «Progresio» Foundation (UK), SWISSAID (Swiss), ECOLNET (Italy), CARE International, AECI (Spain); the UNIA has not received any international support. The lack of support has been one the arguments of the recent authorities of this university to try to make institutional changes toward a more indigenous university as long as this is something valued by the international cooperation.

“At the international level people do not want to give support because they see that the university (UNIA) did not have an indigenous proposal. How to attract the financial aid? With the presence of indigenous students because the international cooperation or the friends of the indigenous organizations could be interested (...) For instance Finland

did not want to give support because the (indigenous) students tell them that they were not benefited”³³

³³ Interview to Vicepresident of the UNIA, available in <http://www.servindi.org/actualidad/34458>

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Two questions central questions have guided the present paper: first, how can the rise of indigenous universities in Peru and Ecuador be explained in the frame of a neoliberal wave that has shaped the implementation of higher education policies in the entire Latin American region? Second, as it was presented in chapters 2 and 3, the UINPI project has challenge the status quo of the Ecuadorian HES while the UNIA has not be able to break the traditional schemes of Peruvian HES. How can we understand such different trajectories in two countries that share many historical characteristics, being one of them their post colonial condition?

First I have shown the limits of the MBA and post structuralist approach to answer these questions. In the case of MBA, experiences like the UINPI do not fulfill the economic rationality pursued by this approach. On the contrary the pedagogical proposal goes against the education-market discourse. More important, the MBA do not take in consideration the historical configuration of the different actors involved in the creation of these universities, as long as for the MAB there are not collective actors but just individual, consumers of knowledge. Second, in the case of the post structuralist approaches, although they can explain the creation of these universities paying attention to the power relations and to the epistemological crisis of the scientific Eurocentric knowledge, there is no a clear explanation of why societies with a similar post colonial heritage can have such a different results in the configuration of their indigenous universities.

It has been my purpose to fill the gaps mentioned above making use a of neo-gramscian approach, emphasizing in my analysis the material and ideological conditions that have established the "*limits of the possible*" (Gill, 2008) for the performance of both universities in Peru and Ecuador. I have focus my attention in three inextricably linked scenarios: first, the constitution of the national state project of every country; second, the historical conformation and development of their respective higher education systems; and third, the way in which the indigenous communities has been articulated and have articulated themselves in the nation state project and the HES of every country.

The characteristics of the constitution of every nation state project have been fundamental in the treatment that the Peruvian and Ecuadorian national elites have given to the indigenous population. The differences have to be found not just in the processes of national capitalist development but in the specific historical conjuncture through which every elite were passing during their incorporation to the international capitalist system. While the Peruvian elites required a scapegoat to justify their defeat in the Pacific war (the lack of patriotism and backwardness of the indios established as the reason for the defeat) and to legitimize the subsequent reconstruction of their fragile hegem-

ony, the new coastal Ecuadorian elite built a national project in which the indios (important part during the liberal revolution) could be incorporated to the national project, although in subordinate terms. While in Peru the indio was a considered a problem, in Ecuador being an indio was to have potential (to be developed throughout education) and regarded as a treat. These different interpretations of the position of the indio in every national project determined the type of relation that the elites established with the indigenous populations. While in Peru the emphasis was placed in the improvement of the “racial” conditions of the indios throughout processes of miscegenation or cultural mix, in Ecuador the emphasis was put on the redemption of the indios through education and their gradual insertion in modern labour relations.

While the Peruvian nation state project was more contested by the nascent urban labour movements and leftist parties, the inaugurated Ecuadorian liberal project generated less polarization among the nascent urban labour movements. With a greater degree of political polarization, the Peruvian leftist parties incorporated to the indigenous populations in terms of class rather than ethnicity. The configuration described above determined both the gradual process of dissolution of the ethnic identities in Peru and the preservation of such identities in the Ecuadorian case.

The conformation of the indigenous social movements has been dependant of the political space and the degree of polarization present in every country. With highest levels of polarization the Peruvian political scenario was less favourable to the rise of organic indigenous movements. As elucidated in chapters two and five, the more exclusive capitalism developed in Peru, with a highly modernized coast, higher concentrations of land and impoverished highland and amazon regions led to a process of gradual polarization that ended in the 1980’s with the rise of the Shining Path, a guerrilla movement of Maoist inspiration that together with the Peruvian military forces were responsible for the death of 60,000 Peruvians; 75 per cent of them with a non Spanish mater language. By contrast, Ecuador showed that lesser degrees of polarization prior to the 1980’s allowed the indigenous movements to develop more consistent organizations, articulated nationally. Therefore when neoliberal reforms started to be implemented in the mid-1980’s in Ecuador and the 1990’s in Peru, the indigenous social movements of both countries were in fundamentally different positions to respond to these policies.

Following the military and ideological defeat of the Shining Path, the Peruvian government was able to implement a set of neoliberal reforms without much resistance. In this context, AIDSESEP, an amazonian indigenous organization was the only organization able to articulate and implement proposals to protect indigenous territories, and implement educational projects. The organization did so from the margin without directly challenging the political power of the Fujimori’s regime. In contrast, the neoliberal reforms in Ecuador found great resistance in the indigenous movements, entering in a long process of conflict that has meant the change of two constitutions and six presidents in 20

years, and the gradual empowerment of these groups in the design of policies and programs.

The universities in both countries played a central role either being a space to support or contest the nature of the national project of each country. In turn, their trajectory has been shaped by the national characteristics of the project. From the late nineteenth century until the 1940's the universities in both countries were still exclusive spaces of education for the national elites. However backed in the Cordoba Reform they gradually achieved institutional autonomy that allowed them to be more critical with the status quo, denouncing the exploitation exercised by the landlords against the indigenous communities and generating scientific knowledge about the economic, cultural and social conditions of these populations. From the 1950's as part of the configuration of the developmental states, the universities in both countries opened their doors mainly to urban and mestizo populations. However the greater level of polarization of the Peruvian society influenced the subsequent level of polarization of the Peruvian universities, among their students and academics. It was precisely the San Cristobal University, the academic space used by the leaders of the Shining Path, to start the process of ideological construction of their project. During the 1980's SL expanded its activities to other public universities contributing to a process of polarization inside the universities. By the early 1990's the low levels of legitimacy of the public universities among the Peruvian citizens allowed to the Peruvian government to implement educational policies and measures aimed to "depoliticize" the universities, exerting pressures to censure those academic programs deemed as "dangerous" for the "internal peace".

The historical factors presented above help us to understand first why the Indigenous universities have appeared in these specific contexts and second why the UINPI has a more challenging proposal than the UNIA. In the Ecuadorian case the UINPI is the result of a political project started formally in 1985 with the creation of the CONAIE but which process of institutionalization has to be traced back in the incorporation of the indigenous actors in the construction and/or contestation of the Ecuadorian nation-state project. The degree of relative autonomy of this project is evident in the innovative character of its curriculum, the limits are evident in the barriers this project have faced to be recognized as a public university, especially given that the students to whom this proposal is aimed, indigenous students, face continued conditions of social and economic exclusion.

In the Peruvian case, the creation of the UNIA was made possible by the intervention of AIDSESEP but the academic proposals do not reflect the incorporation of indigenous knowledge in the curriculum. The absence of AIDSESEP in the implementation of the project is evidence of the limited political influence of this organization in the HES (represented in the CONAFU). Their absence also reflects the consolidation of a mode of knowledge production in the Peruvian Higher Education System that responds to the hegemonic

discourse reinforced since the implementation of the neoliberal agenda since the early 1990's.

What lessons can be learned for future frames of action? First, the degree of influence of the social movements in the political scenario of the Andean countries depends on their capacity to articulate discourses with an integrative character. While in the Ecuadorian case the ethnic discourse will foreseeably remain a unifying discourse, in the Peruvian case other elements could foster and promote processes of ideological articulation. The Peruvian organization that has been able to articulate actors of diverse Peruvian regions has been the CONACAMI. They have appealed to discourses of environmental protection to gain national and international support. It does not mean that they dismiss the ethnic identities that form their support base, but rather that they are pragmatically conscious of the limits imposed by the particular configuration of Nation State project in Peru. Accordingly, ethnic identities or the environmental discourses are not artificially created ideological constructions. They are objective realities resulting from specific social relations.

The UINPI is a valuable example of a social movement's potential to transform spaces traditionally closed to the participation of the citizens. The university system in Peru and Ecuador has been a site and example of corporatism that has extended to a corporatism based in the dominance of the criollo/mestizo culture. The strengthening of the UINPI will depend on the capacity of the CONAIE to exert political pressure in the national scenario and to negotiate the terms of cooperation with international institutions. In the long term the UINPI should rely mainly in public funds. Otherwise its economic dependence can compromise the independence of its pedagogical proposal.

As long as the post colonial heritage is a burden for the Latin American societies, the generation of knowledge production is a necessary but not sufficient condition to forge alternative collective projects of life. The issue of epistemic justice is of extremely importance but its achievement is uncertain if we are not able to understand those material and ideological conditions - historically articulated- that impose limits to our actions. Generalizations are not possible, the ascertainment of our post colonial condition is not enough to raise concrete actions for change. We need to enter in the detail. This was precisely the aim of this paper I hope to have achieved.

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