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INTRODUCING INNOVATION
AT
ECUADOREAN UNIVERSITIES

HANS C. BLAISE
and
LUIS A. RODRIGUEZ

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*Inter University Research Program
in Institution Building
Research Headquarters
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INTRODUCING INNOVATIONS

AT

ECUADOREAN UNIVERSITIES

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and
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FOREWORD

The following case study is one of four studies on institution building carried out under the auspices of the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building, under contract with the United States Agency for International Development. Dr. Hans C. Blaise, Associate Professor of Economic and Social Development and Associate Professor of Educational Planning and Development, University of Pittsburgh, served as senior researcher. Mr. Luis A. Rodríguez was doctoral candidate in sociology at Syracuse University at the time this study was conducted.

The original intention of the researchers was to make a comparative study in depth of the institution building efforts at three Ecuadorean universities receiving technical and economic assistance from the US Government. These three universities are Central University in Quito, where the University of Pittsburgh is rendering technical assistance, the Pontifical Catholic University of Quito, receiving technical assistance from St. Louis University, and the University of Guayaquil, assisted by the University of Houston. The complexity of the study, the need to gain a thorough understanding of the environment of the institutions, in addition to studying the institutions themselves, and problems frequently associated with the gathering of data made it necessary to limit the scope of the enterprise. Therefore, using additional and comparative data from the other two universities where available and possible, the focus of this study is on the introduction of change at Central University.

Field research was carried out between April, 1965 and January, 1966. These field data were supplemented by participant observation and further document analysis by the principal researcher who returned to Ecuador in May, 1966 as Chief of Party of the University of Pittsburgh team at Central University. The main sources of data were documents and reports of the Ecuadorean universities, documents and reports of USAID Ecuador and of the technical assistance teams, newspaper reports and personal interviews with a large number of university authorities, professors, students, Ecuadorean government officials and intellectuals, US Government representatives, and members of the US university technical assistance team members. Mr. Rodríguez had an opportunity to engage in participant observation by serving as honorary professor of sociology for several months.

An extensive questionnaire was, after pre-testing, administered to over 1100 students at the three universities. The respondents included students from all schools at the universities and represented every level of studies. More than 10% of the total student population participated in the questionnaire survey. A similar attempt to obtain answers to questionnaire distributed among university professors failed.

Serious problems were encountered in the analysis and writing phase of the research. The principal researcher left the United States prior to the coding and tabulation of the questionnaire data. Due to technical problems, this initial phase of the analytical work was delayed. The separation between the principal researcher and the research assistant made adequate consultation difficult. The following study can, therefore, be presented as only a partial analysis of the available data. The researchers endeavor to follow up the study presented here with additional materials as soon as their proximity allows them to consult further with each other. Mr. Rodríguez has not had an opportunity to review and comment on chapters III, V, VII, and VIII of this document. Hence, the principal researcher assumes full and independent responsibility for the statements and conclusions contained in those chapters.

The list of persons who have made significant contributions to the logistics and substance of this study is so long as to preclude individual mention. For their respective assistance we express our gratitude to the Board members and staff of the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building, to the Rectors and other authorities of the Ecuadorean universities, to the Chiefs of Party and members of the US technical assistance team at the Ecuadorean universities, the Director and staff of USAID Ecuador, the professors and students at the universities, and the many other Ecuadoreans who helped us to gain insight into their society and their universities.

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CHAPTER I

RECENT HISTORY OF CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF ECUADOR

FELT NEEDS, PERSONNEL, AND CHANGE AGENTS

Central University of Ecuador is organized in the manner of the traditional Latin American universities. Following the Napoleonic principles of education, the universities were to train people for a number of professions deemed to be sufficient and necessary for the nation. This concept of university purpose differs from that of the medieval universities that stressed broad philosophic and theological education and which served as a pattern for Colonial Church-sustained education in Latin America.

In the "Napoleonic-Professionalising" university the structural unit is the "Facultad". The Facultad (Faculty) is a school or set of schools at which the courses to prepare persons in particular professions are taught. In the case of Central University which is not different from others in Ecuador, the Faculties are independent from one another and, in the 1950s, operated in separate buildings dispersed in the city. The Administration and some of the Faculties were, however, located near the main square of the city. In the 1950s an intensive construction program on land located at the edge of Quito's downtown area, brought most university functions into a campus.

UNIVERSIDAD CENTRAL DEL ECUADOR

1962

Faculties, Schools, Institutes etc.

1. Faculty of Jurisprudence, Social and Political Sciences: consisting of the School of Law, School of Political Science, Ecuadorean Institute of International Law, Seminary of Ecuadorean Social Research, Institute of Criminology, Institute of Labor Law, Free Legal Advice Office, Civil and Penal Law Post-Graduate Courses.
2. Faculty of Medical Sciences: School of Medicine, School of Obstetrics, School of Nursing, Institute of Anatomy.
3. Faculty of Physical Sciences and Mathematics, School of Civil Engineering, Institute of Resistance of Materials, Technical Consulting Office on Engineering and Architecture.

4. Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Sciences of Education: School of Education, School of Journalism, Institute of Languages, Institute of Anthropology, International Summer Programs, General Culture Courses, "Manuel María Sánchez" High School.
5. Faculty of Agronomic Engineering and Veterinary Medicine: "Gallo Almeida" School of Agronomic Engineering, School of Veterinary Medicine.
6. Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences: School of Economics School of Administration, Institute of Economic Research, Institute of Administrative Studies.
7. Faculty of Chemical and Natural Sciences: School of Bio-Chemistry and Pharmacy, School of Chemical Engineering, School of Geology and Mines, Institute of Natural Sciences.
8. Faculty of Odontology: School of Odontology
9. Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism: School of Architecture and Urbanism, Institute of Housing (Vivienda) Research.

University dependent educational centers: School of Fine Arts, National Conservatory of Music, Institute of Physical Education, Cultural Extension Courses.

Subject fields were distributed to variously ranked professors who held tenure over a particular field for varying periods of time. A principal professor held this "cátedra" for four years. The professor, thus, was intimately related to the particular subject taught by him and no one else could teach it. Professors' rankings were those of principal, aggregate, auxiliary, and accidental. There was also the rank of honorary professor as a merit distinction that did not require teaching, and frequently, simply, for professors who taught without pay. The "cátedra" or chair was the basic academic structure within the faculty. Usually there was no relationship among "cátedras". The program of study for each subject was particularly designed by the professor and carried out by him.

This general structure of the University tended to compartmentalize the functions of the Institution to such an extent that it was possible to speak of an aggregate of professional schools within the University, which was only a unity in principle but not in practice. Vial Larrain has aptly called such institutional arrangement "Multiversidad" to contrast it with "Universidad".¹

¹ Juan de Dios Vial Larrain, "Idea de la Universidad", in "La Universidad en Tiempos de Cambio" Santiago, Editorial del Pacífico, 1965.

But the dissociation apparent in the general configuration of the University was also visible within each of the compartments or faculties. Schools and institutes within a faculty were also run rather independently and most of all, the "cátedra", placed under the direct control of a person, inhibited coordinated educational activity: "University authorities do not direct nor control the teaching imparted by each professor. Each professor is the king of his "cátedra"¹

Such structural arrangement of the University had as consequences, several economic and organizational disadvantages. There was, first of all, the duplication of services with the obvious wastage of economic assets. A subject might be taught at more than one faculty, by each faculty's own professor, using its own laboratory, its own library facilities, and its own classrooms and buildings.

Also, faculty separateness (autonomy) inhibited a coordinated functioning of University activities. Students could only be registered in one faculty and they could not take courses in any other faculty. Records of students personal data including grades, were carried within each faculty. If a student wanted to change his area of study, he had to register in another faculty and start from the beginning. Each faculty, likewise, handled its own financial matters and decided on plans pertaining to its own functioning.

PRINCIPLES OF UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT

The underlying principles of the University's organization can be traced back to the postulates of the June 15, 1918, "Manifiesto of the Argentine Youth of Córdoba to the Free Men of South America". The main objectives of such statement of principles was to democratize higher education, making it more accessible to the lower classes, and, related to it, to allow participation of students in University government. There were other principles as well. They may all be summarized as follows:

- (1) The autonomy of the University. The University was conceived as a functional unit, separate from the national government, free to pursue educational objectives according to its values or what people within the University perceived to be desirable for society at large. Teaching was to be free and professors were not to be punished if they expressed views contrary to the national government.
- (2) University government was to be based on a democratic arrangement with full participation in it of all elements involved in its activities: authorities, professors, students. Each of these elements were to be represented in University governing bodies.

¹ Julio Prado, Rafael García Velasco, Ruben Arellano, Edmundo Mancheno, "La Universidad y sus Alumnos", Anales, No. 343, Quito, 1959, p. 364.

- (3) University authorities were to be elected by the people within the university without interference from national or local government. No appointments of university authorities by persons outside of it were to be recognized.
- (4) Security of professors in the tenure of their teaching positions. Tenure, however, was to be given according to academic criteria and lasting for a given period of time which could be renewable.
- (5) Freedom of attendance.
- (6) Given the social benefit function fulfilled by the University it pertained to society the obligation to support it financially. Students were to be given all possible opportunities to enter the university and to complete a career in it at no cost to them.
- (7) The University was to be related to the lower levels of education. primary and secondary. There was to be a continuity among them making of each an integral part of national education.
- (8) The University was to be conscious of problems facing the nation, in the solution of which, it would participate making use of all its human and ideological resources. Programs of cultural extension for the people were to be undertaken by the university, offering, as well, consulting services.¹

University autonomy and student representation in University government were aspirations that were "in the air" throughout Latin America during the second decade of the century. Once the universities which, formerly, had been operated by religious Catholic orders, became independent from them, they became directly dependent on the national government. This transition mainly took place in the course of the XIXth century. At the turn of the century and, particularly in Ecuador, with the advent to power of the Liberal Revolution headed by Eloy Alfaro, there was increased pressure for the democratization of the University. Along with it there was the new realization that the university should be related to the people, however dependent it should be from the government. Much was said about educational extension services to be rendered by the university.

It is the opinion of John P. Harrison that the Córdoba Movement served the purposes of a growing middle-class, especially in some of the richer countries of South America, to gain a foot hold within the schools of higher

¹ Harold R. W. Benjamin, Higher Education in the American Republics, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1965, p. 51.

education, a privilege which, up to then, had been the sole prerogative of an oligarchic upper class.¹

In 1918 a Federation of Chilean students organized an international students congress to which Ecuadorian delegates were invited. The delegates from Central University of Ecuador returned with plans to organize a national federation in Ecuador. A committee was formed to study such possibility under the leadership of José María Velasco Ibarra.² The Federation of Ecuadorian Students was officially established in 1919.

Congress in its 1918 session for the first time made provision for student representation in the government of the University. The national representatives in Congress "Adopting the ideas put forth at the Students Congress held in Bogotá on July 20, 1910, decrees: that the students at each Faculty at Central University have the right to be represented by a delegate to the Professors General Assembly, with the right to voice opinions and to vote, at any elections that such Assembly might hold. The students themselves may establish rules to choose their delegates".³

Congress in 1922 confirmed student representation at the Professors General Assembly and extended it also to the Administrative Junta (University Council) and the Faculty Assemblies. The number of students was to be equal to one third the number of professors belonging to those governing bodies at the University.⁴

It was a military dictatorship, a provisional Junta, that issued the first decree endorsing University autonomy, on July 1925. According to it, the Rector and Vice-Rector were to be elected by the Professors General Assembly with representation of the Student Body by Faculties. The University, likewise was given the prerogative of setting up its own statutes in accordance with the Presidential Decree, and the right to run its own administration. The Minister of Education was, however, given the power to close down any university that would not comply with the Presidential Decree, or its own Statutes.⁵

¹ John P. Harrison, Learning and Politics in Latin American Universities; Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, 1965.

² Germania Moncayo de Monge, La Universidad de Quito, Quito. Imprenta de la Universidad, 1944, p. 207

³ Ibid p. 210

⁴ Ibid. p. 211

⁵ Ibid. p. 212

Basically, the legislative acts of 1918, 1922 and 1925 are recognized as the earliest legal endorsements of student participation in university government and of university autonomy. Later legislation and presidential decrees changed some aspects pertaining to such norms of higher education in Ecuador without effecting any significant changes in them, until 1963.

FELT NEEDS AND LOCAL INITIATORS OF CHANGE

In a general sense, the desire to reform the Latin American universities in the direction of improved performance and adaptation to societal needs has been felt continuously throughout the course of this century. As an important institutional sector within each nation, the pressures from the environment have placed the university in a position to respond to them by functional and organizational readaptations. As aptly described by Acton, "The microcosm of the university faithfully reflects the macrocosm of society at large".¹ The intervention of government in its functions could only be explained by the close interdependence that the University has had with other institutional areas; the formation of professionals, including politicians; the dependence on the public resources through the government; the functional relationship of the university with other levels of education taking in the latter's outputs. In addition it has catered to an increased population, which should be considered as a select and educated minority that in later times has become increasingly representative of the lower classes. Also, given the fact that the population active in politics in these countries is small and concentrated in the cities, where the universities are, the university tended to represent an important segment of opinion: that of an educated minority. It was thus bound to appear as an interest group within the national scene. Such an interest group was often times seen at odds with other interest groups such as the military, the upper class, the national government, and the church.

University autonomy was intended to shield, to some extent, the university from that interdependence that often times was a threat to its educational pursuits. To be sure such charter guarantee of university autonomy could only be manifested in an uneasy equilibrium between the university and a variety of forces, mainly governmental, that impinged on it. On the other hand constitutional university autonomy frequently served to isolate the university from the processes of change taking place in the environment. Only belatedly did the universities respond by actions aimed at meeting the needs posed by such changes. It should be observed also, that university autonomy, while shielding it from interference on the part of the national government, also gave protection to actions (usually informal)

¹ Rudolph P. Acton, The Latin American University, Bogotá, Colombia ECO Revista de la Cultura de Occidente, 1966. p. 18.

emanating from the university that were defined as offensive by sectors outside the university, mainly the government.

Since the reforms taking place at universities during the 1920s throughout Latin America, reforms that brought autonomy and students' participation in internal government to them, and, a relative lull in reform pressure through the 30s, after World War II there emerged another situation demanding a re-definition of the relationship between the university and the environment. Three factors seem relevant in creating such a situation:

- (1) Rapid increase in urbanization, which introduced a variety of culture values demanding better education for more people and, along with it, new concepts, generally adopted from the United States and Europe, concerning the role of universities, their structure and their functions;
- (2) Rapid population growth that tended to increase the demand for university services; and
- (3) Pressures toward socio-economic development which placed the universities in a position of great responsibility for the training of qualified men to perform functions related to development efforts. ¹

Since 1960, however, and related to the widely accepted notion that change should be planned in the social, political, and economic spheres, the need of relating the functions of education to such planned societal change came to be viewed as urgent. In 1958, the University of Concepción, Chile, requested assistance from UNESCO to reorganize the university in tune with contemporary demands. This University, which had for a long time been the only private non-religious university in Latin America, ² founded in 1919, pioneered the move towards the new university reform. Other such reform

¹ The philosophy of higher education as seen by people in this post-World War II period is exemplified in Luis Alberto Sanchez', La Universidad Latinoamericana, Primera Edición, Guatemala, Imprenta Universitaria, 1949. And also, the 1949 official statement by the First Congress of Latin American Universities. In Ecuador, Rodrigo Villegas D., "Hacia la Reforma Universitaria", Revista de la Asociación Escuela de Derecho" February 1949. Marco Mejía Yopez, El Nuevo Concepto de la Universidad Moderna, Revista de la Asociación Escuela de Derecho, February, 1949.

² Harold R. W. Benjamin, Op. Cit. p. 58

efforts are noteworthy in Latin America at around 1960, examples of which are found at the National University of Honduras in Tegucigalpa, the University of Brasilia, the University of Los Andes and Javeriana University in Bogotá, Colombia and the San Marcos University in Lima, Peru.

Various individuals within the Ecuadorian universities had also envisioned changes aiming towards what they thought would be a modernizing reform.

Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, Central University Rector from 1951 to 1963, in 1957 expressed some of his impressions gathered as a result of a visit to a number of United States universities.

"In the United States everybody understands deeply and sincerely that the present and the future depend on education, and fundamentally on the universities. And the universities live up to that confidence. Professors and students work intensely. And they do not only specialize and learn how to do one thing - the point or the head of a nail - as we used to believe, they also know the foundations of human culture. If indeed one is impressed by the wealth of buildings, laboratories, and teaching and research aids of the universities - wealth which has been built especially by private initiative or the joint effort of the people and the State - even more impressive is the conscience these men, teachers and students have, that they are fulfilling a high and transcendental task for themselves and their fellow man. I visited Maryland, Harvard - founded at the onset of colonization - Berkeley, Stanford, the University of Texas and others. There was fervor in everything, purpose for the future, optimism, a sense of direction and the renovation of methods, research, discoveries. In all of them the alumni organize themselves in associations, they meet every year, they inquire about the needs of the universities and contribute to them morally and financially. In all of them there is a discipline that seems natural, the discipline of the spirit that pursues its ends freely. In the United States citizens know that the gift of liberty is indissolubly tied to the duty of responsibility and that where freedom is greater, greater also is the responsibility of those who enjoy it".¹

Without comment this piece of writing should go as a tribute to the values of United States education. Its dynamic qualities are emphasized and implicitly given as a contrast to the apparently static characteristics of education at the Quito University. Discipline is also appraised as a discipline which does

¹ Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, La Meta y el Comienzo, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, 1958, p. 63 (Author's translation).

not preclude close cooperation between professors and students. The availability of material assets is similarly also seen as a significant advantage for the United States universities.

Dr. Julio Enrique Paredes, elected Central University Rector in May 1965, performed similar duties at the same University from 1939 to 1951. As in the case of Pérez Guerrero, Paredes was impressed by the organization and performance of universities in the United States. Late in the 1940's Paredes was planning and consulting the feasibility of establishing a program of general studies for all Central University students.¹

In 1959, Alfredo Pérez Guerrero wrote a circular letter to the members of each of twenty-two committees appointed to study matters pertaining to University reform:

"... In these times, ideals, enthusiasm, wishes must be concretized and translated into systems, plans of work, into techniques. We live, whether we like it or not, in a world of technology and we have to adapt ourselves to it so that its efficiency and practicality can make accessible to us the objectives we are after, in the shortest possible time and through the most adequate means. It seems consequently very useful and urgent that we understand what this university reform means in its fundamental aspects. First, the functions of the university should be placed in its right perspective in order that we may be able to determine what our times demand from the university".²

Rector Pérez Guerrero, in 1959, elaborated lists of issues which were to become matters of study for each committee made up of three professors and one student:

1. Basic mission of the University.
2. University extension services and the diffusion of culture.
3. The University and national problems.
4. The University and its students. Duties and rights. The right to object. Students' services. Scholarships abroad.
5. The University and scientific research.
6. The University: politics and democracy.
7. The intermediate professions.
8. Reform of curricula and teaching systems.
9. The University: humanism and culture.

¹ Personal interview, June 1965

² Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, "Circular Dirigida a los Señores Miembros de Comisiones", Anales, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, 1959, p. 340.

10. The University and Technology. Specialized Professions.
11. Organizational system of the University. The Faculties and the Institutes
12. University training and education.
13. Teaching, administrative and economic University autonomy.
14. University Government: student delegates' participation. Ways to elect University authorities.
15. University aid organizations. Alumni associations.
16. The University and the crisis of the world today. Its function as a maker of the future.
17. The University and its interrelationship with primary and secondary education. Admission tests to the University
18. The University and other Institutions of Higher Education. Specific functions of the latter and their relationship with the University.
19. Inter-university relations. Professors and students exchange. Connections among Latin American universities. Cultural agreements. Recognition of University degrees.
20. Laws and regulations for professional defense against empiricism.
21. Integration of dependent Institutes: Schools of Music, Fine Arts and Physical Education, within University activities. Objectives of these Institutes and reform of their systems and curricula.
22. University campus. Meaning and planning. Present and future needs. Comments regarding the present state of building activities. ¹

Among sixty-six University professors making up the Committees in charge of studying the possibilities of change, which also included twenty-two students, the names of Dr. Julio Enrique Paredes (Topic No. 1) and Ing. Alejandro Segovia (Topic No. 18) could be noticed. ² These men were to play important roles, years later, during the processes of introducing and maintaining changes.

Concerning the twenty-two (22) points referred to by Pérez Guerrero, it is necessary to say that they had to some extent become issues in higher sectors within the Ecuadorian universities. The prospective goals of change were not clearly defined by the Committees' members and they were far less concrete in pointing out the necessary steps in the direction of proposed goals, but, it is important to note that the image they had of their University was startling to bear little correspondence with its actual performance.

¹ Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, Anales, 1959, p. 339

² Anales, 1959, p. 340

University reform became a topic of concern. The goals of reform, however, assimilated changing values: rationality, technology, science, etc.

The Committees presented their reports. Such reports are generally statements of values couched in highly literary terms. Their importance lay not so much in the concrete specification of the problems of the University and the means by which such problems should be corrected, but in the presentation of an idealized image of the institution which failed to correspond to the observable reality.

Student representation in University government was reaffirmed by the Committee in charge of its evaluation. The report repeated the already known desirable and idealized aspects of co-government without making a critical analysis of the actual processes of student participation in the University government and its concrete relevance to efficient University performance. This Committee also recommended that the Rector and Vice-Rector be elected to six year terms instead of four year terms.¹

The Committee in charge of studying Topic No. 4 suggested that University authorities exercise a more direct control over the contents and the practice of teaching by professors. The "cátedra" system was not favored by them. They placed emphasis in the coordination among subject fields. The system of professorial appointment through University Council elections was decried as a system that fostered favoritism. They recommended instead the direct appointment of qualified persons by each Faculty. The Committee also endorsed the necessity of having a full-time faculty and student body. Adequate pay for professors was urged if the University was to fulfill its commitments as would have been desirable. Vocational orientation was thought to be needed and the establishment of intermediate professional training programs, dependent on the existing faculties.²

Another committee elaborated further on the need for intermediate professional training: "The intermediate professions should be attained through the services of the professors and the courses which today are divided in two or three University Faculties. The Faculties of Medicine and Pedagogy, for instance, should train high school biology professors; those of Agronomy and Pedagogy, high school professors of Botany; those of Jurisprudence, Engineering

1 Ricardo Cornejo, Carlos Chiriboga, Luis H. de la Torre, Anales, 1959, p. 357

2 Julio Prado, Rafael García Velasco, Ruben Orellana, Edmundo Mancheno, Anales, 1959, p. 365.

and Medicine, experts in judiciary, civil and penal disputes".¹

University autonomy was reaffirmed and along with it the increased necessity of University participation towards the solution of national problems. One such aspect of University participation towards the solution of national problems was thought to be its participation as a guide for public opinion. Extension courses provided by the university for adult education were deemed to be in line with the increased participation of the University in Ecuadorian public life.²

The desirability of a scientific approach to knowledge was expressed almost invariably by the committees or independently by members of the committees. Research was emphasized as being necessary. Such research was also thought to be necessary in the social sciences as much as for the physical sciences.³

A recommendation for the economizing of limited national resources while maintaining efficiency was made. This recommendation called for the pooling of the resources made available to all Ecuadorian universities to provide centralized and improved research facilities. Such facilities, to be used by all the universities, would have been specialized in a particular scientific area given the availability of the corresponding skills and the idiosyncracies of the region in which they would be located, i. e. research on tropical agriculture to be located on the coastal plain, in Guayaquil; research on public administration in Quito, seat of the national government. This suggestion called for a coordinated effort on the part of the universities in the country.⁴

Generally, the committees presented views of the desirable state of the University. The University was seen as being supported by and supporting some values that had become largely accepted in the socio-cultural environment: democracy, social consciousness, knowledge, science, technology. It would not be unreasonable to synthesize such values in one: modernism. The stress was generally placed on the goals of change with very little being said about the structures that were going to serve as means to the achievement of those goals. In the few instances where a provision is made for the means necessary for the achievement of those goals, such means are mainly seen as readaptations of the existing university structure - so to say, by increasing the functions performed by the existing structures without the creation of new structures as a previous condition for the successful carrying out of new functions. Change

1 Manuel Agustin Aguirre, Anales, 1959, p. 386

2 Ibid, p. 383

3 Angel Modesto Paredes, Anales, 1959, p. 343

4 Ibid, p. 344

is seen as minimal adaptations of the structure and organization of the institution to the new societal demands.

By mid-1963 efforts had been made toward the accomplishment of certain goals related to what the Central University community called "University Reform". There were duly organized the basic Centers of Institutes of Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Biology, by means of which the fundamental need for scientific research and the centralization of equipment and laboratories of various Faculties as well as their professors will be fulfilled".¹ A look at the organizational chart of Central University shows that there were: an Institute of Natural Sciences dependent on the Faculty of Chemical and Natural Sciences; courses in sciences were also taught at the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Sciences of Education; a Psychology Institute dependent on this Faculty as well; Mathematics and Physics were taught at the Faculties of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, Architecture, Agronomy, Chemical and Natural Sciences and Philosophy. Mathematics were also taught at the Faculty of Economics and Administration.

While the need had been felt to promote the studies in the sciences, there was much overlapping in the distribution of science courses, facilities and services. There was the notion that the change towards the organization of a centralized program in the sciences should be gradual. These early steps had also complicated the internal functioning of the University rather than simplifying it. The intent of the University Administration was to establish a program of study on basic sciences in a number of institutes dependent on the Faculties.² This step would have required extensive readjustments in programs and curricula of each of the University Faculties with a large portion of their educational responsibilities being shifted to the Institute of Basic Sciences. This, by 1963, had not been done. Instead, the emphasis was still being placed on the professionalizing aims of the University in the areas long recognized as such, with only a supportive role being assigned to the Institutes of Basic Sciences.

The Social Sciences and the Humanities were not part of the proposed reform and the curriculum. Such need had not been felt to the extent that it would have elicited concrete action.

¹ Alfredo Pérez Guerrero. Perfil de la Universidad Central, Quito Editorial Universitaria, 1963, p. 6

² Interview with Dr. Alfredo Pérez Guerrero

The "social role" of the University was being fulfilled in what was called "Universidad Popular y de Extensión Universitaria".¹ This was a set of courses being taught by students and sometimes professors to factory workers and artisans. Summer courses, some of which were prepared in cooperation with international agencies such as UNESCO in Journalism, and the University of New Mexico in languages and literature, were also thought to be programs that related the University to society. In a more general sense, the social role of the University was seen as the preparation given to men in the various professions who in turn performed functions in the environment independently, as administrators, economists, architects, engineers, physicians, high school teachers, etc.

As one can glean from the writings by people associated with the University, the "social role" of the University was not seen in relation to an interdependence of the University with agencies outside of it, including the government, by which national requirements were to be met by specific training commitments on the part of the University. Still the University was not seen as an integrating element of a functioning system operating to bring about desired changes in the environment, and to which other elements (institutions, planning agencies, government, other universities, etc.) also belonged. The "social role" of the University was seen as the preparation provided by it to the youth of Ecuador towards the fulfillment of needs to be met by men in the liberal professions: physicians, engineers, lawyers, architects, economists, dentists, chemists, veterinarians, agronomists, etc. This "social role" was thought of as operating in a self-adjusting social system where the demand for certain types of professionals in the environment would determine in part the choice of specific careers on the part of the students. The University's functions were not seen as being related to any preconceived plan of total societal development that would have driven the University into areas and situations of rational interaction with other institutions (i. e. government) within the nation.

That was probably in part at least due to the fear expressed in countless occasions by university people that academic freedom could be curtailed. Autonomy had been highly valued and there was no indication whatever that such autonomy in 1963 had lessened as a norm of institutional action.

Autonomy, when understood as the freedom of action within a structural component within the University, whether it be the Faculty or the "cátedra", had consequences which, only superficially, had been defined as undesirable.

¹ Popular University and University Extension Services

The Faculties operating as autonomous organizations within the University precluded, to a large extent, the possibility of administering the University as a functional entity. The result was duplication of effort and resources in many cases in which people within various Faculties thought that certain educational functions were of their own competence. Likewise, the "cátedra" system in terms of the objectives of modern education was coming to be felt as an anachronism by its very narrow compartmentalization of subject-matter fields. The "catedrático" (principal professor) in such a system held control over a particular subject field as a private domain which was largely unrelated to broader programs of study. If the knowledge of the "catedrático" had become obsolete there was no possibility that his competence could have been challenged. Centralization of University facilities could not adequately be carried out because of interests that were dispersed and which had been rigidly structured by time. To bring together men and functions so dispersed and compartmentalized was an extremely difficult job. Autonomy did not seem to be something that could easily be tampered with.

As has been pointed out, there was in the University community a feeling that reforms should be undertaken. The objectives of such reforms were not clear, but generally had to do with the following accomplishments: provide a program of studies in basic sciences and to a lesser degree, in the humanities; place emphasis on scientific research in the natural and the social sciences; obtain a full time operating University with facilities provided to professors and students to do so; relate, functionally and rationally, the University to the social environment with a view to provide services of social benefit; centralization of University facilities and services to allow simplified administration and economic savings.

STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD CHANGE AT THE UNIVERSITY

The foregoing represents the change orientation on the part of the leadership and of University professors. The role of the students in the decision making process at the universities makes it desirable to assess also their change orientation. Little evidence could be found of student aspirations regarding change at their University for the period prior to the arrival of the United States university technical assistance teams. Then, as now, students are apt to express their displeasure with changes introduced but almost never formulate their own proposals for change.

Data are, however, available on student opinion concerning their University and needed improvements, taken from our survey in 1965, two years after the technical assistance program was initiated in Quito and five years after its initiation in Guayaquil. In some instances the

responses will have been influenced by the changes in process. We, therefore, present these data here with the caveat that they may have undergone change in the intervening years.

As was to be expected, the majority of students favored membership of students in the universities' decision making bodies. What is remarkable, on the other hand, is that over 35% of the students, when asked what the desired percentage representation on the three main governing bodies of the University should be, either responded with 0 or left the question blank. Unfortunately, the question whether or not students should be represented on these bodies was not posed as such, only student opinion on percentage representation. This question was only asked of students at the two State Universities, there is no direct student representation at Catholic Universities and the authorities of that University objected to including a question on student representation in the questionnaire survey. However, a survey conducted by students of the Faculty of Law at Catholic University in May, 1965, showed that out of 925 students belonging to all the University Faculties, 829 favored student representation in the University's Academic Council with the right to express opinions and to vote; 82 students favored such representation without the right to vote; 8 students opposed representation and there were six abstentions.¹

The same survey indicated that students in their majority (456) viewed the purpose of an all-university student organization mainly as the "realization and fostering of action toward cultural and social improvement". A considerable number of students (380), viewed as the most important purpose of such organization "the defense of students' rights before the University authorities".²

It is clear that, among the Ecuadorian students, there remains a strong feeling that they should have a say in university affairs, and that those who are excluded from this right aspire to it.

Asked about the three most urgent needs of their universities, the students at all three universities mentioned buildings, laboratories, and equipment in the first place, and better professors in second place. Among ten categories of needs identified by the students organizational improvements ranked third at Central and Catholic, fourth at Guayaquil. Very few students listed improvements in programs and curricula among

1 Revista de la Asociación Escuela de Derecho, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, No. 17, May 1965, p. 21.

2 Ibid., p. 24

the most urgent needs.

Asked what the inadequacies of their universities were in the respective fields of the respondents, the answers were as presented in the Table below (open ended question asking for three defects).

Perceived Inadequacies of University Program

Defects	Universities					
	Catholic		Guayaquil		Central	
		%		%		%
1	43	10.26	37	15.16	47	12.53
2	12	2.86	8	3.27	12	3.20
3	55	13.12	35	14.34	89	23.73
4	172	41.05	83	34.01	102	27.20
5	103	24.58	69	28.27	116	30.93
6	11	2.62	10	4.09	6	1.60
7	<u>23</u>	<u>5.48</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>.81</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>.80</u>
Total	419	100.00	244	100.00	375	100.00

1	Lack of economic resources available for laboratories, libraries, scholarships, etc.
2	Limitations imposed by University authorities, professors, men in the respective professions etc.
3	Shortcomings of University organization.
4	Lack of scientific and technical orientation in Ecuadorian education.
5	Staff incompetence, i. e. professors.
6	Restrictions of the social system.
7	Limitations inherent to the field of study.

Again, similar factors are presented as in the case of deficiencies of the University as a whole, namely lack of scientific orientation, incompetence of professors, inadequate university organization, and material shortcomings. The lack of respect for the quality of their professors became most obvious when students were asked: "Out of every ten professors you have had at the University, how many do you consider competent in their field?". The answers were a scathing indictment of the professors by their students.

Assessment of Professors' Competence

Number of Professors	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Guayaquil</u> <u>U n i v e r s i t i e s</u>	<u>Central</u>
1	18	13	35
2	42	38	70
3	69	52	62
4	61	39	45
5	54	35	43
6	46	23	45
7	30	9	34
8	53	24	37
9	17	5	12
10	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
Totals	405	249	395
\bar{X}	5.01	4.44	4.51

While there was considerable agreement on the shortcomings of their universities among the students of the three universities, the assessment of quality of education in their respective fields differed substantially. This can be seen from the answers given when the students were asked about the quality of education in their field at the Ecuadorian universities.

Opinion on Quality of University Education in
Respondent's Field

Quality of Education	<u>Catholic</u>		<u>Guayaquil</u>		<u>Central</u>		<u>Total</u>	
		%		%		%		%
Poor	9	1.8	35	13.2	22	5.3	66	5.6
Mediocre ¹	96	19.6	134	50.6	156	37.4	386	32.9
Good	319	65.1	91	34.3	204	48.9	614	52.4
Very Good	<u>66</u>	<u>13.5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1.9</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>8.4</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>9.1</u>
Totals	490	100.00	265	100.0	417	100.0	1172	100.0

¹ In the Spanish text the word "regular" was used.

Obviously, the Table above reflects the perception of the students of the quality of education they receive and should not be construed as reflecting the "real" difference of the quality of education at the three universities. It is difficult to offer an adequate explanation for the apparent difference in quality assessment.

In summary, students at the Ecuadorian universities find that the shortcomings at their universities and in their fields of study are mainly found in a lack of technological orientation, inadequate professors, and shortcomings in physical and economic facilities.

LACK OF ACTION ORIENTATION

By and large, people at the University who recognized these needs put little emphasis on relating those objectives to action. The means by which those objectives were accomplished are matters that in available documents are largely left unspecified. When sometimes a few men expressed themselves in terms of steps to be taken in the direction of such objectives, the means are seen as re-adaptation of existing university structures for the performance of the necessary functions to bring about the desired change. Nowhere is found the expressed desire that the total university organization should be transformed so that a reorganized University might be better fit to meet the

requirements imposed on it by some values, generally accepted, which have been called "modernism".

It seems that for a long period of time, the University in the manner in which it was run, was functionally adequate for men who saw a teaching job at the university as a supplementary activity or as a part time activity independent from the regular, full time professional one. Professors appeared to prefer, in many cases, to have the University operate part time so that it would have continued to ensure additional income and a measure of prestige. Students, many of whom needed to work, would have viewed a university requiring most of their time as an inhibiting factor to their getting at sources of livelihood. Having to choose one or the other, it should have been expected that they would have opted for the satisfaction of immediate needs. So, the university in the way it was organized and operated fits well, if only marginally, with the various roles played by people in the environment.

Some consequences were to be expected from the partial involvement of students and professors in university activities: (1) The role of teaching was almost strictly viewed as direct communication to students in classroom situations, with a minimum of class preparation or outside readings and assignments; (2) full time involvement of professors in professional activities outside the University inhibited adequate preparation of lecture material; (3) high absenteeism among professors and students; (4) little or no research being done either by professors or students;¹ (5) students mainly, but also professors, even if a minority in each case, became frequently involved in issues pertaining to matters outside the university, such as politics - this in turn had consequences affecting the operations of the university; (6) class schedules were arranged to fit courses, teaching services, and facilities, in restricted periods of time, early in the morning and in the late afternoon and evening resulted in wasteful expenditure of economic resources; (7) there was little that could have been called university life in which re-enforcing conditions (campus life, persistent academic activity) would have promoted excellence of education, both teaching and learning.

In the community outside the universities little evidence could be found of dissatisfaction with the performance of the universities or of pressures for change. One reason for this is that both the government

1 Dr. Gonzalez Rubio found, on the basis of a relatively small sample of students in Quito, that only 9% of the respondents had carried out independent research; Dr. Gonzalez Rubio Orbe, El Pensamiento de la Juventud Universitaria de Quito, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, 1966, p. 145

and private groups fully accept university autonomy. Resource allocation to the universities, particularly in terms of the basic government budget and tax contributions have little or no relationship with either demonstrated programmatic needs or demonstrable services rendered by the universities. Ecuador's five year plan of education makes reference to university development in only one short paragraph. Neither is there noticeable pressure for change and reform forthcoming from the professional groups and associations in the country. This can be explained in part by the fact that many of the leading professionals are simultaneously part time professors at the universities.

A point that should be emphasized is this: activities related to the functions of the Institution occupied only a segment of students' and professors' lives, in most individual cases. This was also the case at the organizational level. Students and professors, being so intensely and widely involved in roles relating to action in areas other than university education, would have been expected to be involved in a cultural complex that was more unrelated to an ideal type university-education-cultural complex than related to it. Observation seems to bear this point out.

The importance of the previous point has to do with the necessity of understanding the possible cultural elements that are significant in explaining and predicting the behavior that is important within the Institution. In many instances, particularly in the United States, it is possible to identify a complex of action patterns, attitudes, values, that could be in some way identified as a university sub-culture within the American society.¹ The relative lack of something comparable to this in the case of Central University of Ecuador compels the researcher to look for significant cultural elements outside the institution which could prove to be significant in shaping action within. It could be said that action patterns, attitudes, values, and norms observable within the university by reason of marginal participation of people in university functions only to a limited degree converged to create a university sub-culture.

¹ C. Roberts Pace and George C. Stern, College Characteristics Index, New York: Psychological Research Center, Syracuse University, 1958.

CHAPTER II

TRANSITION

Central University in the late 1950's, sought the assistance of foreign organizations for the securement of resources needed to implement changes in tune with what the University leaders viewed as modernizing improvements. These improvements were not the parts of a coherent plan of institutional reorganization but largely isolated efforts on the part of one Faculty or another.

Toward the end of 1961 the Faculty of Medicine, under the Deanship of Dr. Luis Alberto Palacios, was interested in the establishment and development of an Institute of Basic Sciences which would have served to alleviate the responsibilities of the Faculty of Medicine by providing instruction in the basic sciences. His early approaches had been directed to obtain assistance from the Kellogg Foundation in the United States. However, by late 1961 the necessary support was seen as a possibility to be provided by the Agency for International Development.¹

One of the most acute problems facing the country had been recognized by some Ecuadorians to be the archaic organization of the public service. It has been said that Ecuador had been trying to solve twentieth century problems with administrative structures that belonged to the sixteenth century.² That was not far from the truth. The professionalization of the public service was a pressing need. The cooperation of a United Nations expert, Cecil Herman, with Ecuadorian professors such as Manuel Agustin Aguirre, Alfonso Arcos, and Carlos Dávalos Rodas, made possible in 1958, the establishment of the School of Public Administration at Central University.³ This school was organized within the Faculty of Economics. A program for Business Administration was structured in 1960. The School of Administration from the beginning experimented with the credit system as opposed to the vernacular fixed curriculum that prevailed at the University.⁴ By the latter system, if a student

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- 1 USAID/E files, letter from Donald L. Daughters to Luis Alberto Palacios December 1961.
 - 2 Martin C. Needler, Anatomy of a Coup d'Etat, Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems, 1964.
 - 3 La Universidad Central y la Opinión Pública, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, 1959, p. 585. See also Juan Molina S., Documento de la Representación Ecuatoriana - el Seminario de Alto Nivel para Directores de Centros de Entrenamiento en Administración, Universidad de Manchester England, 1965.
 - 4 Manuel Agustin Aguirre, "Informe", Boletín Trimestral de Información Económica, Quito, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas e Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas de la Universidad Central, 1959-60, p. 13.

failed a course, he would have to repeat all the courses belonging to that school year. The credit system lends flexibility to the programs of study allowing students to accommodate their school schedules to the availability of their time.

On April 17, 1962, an agreement was reached and signed by United States representatives and Ecuadorian Government authorities for economic technical and related assistance, under the general program of aid under the Alliance for Progress.

The universities of Ecuador had been for some time requesting technical and financial assistance for the improvement of their educational capacities. The University of Guayaquil had, since 1960, had a sister institution relationship with the University of Houston in a program designed for the development of the Chemical Engineering field. The program was later enlarged to include Economics and Administration. At the present time such inter-university cooperation program is also working toward the development of a program in basic sciences and humanities.

In May, 1962, a project agreement to provide technical assistance to the Universidad Central del Ecuador and the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Quito, was signed by United States representatives, the Minister of Education of Ecuador and the rectors of the two universities.

While negotiations concerning United States Government assistance to Central University were in progress, requests for assistance were sent to USAID officials in Quito and Washington by persons connected with the Catholic University in Quito; the Rev. R. J. Henle, S. J., Acting Academic Vice-President at St. Louis University, who had visited the Catholic University in August 1961, was instrumental in calling attention of Washington officials to the needs and the qualifications of the said Quito University.¹

Available United States official documents show that both the political involvement and the type of political slant of national universities in Latin America, were matters of concern for significant men in charge of channeling aid to the Ecuadorian universities.² The case for the Catholic University was based on its anti-communist, pro-Western and pro-American position.³ Aid for the Catholic University was thus viewed as a stimulus

1 USAID/Ecuador, Catholic University Files, March 24, 1962

2 USAID Ecuador, Catholic University Files, Feb. 28, 1962; March 5 1962.

3 USAID/Ecuador, Catholic University Files, March 5, 1962

that would accrue to a healthy political position whereas aid to Central University would have had an important aim: the de-politization of a heavily communist infiltrated faculty and student bodies.¹

Important aspects of the Contract are reproduced here to show the relationship of contractual aims and means proposed and the needs that had been felt in Ecuador about university reform.

"A. The purposes of the contract of interrelationship are as follows:

1. To provide for an exchange of academic skills and learning through an interchange of professors and students.
2. To assist the University in its desires to improve the excellence of its curricula in the basic sciences, engineering and education. (In the case of the Catholic University the priorities are: Education, Language Teaching, and Basic Sciences including Physics).
3. To assist the University in its desires to improve further academic administration in the three disciplines noted in paragraph (2) above.
4. To supplement the teaching staff of the University with visiting professors, teachers, and laboratory technicians.
5. To provide the basic essential and necessary equipment, devices, and educational aids required to achieve the foregoing purposes. To provide a basis for a continuing relationship between the universities concerned which would be of mutual advantage in future years.

B. The Universidad Central del Ecuador (also, the Universidad Católica) for its part agrees to contribute from its sources to the contract as follows:

1. The physical facilities at the site of its campus at Quito, Ecuador, to carry out the purposes and intent of the contract of interrelationship.

1 USAID/Ecuador, Catholic University Files, March 5, 1962

2. The cooperation and support of the Boards of Regents and faculty to achieve the purposes of the contract of inter-relationship.
3. The necessary labor force to be placed at the disposal of personnel of the contractor to install the equipment to be purchased under the contract of interrelationship".¹

The Project Contract goes on to specify what the contribution on the part of the United States would be in terms of services, personnel, equipment, procurement of equipment, installation, training of Ecuadorian personnel, and other services that might be related to the ones specified in the Contract.

Out of \$ 1,100,000 operational funding for the Project, \$ 700,000 were assigned to Universidad Central and \$ 400,000 to Universidad Católica.

The Contract also states that: "Considering that this project is one within the Alliance for Progress, the Government of the Republic of Ecuador and the Government of the United States will give full and continuous publicity in Ecuador and in the United States to the objectives and progress of the program in evidence of the friendship of the people of the United States towards the people of Ecuador and vice-versa; and that, at the termination of this program and on other occasions deemed convenient, complete reports on the operations carried out in accordance with this agreement, including information on the assistance received, collaboration given and the total of the amounts contributed by the three parties be published".²

The government of the United States had for some time been, through specialized agencies, operating in areas of technical assistance to Ecuador. One such area was Public Administration. By mutual United States-Ecuadorian agreement technical advisors from the United States were cooperating with national Ecuadorian personnel in an attempt to modernize the country's public administration. The joint effort had resulted in American foreign assistance being channeled to the School of Administration at Central University.

1 Project Agreement between AID and the Ministry of Education, Quito, May 17, 1962.

2 Ibid.

The University of Houston, which had been rendering assistance at the University of Guayaquil, was considered first for the contractual project to assist Central University in Quito. However, given the fact that the University of Houston already had a commitment in Ecuador which was expected to continue, and because it was seen as lacking in certain facilities deemed necessary for work at Central, it was not selected.¹ The University of Houston was also considered as a possible contractor for the project at Catholic University but the decision finally, in the first case, favored the University of Pittsburgh, and in the latter, St. Louis University.

Prior to making a final commitment the University of Pittsburgh decided to send a survey team to Ecuador. The team that included the Chancellor of the University spent several weeks in Ecuador observing relevant conditions pertaining to the environment and the University.

It appears that from the outset the focus of the University of Pittsburgh was on total institutional reform, this to a greater extent than could be found in the documents of St. Louis University and the University of Houston. While the Ecuadorian university leadership recognized the need for change and improvement, this was expressed in rather general terms and the need does not appear to have been viewed as requiring fundamental changes in the structure and process of the institution. The change objectives of the external change agents are more detailed, instrumental to achieving broad reforms, and interrelated. By and large the objectives of the Ecuadorians are stated in terms of goals, without specifying the instrumental or intermediate steps. The implications of these differences in change orientation will be dealt with in the institution building analysis.

Out of the survey team's visit to Ecuador a report was issued by the University of Pittsburgh in which a number of recommendations were made. Without any doubt the most important recommendation has to do with the possible commitment on the part of the University of Pittsburgh to undertake a general program of change at Universidad Central, not only on the five areas as called for in previous agreements, which included public and business administration, education, engineering, and the basic sciences. Besides work on these specific areas, it was also seen as necessary to promote the development of other subject fields considered to be important as supporting elements to the classical professions being taught at the University, and important as areas of specialization in their own right.

1 USAID/E files, October 18, 1961.

These were subject matters generally classified within the Social Sciences and the Humanities. The survey team found inadequacies in the teaching of subjects such as anthropology, political science and sociology; very little being done in history and geography, as well as in languages and philosophy.

However important the reforms in the programs of study at the University were, attention also had to be focused on the possible improvement of the University administrative structure. In fact it was believed that the success of a program intended to improve the quality and the extent of education at the University depended largely on the possibility to alter the organizational aspects of the institution to allow flexibility of action, reliable results, and better utilization of resources.

Institutional aspects requiring improvement singled out by the survey team were as follows:

1. Part-time faculty.
2. Part-time student body.
3. Need for basic concept of university organization and structure for central institutional policy making and administration.
4. Need for university-wide faculty coordination.
5. Missing but essential academic fields.
6. Inadequate physical facilities.
7. Library inadequacy.
8. Weak elementary and secondary school systems.¹
9. Long term financial support is unclear.
10. Absence of an articulated plan of relationship with other institutions of higher education.
11. Lack of supporting teaching materials.²

The survey team also pointed out a number of assets in the Institution and the environment which would have been helpful for the execution of needed changes:

¹ There was also the possibility that the Ministry of Education of Ecuador and the University of Pittsburgh would have cooperated in a joint effort to solve problems at these lower levels of education. Since education as an area of studies at the university was one of the areas singled out for improvement, primary and secondary education as provided by university graduates would have been a matter to consider.

² University of Pittsburgh Survey Team, Central University of Ecuador and University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, 1962, p. 6

"1. Faculty interest in reform.

There is no question but that there is widespread and genuine interest among the faculty and the administration in strengthening the University's offering in many fields. The members of the survey team among them have reviewed comparable situations in at least a dozen institutions in that many different countries in various parts of the world, and they are agreed that Central University provides a promising situation in this respect".

"2. Student interest in improvement.

Again, as far as students are concerned, the climate for change is unusually favorable. In the long run, this is one of the most constructive forces which could obtain, when combined with faculty and administration interest, an important force of constructive effort".

"3. Leadership of the Rector

In the person of Pérez Guerrero the University has a person of established national reputation, long experience in office, and the genuine respect of groups in all areas of the University and in the political life of the nation. As long as he remains Rector, the project has greater prospects because of this fact. Should leadership of this caliber not continue to be present in the situation, this could be a serious deterring factor".

"4. Cordial cooperation with the Ministry of Education

While the University is an autonomous organization, it is obviously influenced in a very considerable way by the positive or negative actions of the Ministry. The outstanding leadership which the new Minister brings to this position and the cordial attitude he has reflected toward this whole undertaking at the University is promising".

"5. Effective working relationship between the University and the AID Mission. From the contractor's point of view, the pleasant atmosphere of mutual respect which prevails between the University administration and the leadership in the Mission is extremely important".

"6. Interest of other organizations in supporting programs in Ecuador.

It was encouraging to observe that there has been assistance to the University from Rockefeller interests, that there have been discussions about science and medicine with the Kellogg Foundation, that the Inter-

American Bank has recently completed a survey that included the Central University of Ecuador with a view to possible financial support, and that there are a number of other education institutions working in the field, including the University of Houston, Washington University and Wabash College. All of these undertakings, if properly related to one another, could have a cumulative effect that is of real consequence".

"7. Willingness of the Mission and of the Embassy to coordinate the leader exchange program, the Fullbright programs and the so-called participant trainee programs with this general effort. Again, every effort that is made by means of a program of contracted support will be augmented if it can be related to these varied types of exchange programs, whether they be the responsibility of the cultural affairs office or of the AID Mission. The assurance of both the Mission chief and the Ambassador in this regard was most encouraging".

"8. Attitude toward the United States.

The suspicion which one encounters in so many parts of the world vis-à-vis United States motives and the value of imparting its knowledges and techniques to other countries was significantly missing. Attitudes seemed cordial, reflecting confidence in the culture of North America and a genuine receptivity to ideas that might emerge from that culture. For a potential contractor this, of course, removes one more obstacle that he often faces".¹

A number of institutional aspects requiring improvement as seen by the survey team had also been perceived by the Ecuadorians within the University as needs. One important difference, however, had to do with what the survey team called "the need for a basic concept of University organization and structure for central institutional policy making and administration".² While Ecuadorians, when talking about centralization meant almost specifically the creation of a Basic Sciences Institute, for

1 University of Pittsburgh Survey Team, Central University of Ecuador and University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, 1962, p. 7

2 Ibid , p. 2

the survey team it meant a re-vamping of the organizational structure of the University, a shift aimed at weakening the compartmentalization of the old structure and providing a central core of policy making and administrative functions. Ecuadorians did not view such organizational change as necessary.

As the survey team pointed out, the atmosphere for change at the University was quite encouraging. The university community had been talking about a reform for some time; this, however, lacked a coherent program of action related to it. It appeared like significant changes could have been instituted with broad support of people inside and outside the University.

The University of Pittsburgh upon review of its own institutional capabilities and the challenge presented to cooperate in a constructive endeavor, accepted the proposition. It, however, made sure beforehand that United States officials in Washington and Quito, and Ecuadorian Government and university authorities would endorse an extensive plan of action at the University which would require considerable use of resources over a relatively extended period of time.¹

Two significant policies were established by the University of Pittsburgh concerning its own involvement in the assistance program: "First, the Project would receive the support of the total University and was established administratively directly under the Office of the Chancellor. Second, the Project would be staffed by professors to whom the University has committed itself on a permanent basis. The latter policy has two practical, as well as philosophical purposes. It is felt that all professors should first be judged on their competence in their respective fields, and, once approved, should have their loyalties and professional efforts focused through the University."²

The official Pittsburgh statement noted that the staff members of the Ecuador Project would become the nucleus of a professorial corps who had knowledge and experience on Latin American development and problems.³

The contract between the University of Pittsburgh and the Agency for International Development was signed in February 1963. Pittsburgh

¹ University of Pittsburgh Survey Team, Central University of Ecuador and University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, 1962, p. 24, 25.

² University of Pittsburgh Annual Report, Ecuador Project, 1964, p. 2

³ Ibid. , p. 2

officials immediately proceeded to select from their professional ranks the men who would be offered assignments in Ecuador. At least two professors from other American Universities received appointments at the University of Pittsburgh for assignment to Central University of Ecuador, in Quito.

From May 1963 to February 1964, eleven University of Pittsburgh professors arrived in Quito. Dr. Wendell Schaeffer, Associate Dean of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, was appointed Chief of Party.

From the initial contacts established between the members of the technical assistance team and significant men at the University and the environment, the perceived needs of the University became more explicit and concrete. At least, from the standpoint of the technical assistance team, the problems faced by the University could be summarized as follows:

A - Organizational:

1. Autonomy of faculties and professional schools.
2. Autonomy of the "cátedra".
3. Financial University dependence on government.
4. Duplication in resource and service utilization.
5. Lack of functional relatedness between the University and the environment: Planning Board, other universities, other educational levels, Ministries, etc.

B - Academic:

1. Rigid programs of studies that inhibit education better adjusted to student's preferences.
2. Lack of technical and scientific experimentation. Educational processes limited largely to memorization and direct absorption of classroom material.
3. Lack of teaching aids: laboratories, libraries, buildings.
4. Limited levels of knowledge by lack of specialists in humanities and sciences.
5. Narrow professional education.

C - Administrative:

1. Not one but ten or more semi-autonomous administrative units.
2. Lack of Central University records files.

3. Lack of specialized administrative personnel. Professors performing administrative duties.
4. Excessive power of students on matters of policy and administration. Co-government.
5. Lack of vocational orientation and advisory services.

D - Socio-economic-cultural:

1. Part time faculty and student involvement in University functions.
2. Disruptive effects on University functions attributed to participation in national politics.
3. Economic and organizational needs to ensure teaching by professionally competent persons.
4. Absence of values generally associated with modern education: scientific orientation and specialization.
5. High attrition rates.
6. Exclusively liberal professions training at the University.

And a summary of possible change actualizations:

A - Organizational:

1. Coordination of functions among faculties and schools.
2. Break the monopoly of subject matter tenure.
3. Increase University's private sources of income.
4. Centralization of resources and services utilization.
5. Relate the University functionally to important sectors in the environment that provided inputs for the University and used its outputs.

B - Academic:

1. Introduce a system of education by credits which would allow the student to take the courses deemed necessary for his professional formation and others of general culture.
2. An emphasis placed on technical and scientific experimentation. Give the students a more creative role in the learning process through individual research.
3. Provision of adequate teaching aids for the aims of the previous objective.
4. To raise the level of academic excellence by the development of men trained in scientific and humanistic specialties who would make up a significant portion of the faculty staff.
5. Set up a program of liberal arts education.

C - Administrative:

1. Centralization of University administrative functions probably through the creation of an administrative department.
2. Keep University records at a central office.
3. Assign administrative duties to people trained in administration thus relieving professors from those duties, and giving much needed aid to authorities.
4. Restrict influence of students on decision making University bodies and in its administration.
5. Create, in accordance with national needs and for the benefit of the students, a center for vocational orientation.

D - Socio-economic-cultural:

1. Increase sense of identification with the University on the part of professors and students by increasing their participation in University centered actions.
2. Keep politics out of the University by duly enforced regulations.
3. Provide the means for the formation of a core of professional teachers by a readjustment of University finances and increased government contributions.
4. Reduce attrition rates by a system of scholarships for needy students.
5. Stress values associated with modern education: scientific inquiry, experimentation, restriction of professors and students to educational roles, and specialization.
6. Stress purposes of education in the direction of preparation of scientists and well trained men in the humanities.

CHAPTER III

THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TEAMS

Statements by university leaders and key professors in the late 50's and early 60's indicate that there was a group of change oriented and change receptive persons at the universities which were to receive U. S. assistance. Thus, the optimistic assessment regarding the environment in which change was to be affected made by the 1962 survey team of the University of Pittsburgh was justified. It has been pointed out, however, that most of the aspirations for change are presented in terms of a desired end-state and failed to be translated into action terms. It is indicative that the recommended action steps contained in the reports of the 1959 study commissions at Central University, such as increasing the four-year term of the Rector and Vice Rector to six years, increasing full-time programs of the University, and establishing intermediate professional training programs had not resulted in any action by 1963. The analysis of the factors impeding self-generated change in this early period and induced change in later years led us to the conclusion that the following constituted the major impediments: a) the lack of a sense of urgency on the part of both change agents and clientèle, b) the part-time association and partial identification of leaders and members with the institution, c) the highly institutionalized character of the existing patterns, d) the diffused power structure with strong vested interests on the part of individuals and groups, e) the lack of resources. Lack of resources is deliberately mentioned as the last factor. While the other factors were relevant for any move toward change, the resource scarcity factor was an impediment in a more limited number of instances.

Prior to the arrival of the U. S. technical assistance teams, the need for change in a number of areas had been recognized. We found, however, that in virtually all instances of university reform actual change was initiated by members of the U. S. technical assistance teams. Their influence on both the direction and elements of change was preponderant. This, of course, neither implies that all the reform recommendations of the technical assistance team members were put into practice, nor that their change recommendations were implemented without subsequent change. The technical assistance team had only advisory capacity. At none of the three universities had the U. S. consultants any executive powers or a voice on any of the decision making bodies. They acted as external change agents both in the sense of coming from abroad and of being external to the formal decision and action structure of the institutions. Their impact on the process of change was through the institutions' decision makers and influentials.

Program emphasis in the technical assistance effort differed at the three universities. Thus, the first project, established by the University of Houston at the University of Guayaquil was limited to the creation of a School of Chemical Engineering in the early years. Later Business Administration and the Basic Science program were added, while recently Houston began to render assistance to the development of central university administration, particularly in the area of financial management. At Catholic University the emphasis has been on the development of the Language Institute, the Central Library, Basic Science, the School of Social Work and the School of Nursing. In the area of central university administration the work has been largely limited to the establishment of a Development Office, with fund raising and - to a limited extent - development planning as its functions.

The most exclusive project was that of the University of Pittsburgh at Central University in Quito. During its peak period of activity the project counted with fifteen consultants covering the following professional and discipline areas: civil engineering, chemical engineering, education, business administration, public administration, geology, physics, chemistry and biology. These consultants worked in four of the nine University Faculties rendering occasional assistance to several others. In addition to working in the academic areas, the Chief of Party and several team members worked closely with the University authorities on university organization, administrative procedures, and financial management and control. Among others, these efforts led to the creation of a Finance Department, designed to modernize, strengthen and centralize the various business management aspects of Central University such as budgeting, auditing, inventory, etc.

While there was some difference among the technical assistance teams' in terms of areas of involvement at their respective universities, the kinds of action taken in carrying out the technical assistance task were quite similar. Insofar as variation we observed these were variations in degree of emphasis on certain types of action rather than the exclusion of one or more of the modes of action described below.

The modes of action of the technical assistance teams can be classified under six headings: (1) classroom teaching, (2) program analysis and program formulation, (3) position papers, (4) personal contact, (5) contact with the environment, (6) physical resource utilization. The following is a brief description of each one of these modes of action:

(1) Classroom Teaching. All consultants reported being or having been engaged in classroom teaching. All viewed teaching as a significant part of their development assistance effort, although none viewed his role as being limited to the teaching function. As reason for involvement in this type of activity were mentioned: (a) gaining professional and personal acceptance, (b) direct im-

provement of student preparation in a given field, (c) demonstration of methods and procedures, (d) gaining knowledge about student attitudes and expectations as well as about the university environment in general. In addition to teaching courses to students, seminars for university professors were given in a more limited number of cases. Classroom teaching was reduced over the years when it was felt that alternative activities had a broader impact on change at the university, particularly viewing the scope of involvement of the teams and the small number of advisors available.

2. Program analysis and program formulation. A major activity of the consultants was participation in the analysis and formulation of programs in their field of specialization, including curriculum design. The main difficulties in carrying out this activity were reported to be the following: (a) inadequate motivation for program reform on the part of the Ecuadorean professors, (b) unwillingness on the part of Ecuadorean professors to participate in program reforms because of vested interests and limitations in competence, (c) lack of time of the Ecuadorean professors, both for planning and for implementation, (d) student resistance to changes entailing different and additional demands. With few exceptions it appeared that program analysis and formulation was initiated and guided by the foreign consultants. The lack of actual dissatisfaction with existing programs on the part of a sufficient number of the decision makers and influentials and the institutionalized character of existing patterns were major impediments to change.

3. Position papers. A common practice of the technical assistance teams in promoting innovation was the preparation of position papers on academic programs, organizational issues, methods of operation, etc. These papers were drafted either as a basis of discussion with or among their Ecuadorean colleagues or to present the consultants' views and recommendations to individuals and groups. Frequently these documents were unsigned and undated. The purpose of this was twofold: to allow recipients of the papers to use the documents as their own, and to prevent subsequent accusations of North American imposition and interference.

In a few instances it was found that the draft recommendations of the consultants were proposed for implementation by the recipient individual or group without sufficient critical analysis and adaptation. More often they served for gradual re-orientation and reenforcement of change patterns.

4. Personal Contact. All consultants judged the formal and informal meetings outside the classroom with university authorities, professors and students as the most significant channels of influence they had on the change process. These gatherings ranged from formal appointment at the university offices to social contacts in the homes of the U. S. consultants.

In terms of personal contact, we examined how intensive the contact with students at the three universities was and how this correlated with the attitudes toward the work done by the U. S. consultants. In answer to the question whether they had had contact with foreign professors and consultants at their university, the

respondents at the three universities answered positively in the following percentages: Central University 66.47%, Catholic University 72.00%, University of Guayaquil 85.47%. Although more students at Guayaquil than at the other two universities reported contact, more respondents in the combined contact and no contact groups appeared to have a favorable image of the foreign professors at Catholic University than at Central and Guayaquil. The answer to the question "how would you evaluate the work done by the foreign professors and consultants" are presented in the table below.

Assessment of Foreign Technical Advisors

Assessment	Central University		Catholic University		Guayaquil University		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Very unfavorable	10	2.91	5	1.59	5	2.79	20
Unfavorable	22	6.42	9	2.86	11	6.14	42
Indifferent	100	29.15	72	22.36	38	21.23	210
Favorable	159	46.36	164	52.06	77	43.02	400
Very Favorable	52	15.16	65	20.63	48	26.82	165
Total:	343	100.00	315	100.00	179	100.00	837

An interesting picture can be obtained from the composite contact assessment table on the next page. From that table it appears that only at Central University the assessment of the technical assistants' work was considerably enhanced through direct contact with the students. The image of the foreign professors was quite favorable at Catholic University in the case of both groups, and even somewhat more favorable among those who had not had contact. At Guayaquil the image was somewhat enhanced by contact, but not significantly so.

Our data do not allow any firm conclusions. It appears that several variables other than direct contact may have influenced the students' assessment of the value of the foreign advisors to their university. Nonetheless, on the basis of the small sample, it seems that increased contact with the students at Central University would have enhanced the assessment of the value of the technical assistants and hence receptivity to changes introduced by or identified with the U. S. consultants. It is unfortunate that the lack of response to the professor questionnaire made it impossible to make a similar analysis for contacts with professors and their assessment of the value of technical assistance.

Attitudes at Universities Toward Technical Advisors by Contact with Them

Attitudes	Universities												Total	
	Catholic Contact				Central Contact				Guayaquil Contact					
	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%		
0	3	1.32	2	2.27	3	1.32	7	6.09	5	3.27	0	0	20	2.39
1	6	2.64	3	3.41	14	6.14	8	6.96	8	5.23	3	11.54	42	5.02
2	55	24.23	17	19.32	53	23.24	47	40.87	32	20.91	6	23.08	210	25.09
3	112	49.34	52	59.09	116	50.88	43	37.39	66	43.14	11	42.30	400	47.79
4	51	22.47	14	15.91	42	18.42	10	8.69	42	27.45	6	23.08	165	19.71
Total	227	100.00	88	100.00	228	100.00	115	100.00	153	100.00	26	100.00	837	100.00

5. Contact with the environment. In addition to establishing contacts at the universities and introducing new programs and approaches there, the consultants also established many contacts with groups and organizations outside the universities. Thus, contacts were established and maintained with high officials in the political government, with Ministries, and with professional societies. The University of Pittsburgh team, with at first limited but later increasing cooperation of the Faculty of Education at Central University, organized and participated in a variety of summer seminars for secondary school administrators and teachers. A member of that same team became a member of the Ecuadorean Society of Engineers. The records of the teams indicated meetings with officials of the National Planning Board, Ministers, members of the Military Junta, and a variety of other placed officials.

The reason given for these contacts and activities were the following: (1) to learn about the needs of the environment and to relate the university programs to them, (2) to seek understanding and support for the changes introduced, (3) to bring to bear external pressures on the universities for reforms which were considered important.

6. Physical resource utilization. Besides the financial resources for technical assistance, each technical assistance team disposed of rather considerable amounts of money for equipment and for the training of university professors and students at universities abroad. The three universities combined had received equipment and scholarships to a value exceeding one million dollars by the end of 1965. The expenditure of these funds, while carried out upon consultation with and with the approval of the respective universities, were under the control of USAID and the technical assistance teams.

Given the scarce resources of the Ecuadorean Government and universities, these equipment and scholarship funds were granted to allow the implementation of program improvements and reforms. Since they were under the control of the U. S. consultants, they provided the external change agents with a leverage for accomplishing those changes and improvements which they deemed necessary. Both the consultants and members of the client system were conscious of this leverage in the hands of the foreign advisors. One instance when this perceived leverage came out into the open was a meeting of the Students Association of the School of Education at Central University, held on September 7, 1965. This meeting appeared to be a protest meeting against the new Faculty of Basic Sciences, created with the assistance of the University of Pittsburgh consultants. In the course of the meeting one of the students declared: "The University Council tried to impose on (the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and the Sciences of Education) a formula that he, as a conscientious man, refused to accept. The University Rector said that the institution had an agreement with the Government of the United States through the University of Pittsburgh to carry out the proposed reforms as a justification for the financial aid given to the University." It could not be ascertained

whether the Rector had, indeed, made that statement. From this student statement and from interviews with students and professors at Central University it became clear, however, that the resource control on the part of the U. S. official agencies and the contract team were perceived by certain individuals and groups at the University as influence on and control over reforms. In this respect the views on the external change agents and the client system coincided.

With regard to the above a critical question is the degree of confluence or deviation of values, change targets, and priorities. It was pointed out previously that there was considerable confluence of value orientation among the Ecuadorean university leadership and the external change agents with regard to the broad aspects of university reform. Both groups valued the introduction of science, technology, and administrative reform. Our data from the student survey also indicate a confluence of values between the U. S. consultants and the students at the universities. One specific set of data will be presented here to demonstrate the similarity in value orientation.

At all three universities the technical assistance teams were instrumental in the introduction of a coordinated, university-wide program in the basic sciences. At Central University this program of studies in the academic disciplines was not limited to the basic sciences (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology), it also included a centralized teaching program in the humanities and in the social sciences. The basic concepts on the part of the technical assistants underlying the introduction of these programs were: (1) the strengthening and coordination of all basic science teaching prior to the pursuit of professional school studies and as a service to the professional faculties for advanced students, (2) making economical use of laboratory facilities, (3) initiating a degree program in the academic disciplines as distinguished from the professional degree programs.

At the time of our field study in 1965 the basic studies program at Central University had been in operation for one year. The basic science program at Catholic University had just been initiated, and it was in the planning stage at the University of Guayaquil. The students were asked three questions related to the basic concepts underlying the creation of the basic science programs and the program in the humanities and the social sciences.

The first of these questions asked the students whether it would be desirable for all students coming to the university to take general courses in the humanities and the social sciences. Response at the three universities was quite varied, as the table below indicates:

General Courses in the Humanities and Social Sciences

Answers	Universities						Total	
	Catholic		Guayaquil		Central			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	431	90.74	128	54.01	46	36.51	605	72.19
Yes	44	9.26	109	45.99	80	63.49	233	27.81
Totals	475	100.00	237	100.00	126	100.00	838	100.00

The table indicates strongly negative attitudes at Catholic University, mildly negative at Guayaquil and positive attitudes at Central University. The number of respondents at Central, however, is too small to be very reliable. The program had not been long enough established, nor was there evidence of considerable discussion of the general studies program among students prior to the establishment of that program to explain the seemingly favorable attitude among students at Central. Taking the entire group of respondents, the students were certainly overwhelmingly opposed to a "liberal arts" curriculum for all students at their universities. Among Ecuadorean students in general there is the feeling that the role of the university is one of providing professional preparation. In the Ecuadorean system of education, patterned after continental Europe the imparting of general knowledge and culture is viewed as the role of secondary education.

Far more positive was the response to the question whether the Ecuadorean universities should educate pure scientists in specialized science Faculties. The response to this question at the respective universities was as follows:

Science Faculties at Ecuadorean Universities

Answers	Universities							
	Catholic		Guayaquil		Central		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	65	27.31	92	19.91	19	14.96	176	21.28
Yes	173	72.69	370	80.09	108	85.04	651	78.72
Totals	238	100.00	462	100.00	127	100.00	827	100.00

The introduction of a program of science education for its own sake, separate from the professional Faculties, appeared to have considerable support among the students, as it had among the professors and among members of the university administration. This, of course, did not necessarily imply that there would be support for the coordinated teaching of the sciences, as a central service to all professional Faculties. A third question shed some light on the attitudes toward the coordination of similar functions for the various Faculties.

The students were asked whether similar functions of the various Faculties should be coordinated, or whether it would be more convenient to maintain the autonomy of the Faculties. The responses indicated that the majority of the students favored coordination.

COORDINATION OF SIMILAR FUNCTIONS OF
FACULTIES

Favoring:	Universities							
	Catholic		Guayaquil		Central		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Coordination	243	53.88	75	58.14	201	86.64	519	63.92
Autonomy	208	46.12	54	41.86	31	13.36	293	36.08
Totals	451	100.00	129	100.00	232	100.00	812	100.00

These data seem to indicate that also among the students there was considerable support for the value of coordination of functions and services at the universities. Combined with the responses on science Faculties there appear to be certain value orientations which would have lent support to the establishment of centralized basic science programs. As will be shown in the next chapter, however, there were countervailing values militating against the introduction of a structure and program for the coordinated teaching of a basic studies curriculum at Central University.

Among the various groups of actors at the changing institutions we found considerable agreement in terms of end-state values to be strived for. This, however, was largely on the level of the abstract values of the modern university. In the eyes of many of the Ecuadoreans these values could be achieved by gradual and minor adjustment in the existing patterns and by an increase in resource availability. National change agents were hampered by a very diffuse influence and decision making system within the institutions, which furthered a clash among competing values and traditions with the new aspirations. Internal and external pressures for far reaching reforms were few. No new doctrine, in institution building terms, had emerged to replace the existing values and objectives as a materially different and broadly accepted doctrinal base guiding social action.

The only group which was highly change oriented, saw the need for major reforms, was not affected by competing values and traditions, and had the power over resources to bring about change, was the group of foreign assistants. They took it upon themselves to translate end-state values into operational terms, to demonstrate the desirability and feasibility of change, to help create the conditions under which new institutional patterns could emerge and develop.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE UNIVERSITY

The Military Junta that took over the reins of Government on July 11, 1963 made clear from the outset that it was determined to hold power for a period of time, long enough to institute some major reforms in the country. It appeared that Colonel Marcos Gandara Enriquez was the major intellectual force in the group and the promoter of action oriented towards the maintenance of power on the part of the Junta with the purpose effecting reforms.

The members of the Military Junta were, with the exception of Gandara, heads of the various armed services, which included: Naval Captain Ramon Castro Jijon, Army Colonel Luis Cabrera Sevilla, and Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Guillermo Freile Posso. Aducing reasons of personal incompetence on the part of President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy, inability of his administration to prevent Communist infiltration, and the possibility that Jose Mafra Velasco Ibarra, former Ecuadorean President, unwanted by the Military, would return in the next presidential election, with good possibilities of winning, the heads of the armed services wrestled control of government from Arosemena.

The immediate disorientation of the three military officers upon the successful coup was soon quelled by Gandara's inclusion in the Junta. It is now known that Gandara had been conspiring the overthrow of the President for some time back and had somewhat definite ideas as to what to do in such an eventuality.¹ "Colonel Gandara had worked out the program of the military government which was to assume power in some detail. Gandara's political views must be considered in their specific Ecuadorean context. A believing Catholic and a strong anti-Communist, Gandara's political authoritarianism did not prevent heavy stress being laid in his thinking upon the necessity of a thorough overhauling of Ecuador's antiquated social and administrative structures. His experience as a member of Congress, however, confirmed his view that the changes which the condition of the country needed could not be made by the normal constitutional process of legislation, but could only be made by a government freed from political constraints and be able single-mindedly and with authority to devote itself to the tasks of reform. After the appropriate structural changes had been made, however, it would then be possible to resume

¹ Martin C. Needler, Anatomy of a Coup d'Etat, Ecuador, 1963, Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems, 1964, p. 22.

normal institutional life, but on a corrected basis".¹ In Needler's views, Colonel Gandara thus came closest to the Social Christian Movement of any of the political groups then operating in the Ecuadorean scene; if one wanted to relate his views to categories familiar outside of Ecuador, one might characterize him most plausibly as a progressive Falangist.

If this was the political attitude of the Military Junta, then it was unlike the position usually identified with a military dictatorship. The stereotyped view of military dictatorship sees this embodied in the person of a tyrannical strongman who uses the advantages of authority for purposes of self-aggrandizement, while the functions of authority do not serve to bring about any desirable changes within the country. But, neither is the well intentioned avowed purposes of the ruler of fact upon the forceful take-over of government, an unusual phenomenon. What seemed to give support to the reformist pronouncements on the part of the Military Junta was the presence in the country of a considerable number of young, well-trained people who clamored for the opportunity to do something for their country under conditions in which their knowledge could be put to maximum use. There were economists and public administrators who wished a better personal identification with the destinies of their country; they wanted a sense of security in the performance of their duties. In view of the highly unstable nature of Ecuadorean politics they had previously been unable to perform to the extent of their capabilities, in part because keeping one's job on the basis of competence was not necessarily a norm among public servants.

Action-oriented men in control of power were able to seize the opportunity to use the talent available for the ends envisioned by them and certainly, as well, for the well trained men some of whom already were employed in the civil service, others who worked in autonomous government agencies, others who taught at the universities, who wanted fully to participate in reshaping on more rational grounds, the public structure of change that would have had far-reaching benefits socially and economically for the nation.

As oftentimes has been the case in Ecuador, changes of government bring along little or no popular resistance, and more likely even, demonstrations in support of the new rulers on the part of the people. "The situation could not get much worse than what it was, and it could probably get better," seems to be the attitude taken by the people when forceful changes of this kind takes place.

Generally it appears that some reasons for the military take over were more important than others. In the estimation of many people a Communist take over or widespread Communist infiltration in the nation was a remote reason, if a reason at all.² Arosemena's drunkenness seemed to be a more plausible

¹ Ibid., p. 23

² Interviews with a former leader of the Liberal Political Party and an internationally known Ecuadorean writer.

reason because such personal habit on the part of the President had caused national embarrassment on several occasions. Velasco Ibarra's possible triumph in national presidential elections was also a reason with considerable weight behind. Despite the fact that Velasco Ibarra had lost much of his former prestige by lack of effective government under his leadership, his capacity as an orator was never disputed, and because of it, his capacity to move people in his favor.¹

The Conservative party and other right wing groups had come into an understanding with the plotting generals in early 1963. The date set for the take-over had originally been September of that year, but, because Congress would have been in session at that time, which would have presented added complications, it was decided to move the date ahead.²

Meanwhile, extreme right wing groups had begun a campaign of terrorism which, being attributed to the Communists and other radical groups like URJE (Unión Revolucionaria Juvenil Ecuatoriana), increased people's dissatisfaction with the Government because of its inability to cope with disorder, and because it was believed that Communists and mainly "Urjistas" were being treated too softly.³ It should be remembered that Arosemena favored continued diplomatic relations with Cuba in the early part of his administration, and as Velasco Ibarra's Vice-President, in 1960, he had accepted an invitation to travel to Russia. Under heavy military pressure diplomatic relations were broken with Cuba.⁴

The conspirators were concerned about the reaction that a military coup would have in the continent. They especially were concerned with the United States' reaction to it. Through the Alliance for Progress program aid had been flowing into Ecuador since 1960. The Ecuadorean plan for economic development depended also in a large measure on the continued assistance from the United States. A military coup in Peru a few years before resulted in an unfavorable reaction by United States officials and aid was temporarily curtailed.

¹This is an excerpt from Blanksten's Ecuador, Constitutions and Caudillos, 1964. "It was not unusual for throngs to stand entranced in the Plaza de la Independencia listening to the president and apparently oblivious to the pouring rain. 'I have been mesmerized by experts, ' the writer was told by a veteran of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, 'and I rank Velasco Ibarra high among them.' A member of the senate during Velasco Ibarra's first administration told the writer that he, too, had at times fallen under the president's spell. 'I was violently opposed to his policies and uniformly voted against them, ' he said. 'One day, however, President Velasco Ibarra came to Congress to deliver personally a message urging passage of one of his projects. . . Never before had I heard such a speech! When it was finished, the president and congress were unashamedly in tears, and we stood up and voted unanimously for his bill. . . On my way home I scolded myself many times, for I had been such a fool, such a fool, to vote for his insane measure'" p. 50.

²Martin C. Needler, op. cit., p. 25.

³Ibid., p. 19

⁴Ibid., p. 15.

Claims of communist infiltration were valuable for the Military to present an image of defense of democratic institutions before the Continent. Besides, the immediate event that served the cause of the coup was the improper behavior of Arosemena at a banquet given at the presidential palace in honor of the Grace Line Shipping Company President on the eve of July 11. The President on that occasion had expressed a view contrary to the United States. The Military chiefs might have regarded that a sympathetic attitude toward them on the part of the United States was likely in view that Arosemena had offended the United States. ¹

The Liberals, as usually was the case on important issues when the Military Junta came to power, split. Some of them favored and others opposed it. Those who favored the new government saw that to be the opportunity for structural changes to be instituted in administrative machinery of the country. Those who opposed it based their views mainly on their distaste for the Military. Among these Liberals a considerable number of students should be counted. They also to a large extent did not see Armed Forces members as being qualified for government. The same could also be said, with exceptions, about professors and intellectuals. ²

In February, 1964, the Military Junta, imbued with a sense of mission, delivered a message to the Ecuadorean Armed Forces reaffirming its intent to change things for the better in Ecuador: "The chiefs of the Armed Forces did not intervene until we had the absolute conviction that only our action could save the country from her complete ruin. . . We did not get up in arms in order to break a constitution nor simply to depose one man, but to destroy all of a system which had placed the existence of the Fatherland in mortal danger. . . Conscious of the responsibility which you have placed in our hands, we are putting into effect the structural and legal transformations which the country needs. Without haste and without demagogic concessions, but with reflection and firmness, we are making the steps which public opinion requires as necessary for the well-being of Ecuador. We do not aspire only to our Government's being and interlude of authority and order between two constitutional periods. The government of the Armed Forces must be, because we all desire it so, a bridge which surmounts the obstacles which used to seem insurmountable and which places the country on new bases, which insures peace and progress within the ideals of a just and genuine democracy. " ³

The clear reformist intents of the Military Junta were followed by action in these areas:

- Tax system reform
- Public administration modernization at the national and local levels
- Legal structure of the nation

¹Ibid., p. 1.

²Interview with university professor, a member of the House of Ecuadorean Culture and the Liberal Radical Party.

³Martin C. Needler, op. cit., quote from El Comercio, Quito, Feb. 27, 1964

Educational reform in all its levels
Customs and trade reforms
Agrarian reform and colonization

The educational reform aimed generally at coordinating educational programs at all levels of education with the Ecuadorean Plan of Economic Development.¹ This aim, at the university level, would have required a transformation in several aspects of university action, in the direction of a techno-functional relationship between the university and the environment.

As briefly had been mentioned before, the scant opposition to the military coup was mainly represented by some intellectuals, some students and a few university professors. There was widespread suspicion that these groups of people were heavily infiltrated by Communists. Their opposition to the new regime, however weak it was, represented for the Military Junta a potential danger that had to be eliminated. Besides, the job of university reorganization could have been slowed by opposition within it.

One of the first actions of the Junta government was an almost complete change of personnel in the Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana (House of Ecuadorean Culture), which is a government supported organization that promotes literature, arts and sciences by publishing the works and in other ways making known the works of Ecuadorean and foreign authors. The House of Ecuadorean Culture had gathered for a number of years within its organization some of the most creative men in the arts in the country and had given to them the opportunity to publish or exhibit. Little or no censorship had been exercised. The Military Junta excluded from membership a number of intellectuals belonging to the institution, including its President, Benjamín Carrión, with charges of being a Communist or being led by Communists. The Rector of Central University of Ecuador, also a member of the House of Ecuadorean Culture, was removed from it.

Toward the end of July the Military Junta had issued a decree placing all Communists outside the public payrolls. This measure was to affect all those who in actuality were Communists and those whom it was convenient to define as such if, for instance, they represented actual or potential opposition to the regime.

Besides artists and intellectuals at the House of Ecuadorean Culture professors at the universities were to be affected. It was not only claimed that the universities were seats of Communist conspiracy but also that their performance was wanting in relation to the requirements of modern times, that favoritism and lack of discipline were rampant within them, and that it was necessary to effect deep transformations within them. The newspapers in the country carried information regarding an expected direct government intervention on the univer-

¹ Junta Militar de Gobierno, Paz Creadora y Trabajo Fecundo, Mensaje a la Nación Ecuatoriana, 1963-1964, Quito, Talleres Gráficos Nacionales, 1964, p. 134

sities. University authorities saw such impending intervention with fear and caution.

The National Association of Universities provided the authorities of the official (government supported) universities with the opportunity of deliberating on issues regarded important by them. A meeting of representatives from all such universities was called for August 14. However, the Military Junta in a statement issued through the newspapers on the day of the expected meeting, said:

"The Military Junta Government considering that delegates from the Universities of the country have been called to convene today, reminds (those concerned) that present Legislation disposes that, although the 1946 Constitution is in effect, that it is so only as long as it does not interfere with the political transformation and with decrees that have been issued and will be issued. "

"Consequently, such a meeting cannot take place, and hopes that the authorities who have called it will know how to adopt the legal dispositions in their entirety. " 2

In the face of direct confrontation with an issue clearly affecting the principle of university autonomy and the constitutional provision that Government would not interfere with internal university matters, the Rector of the Central University of Ecuador, issued the following statement which, according to Perez Guerrero would not be printed by Quito newspapers:

"On assuming power the Armed Forces contracted grave responsibilities and duties before the Ecuadorean people.

"They overthrew a constitutional government, they suspended the legal order emanating from the Constitution and took for themselves authority over functions of the State and its Institutions. They justified such action by a situation that demanded exceptional and urgent measures to save democracy and the Republic's dignity, and it was claimed that there was no other solution. Therefore, it (the situation) is exceptional and transitory, because it is against the legal order and the basic principle that Public Power, Sovereignty, cannot, nor should have any other source than the will of the people.

"Hence arise the grave responsibilities and duties of the Military Junta Government, responsibilities and duties which, for each of its members is a matter of honour.

"(It is) A matter of honour to maintain power only the minimum required time to return it to its owner, the Ecuadorean People.

¹ Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, La Universidad Ultrajada, Quito, Publicitica, 1964, p. 95.

² Ibid., p. 46 (Author's translation).

"(It is) A matter of honour, to respect the right and the guarantees of each man, whatever may his thinking be, his political party, his religion, as long as he does not want to alter the security of the State. This small country of ours had an will have the virtue of loving freedom and of fighting for it, and of giving her blood for it. This virtue is one of the essences of our greatness, which precludes the division of Ecuadoreans between the reprobates and the possessors of goodness and truth: to think freely should not transform a man into an alien.

"(It is) A matter of honour, finally, to exert authority without arrogance, without personal interest, without the baseness of retaliation, resentment or vengeance against individuals or groups of individuals; without persecution, incarceration, humiliation or torture toward adversaries, simply by reason of being adversaries.

"Given the human passions and frailty these are difficult positions to take, but they are necessary to maintain the honour of the Military Junta and to justify its transitory stay.

"To exercise power with humility and modesty, with enthusiasm and a sense of sacrifice and love for the Fatherland, it to turn into a reality the principle that authority only means to serve the people and to point and open up new paths of justice, economic development, solidarity and peace, not the authority to oppress, not the reason of force, not the inspiration of cheap politicians, and exploiters, without the sacred command of the masses who demand bread, justice and liberty.

"(It is necessary) To accept a sense of limitation, which is so difficult when power seems to be absolute, so dangerous when the means for debate and democratic criticism are prohibited. Limitations are the rights of each Ecuadorean, the guarantee of his freedom and his dignity. Limitation is the basis of institutions that serve basic functions for the maintenance of democracy and for the development of education, science and culture. Limitations are the spiritual and moral values which are the essence of Ecuador and which have been molded through centuries of history. That is Public Power: a system of limits, a river-bed in which should flow the torrents of progress and renovation; it is an ascending path and a goal; it is not the labyrinth, not the turning the back from the future, not the waste of prodigious energies which exist within the people.

"(It is necessary) To recognize, finally, with sincerety and determination the irreversible and revolutionary process of liberation and justice which occurs in Ecuador and in the world. To recognize that an oligarchical and exploitative past cannot be maintained; that there are two million peasants and Indians who suffer misery, sickness, hunger, and ignorance; that the solution to the problems of the country cannot be left for ten or twenty years later; that technology and planning should be put to the service of justice and the national majority; that one must understand and feel the drama and the tragedy of the present.

"This, all this, is conscience of the Fatherland, vision of realities, urgency to solve today's problems before it is too late, before Ecuador is led into an abyss of anarchy, blood and chaos.

"Democracy is the government for the people. Demagoguery is not democracy, and neither are: the insincere offer, the unfulfilled program, the belief that 'people' are only the members of the forty families' or even the 'one hundred families' who own the land and the money. Democracy included all the people, the peasant and the factory worker; the students at the grammar schools, high schools and the universities; those who sow, build, teach, think and dream; he who gave his blood for independence and liberty in one hundred battles, he who from centuries back searches for a promised land in which there is love, peace and well-being.

"If there are no eyes to see the misery in which people vegetate and ears to hear their clamor for a bright future; if there is no capacity to define the goal and the road to lead the men of this land towards justice without slavery, without concentration camps, without incarceration, and freedom without exploitation, arbitrariness and innocuous inequality; if there is no possibility to save those two great values which are the foundation and goal and the motivation and hope of men, then, the reprobate, the alien, the outlaw, will be the authentic Ecuadorean people. " ¹

The statement was circulated in sheets and did not get as broad circulation as its author would have wished. It was an indictment of dictatorship which was not overlooked by the Government. While there was tension between the universities and the National Government, influential people in Government and outside of it were assiduously working behind the scenes on a new law of higher education. Direct intervention in the universities was simply a matter of time, the time that would take to finish the new rules of Ecuadorean university education.

Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, put out in August of 1963 a pamphlet in defense of autonomy with which he wished to answer to the mounting pressure against the universities, in particular, pressure that took the form of newspaper articles. The opening page reads: "The University is an entity with Public Rights whose autonomy and freedom were consecrated by the 1946 Constitution." ² Some concluding statements read as follows: "Autonomy was not a gift from lawmakers and governments. It was the right conquered after years of struggle on the part of professors and students. Autonomy is the essence of the University. . . The University must be zealous in the guarding of its autonomy.

¹ Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, op. cit., p. 47. (our translation)

² Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, Perfil de la Universidad Central del Ecuador, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, 1963, p. 3. (our translation)

It is the foundation of the University and it could not survive and fulfill its mission if its autonomy is limited or destroyed. Autonomy can have dangers and defects, in the same way that liberty is also dangerous; but no danger or defect can justify the suppression of liberty or the lack of autonomy in institutions which are the bases of the nationality, like the Universities. . . autonomy does not mean the closing in among walls and remaining a stranger to other organizations that fulfill similar ends or which can cooperate to hasten the march towards culture and science. The University cannot nor should live isolated and solitary. "1

Many university students also felt that they had something to say about the expected government intervention. However, there was not much organized reaction or resistance to Government action on the universities once it took place probably in part, due to the fact that schools and universities during the months of August and September were in recess. The President of the Quito Chapter of the National Federation of Ecuadorean University Students (FEUE), Licenciado Washington Bonilla, stated that: "With relation to certain press articles, written by pen-mercenaries, enemies of the University, of the youth and of learning, "that: 2

"1 - I have been, I am and I will be a solid defender of University autonomy because this is the basis for the existence of Universities, without it there would be no classroom freedom, no 'laicismo' (non-dogmatic education), and the University would be subject to the whims of politics. Today reactionary elements pretend to give strange directions to the Institution, to whom I warn, that with all the strength of my youth I will fight and will unswervingly defend the autonomy of the Ecuadorean Universities.

"2 - In several occasions, conscious of my mission, I have expressed that the University should renew itself, in ideas and systems of teaching. We the students aspire that all this be done within the University family. We don't need to have our problems solved by elements foreign to the 'Casona'(University). We shall never allow that. The university barricades will never surrender in the defense of its ideals.

"3 - It is infantile, to say the least, the affirmation that the FEUE President says whatever the Rector tells him to, mutual respect between professors and students inhibit that, the Federation and its President, have clear criterion and freedom of action.

"4 - The University is one of the highest and most prestigeful Institutions of the Fatherland, its past justifies it, and so also its present

¹ Ibid., pp. 29, 30. (our translation)

² Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, La Universidad Ultrajada, p. 54.

and its future projections in the life of the Ecuadorean people. Circumstantial events of a political nature cannot, even transitorily, dull its limpid history, and even less, bend its destiny.

"5 - For all this I will continue defending the University Institution against the cheap attacks of chameleons (opportunistic people) and bitter individuals, that some time had the honor of being part of the University and that, while they were so, regarded nothing to be wrong with the University, but once they have been ejected from it by shameful reasons that are not necessary to repeat, they have turned against it. When they were professors or students, the University was the most fecund Institution in the Fatherland, now that they do not belong to it, the University is worth nothing. The people will judge these attitudes which are not worthy of qualification." For the University Reform, (signed) Washington Bonilla - FEUE President.¹

It is not clear whether the "University Reform" to which the FEUE President alluded was the 1918 Cordoba, Argentina, University Reform which sought to democratize higher education, separating it from State controls, and allowing students to participate in university government. Student organizations have largely endorsed such accomplishments that took place in the 1920's and 30's. Oddly enough, it was a provisional military government that deposed a constitutional president, Gonzalo Cordova, that endorsed the principle of university autonomy in Ecuador.² Or, whether "University Reform" referred to the movement started in the late 1950's at Central University. This is the most plausible alternative.

Congress, in 1918 had already allowed student participation in university government.³ However, it was legislation on higher education under the sponsorship of another de-facto government, that of General Alberto Enríquez Gallo, in 1938, which endorsed university autonomy and student participation in university government, which had essentially been maintained until 1963.⁴

The FEUE's President statement was typical of the oratorical style in which pronouncements were made by all parties in dispute. There was in them the effervescent concern for the cause that bordered in heroism. At every meeting of protest against the national government the same themes have been repeated by students in very much the same style.

¹ Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, La Universidad Ultrajada, p. 54. (our translation)

² Germanía Moncayo de Monge, La Universidad de Quito, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, 1944, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁴ Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, La Universidad y la Patria, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, 1957, p. 34

In August, 1963 the differences in views about what should be done with the universities in Ecuador had reached a very critical point. The authorities at Universidad Central del Ecuador had contemplated the possibility of resigning, in part, to show that they did not want authority for the sake of prestige or power. But, they decided to remain in their posts and wait.

On August 17, a group of physicians had a statement signed by them published by a Quito newspaper, a statement in which it is suggested that the University authorities should resign and allow the Military Junta to take charge of the situation and institute much needed reforms in the universities.¹ The Rector of Universidad Central replied that university authorities would be elected according to the Law in November of the same year by the University Assembly. He emphasized that the present university authorities did not want to be reelected and definitely would not seek reelection.²

Since the university professors staff lists were prepared on July of each year for the following school year that began in October, specifying rankings and salaries of professors and other university staff, there was the suspicion among university authorities that the lists would not be approved by the Controllers Office of the Nation because many of the names included were apt to be singled out for exclusion from the university.

On August 20 the Military Junta issued a decree with tentative reforms to the Law of Higher Education. Such decree restricted considerably the participation of students in university government, placed the universities under the authority of the Minister of Education, and brought the private universities also under the same Law binding on the public universities. This last measure was never adopted by the private universities nor enforced by the government.³

The voice of protest from the authorities at Universidad Central and its students was heard again. The University Council and the Federation of Ecuadorean Students issued pronouncements which in content were similar to the above quoted statements by the Rector and the President of FEUE. Autonomy and student participation in university government were ardently defended. But the changes to be undertaken had been decided upon by the men in control of political power. The smallest of the national universities, Loja, was closed down and much of its personnel was changed.⁴

The University of Guayaquil, whose Rector, Dr. Antonio Parra Velasco had resigned, was also intervened with. A number of professors were excluded

¹ El Comercio, August 17, 1963

² Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, Op. Cit., p. 36

³ El Comercio, Quito, August 21, 1963

⁴ El Comercio, Quito, August 30, 1963

for reason of ideological leaning. The remaining professors were asked to meet and elect university authorities.¹

Early in September the decree of reorganization of Universidad Central was published by the newspaper in Quito. In addition to the decree there was also a list of professors for each faculty of the University, except for Philosophy, Letters and Sciences of Education, which was being closed down for reorganization. From the list of professors made up by university officials in July, the Military Junta excluded about two hundred names because of leftist sympathies.² About seventy professors belonging to the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Sciences of Education brought the total to about two hundred and seventy professors who were separated from the university. Most of them, however, when the university reopened were called back.

The same decree gave the appointed professors the responsibility of meeting as soon as possible to elect new university authorities: rector, vice-rector, and a University Assembly delegate. According to the decree also, the Dean of the Faculty of Jurisprudence would be the interim rector until elections took place. Dr. Rafael García Velasco was elected Dean of Jurisprudence and performed the functions of the Rectorship for a few days.³

The University Assembly met on September 20 to elect a Rector. The distinction was conferred on Dr. Francisco J. Salgado.

¹ El Telegrafo, Guayaquil, August 25, 1963

² Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, La Universidad Ultrajada, p. 105

³ Ibid., p. 112

CHAPTER V

STUDENTS AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

Under present conditions, at most of the state universities in Latin America, little change can be achieved without student support or at least without their acquiescence. Not only do the students constitute a most significant formal power group through the co-government system, they also dispose of the strike weapon to thwart changes which are not to their liking. Given this student power, a profile of some of the important characteristics of the student body in Ecuador may give valuable clues to the students' change receptivity and their reaction to the innovations which were introduced.

Virtually every writer dealing with university life in Latin America comments on the extent to which the students are embroiled in politics. "Politics is the mainstay of all student activities" says Acton in a harsh attack on student power.¹ The considerable involvement of university students in national and party politics was also observed in Ecuador. Our data, however, compel us to both qualify this student involvement and offer some explanations for it.

Dr. Gonzalo Rubio Orbe, in his 1962 survey of student opinions, found not only that 89.7% of the respondents did not belong to any political party, but even that 35.51% answered the question with which party they sympathized with none. Furthermore, 92.65 of the students were of the opinion that the political parties of Ecuador did not act in the interest of the country, and 70.15% indicated that they did not plan on taking an active part in party politics in the future.²

It appears that, among the university students, there is considerable dissatisfaction with their country's political leadership, but little inclination to engage actively in party politics (it is interesting to note that, among the political party sympathies, the Communists scored only 5.8% and the socialists 17.39%). This alienation from the political process the students share with many of their elders. Thus, Dr. Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, a highly respected lawyer and long-time university rector at Central University has stated that "politics is a bad word. It is a bad word even without adding any qualifications to it. It is bad in itself, at least among Ecuadorians. Not to get involved in politics in itself means honesty. He who plows and sows, he who thinks, he who creates art, teaching as ideal, does not intervene in politics, because politics is a pastime of people without occupation, those who have lost their jobs or are looking for one; of

¹ Rudolph P. Atcon, op. cit., p. 84

² Gonzalo Rubio Orbe, op. cit., pp. 115-119

people who are skillful in "shady deals", in opportunism, in making contacts. Our politicians have had their claws sharpened to destroy each other and to keep in them the fruits of political spoils: the public money".¹

There is, then, among the students a noticeable lack of faith that any improvements will come about in the country through the political process, distrust of political parties and of government. Politically speaking they are apathetic, thus allowing radical elements in their midst to become their spokesmen. The same disinterest and distrust of the elected authorities is also evident in internal university affairs. Several times during the period analyzed in this study did groups of 50 to 200 activists (or less than 5% of the student body) paralyze Central University by means of a strike. This power can be exerted because of the apathy of the majority, by the careful choice of strike issues by the student leadership, and because "student solidarity" is a tradition honored by all.

The student opposition to politics and government is not only based on youthful distrust of authority or divergent political orientations. Ecuador is as yet a country ruled by the upper classes and has limited social mobility. In spite of this access to higher education is available to students from all classes, but then many of the students anticipate having difficulty finding employment upon graduation. A few of the survey data will illustrate these points. Dr. Rubio, asking the students to indicate the social class to which they belonged, found that 84.15% classified themselves as middle class.² He also found, however, that 45.69% of the students' fathers had had no more than primary education.³ Our own, more detailed, class analysis yielded the following information on social class composition at three Ecuadorean universities.

SOCIAL CLASS REPRESENTATION AT ECUADORIAN UNIVERSITIES

Social Classes	Universities						Total
	Catholic	Percent	Central	Percent	Guayaquil	Percent	
Lowest	6	1.20	16	3.28	8	2.91	30
Low	180	35.93	213	43.74	149	54.18	542
Middle	249	49.70	212	43.53	98	35.64	559
Upper	66	13.17	46	9.45	20	7.27	132
	501	100.00	275	100.00	487	100.00	1263

We also asked the students whether they thought it would be easy for them to find employment upon graduation. From the table below it becomes clear

¹ Dr. Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, La Universidad y la Patria, Quito, Editorial Universitaria 1955, p. 375

² Ibid., p. 65

³ Ibid., p. 72

that a good percentage of all students anticipate difficulty finding employment and that their expectation is influenced by their social class status.

STUDENT EXPECTATION OF FINDING EMPLOYMENT EASILY UPON GRADUATION

Social Class Replies	Low- est		Low		Middle		High		Total
		%		%		%		%	
Yes	19	55.88	274	57.03	312	65.13	86	74.78	691
No	15	44.11	206	42.91	167	34.86	29	25.21	417
	34	100.00	480	100.00	479	100.00	115	100.00	1108

Dr. Rubio Orbe, asking two years earlier whether in the students' opinion a professional in their respective fields could easily find employment, found that 42.68% answered negatively.¹ These data on student expectation are both significant and discouraging.

Without going into detail, here are a few more indicators of the students' opinion of the state of affairs in their country: 50.54% judged the material conditions of their country to be bad; 45% would be willing to accept employment abroad upon graduation and live there permanently (Rubio Orbe arrived at 43.9%)²; Rubio Orbe found that 83.54% of the students would like to work while studying, for economic reasons, but that 90.85% of the students thought it difficult for a student to find work. Students of all social classes are in considerable agreement on the assets which will help them secure employment, with friends, "pull", and professional titles preceding competence and experience.³

RANK ORDER COEFFICIENTS OF PERCEIVED PERSONAL ASSETS NEEDED TO SECURE EMPLOYMENT

Assets	Lowest		Low		MIDDLE		High		Mean all classes
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score Rank
A- Friends	7.58	1	7.64	2	7.48	3	7.53	1	7.56 1 (most importa

¹ Ibid., p. 85

² Ibid., p. 81

³ Rubio Orbe arrived at a more favorable conclusion, with competence in the first place. These results, however, were undoubtedly influenced by the order in which they were presented in the questions and he did not ask the students rank the importance of the assets.

B-										
Pull*	7.14	4	7.78	1	7.53	1	7.52	2	7.49	2
C-										
Professional Titles	7.19	3	7.42	3	7.49	2	7.35	3	7.36	3
D-										
Competence	7.36	2	6.89	4	6.99	4	7.29	4	7.13	4
E-										
Experience	6.29	5	6.29	5	6.55	5	6.98	5	6.53	5
F-										
Right polit- ical Outlook	5.42	6	5.53	6	5.43	6	5.47	6	5.46	6
G-										
Honesty	5.28	7	5.09	7	5.21	7	5.20	7	5.19	7
H-										
Rewards in Exchange for Job	4.68	8	4.57	8	4.23	8	4.06	8	4.38	8
I-										
Religion	3.24	9	2.97	9	2.99	9	2.55	9	2.94	9 (least important)

* Influence exerted through informal means by reason of personal considerations. The Spanish word "palanqueo" was used which has broader connotations than "nepotism".

Since the military had an important role in the happenings at the universities during the institution building period studied, the students' attitude toward the armed forces is significant. In 1962, well before there was any talk of a take over of the government by the military, Dr. Rubio Orbe asked the students in his survey: "do you consider the existence of the armed forces in Latin America necessary?" To this question 41.31% of the respondents answered no. The main reason given for the negative answer was that the armed forces had deviated from the function for which they had been created. That there was some justification for this opinion was demonstrated by statements of members of the Military Junta just a few years later. "The modern military man, besides his specific professional conscience and his scientific and technical qualifications for the fulfillment of his classical mission of guarding the frontiers, the dignity and the sovereignty of the Fatherland on the international scene, is the guarantor of rights, justice,

liberty and democracy in the nation. He has to acquire in this difficult day and age a broader orientation in the civic and political field, compatible with the existence and functioning of the State".¹ "Nobody ought to be surprised by the fact that it is military people, soldiers, who have to intervene in all these dynamic events of the world: sciences, arts, culture, politics, and even in the conquest of outer space".²

In summary, we find a student body which is concerned about the conditions of the country, has a significant percentage of lower class representation, with little confidence in their own future, and a strong distrust and lack of confidence in their country's politics and government.

¹ Air Force Col. Guillermo Freile Posso, El Telegrafo, Guayaquil, October 28, 1965.

² Navy Rear Admiral Ramón Castro Jijón, El Comercio, Quito, Dec. 22, 1965.

CHAPTER VI
AFFECTING CHANGE BY EDICT:
THE LAW OF HIGHER EDUCATION

On the part of the University of Pittsburgh Technical Assistance team two general means to bring about the desired reform had been recognized at first: the establishment of a structural unit to provide education in basic studies (with its intended consequences of centralizing the administration of the University and of providing instruction in sciences, humanities and social sciences); and, the provision of teaching and research aids: laboratories, libraries and equipment, along with the necessary advisory work on the uses of such aids and their installation.

With the coming to power of the Military Junta, and the establishment of a government by decree, another possible means became available: a new Law of Higher Education. This should be understood not as a means sought after by the team from the University of Pittsburgh but by some people in post of influence in government who thought that a reform at the universities was necessary and that it should be brought about by national legislation.

As already noted, the Military Junta was intent on reorganizing the university for reasons such as to reduce the political influence of the university, especially that of the students, and, to remove "Communists" from the University. It is doubtful whether the Junta members in the earliest stage of their participation in university matters recognized the more technical aspects of the University Reform about which the university people had been talking.

The participation of the University of Pittsburgh team in talks that involved the Minister of Education and at least General Marcos Gandara Enriquez of the Junta, should have been decisive in clarifying the desirable ends of the University Reform and the necessary legal conditions for their implementation.

At the request of the Minister of Education and the Military Junta, members of the University of Pittsburgh team made suggestions about aspects of the Law which were relevant to the roles that the technical advisors were expected to play in a broad program of reorganizing Central University of Ecuador. On this program the Perez Guerrero administration, the Arosemena government, and the Agency for International Development, besides the University of Pittsburgh itself, had largely agreed.

For the University of Pittsburgh team the change of personnel in the Ecuadorean government did not alter the conception of the functions to which it was committed. It simply accepted the opportunity to work with the people who had become influential in matters pertaining to the university.

During the early months of their permanence in Quito, the members of the technical assistance team worked towards gaining as much knowledge as possible about the university, the environment, and the significant people in the university, Government, Embassy, and AID. Much of this contact was of an informal nature, with high ranking persons in those institutions and agencies being frequent guests at social receptions given by the University of Pittsburgh people.

Upon the closing down of the University in January 30, 1964, the Military Junta opted for a forceful line of action towards reforming the universities. Mainly in the person of General Marcos Gandara Enriquez, the Junta had a person interested in what should be done about the university to de-politicize it, and to insure that "Communists" were once and for all kept out of it. The Minister of Education, of course, was given much leeway in deciding what measures should be taken into consideration in drafting a new Law of Higher Education. Since the University of Pittsburgh had an interest in the contents of the new Law, given the aims that it had in the proposed University Reform, the Ministry of Education and the Junta invited members of the University of Pittsburgh team to make suggestions about adequate prescriptions.

A rough draft of the Law of Higher Education was sent from the Military Junta to the University of Pittsburgh team headquarters for the latter to make comments and suggestions concerning the contents of the Law.¹

In general, the suggestions made by the Pittsburgh professors may be summarized as follows:

- 1 - Strengthen the leadership of the University
- 2 - Emphasize the study of sciences, humanities, and social sciences
- 3 - Centralize university administration.

The recommendations on the part of the University of Pittsburgh team called for a strengthening of the offices of the rector, the vice-rector and the deans. They were thought to be professional functions with which no other activities should interfere so, it was thought, they should be performed full-time by the persons elected to those positions. The distinctive quality of the leadership functions should be observed in the rewards accruing to the performance of such functions which should be related to the executive aspect of it and not to

¹ University of Pittsburgh - Faculties in Ecuador, Files: Ecuador - Law of Superior Education.

a particular academic role that might have been used as a criterion previously. ¹

The activities of the rector which previously had been restricted to a symbolic role of university representation were to be enlarged, in the opinion of the Pittsburgh professors, to actual functions of administrative performance and leadership. So that he be able to participate more fully in the academic and administrative matters pertaining to his office, he should be relieved of activities such as the signing of countless documents, many of which should not reach his office in the first place, and for which responsibility could be delegated.

The vice-rector who previously had been entrusted with the responsibility of academic matters should become an aide to the rector performing the functions belonging to the rector's office, as an assistant. ²

A number of regulations regarding the qualifications for a person to be elected rector were recommended to be simplified. Such regulations formerly were: to be an Ecuadorean citizen by birth, to have a university degree duly legalized in Ecuador, to be at least forty years old, and to have been a university professor for at least ten years. The Pittsburgh suggestions on age is thirty years, and at least a five-year long experience in teaching. ³

Some qualifications for a person to be elected vice-rector formerly were: to have been a principal professor at the university for at least eight years, to be at least forty years old, and to have a duly accredited university title. The Pittsburgh team suggested similar qualifications for eligibility to vice-rector as to rector. ⁴

Continuity and stability in the functions of the rector and the vice-rector were deemed to be important by the University of Pittsburgh team. So, the stipulation that the rector and the vice-rector be elected for four-year periods without eligibility for immediate re-election, was discarded in favor of eligibility for immediate re-election. ⁵ The Military Junta draft contained such non-reelection provision.

The University of Pittsburgh recommendations also include one referring to a university reorganization which should permit placing emphasis on "basic studies which are essential as the fundament for any professional branch." By "basic studies" the University of Pittsburgh meant the sciences, the social sciences and the humanities. ⁶ The Law of Higher Education issued on January 8, 1965, however, refers to "basic sciences." Article 8 says: "Teachings in basic sciences shall be given at all Universities, Polytechnical Schools, and other Higher Education establishments by means of Faculties, Schools, Institutes, Centers of Depart-

¹ Communication from Wendell G. Schaeffer to the Minister of Education, Humberto Vacas Gomez, Quito, March 3, 1964

² Ibid. ⁵ Ibid.

³ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

ments, according to the needs and organization of each establishment. "¹ In the context of the wording of the Law, "basic sciences" perhaps should be understood as "basic studies." Article 5 (2^o), says: "The Universities, and the establishments of higher education pursue the following ends: . . . scientific and technical specialization, as well as the broadening and deepening of general culture."²

The professionalization of the University administration was emphasized by the Pittsburgh team. To relieve the academic personnel from administrative duties would have had the effect of getting better performance on academic and administrative functions by persons exclusively committed to either of them. Informally, members of the technical assistance team had suggested that a central administrative structure be established, of which, the Financial Department would have been an important agency. The need for the centralization of the administration of the University had been recognized at Central University by the survey team from the University of Pittsburgh which visited Quito in August, 1962.³ The technical assistance team also recommended the organization of a Budget Commission for the overall handling of financial matters.

Although the University of Pittsburgh professors did not make suggestions concerning participation of students in University government, they endorse the proposed restrictions contained in the earlier drafts. The visiting professors also intended a softer subordination of the University to the Minister of Education who in the early draft was given the alternative to "close down partially or totally the University, "in favor of a provision for the Minister to "instruct the Rector so that he would take extraordinary and necessary measures in grave situations that could hamper the work of the university. "⁴ The recommendations from the Pittsburgh team avoided in all instances the use of the term "catedra" as a way to express dissatisfaction with the moropoiistic quality of subject matter tenure at Latin American universities.⁵

The Law of Higher Education under the norms of which the universities reopened in April, 1964, was the work of various persons within and outside the Government. Members of the Military Junta contributed to it, especially General Marcos Gandara Enriquez. As already noted, the University of Pittsburgh technical assistance team also had a part in the formulation of policy. The most important role, however, was played by the Minister of Education and his aides. It should be noted that at least one sector called to make recommendations on the general

¹ Government of Ecuador, Supreme Decree, Ley Organica de Educaci6n Superior, Quito, January 8, 1965

² Ibid. It is entirely possible that the recognition of need on areas other than the natural and "exact" sciences was absent even at the time of issuing the new Law. In any case, as will be shown later, the University of Pittsburgh viewed a program of broad education in the sciences, the social sciences and the humanities, as the necessary basis for University restructuration. This was not contemplated by the men who more directly were responsible for drafting of the Law.

³ University of Pittsburgh Survey Team, Central University of Ecuador and University of Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 1962

⁴ Comm. from Wendell Schaeffer to the Minister of Education, Op. Cit.

⁵

criteria used in the formulation of the Law. Such is the case of some Central University professors whose opinion was requested. ¹

One of the members of the Military Junta, Air Force Colonel Guillermo Freile Posso, requested from a group of University professors comments about the proposed Law. A similar draft of the Law as the one sent to the University of Pittsburgh was sent to the group of five professors, that included four physicians and one lawyer. ²

These university professors emphasized the following points:

- 1 - University autonomy
- 2 - Need for scientific and technical emphasis in education
- 3 - Students' participation in university government in a measure above the one provided for in the projected Law but not as much as in the pre-Junta days.

Even though the recommendation document sent by the professors' group in the Article concerning the Minister of Education's option to "close down partially or totally the University, "makes no mention of specific changes, the wording of a commentary adjoining the recommendation document says: "A truly technical university does not need a Minister of Education full of excessive attributes like the ones included in the official project of Law. Either the scientific characteristic of the University is recognized or it will be reopened as a weak institution under utopic law, the Minister of Education becomes an honorary authority and a notable visitor. "³

The professors recommended that the first purpose of the University must be "the creation of scientists. "⁴ They argued that there was a lack of objectivity on the part of the writer of the original project of Law who got carried away by "lyric divagations of which Article 238 (1^o) is a good example: 'The formation of the student in plenitud of ethical and civic values, oriented towards the service to society and the affirmation of the democratic structure of our institutions. The strengthening of the national conscience by means of knowledge, promotion, and exaltation of our virtues. . . " And the University professors go on to state: "While the fundamental mission of the University is overlooked, which is, to prepare scientists, there are plenty of words (in the draft) which more properly belong to the realm of tourism and folklore. It is strange that the law says nothing about scientific teaching and research, or about libraries, without which a University does not exist. "⁵

With the purpose of giving added promotion to the scientific and technological ends of the university the group proposed that a Technical University Council be organized. This agency would have served as a consulting agency

¹ Drs. Pablo Dávalos, Leonardo Malo, Eduardo Luna Yopez, Eduardo Villacís Meythaler, Alfonso Barrera Valverde, Observaciones a la Ley de Educación Superior, Quito, (unpublished, about March, 1964)

² Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

³ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid.

for the already proposed Technical Superior Council of Universities. The Technical Superior Council of Universities, made up of the Minister of Education, the rectors of the state supported universities, the rectors of the private universities, the president of the National Planning Board, and the Technical Secretary of the Administration, would have been, according to the project drafted by the Minister of Education, in charge of guiding and coordinating the actions of all the universities.

Whereas the proposed Law restricted student representatives in the University Council exclusively to participation in matters not having to do with the evaluation of professors' or authorities' performance, appointments, and professional rewards, the group of professors suggested that students be given access to various situations involving such areas of competence. Moreover, whereas the projected Law limited students' participation to the University Council to one third of the number of deans, university authorities, Minister of Education's representative, and a professor University Assembly representative, the recommendation of the group calls for a student representative for each faculty.¹

Opposing the stipulation that professors' performances be evaluated on the criterion of two years of teaching experience at the university, the group of professors stated that: "A title of specialist should be given preference over the mere length of service. . . Moreover, the fact of having been previously a university professor should be examined to assess, if for each case, that is a positive or negative factor."²

The group of professors expressing dissatisfaction with the text of the Law as prepared almost exclusively by the Minister of Education concluded suggesting that: "A commission be set up made up of the rectors of the main universities or of all universities, the director of the National Polytechnica School, a delegate from the University of Pittsburgh, and two wise (entendidas) persons who, along with the Minister of Education, proceed to MAKE (capitals contained in original text) the Law."³

The Law of Higher Education was issued on March 30, 1964. Some of the important aspects of the new Law are:

- 1 - University autonomy. - The wording of the Law endorses the value of university autonomy: ". . . autonomy shall be understood as the prerogative that universities and polytechnic schools have, within the constitutional and legal realms to give to themselves their legal norms which are: statutes, rules, agreements and resolutions, and to rule themselves

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

in academic, administrative, and economic matters. "1

A statement issued by the Military Junta and the Minister of Education asserted that, "In the controversial field of university autonomy, the legal conquest of which, rightly evaluated, constitutes an unquestionable positive fact, the just differentiation between autonomy and sovereignty has been established. The former is understood as administrative, financial and academic self-government within the limits set by the Constitution and the Laws which rule us, and the latter, as the supreme right to power-command held by the State. "2 University autonomy hence, is limited by the higher prerogatives of the national Government. The point is emphasized by the power given to the Minister of Education to intervene in situations regarded by him as necessary in order "to establish institutional normality, "taking measures such as "to close down and reorganize partially or totally the University. "3

2 - The relationship between the University and Society. - The need to relate the functions of the University to the overall requirements of the national society is one of the most emphasized aspects of the new Law of Higher Education. The President of the National Planning Board is given a seat in the National Technical Council of Superior Education. The Planning Board is also called to advise the Minister of Education on educational needs and manpower requirements for national development. The new law regards the Universities as elements that are part of the national life and economy, and such should be taken into consideration for the planning and the implementation of planning for economic development. The University budget is determined, in part, by the manpower needs contained in the National Program for Professional Training which is part of the National Development plan.4 The University budget should also be congruent with the National Scholarships Program. A Permanent Coordinating Commission is to be set up by the National Technical Council of Superior Education to perform its functions during periods of recess.

3 - The National Technical Council of Superior Education. - Article 15 says: "The National Technical Council of Superior Education is established to orient and to coordinate the action of the universities and other official and private establishments of higher education, and to aim, on a national scale, toward their

1 Government of Ecuador, Ley Orgánica de Educación Superior, Quito, 1964, Art. 3.

2 El Comercio. Quito, March 31, 1964

3 Government of Ecuador, Law . . . Art. 6

4 Law of Higher Education, 1965, Art. 123

improvement and unification. " The Council is made up of the following persons: the Minister of Education; the Rectors of all official and private universities; a Director representing the official and private establishment of superior education; a principal professor representing each of the three areas of studies; Philosophy and Social Science, Physics and Mathematics, and Chemistry and Biology; the President of the National Economic Planning and Coordination Board; a representative from each of the three areas of economic activity: industry, commerce, and agriculture.¹ Duties and attributions of the Council are listed as follows: to endeavor towards the unification of plans and programs of studies at the universities; to establish priorities in the formation of professionals according to the needs of social, cultural and economic development of the country; to determine each year the distribution of the University budget by faculties according to the National Plan of Professional Formation; to take care of issues presented to it by the universities; propose measures to stimulate scientific research and to raise the cultural and technical level of higher education; advise the Minister of Education on matters pertaining to the creation of new university units such as schools, institutes, centers, and departments, or the suppression of such.

Basic Studies. -Article 7 of the Law makes provision for the official and private universities "to create, modify, restructure or suppress faculties, schools, institutes, centers of basic studies or any other agencies of education that would allow to respond to the needs of socio-economic development. . . ." Then, Article 8 says, "The centers of basic studies referred to by the previous article will have the following functions: provide basic general courses on fields of knowledge required by the various faculties, schools, institutes, etc. To enable the students to pursue specialized studies within such centers on fields of their interest. To provide opportunities for students to discover their vocations and pursue afterwards the professional career most appropriate to their aptitudes and interests. " In what appears to be a reversal on the broad conception of "basic studies", a revised version of the Law, January 1965, makes provision for the teaching of "basic sciences. " The distinction between the two is important since it may imply the recognition, or non-recognition, of the need to make the humanities and the social sciences also targets of emphasis. Prior to the participation of the University of Pittsburgh on issues of university reform, the

¹ Ibid., Art. 16. Representation from industry, commerce and agriculture had been a recommendation of the University of Pittsburgh.

theme among Ecuadoreans was quite strictly the development of the "natural and exact" sciences. There was the feeling that the University was adequately meeting the criteria of excellence on the humanities and the social sciences. Serious deficiencies, however, were subsequently detected at the University even on these areas of study. Social sciences, as sciences, with the exception of Economics, were virtually unknown, for example, and the teaching of languages was far from adequate. Moreover, the distinction between "basic sciences" and "basic studies" may imply the recognition or non-recognition of the need to provide at the university level a broad base of interdisciplinary knowledge. The March 1964 version of the Law fully recognized such broad aspects of "basic studies" even if it failed to explicitly determine what disciplines were included under that title. By inference it should be accepted that "basic studies" for the writer (s) of that Law meant very much what it meant for the men who recommended it, namely, the Pittsburgh professors, that is, the sciences, the social sciences and the humanities.

- 5 - Students. - Student organizations are given exclusively cultural, artistic, social and sporting purposes. Political activity on the part of students is forbidden as members of such organizations.¹ The University could not recognize any such student organizations unless it had the authorization of the Minister of Education. The Federation of Ecuadorean University Students was abolished.² The FEUE was reinstated by amendment to the Law on January 1965. Obligatory membership into students' organizations was also forbidden.³ Until this provision became effective, any student who did not wish to belong to it expressed his wish in writing before the leaders of the Federation. Student participation in university government was curtailed. Instead of one student representative to the University Council from each faculty with the right to deliberate and vote, the new Law called for three student representatives, one for each of the three branches of general knowledge: Philosophy and Social Science, Physics and Mathematics, and Chemistry and Biology.⁴ Besides these student representatives were not allowed to vote on issues not regarded as being of their competence, such as: to ratify contracts of foreign professors and technical personnel; to ap-

¹ Art. 6

² Law of Higher Education, 1964, Disposiciones Transitorias.

³ Art. 80 (1965)

⁴ This is a carry-over from high school specialization areas designed to prepare students for university careers in the main liberal professions: law, engineering and medicine.

point professors; to ratify appointments or to remove directors of schools or institutes within the university; to judge and sanction authorities, professors, employees, and students. ¹

Sanctions provided for students' political activity include the loss of a year of studies, temporary and, permanent expulsion from the university. ² The Law of Higher Education provided for student representation in the University Assembly but excluded students from taking part in deliberations or voting on: elections of rector, vice-rector, and professor representatives to the University Council; consideration of resignation from office by the rector or vice-rector or his excuse not to take possession of such office to declare the post of rector or vice-rector vacant due to mental or physical inability, or to his having abandoned his post without excuse for over fifteen days. ³ Restrictions are placed on the eligibility of students to run for office in student organizations and as student representatives to the University Assembly, University Council, Faculty Assembly (Junta de Facultad), and the Faculty Council (Consejo Directivo de Facultad). Such restrictions, refer to excellence of academic performance and belonging to the upper two or three classes in the university. ⁴ To eliminate the presence of professional students, no student was to be allowed to fail more than one year (under the old system, which is still in effect in most of the Central University and in most Ecuadorean universities, a student who fails one course has to repeat the entire year's program). ⁵ Regulations pertaining to eligibility for university studies were, among others, to be at least 18 years old and to have fulfilled military duties. A pre-professional service was established by which persons who have completed the course work at the universities must lend their services in the field of their specialization as an additional requirement for the obtainment of a professional degree. ⁶ A provision of the Law which was apt to inhibit the expected coordinating function of "basic studies" was contained in Article 83 which reads: "In order to guarantee the seriousness and efficiency of the students, they shall not register nor pursue

¹ Art. 29 (1964)

² Art. 111

³ Art. 25

⁴ Art. 79

⁵ Art. 75

⁶ Art. 122

studies in more than one faculty during the same school year." At least, as viewed by the University of Pittsburgh technical assistance team, "basic studies" organized as a faculty or center was to provide teaching services to students from other faculties, as well as to those exclusively enrolled in it.

- 6 - University authorities. - "A number of attributions, functions and duties are established so that the Rector, the Vice-Rector, the Deans, and the Sub-Deans be true authorities and efficient functionaries.¹ Thus reads the statement by the Military Junta and the Minister of Education on introducing the new Law of Higher Education. The Rector and the Vice-Rector were to be elected for a five-year period of service without qualifying for re-election. In order to qualify for election to any of those two offices a person should have been at least forty years old and should have been a university professor for at least five years. Deans and Sub-Deans were to be elected for three-year periods qualifying for re-election. (The 1965 version of the Law excluded re-election of Deans and Sub-Deans except after a three-year lapse upon the end of a duty period). The Law stated that "The Rector is the Chief of the University, its academic and administrative Director and its legal representative."² His performance was prescribed as being full-time whereas the vice-rector and deans and sub-deans were required to serve at least half-time.³ The rector and the vice-rector were to be elected by the University Assembly. The deans and the vice-deans were to be elected by the Faculty Assembly (Junta de Facultad). Whereas in the 1959 text of the Law of Higher Education the rector and the vice-rector were required to teach, the Military Junta's law left teaching duties optional to the rector, the vice-rector, deans, sub-deans, and directors of academic dependencies.⁴ The functions of the vice-rector were defined by this Law as being supportive to those of the rector as well as being concerned with administering the libraries and the laboratories. Also, the vice-rector was entrusted with supervising the cultural, artistic and other kinds of organizations related to the University.⁵ Contrary to the University of Pittsburgh recommendation, the Faculty Council was retained as an administrative body in each faculty. The Dean of each faculty is the representative of the faculty and the academic and administrative director of it."⁶

¹ El Comercio, March 31, 1964

² Art. 30

³ Law of Higher Education, 1965, Art. 120, Disposiciones Generales

⁴ Art. 34, Art. 59 (1965)

⁵ Art. 37

⁶ Art. 48

According to the Military Junta law the governing bodies of the University were the University Assembly and the University Council. The University Assembly's main duty was to elect rector, vice-rector, and the principal professor, representative of the Assembly to the University Council.¹ The University Assembly was made up of the university authorities, the principal professors, the aggregate professors with at least two years of teaching service, and the main students' representatives.

The University Council was to be made up of the rector, the vice-rector, the deans, and three student representing each of the three sets of academic subjects: Philosophy and Social Sciences, Physics and Mathematics, and Chemistry and Biology. The revised Law of 1965 called for a student representation equal to one-fourth the number of university authorities and professors making up the Council. Some of the University Council duties were to be: issuing University statutes, regulation of university organization, approval of plans and programs of study, ratification of appointments of professors made by the Faculty Council, preparation of the University budget, supervision of the Financial Department, sanctioning of university authorities, professors, students and employees of the university on matters of discipline.²

- 7 - University Central Administration. - The Law made provision for the establishment, on the basis of existing University offices, of a Finance Department (Departamento Financiero). The Finance Department was given the task of programming and executing the institutional budget, as well as every matter related to the economic flow.³ The Finance Department was expected to function as a common administrative agency for all the faculties thus coordinating the administrative march of what previously had been a rather decentralized faculty-centered process. The rector was to be the highest authority of the Finance Department. Manager of the operation of such a Department was to be a Director whose mode of access to duty was not specified by the Law, but which was probably, by University Council appointment. A Budget Commission was established which would be made up of the rector, vice-rector, a representative of the University Council, and the Director of the Finance Department.⁴ The Budget Commission would study the

¹ Art. 23

² Art. 27

³ Art. 91

⁴ Art. 95

budget proposed by the Finance Department. Once approved by the Commission, the budget would be sent to the University Council for approval and then to the Minister of Education for his final consideration. University funds were to be entrusted to a Treasurer who would be elected by the University Council. Funds were to be kept in the Central Bank of Ecuador.¹

The Law required that the Director of the Finance Department, its Treasurer, the Director of the General library, and the Directors of the special libraries (faculty, school, and institute libraries), provide financial guarantee for the performance of their duties. This guarantee (caución) makes each of those officers personally responsible for any money or items unaccounted for in the departments or dependencies which they head.² The extreme zeal shown by librarians in the surveillance of library items is easily understood.

The Law also provided for the establishment of a Planning Department according to the possibilities available to the University. Such a Department would work with the advisory assistance of the National Economic Planning Board and would be in charge of setting goals for the University to achieve periodically.³

Apparently in order to relieve the Rector from too great an involvement in areas which could be very specialized, the Law provided for the possibility of establishing the office of General Technical-Administrative Coordinator whose functions would be determined by the Rector.⁴

- 8 - Professors. - The ranking of University professors was established as follows: honorary, principal, aggregate, accidental, and auxiliary, roughly corresponding to the United States' classification of honorary, full-professor, associate, adjunct and assistant.⁵ No person known to participate in illegal political parties or anti-democratic political activities was to be eligible for appointment, or for permanence at the University, as a professor.⁶ Principal, aggregate and auxiliary professors were to be appointed by the Faculty Council upon due consideration of various applicants who should be evaluated according

¹ Art. 99

² Arts. 97, 98, 102

³ Art. 103

⁴ Art. 123 (1965)

⁵ Art. 56

⁶ Art. 63

to competence and previous accomplishments. Any appointment on those categories would have had to be ratified by the University Council. Professors in those categories were to be elected for five-year periods, being eligible for re-election.¹ The Law prohibited the simultaneous performance of administrative and teaching duties by the same person, except in the cases of the Rector, Vice-Rector, Deans, Sub-Deans, and Directors of University dependencies.² For purposes of security in tenure, salaries, and category advance, the Law stated that "a system of University professorial career (escalafón) will be established."³ The Law also said that at least 25 percent of the professors in each faculty shall be employed full-time.⁴ The 1965 reforms to the Law stated that such goal, 25 percent per faculty full-time professorship, would start to be implemented in 1965 with an annual increase of five percent.⁵

- 9 - Financial Resources. - No specific provisions were made in the Law to increase the income of the Universities with a view to facilitate or enlarge their scope of action. However, the Law authorized the universities to charge monthly dues to students according to their ability to pay. In some cases students could have been excused from payment of dues by reason of poverty and satisfactory performance.⁶
- 10 - Other University Services. - The Law prescribed that the universities establish a Department of Vocational Orientation and Social Assistance. This Department would have been in charge of counseling to students and encouraging them to pursue careers deemed by the manpower need estimates to have adequate demand in the professional practice. This Department would have also evaluated the needs and the abilities of some students who would have qualified for scholarship provided by the University and other institutions.⁷
- 11 - The Private Universities. - The Law gave the Minister of Education the power to authorize the establishment and the opera-

¹ Art. 58

² Art. 59

³ Art. 69

⁴ Art. 72

⁵ Art. 132 (1965)

⁶ Art. 107

⁷ Art. 89

tion of private universities taking into consideration a favorable report by the National Planning Board and the National Technical Council of Superior Education. Any proposed private university would have had to show the financial capacity to operate adequately, to have all the material resources (buildings, libraries, etc.) necessary for carrying out adequately the functions of education, and to have the well qualified personnel necessary for university level teaching.¹ The internal statutes of the private universities would have to be approved by the Minister of Education.² Plans and programs of study at the private universities would have had to be comparable to those at the state-supported universities.³ The Law also stated that: "Private universities shall conform to the rules of this Law except on those matters that concern the direction and administration of internal order, in which cases they shall conform to the prescriptions contained in their own statutes and regulations."⁴

A change of considerable significance enhanced by the Law was the suppression of the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters, and Sciences of Education and its reopening under the name of Faculty of Sciences of Education. Besides its being a change in nomenclature it was also a change in the functions assigned to that Faculty with a view to restrict it to a professional concern, which is, to train secondary school teachers.

The Law of Higher Education promulgated by the Military Junta incorporated many of the elements favored by both internal and external change agents. It provided for greater coordination and centralization, emphasized science education, prescribed the gradual development of full-time university teaching, and limited political action and student participation in university management. Few, however, were prepared for or willing to accept the drastic changes prescribed in the law. The university community at large, and especially the students, were opposed in principle to the military regime and any changes in university operation introduced by the Junta were likely to be opposed by the students for this very reason. In addition they resented the curtailment of their powers at the universities.

The Military Junta was in power for only two years after the promulgation of the new law. Even under ideal circumstances this would have been too short a time to implement many of the innovations introduced by the law, for which the universities were ill prepared. Thus, no steps were taken toward the employment of 25 percent of the university professors on a full-time basis, the Military Junta had fallen before this ruling was to become effective. Neither were planning departments established at the universities. Student representation was limited during the balance of the Junta regime, but the larger representation was reestablished after the

¹ Art. 117

³ Art. 117

² Art. 119

⁴ Art. 119

change in government. The name of the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters, and Sciences of Education at Central University was temporarily changed to the Faculty of Sciences of Education, but the old name was restored soon after the new government took over. Only two major innovations introduced by the law managed to survive, namely the basic science program and the finance department. At Central University the former had been formally established as a Faculty soon after the law became effective. At Catholic University a Basic Science Institute with a more limited role became operative soon after the Junta's downfall, while at Guayaquil steps toward the establishment of a Basic Sciences Institute progressed after the change in government. It is too early to say to what extent and in what form these basic science programs will become institutionalized, but at least the creation of the programs was sufficiently valued for them not to be abolished. In this context it should be noted that at least at Central University the concept of basic science institutes had been a subject of discussion for many years prior to the ascent of the Military Junta. Thus, the law gave a specific form and structure to already existing aspirations. The same cannot be said for the reduction in student representation on the university councils or even for the development of the university teaching career. In the case of the university finance department a slow process toward a technically more competent and centralized system of financial management was continued when a civilian government regained power.

A new and far less specific law on higher education was introduced by the new civilian government. Few of the elements which did not appear in the laws predating the Junta regime were retained. Introducing change by legal prescription had been a failure, a fact which may be ascribed partially to the short reign of the Military Junta, but also to the fact that the new legal provisions were not the codification of already prevalent though latent changes in behavior and attitudes.

CHAPTER VII

THE FACULTY OF BASIC STUDIES

A - DESIGN

The Law of Higher Education set down the necessary legal base for extensive changes to be effected at the Ecuadorean universities. Central University of Ecuador reopened in early April, 1964 after being closed by the Military Junta for three months, with Ing. Alejandro Segovia as Rector, and Dr. Jaime Ricaurte as Vice-Rector. These University authorities were appointed by the Military Junta. All Deans of the Faculties were also appointed by the Government, but the appointments favored some of the Deans who had been elected in October 1963.

Carrying still further the idea of establishing a center of basic sciences Rector Segovia noted that "The University Council tried to solve this problem (provide common science courses to all faculties) by creating Centers of Basic Sciences. Unfortunately, the Centers did not fulfill their purpose because of the lack of a firm base for their organization, not counting with its own professors, and by the lack of laboratories and equipment."¹

From the early approaches to the solution of some of the organizational problems of Central University, the University of Pittsburgh team had perceived the necessity of establishing a coordinating structure for the University in Quito. A plan for the establishment of a Faculty of Basic Studies was presented by the technical assistance team to the new Central University authorities soon after the institution reopened.

Two basis criteria underlie the Pittsburgh proposal: (1) University coordination, and (2) teaching and teaching facilities provision not only for the sciences but also for the humanities and social sciences.

Any attempt to organize programs of studies within centers or institutes dependent on the existing facilities, in the judgement of the technical assistance team, would have not served the purpose of coordinating the functions of the various faculties. The intent, obviously, was to pull together the compartmentalized university organization into a more coherent and coordi-

¹ Ing. Alejandro Segovia G. Informe, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, May 1965

nated one. Also, the teaching areas of the new faculty were not to be restricted to what in Ecuador is known as "natural and exact" sciences, but also to disciplines within the humanities and to the social sciences. As previously noted, in the earlier attempts to structure new programs of studies around centers of study, there was due recognition of need about the "natural and exact" sciences but not so for the humanities and the social sciences.

Also, along with the establishment of a Faculty of Basic Studies, there would have been the establishment of a Planning Department. This Department would have been in charge of coordinating the teaching of subjects in the various professional faculties with that of the Faculty of Basic Studies.

The proposal required that all new students coming to the university enroll in the Faculty of Basic Studies. Within this faculty and for a period of two or three years students would have taken all courses deemed to be fundamental for professional preparation in any of the faculties. At the same time students would have taken a number of courses deemed to be necessary for a well rounded kind of university education.

The expected advantages of the faculty as mentioned by the original proposal were the following: ¹

- 1 - The student, unlike in the past, would be identified with the university as a whole instead of only with his professional faculty. This was expected to have as a consequence the integration of the university as a community of students and professors in a real sense.
- 2 - The new faculty would provide the student the opportunity of choosing a career on the basis of his preferences. The likelihood of having persons inadequately placed in professions for which they did not have aptitudes, would have been reduced.
- 3 - The Faculty of Basic Studies would help to homogenize the instructional level of students. Given the disparities of high school education in terms of adequacy, especially if urban and rural center of high school education were compared, to place new students on a more or less even level of knowledge, would have been beneficial to the professional faculties.
- 4 - Laboratory equipment and a modern library were to be a part of the new faculty. The availability of these facilities would

¹ University of Pittsburgh, Faculties in Ecuador, Reforma Universitaria, Quito, July, 1964. Unpublished paper.

have helped to raise the level of education. Resources which previously were largely wasted by duplication could have been centralized in this faculty in order to maximize their usefulness.

- Students who did not opt for any of the professional specializations in the then known faculties, could continue studies within the Faculty of Basic studies in order to obtain a degree in any of the disciplines taught within it. Thus, the Faculty of Basic Studies was to become a professional faculty itself with a large number of specializations offered for choice.

The proposal presented by the University of Pittsburgh team mentions the actions taken at other universities in Latin America towards a reorganization away from the traditional structures and functions. A copy of a proposal for the establishment of the University of Brasilia was enclosed with the project of organization of a Faculty of Basic Studies. The Brasilia proposal, fundamentally, viewed the future university as an integrated institution with a broad base of sciences, humanities, and social sciences education.¹

Similar plans for university organization elsewhere were mentioned. The Central American Universities Organization with headquarters in San Jose, Costa Rica, for example, had endorsed and encouraged member universities to adopt plans of change based on centralization of university operations and a broader curriculum base. The University of Costa Rica and the University of Honduras were cited as educational institutions where the reforms were being implemented, while the University of Guatemala and the above mentioned University of Brasilia, had standing plans congruent with the proposed reform. The Association of Colombian Universities had also endorsed the value of such plans. Some Colombian universities were mentioned to have adopted definite programs for reform. Such were the cases of the University of Los Andes and Javeriana in Bogota, and the University del Valle in Cali.²

The view emphasized was that the proposed changes at the Central University in Ecuador were congruent with the idiosyncrasy of the Latin American institutions of higher education and with the culture and society surrounding them. It was not simply a case where organizational aspects borrowed from the United States were being arbitrarily established.

The document also explains that the proposed reform was based on the Program of Basic Sciences (Programa de Ciencias Basicas), adopted in May, 1963, by the University Council, which was also ratified by the University Council made up of the University authorities elected in October, 1963.³

¹ University of Pittsburgh - Faculties in Ecuador, Información sobre la Educación General - Especialización de Materiales y Preparación de Profesores, Quito (about March, 1964), unpublished.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

The document, originating in the University of Pittsburgh office, also mentions that a policy adopted by the Inter-American Development Bank was to give preference for financial aid to universities with programs which included basic sciences in their curricula.¹

The structure through which the fundamental aspects of reform at Central University were to be effected was the Faculty of Basic Studies, which in its original form of organization was to have three dependent schools: the School of Sciences, the School of Social Sciences, and the School of Humanities.

Three types of needs were expected to be met within the range of the proposed Faculty of Basic Studies: 1) Basic educational program for all students, 2) Supplement of subjects for professional training and, 3) New subjects of specialization.

1) Basic Educational Program for all Students*

a. Structure

1. All first and second year students will only register at the Faculty of Basic Studies.
2. An admissions policy will be set up by the Faculty which will then be put to University Council consideration. Students will be selected according to such admissions policy.
3. Students must be required to be registered prior to the opening of the classes.
4. In order to have a greater flexibility to carry through the plan of studies and the student's individual program there will be a semester system.
5. All class sessions will be determined by a schedule on a basis of regular attendance.
6. Students' records will be kept at a central place within the University.
7. Professors may teach in other faculties besides the Faculty of Basic Studies.

b. Program

1. The University Council will be the controlling authority for the program. The University Council alone could decide on the courses to be taught and the places where they should be conducted. The criteria should be as follows:

¹ Ibid.

* This material is paraphrased from the original University of Pittsburgh, Faculties in Ecuador, document, March, 1965.

- a. given the facilities available at the University the proposed courses should be considered according to the value they have for a given field
 - b. The Faculty of Basic Studies must offer all the subject matter courses at the preparatory level for any advanced courses
 - c. courses of applied subject-matters will be offered within the faculty to which such application belongs
2. The courses should be supervised by the deans to facilitate a coordination of the Basic Studies courses with those offered by other faculties.
 3. The Faculty of Basic Studies shall determine the contents of the general education in the first two years.
 4. The first two years shall include:
 - a. Four semesters in Spanish literature and composition
 - b. Four semesters in a foreign language
 - c. Four semesters in the social sciences

For all those who will specialize in sciences and technical professions:

- a. Four semesters in mathematics
- b. Four semesters in natural sciences

For all others:

- a. Two semesters in mathematics
- b. Two semesters in natural sciences

C. Student Services

1. The student will have counselors to guide him in choosing subjects that would be most beneficial in his future specialization.
2. The students will receive a complete schedule showing class time, place, number of hours a week, and the name of the professor.

Note: The afore mentioned principles and procedures will be put into practice whenever they are not superseded in the following points of this plan.

2) Teaching of Supplementary Subjects for Professional Training

A. Organization.

1. Students of the professional faculties will be allowed to take courses in other faculties, including the Faculty of Basic Studies.
2. The professional faculties will decide upon their own requirements for admission and will evaluate each student separately, but not before the first semester of the second year of study at the Faculty of Basic Studies.

B. Program.

1. It is possible that a pre-professional course be taken at a professional faculty during the first two years.
2. The professional faculties will establish their own pre-professional requirements and the Faculty of Basic Studies will provide its own. However, no professional faculty will give the character of obligatory to more than half the subjects that will be taken in the first two years of study.
3. With the purpose that the Faculty of Basic Studies may provide a base to the professional ones, it must continually request the advice and help of the other faculties.

3) Subjects of Specialization.

The educational system should allow a person to pursue studies in particular subjects within the sciences, the social sciences and the humanities. The old structure of the University does not allow for a person to specialize in Physics, Zoology, and any other such specializations. In the last seven years only one biologist has been trained in Ecuador. Specializations of this type are needed. The University should provide the facilities for those students who want to pursue advanced knowledge in any of the subject fields within the sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities.

STRUCTURE OF THE FACULTY OF BASIC STUDIES*

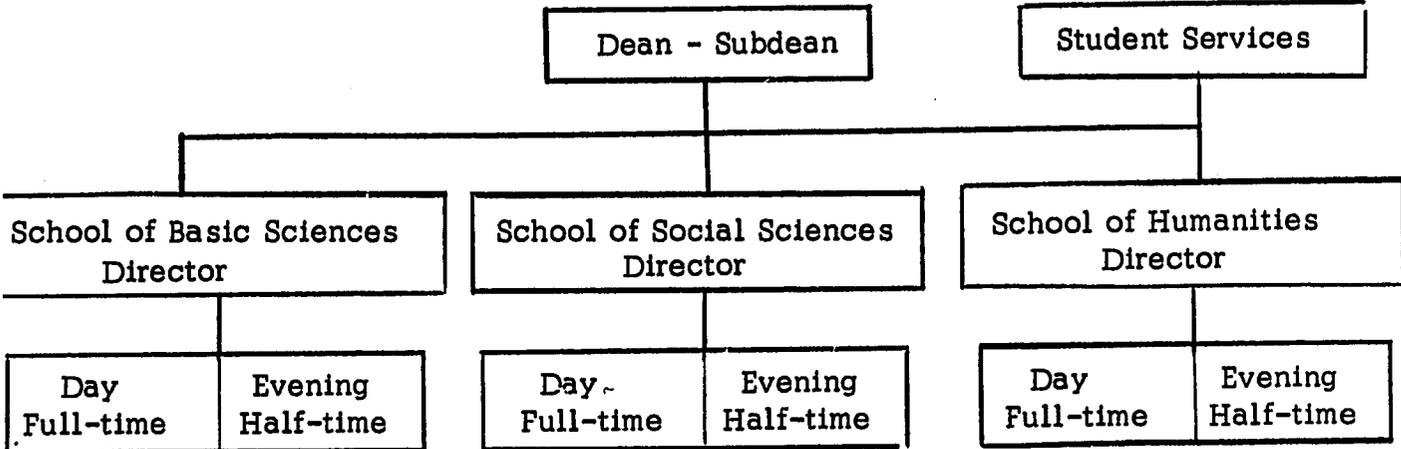
The University of Pittsburgh proposal indicates that the structuration of the School of Basic Sciences could be based on the recently organized Center of Basic Sciences. The Language Institute, the School of Fine Arts, the Conservatory of Music, etc., could be incorporated into the School of Humanities along with Literature, Spanish and Philosophy. The School of Social Sciences would be made up of Sociology, History, Psychology, Anthropology, Economics, Political Science, etc.

A condition for improvement of the university described as essential by the Pittsburgh team is that a considerable number of professors and students give a larger part of their time to university activities. The requirements of higher education are considered to be so demanding that full-time involvement in the activities of education is deemed necessary. Given the economic conditions that are inhibiting for many students and professors to participate full-time in education, the team suggests that along with a full-time day program at the university, there could also be a half-time evening program for students who have to work and pro-

*Ibid.

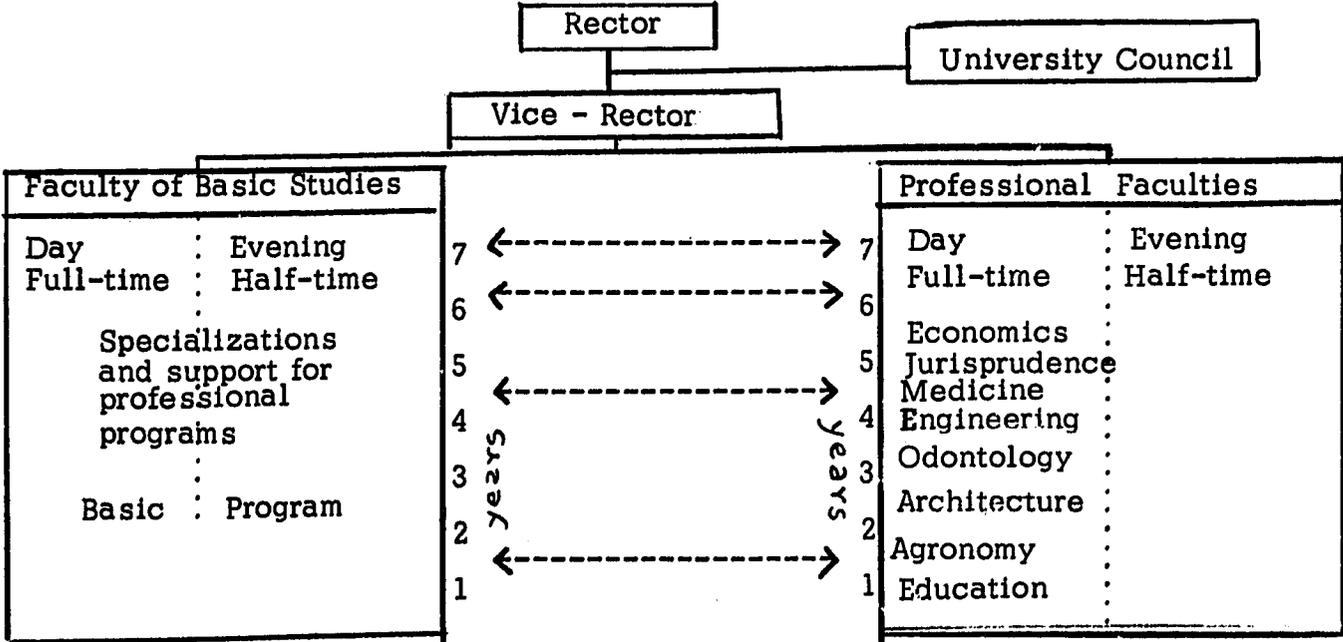
fessors who are mainly employed outside the university. The half-time program would take twice as much time to complete as the daytime program.

Proposed Structure of the Faculty of Basic Studies



Relations Between the Faculty of Basic Studies and Other Faculties

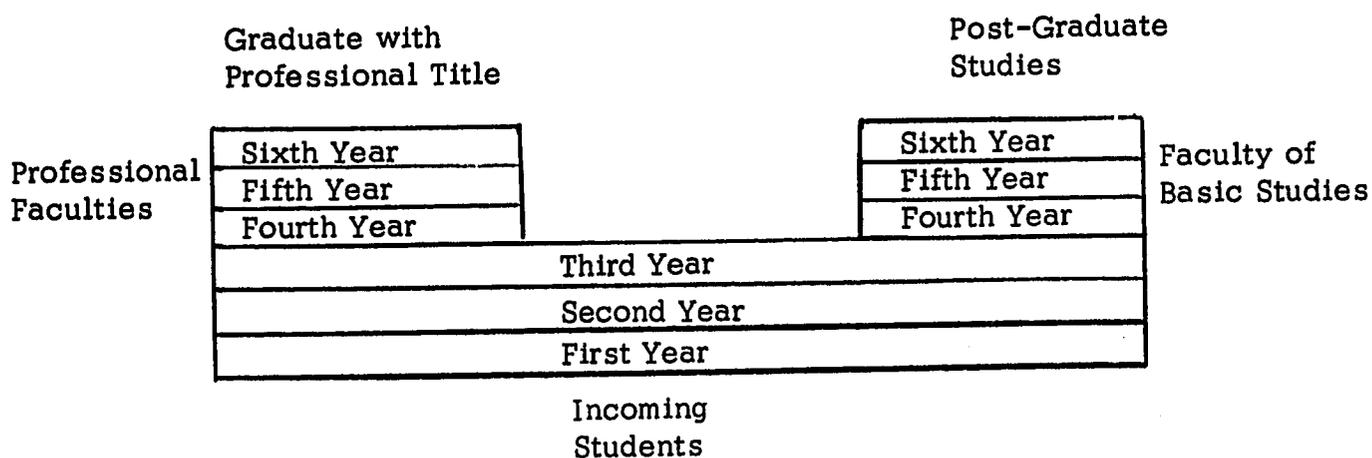
The diagram below shows that: (1) the new faculty has equal status with other faculties, (2) it provides the basic education for all the faculties and professions, (3) the faculty of Basic Studies would teach subjects for specialization at the more advanced levels and, (4) the faculty of Basic Studies would continue as a support for the professional careers even in the advanced levels; which is, that students in the upper classes in the professions could still take courses in the faculty of Basic Studies according to their needs.



The solid lines show the advance of students from the basic programs to the more advanced programs. The broken lines show that students may continue specializations in Basic Studies and that both Basic Studies students and Professional Faculties students could take courses at the more advanced levels outside their own faculties.

The proposed reform is also schematized in the following manner.¹

Students' Academic Career



Within a short period of time the so-called "Schools" came to be designated as "Divisions" (Divisiones). The planned Faculty of Basic Studies would have had three divisions on the same discipline areas as the previously called schools, that is: sciences, humanities and social sciences.

Here are some details pertaining to the organization and the functions of the proposed new faculty:*

- 1 - The dean, the sub-dean, and the three directors of the Academic divisions will constitute the Directive Faculty Council. The selection of individuals to fill these posts will be done according to the current rules.
- 2 - It will be necessary to organize a Central Controlling Office. This office would be in charge of keeping complete files of students' records.
- 3 - According to needs that may arise, it will be possible to establish new departments within the three divisions of the faculty. For example, it may be convenient to establish a Department of Astronomy in the Sciences Division, or a Department of Archaeology in the Social Sciences Division, etc.

¹ University of Pittsburgh, Faculties in Ecuador, Reestructuración de la Universidad Central. (about August 1964), unpublished document.

* The following material is an elaboration on the original document (Ibid.).

- 4 - The Institute of Languages of the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Sciences of Education, will be the core of the Department of Languages in the Division of Humanities.
- 5 - The proposed plan calls for the organization of a Department of Economics within the Division of Social Sciences. This Department will only offer the introductory subject courses because there already is a Faculty of Economic Sciences.
- 6 - In special cases of academic preparation a professor could be simultaneously a professor in the Faculty of Basic Studies and also in one of the professional faculties. "The appointment of such professors, however, could only be effected by agreement between the deans of such faculties and the approval of the University Council." ¹

B. CONSOLIDATION AND PRACTICE

The University academic year begins in October of each year and ends in July of the following year. During the months preceding the opening of the University in October 1964, much was done to reach a final understanding on the form and the content of Basic Studies, as well as on the strategy to turn them into a reality:

Considerable interchange of ideas between members of the University Council and University of Pittsburgh professors was essential in the final shaping up of a structure which, it was expected, would have reorganized the University for the better.

By mid-August, 1964, the most general aspects of the Pittsburgh proposal had been approved by the University Council. Much interchange of ideas still went on during the programming of courses and the content of courses for the various faculties. No immediate solution was seen for the problems posed by the Faculties of Sciences of Education and that of Economics and Administration. The Faculty of Sciences of Education would have had a large part of its teaching areas transferred to the Faculty of Basic Studies. The proposed new structure would have limited the scope of functions of the Faculty of Sciences of Education to the teaching of subjects of a professional character. The School of Administration in the Faculty of Economics and Administration, on the other hand, regarded a bit premature the change into the new modality and decided to continue as in the past. ²

¹ Ibid.

² This illustrates even at such date, and under such power conditions the measure of self-determination preserved by individual faculties. In the case of Economics and Administration this independence could probably be explained by the high status position to which the Sub-Dean of the Faculty, Carlos Dávalos Rodas, had been elevated by the Military Junta, as Technical Secretary of National Administration. This Faculty was the only one to admit first year students besides the Faculty of Basic Studies.

The proposed two or three year enrollment of students in the Faculty of Basic Studies was fixed at two years. This provision, in the course of the 1964-65 academic year was changed to only one year.

The proposed Central Controlling Office was kept essentially as suggested but with another name: University Office of Student Documents (Oficina Universitaria de Documentos Estudiantiles - OUDE).

In agreement with Article 22 of the Law of Higher Education, the Faculty of Basic Studies was to have a Department of Professional Orientation (Departamento de Orientación Profesional). This department was to be in charge of guiding first year university students in choosing a career. The guidance would have been based on two criteria: the projected needs for services in the country according to the national plans of development, and, the aptitudes shown by the student. A third qualification may be added. Students at the Faculty of Basic Studies were to be distributed by orientations of specialization pursued in the high schools. At the high schools there are, during the last two or three years, special emphasis sections on Mathematics and Physics, Chemistry and Biology, and Philosophy and Literature.

A statement presented by the University Council of Central University of Ecuador to the Technical National Council of Superior Education says:

"Teaching, at the higher level, is a continuation of the previous stages, and likewise, it is the foundation for higher research and therefore the foundation for the highest conceptions of the mind.

"It follows that the University must dedicate itself to:

"Research or discovery of new knowledge, understood in its broadest sense and in the particular fields, including the social, the humanistic and the natural sciences.

"The formation of professionals realized in terms of vocational orientation.

"The integration of knowledge into an organic disciplined whole, and which contains the portions of the truth, and which may also form a synthesis with the needs of humanity and the country, on its culture, science and technology in areas such as social, economic and political.

"The integral formation of the student, giving to him the bases that will allow him to acquire adequate judgement of the reality in which he lives, aiming towards the development of his intellect and consequently his personal values which give him culture, hope, and transcendent ideals.

"The contribution of the University man to his community-environment which struggles continuously to satisfy its needs.

"The Faculty of Basic Studies fulfills these requirements:

"Unifies the structure of the University into an organic whole.

"Leads the student into tasks of laboratory experimentation from the beginning of his university career.

"Provides elastic and broad means to allow the student to select study subjects which interest him the most.

"Develops in the student habits of high education and personal research.

"It reduces costs in teaching personnel, laboratories, physical space and maintenance.¹

On September 2, 1964, the Technical National Council of Superior Education recommended before the Minister of Education the approval to establish the Faculty of Basic Studies at Central University of Ecuador.

"THE TECHNICAL NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SUPERIOR EDUCATION

Considering:

"That the Central University of Ecuador, by means of a communication dated the first of this month, requests from this agency the necessary report in order to create the Faculty of Basic Studies:

"That with the creation of this Faculty the objective is the integral formation of the student by giving to him general culture that would allow him to obtain adequate judgement of the reality in which he lives and the high destinies of man;

"That this Faculty will be of positive benefit for professional formation at higher levels, which besides will be realized in terms of the students' vocational orientation;

"That the mission of the University to investigate in the most various humanistic, sociological and natural disciplines, will be appreciably encouraged;

¹ Office of the Rector, Central University of Ecuador, Reestructuración de la Universidad Central, Quito (about November, 1964), mimeographed, p. 4.

That with the establishment of this Faculty the structure of Central University will be unified into a harmonic whole, with reduction in costs of teaching personnel, laboratories and physical space; and,

"According to what is prescribed in Article 7 of the Organic Law of Higher Education in effect,

RESOLVES:

"To favorably inform the Minister of Public Education, recommending the necessary approval for the creation of the Faculty of Basic Studies at Central University of Ecuador.

"Issued, etc.

"Unanimously approved by the Honorable Technical National Council of Superior Education, in session of September 2, 1964 - I certify -

Dr. Germano Cabrera J. ,
Secretary of the Technical National
Council of Superior Education¹

Two weeks later the Minister of Education issued the authorization for the establishment of the Faculty of Basic Studies.

REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR

No. 32047

MINISTRY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Section: SUPERIOR

Subject: CREATION FACULTY OF
BASIC STUDIES IS APPROVED

Quito, October 15, 1964

Mister:

Central University Rector

CITY

The following resolution was issued

No. 2945

¹ Ing. Alejandro Segovia G. Op. Cit., p. 28.

THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

In the exercise of his attributions,

CONSIDERING:

"That the Rector of Central University of Ecuador, by means of Communication No. 705-R, of October 13 of the current year, requests the necessary approval from this Ministry for the creation of the Faculty of Basic Studies at the mentioned Institution;

"That both the National Council of Superior Education and the National Economic Planning and Coordination Board, in Communication 002-CTS, of the 13th of this month and 28377, of today, respectively, have issued favorable reports for the creation of such a Faculty, according to the prescriptions of Article 7 of the Organic Law of Higher Education; and,

"That this Ministry considers convenient the creation of the Faculty of Basic Studies at the Central University of Ecuador, because it will be coordinated with the present modalities of current programs and with the Educational Reform at the Middle Level, so that in this way, it may be possible to meet the exigencies of the Country's socio-economic development,

RESOLVES:

"To approve the creation of the Faculty of Basic Studies at Central University of Ecuador, in this city, according to the attributions provided by Article 7 of the current Organic Law of Higher Education.

"Let this be known - in Quito, October 15, 1964,

Signed: Lcdo. Humberto Vacas Gomez Dr. Fausto Gonzalez Tobar
Ministry of Public Education Sub-Secretary ¹

Immediately upon receiving the above quoted communication from the Ministry of Education, the University Council convened and accorded the following decree:

THE HONORABLE UNIVERSITY COUNCIL

CONSIDERING:

¹ Ing. Alejandro Segovia G. Op. Cit. p. 30.

'The Minister of Public Education, according to the provision of Article 7 of the current Organic Law of Higher Education, and on the bases of the favorable reports by the Technical National Council of Superior Education, and the National Economic Planning and Coordination Board has issued today Resolution No. 2945, giving approval to the creation of the Faculty of Basic Studies at Central University,

RESOLVES:

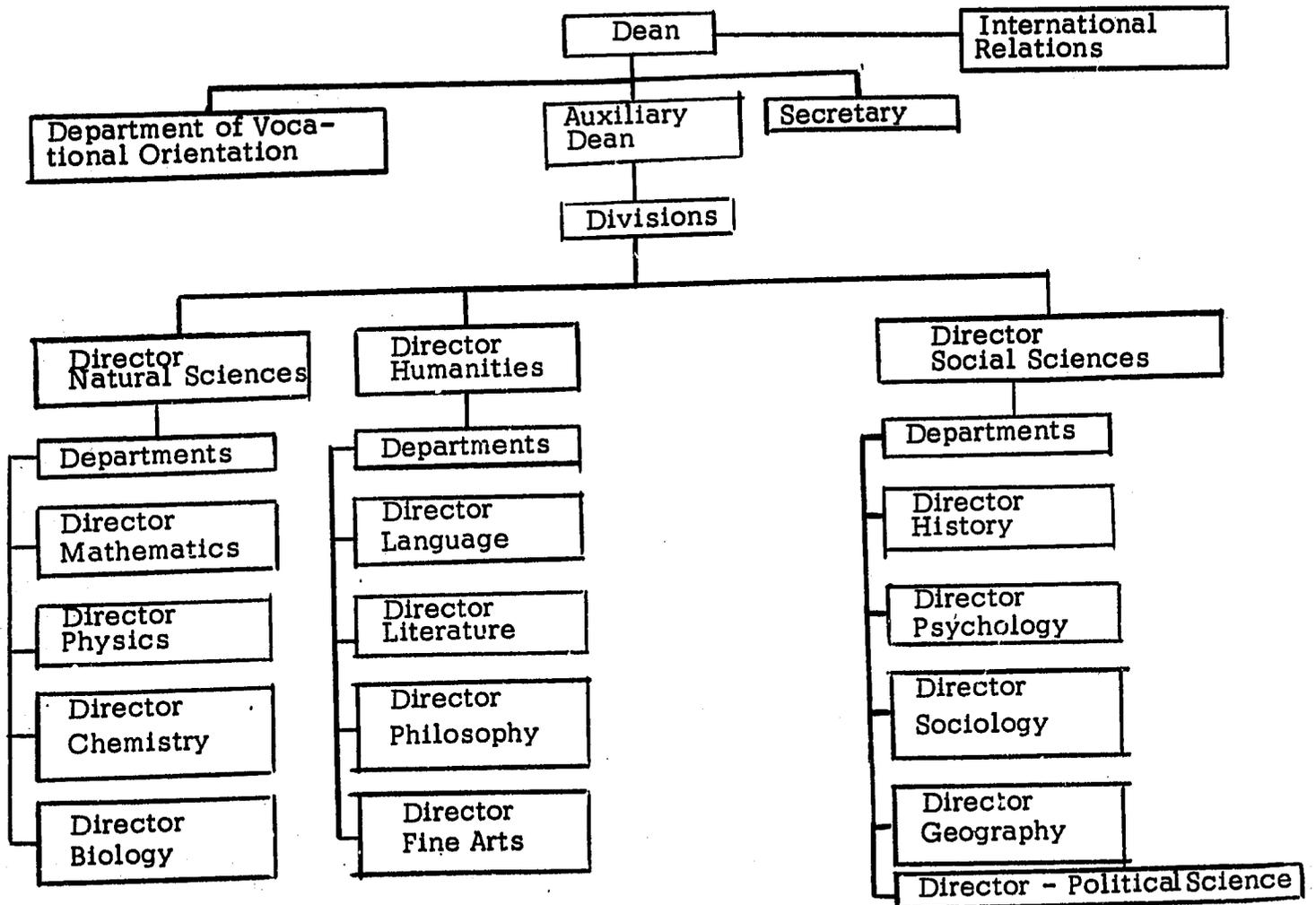
"To ratify everything done in prior sessions with regards to the Faculty of Basic Studies, and to declare October 15 of this year, as the date of official creation of the mentioned Faculty.

" Given at the sessions room of the Honorable University Council in Quito, on October 15, 1964.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL

Here are in diagram form the features of the Faculty of Basic Studies as it was viewed at the time of its establishment.

F. ESTUDIOS BASICOS



The structure provided in the organization chart for International Relations (Relaciones Internacionales) was to have the function of establishing a liaison for Central University with other universities in the country and outside the country. It was thought that the contact with other educational institutions at the higher level could be beneficial for interchange of professors and students, coordination of programs of studies, and consultation for the solution of problems. The University Rector showed much interest in the realization of such a liaison.¹

The relationship of the Faculty of Basic Studies with other faculties as well as the length of the programs for the various specializations can be appreciated here:

	MEDICINE	LAW	ENGINEERING ECONOMICS ADMINISTRATION AGRONOMY VETERINARY BIOCHEMISTRY & PHARMACY CHEMICAL ENGINEERING ODONTOLOGY ARCHITECTURE GEOLOGY & MINES	SCIENCES OF EDUCATION SCIENCES OF INFORMATION PHYSICAL EDUCATION	ADVANCED STUDIES IN THE ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES TAUGHT IN BASIC STUDIES
Year					
7th	7 years				
6th		6 years			
5th			5 years		5 years
4th				4 years	
3rd					
2nd 1st	FACULTY OF BASIC STUDIES				

Students from High School ²

¹ Interview with Ing. Alejandro Segovia G., Quito, April 1965.

² Office of the Rector, Central University of Ecuador, Op. Cit., Cuadro No. 2.

Students for the first time enrolled at the Faculty of Basic Studies for their first year of studies at Central University of Ecuador during the 1964-65 academic year. The school year was marked by widespread dissatisfaction inside and outside the University. The University Reform had become an issue indistinguishable from politics on a national scale. The old university structure had become, before 1963, well adapted to societal conditions in the sense that the University did not interfere with the way things were in society and neither did society interfere with what was going on at the University.

Society should be understood as the institutions that were important within the nation and the public at large, to which, in one way or another, the University was related. Functionally, the University was fulfilling a role, even if a tangential one, by securing added income to men who were mainly dependent on activities outside the University for their livelihood, and by providing to young people an education that for some time had failed (more in some fields than in others) to be adjusted to the demands of the nation.

C. PROBLEMS AND CHANGES

The basic concept of improved teaching in the natural and exact sciences and even of some coordinative structure had been discussed at Central University for years and been widely accepted and supported. The creation of a Faculty of Basic Studies and the establishment of an over-all "liberal arts" program were new ideas promoted by the University of Pittsburgh team. The team recognized the possible accusation of imposing U. S. system and values and, therefore, was careful to point out that similar programs had been introduced at other Latin American universities. Sufficient support for the proposed program could be mustered within the University Council and among high government officials to take action when the opportunity presented itself for bringing about this drastic innovation. In addition, the Pittsburgh team was in a position to offer financial resources for laboratory equipment and scholarships abroad to develop the new Faculty. Not only did the technical assistance team dispose of funds within its own technical assistance project, it was also instrumental in the negotiation of a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank, with a substantial part of that \$400 million loan being designated for a building for the new Faculty and for its needed equipment.

It was fully anticipated that several years would pass before the Basic Studies Faculty was firmly established, effectively and efficiently. Given the support it enjoyed from the university authorities and from the government, it was not foreseen, however, that the Faculty would be under constant attack for years to come.

In the 1965 survey of student opinion, one year after the establishment of the Basic Studies Faculty, 290 students from all Faculties were asked whether or not they were in favor of the creation of the new Faculty. Of the 237 students

who replied to the question 155 opposed the Faculty while 82 favored its creation. When asked for the reasons for their opposition, the heavy schedule and daytime operation of the new Faculty was mentioned most frequently. In this regard, many respondents referred to the students' need for employment while studying at the University, even though the University statistics of the previous year indicated that no more than 27% of all students held jobs. Another factor which may have affected this opinion was that the tradition of a fairly light classhour schedule in the early morning and late afternoon pleased the students. The second most frequent response concerned the program of the Faculty. The students found much of the curriculum to be a repetition of their high school studies, did not see the need of the curriculum as a preparation for their studies at the professional Faculties, complained about poor administration and instruction. A substantial number of students also used per group reference as their reason for objection, stating that "the students object to the Faculty of Basic Sciences". As against these many and varied reasons for opposition, the proponents expressed a general recognition of increased teaching of the sciences and general culture at the University and for a leveling of knowledge among students coming from the high schools.

In retrospect, a number of factors can be identified as having hampered the acceptance and effectiveness of the basic studies program at Central University.

1. Power shift. To a large measure the power and influence of a Faculty was determined by its number of students and professors. Its voice in the University Council and its claim on resources was strong. The number of votes it had in the University Assembly, where the University authorities were elected, was proportionate to its number of professors and student enrollment. In 1964, when the required basic studies program for first year students had been implemented only partially, that Faculty already counted with 128 more students than the next largest Faculty, having 876 students out of a total university enrollment of 3,772. With the establishment of the Faculty of Basic Studies the enrollment in other Faculties had been reduced. Had the proposed two-year plan been implemented, that Faculty would have had almost one-third of the total university enrollment. In terms of professors the Faculty had 100, versus 67 professors for the next largest Faculty. The other Faculties viewed this shift in power with alarm and several resented that the new Faculty took away from them certain programs they had traditionally counted as their own.

Soon the Basic Studies Faculty was referred to as the Super-Faculty. Most of the opposition appeared to revolve around this central issue. There was no evidence that the planners of the new Faculty had given adequate attention to the potential peril of this reality of internal politics.

2. Programming. Less than six months were available from the initial planning of the Faculty until the implementation of its program. Little was done regarding consultation with the professional Faculties on the program to be offered. This might have led to understanding and support. The technical assistants made a considerable effort to stimulate and guide programming. They were, however, dependent on action taken by the Ecuadorean Faculty authorities and professors who, at this early stage, lacked the necessary experience and understanding. Complaints about the program and scheduling were often fully justified.

3. Leadership and Staff. Of the 100 professors of the Faculty, only 4 were listed as full-time. Twenty-four fell into the half-time category. Most professors, including the Dean and Sub-Dean, spent only a few hours each day at the University. From interviews with the professors and technical assistance team members it became clear that few of the professors fully understood and/or subscribed to the program of their Faculty. All had been teaching previously at the professional Faculties, and as yet they had not developed loyalty to the new entity. Most departments had few if any well prepared instructors. Although this had also affected the teaching of the disciplines in the professional Faculties, the fact that discipline teaching was now done in a central unit made the lack of quality stand out. This shortcoming was, of course, anticipated and the technical assistance team was working constantly on the upgrading of professors and programs. Added to the other problems facing the new Faculty, the staff problems constituted a serious hindrance for institutional development.

4. Physical facilities. No building was available to house the entire new Faculty. A loan obtained from the Inter-American Development Bank was to provide such a building in the future. During the early years, however, the Faculty was scattered over the buildings of the University Administration and a number of professional Faculties. Discipline, administration, and efficiency of operation suffered under this arrangement. It also hampered the development of institutional identity on the part of the Faculty, a factor which the Rector, Dr. Julio Enrique Paredes, later suggested as been a principal factor in preventing unity and internal defense against attacks.

In spite of the above several well equipped natural science laboratories were developed. These laboratories donated by the U. S. were effective teaching laboratories, contrary to many others established earlier in the professional Faculties. The laboratories as physical entities which could not very well be split up later may prove to play a major role in the preservation of the centralized teaching of the sciences.

5. Communication. In answer to the question to students about basic studies, referred to earlier, 25 students stated that noone knew why the Faculty had been organized. It is true that there was a lack of communication and understanding among both professors and students. One prevalent opinion, for instance,

was that the establishment of the Faculty of Basic Studies would prolong university studies, which was not true. An information folder was prepared by the technical assistants explaining the program and answering a number of questions raised by the students. Although printed up in large quantity, this folder was never widely disseminated. The leadership of the Faculty, as well as the University leadership, made little effort to create a favorable image for the new Faculty.

The Faculty of Basic Studies was a revolutionary change, introduced in response to a set of circumstances which appeared propitious at the time. The governmental and institutional leadership, as well as the external change agents favored the action. There was an opportunity to provide legal sanction. Material and financial resources could be acquired. It was felt that the Faculty was only a further extension of the concept of the Basic Science Institutes which had already been accepted within the institution. These conditions, however, were not quite enough as evidenced by the problems the Faculty faced in the early period of its operation.

From the time of its creation in 1964 until mid-1967 many things happened to the Faculty of Basic Studies all of which nibbled away the all-encompassing structure and program set up in the original plans. First the name was changed to Faculty of Basic Sciences, reflecting the greater acceptability of a coordinated natural and exact science program as compared with the humanities and the social sciences. In the Fall of 1966 the Faculty was abolished and replaced by the Center of General Studies. The functions were largely preserved, although as a Center the entity could not grant degrees. The powers were reduced by having the students register in the professional Faculties of their chosen career. Besides, lacking Faculty status, the program was not represented on the University Council. In April 1967 the Center was once more under attack and a commission was formed to study the entire problem of academic centralization. As of the present it appears likely that some form of coordinated and centralized teaching in the natural and exact sciences will be retained. The humanities will probably be returned to the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters, and the Sciences of Education, the Faculty whose professors and students have most vigorously opposed the Faculty of Basic Studies throughout its short history.

The professors and students at Central University were not ready in 1964 for the drastic innovation which upset vested interests, an innovation which was breaking the tradition while being poorly understood and communicated. The timing and speed of the creation of the Faculty, the diffused power structure of the University, and the lack of implementation capability had all worked against success. Yet, the number of those who recognize the benefits of a centralized teaching program in the sciences has increased, adequate laboratories have been established. Under a new organizational structure posing less threat to the traditional power groups the program can be expected to continue operating and grow.

CHAPTER VIII

INSTITUTION BUILDING ANALYSIS

The recent developments at the three Ecuadorian Universities offer a valuable opportunity for the analysis of the variables affecting the introduction of new values and technologies in highly institutionalized organizations. In this case study, with reference to the definition of institution building of the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building, we deal with an attempt at reconstituting "organizations which (a) embody changes in values, functions, physical and/or social technologies, (b) establish, foster and protect normative relationship and action patterns, and (c) attain support and complementarity in the environment".¹

The analytical framework of the Research Program lends itself very well for the categorization and analysis of the elements influencing the change process. This was particularly noticed when making a more detailed analysis of the conditions and actions surrounding the design and implementation of the Faculty of Basic Studies at Central University. It is too early to reach any conclusions on the effectiveness of the institution building effort in Ecuador. Although developmental activities and minor adjustments in the ongoing system could be observed in prior years, the institution building effort, i. e. the deliberate planning and guidance of institutional change, had its inception after the arrival of the technical assistance teams. It is frequently difficult to distinguish between institutional change and institution building. Changes in external and internal conditions, in leadership and resources make all organizations change and adapt over time. An organization which does not have this adaptive capacity is not likely to survive. Assuming that the functions it fulfills are still required by society it will be replaced by another organization or organizations which are more responsive to the changing needs. Such adaptive change of organizations, however, is conceptually different from institution building. Institution building refers to the deliberate infusion of fundamentally different values, functions and technologies requiring changes in the institution's doctrine, in its structural and behavioral patterns. On this basis it seems justified to talk about institution building at the Ecuadorian Universities as having begun when the foreign technical assistants had arrived in

¹ Milton J. Esman and Hans C. Blaise, Institution Building Research: The Guiding Concepts, (mimeo), Pittsburgh, 1966, p. 2

Ecuador, even though some of the foundations were laid prior to their arrival.

As has been explained in the introduction to this study, access to data and the complexity of the study have compelled us to limit ourselves largely to the analysis of the institution building process at Central University. Thus, although reference will be made to variations found at Catholic University in Quito and at the University of Guayaquil, the analysis which follows pertains more particularly to the developments at Central University.

The institution building process was quite closely related and considerably affected by the political developments in Ecuador. This relevance and interaction between institutional and political transformations has been apparent in previous chapters. Thus, we can speak of three time periods in the institution building process. The first is the period preceding July 1963, when President Carlos Julio Arosemena was ousted by a military coup and replaced by a Military Junta. The technical assistance teams at both Central University and Catholic University had arrived in Ecuador just prior to this change in government. The second period is from July 1963 until March 1966, when the Military Junta was removed from office and replaced by an interim civilian government under President Clemente Yerovi. This is the focal period of this study. The third period is from the downfall of the Military Junta onward. The data for this latter period are largely based on observations by the senior researcher of this study, who has been serving as Chief of Party of the University of Pittsburgh team at Central University since May 1966.

A - Leadership.

The Guiding Concepts of the Research Program define leadership as "the group of persons who are actively engaged in the formulation of the doctrine and program of the institution and who direct its operation and relationships with the environment."¹ The document further states that "on the basis of this definition, the leadership is not restricted to those who are formally charged with the direction of the institution, but includes all those who - according to the definition of institution building - participate in the "planning and guidance" of the institution".² This broad definition of leadership is very

¹ Milton J. Esman and Hans C. Blaise, Institution Building Research: The Guiding Concepts (mimeo) Pittsburgh, 1966, p. 10.

² Ibid.

felicitous for the analysis of institution building at the Ecuadorian universities.

Particularly at the State universities leadership is highly decentralized and the powers of each person and group in a leadership position considerably limited. The universities consist of a set of semi-autonomous Faculties with considerable freedom in the specification of their own programs and processes. Regarding issues pertaining to only a given part of the universities this allows flexibility for the introduction of change and innovation. Simultaneously, it restricts the ability of the institutional authorities and leadership to institute changes pertaining to structure and action at the lower levels of the institution.

Viewing leadership "as a unit, with the variables or determinants of leadership being significant for the group, rather than in terms of each individual", as suggested in the research framework, is not possible in analyzing the institution building process in Ecuador. This assumes both a centralization of leadership and a unity of purpose which was not present. Rather, we are confronted with a number of individuals and groups in leadership positions at the institutions which at times act as supportive other times as countervailing forces in the process of change. Also the separation of leadership from internal structure presents some problems. Role distribution among leadership elements, the process of ascendancy to these roles, the formal delineation of authority and prescribed modes of action cannot very well be treated as a category separate from leadership by itself. With these reservations about the analytical scheme, resulting from the confrontation with data in our case study, we shall attempt to follow the analytical framework preventing repetition to the extent possible.

In a real sense, leadership of the institution was distributed among the various interacting groups within it. In both the formal and informal leadership structure we find the following groups represented: university authorities, student leaders, some professors, and technical assistance team members. Of these, only the technical assistance team members fall outside the formal leadership structure, since they were not represented on any of the universities' decision making bodies. Two general characteristics of the institution's organizational arrangements had an all-pervasive influence on leadership behavior: (a) co-government, and (b) election to leadership positions. Co-government means that university authorities, professors, and students are always represented on any decision making body of the university. University authorities have virtually no discretionary powers. Since student representation ranged from one third to close to one half on the various governing bodies of the university, their formal leadership position was strong. Only when change was perceived by the

students as being in their interest, was there a chance for such a change to be introduced. This was the more true since the students were organized outside the institutional power structure in a university branch of the national student organization which often took a stand in university affairs on behalf of the students. Besides, through the action of the official student organization which often took a stand in university affairs on behalf of the students. Besides, through the action of the official student organization or through the action of students of a given Faculty and their leaders, the students could and did use student strikes as a measure to impress their desires.

The election of all authorities and student leaders (even department heads were elected) also had a significant influence on leadership at the university. It meant that only those who were generally acceptable to the electorate stood a chance of being placed in positions of responsibility. To stay in power or to be reelected they could not deviate much from the established norms or aspirations of those who controlled their election. The only opportunity for leadership to promote change was to create a climate in which change was viewed as desirable by a large group of influential individuals among the members of the institution.

The only period during which there was a change in these circumstances was in the period from 1964 until 1966, during the reign of the Military Junta. At that time university authorities were appointed by the government and student power was reduced. It is more than a coincidence that several reforms were introduced during this period of time.

Student leadership requires some special attention. There were two types of leadership in student government: (a) university organization leadership; this includes the elected student representatives to the University Council, Presidents of School Associations, etc., and (b) elected officers of the Federation of Ecuadorean University students (FEUE). The latter organization and its officers had no formal role in the management of the universities, but directed student action in internal and external politics. FEUE influence on the student leaders in university organizations was considerable. There were three outstanding characteristics of the student leadership: (a) for many years leadership was in the hands of Communist elements; although the student survey of Dr. Rubio indicated that Communist sympathy was not strong among students, the Communists were more active than students of different political orientations and the majority of students were not regularly participating in political and university affairs; (b) a basic principle of student action was "solidarity" which strengthened the power of student leaders and made students act as a united front on most issues; (c) student organizations and their leaders reacted to proposed programs and developments rather than

formulating action programs of their own.

Only in the third period of the institution building process have certain changes in student leadership behavior been noticed. Thus, in Guayaquil a non-Communist ascended to the Presidency of the local FEUE chapter. Under his leadership and in cooperation with the university authorities the students demonstrated successfully for a larger budget allocation from the national government, especially for the University's new Basic Science Institute. At Central University student "solidarity" broke down in early 1967 when the students of the Faculty of Engineering led student opposition to a strike called by the FEUE leadership. In recent times there appears to be a move toward more independent action by student groups, especially in the technological Faculties.

In terms of relevance to the institution building analysis, the attributes of leadership at the institutions to be noted are:

- (a) elected authorities indebted to and influenced by their electorate;
- (b) lack of discretionary powers and resource control on the part of the authorities;
- (c) student leaders with considerable influence on and control over student action.

With this wide distribution of leadership roles and the delimited powers of each leader or leadership group, action was only possible where goals and purposes, that is to say the doctrine elements guiding action within the institution, were shared by a significant part of the institution's membership.

At Catholic University the situation was different. There, as at other Catholic universities in Latin America, the students do not participate directly in the leadership of the university. As our data indicate, however, the students aspire to such representational participation as is found at the State universities and the University's leadership is sensitive to these student aspirations. They constitute a limiting factor to the freedom of leadership action. At that University, also, the authorities are not elected. Unfortunately, not sufficient data could be collected on the leadership structure and attributes at that University to include them in our analysis.

The technical assistance team members acted as co-opted members

of the leadership group. They fulfilled their leadership role outside the formal power structure, by working through key professors and university authorities. Contact with student leadership was limited, first because during the period from 1964 to 1966 the number of student representatives to the governing bodies was reduced and the formal power of the students limited, secondly because many of the student leaders were not favorably disposed to the United States technical assistants on the basis of the student's political orientation. Furthermore, consultation with students on academic and administrative policies was so contrary to the experience and orientation of the United States professors that they showed reluctance in engaging in such consultation.

There was considerable evidence that the United States consultants were respected by the university authorities and by the Ecuadorian professors with whom they worked. The consultants also reported adequate receptivity on the part of authorities and professors to many of the reform recommendations made by them. Although it would have been difficult to verify this assumption, we expect that the technical assistants' control over resources for equipment and scholarships to implement the reforms they recommended substantially strengthened their ability to promote their ideas among the institutional leadership.

Among the technical assistance team members as co-opted members of the institutions' leadership, the following attributes could be discerned:

- (a) lack of direct influence on the institutions' governing bodies, offset by a lack of accountability;
- (b) respect enjoyed among those leadership elements they assisted;
- (c) control over resources.

As a variable in the institution building process, the leadership structure and the leadership processes were definitely unfavorable with regard to the introduction of innovation. Only by changing the roles and powers of the various leadership groups or by achieving consensus on goals and purposes could any leadership group hope to bring about change in the institutions. The United States technical assistance team members were in a somewhat better position to act as change agents by being less exposed to the institutional mechanisms for influencing and controlling leadership and in view of their access to physical resources.

B - Doctrine

Doctrine has been defined as "the specification of values, objectives, and operational methods underlying social action".¹ The conceptual framework of the research program further states that "the doctrine is viewed as the stable reference point of the institution and of its interaction with the environment, to which all other variables are related".² This means that the elements of structure, action, and interaction of an institution find their motivation and justification in the specified values and norms guiding the institution's leadership and membership.

In our case study it was found that the analysis of the doctrine as a variable in the institution building process cannot be done by the mere analysis of the charter specifications, i. e. by studying the formal statements of values, objectives and norms contained in the institution's statutes and other official documents. There may be a relative disparity between such charter specifications and the social action as recorded by an observer. Three factors may be the basis of such discrepancy: (1) some charter statements may be phrased in terms of cultural values, bounding rather than guiding social action, (2) charter statements may be so general and vague that they can serve as a motivation and justification for considerably varied behavior, (3) charter statements contain bounding and prescriptive elements of different hierarchical order and priority. In the latter case, compliance with a given existing or new element in the doctrine will take place only if it does not conflict with a higher priority doctrine element or if the priority order changes.

In the case of Ecuador, Blanksten has pointed out the disparity between what is written down and what is done.³ This discrepancy, we suggest, is the result of a tendency to specify doctrine in idealized cultural value terms, of the discrepancy between doctrinal statements and social reality, and of the countervailing pressures of variously ranked values and objectives. Only by analyzing social structure and action, deriving from these the underlying values and objectives, and comparing these with the formal doctrine statements, can one get an adequate picture of the real doctrine elements and their relationships.

An example of idealized value statements can be found in the description of the purposes and goals of higher education as contained

1 Esman and Blaise, op. cit., p. 10

2 Ibid

3 George C. Blanksten, Ecuador, Constitutions and Caudillos, Berkeley
1961

in the Law on Higher Education. Although the wording differs somewhat in the Laws of 1959, 1964, and 1966, there is no fundamental difference. We quote here the text of Article 4 of the 1966 Law:

"Universities and Polytechnic Schools are communities with spiritual interests where teachers and students join in the task of verifying truth and affirming the transcendental value of man. They must exercise their directive and educational functions in education, science, and culture, and contribute to the study and solution of the national problems. In order to do this effectively they must dedicate themselves to create, assimilate and diffuse knowledge by means of investigation and teaching, so as to complete the total preparation of the individual, initiated in the previous educational cycles; they will train the professional and technical teams needed by the nation for its development.

Higher education shall be inspired by the democratic ideals of social justice, peace, and human solidarity, and will be open to all the currents of world thought, and these will be expounded and analyzed in a strictly scientific manner".

Idealized statements about the aims of the universities and their social concern are also found in pronouncements by the universities' leadership. Typical is the following statement by Dr. Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, Rector of Central University from 1951 to 1963:

"Our University is the Fatherland's honor and glory despite its defects and poverty. Each professor labors daily to give science, knowledge and spirit to the students. Each day we try to do something, to reform something, innovate some systems, achieve some progress, some plan to benefit education. And because we are transforming the University adapting it to the present needs of the world and the Fatherland, on occasion our innovations and experiments are not as perfect as we would like them to be. But we know how to take advantage of our errors and correct them. We do not think ourselves infallible and indiscreet. We know that all human work is imperfect. It is only a road to move ahead. And we move ahead; the University moves forward. It will create some day a renewed Fatherland in which democracy will be respected, in which there may be solidarity among men, in which the truth may be said without fear; because the truth will be a treasure for the rulers and the ruled,

since each one will want nothing which is not progress for this Nation of ours".¹

Given the above doctrine statements on the aims of the University, the question arises whether the institution's membership views the actual structure and program of the University as being in accordance with the institution's aims. The 1962 and the 1965 student surveys shed some light on this. In the 1962 opinion survey the students at both Central and Catholic University were asked whether they were of the opinion that their respective universities were accomplishing their mission. The response was affirmative in 61.43% of the cases.² In our 1965 survey the students were asked to rate the quality of education in their respective fields. Out of 1172 respondents at three universities (Central, Catholic, and Guayaquil) 720 or 63.82% rated the quality of education in their field good or excellent. Another 31% judged it to be of acceptable quality, while only 6% rated the quality poor. Although generally satisfied with their universities and the education they offer, a substantial number of students listed a lack of scientific and technological orientation as one of the principal shortcomings of the Ecuadorian universities. The recognition of this shortcoming, however, was not so strong as to lead to student pressures for changes in that area. It was at most indicative of a changed receptivity in the science and technology programs at the universities.

In the statements by professors and interviews with them there was no evidence of any considerable dissatisfaction with the aims and programs of the universities and the manner in which they were accomplished. The professors saw the necessity for improvements, particularly in the material conditions, but also among them there was little evidence of an orientation toward fundamental changes in structures, programs and processes. The professors, like the students, emphasized the need for attention to the sciences, but few statements could be found specifying what was implied by this. Experience has shown that the increased availability of laboratories and equipment was frequently viewed as a sufficient factor to satisfy this particular need.

Over the three periods of this study no significant changes could be observed in the institutions' doctrine with regard to the broad purposes and goals of the universities.

¹ Alfredo Pérez Guerrero, La Universidad y la Patria, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, pp. 79, 80, 1955

² Gonzalo Rubio Orbe, op. cit., p. 123

One outstanding element in the doctrine of the Ecuadorian universities is the concept of autonomy. Autonomy means primarily non-interference by the government or any other external agency in university affairs. This traditional autonomy was guaranteed in the Higher Education Law of 1959. When the Military Junta came to power the autonomy was violated by the firing of a substantial number of professors for alleged Communist sympathies. The 1964 Law, promulgated by the Junta, furthermore, gave the Minister of Education power to intervene in situations regarded by him as necessary in order "to establish institutional normality", allowing him "to close down and to reorganize partially or totally the University".¹ These legal sanctions of interference with university affairs strengthened further the university community's opposition to the military regime. Using this legal provision in April 1966 to send military troops to the campus of Central University following an incident involving a truck of the Military Geographic Institute, was a major contributing factor to the Junta's downfall.

As a result of the above, the Law of 1966 contains very strong statements with regard to university autonomy:

"With the provisos dictated by the Constitution of the Republic, the precincts of universities and polytechnical Schools are inviolable. The supervision and maintenance of order are the responsibility of the officials of said Universities and Schools. No one shall trespass into their precincts except with the consent of entry issued by the pertinent authority, in cases of common transgressions against the law.

Neither the Executive Power nor any of its agencies, officials or functionaries may close or reorganize these universities and polytechnical schools or any of their Faculties, Schools, or Departments, nor decrease their income or budgetary allotments, nor delivery thereof, nor, in general, adopt any measures which might be detrimental to the normal operation of said establishments, or which might infringe on their freedom or autonomy.
....." ²

To a more limited extent the doctrine of autonomy also applies to the Faculties of the University within the institution. Although programs and curricula of Faculties and Schools require University Council approval, the various entities of the university jealously guard their right to self

1. Government of Ecuador. Ley Orgánica de Educación Superior, 1964 Art. 6.

2. Government of Ecuador. Ley Orgánica de Educación Superior, 1966, Art. 5

determination, both with regard to programs and regarding resources. In addition, the autonomy concept is found in the catedrático system, giving professors monopoly in their field. Finally, autonomy accounts to a large extent for the lack of functional relationships and mutual influence among the universities and outside agencies such as other institutions of higher learning, public and private organizations in all fields, and professional societies. The doctrine of autonomy makes the universities extremely fearful of any undue influence exerted by those who render economic and technical assistance.

The all-pervasive autonomy doctrine element has been and continues to be among the highest ranking values in the university community. Any change in the universities' values, goals, or operations which is perceived to be in conflict with the autonomy concept is likely to be rejected on that ground alone. In terms of introducing change this means that one or more of the following conditions must be met; (1) the change element does not come into conflict with university autonomy, (2) autonomy is reinterpreted to accommodate the change, (3) an effective change is made in the extent of autonomy to allow the introduction of the change element.

A further predominant doctrine feature at the State universities is co-government, the representational participation in university management by university authorities, professors, and students. This is part of the larger concept of democratic processes to be followed at the university. It also includes that all offices at the universities shall be elective offices from the Rector to the Department Chairman and student representatives.

During the days of the Military Junta the government interfered with the process of co-government and the elective process. While reverting to the system of elected authorities later, the government appointed the Rector, Vice-Rector, and Deans of the University who were in office for about one year. Also, as pointed out in an earlier chapter, student representation to the university councils was reduced by the Laws of 1964 and 1965. These actions led to a strengthening of the autonomy and co-government values within the university community and made it impossible to curtail these rights in the foreseeable future once they were reinstated upon the Junta's downfall.

The co-government and election systems have several results:
 (1) Considerable consensus is required in the university community for any action to be taken. In co-government the students constitute the strongest group by far, since they dispose of the strike weapon, which gives them virtual veto powers;

- (2) Internal politics tend to influence excessively the election of university authorities;
- (3) Authorities have neither the power nor the inclination to deviate from established patterns.

The students further interpret democratic processes to mean that every secondary school graduate has a right to be admitted to the university. While increasingly the lack of physical facilities in itself have led to the screening of applicants, such selection has met with considerable student resistance.

In terms of introducing change the strategic implications of the doctrine on co-government and elective authorities are:

- (1) The need to achieve consensus, either ideologically or by demonstrating benefit to all groups concerned;
- (2) strengthening effective control by authorities without violating the basic concept of co-government;
- (3) establish internal political alliances to combat opposition groups.

Regarding the latter point we mentioned that the students, in fact, constitute the most formidable power group. This means both that students must be part of any such alliance and that potentially the students are the most promising force in bringing about change.

By and large the internal and external change agents at the university have not taken full cognizance of the implications of these fundamental elements in the doctrine underlying social action in the institution. They have attempted to bring about changes in the structures and processes resulting from these doctrine elements or tried to get around them. Neither tactic has been very successful.

The formal doctrine of social justice and social responsibility, the doctrine of democratic process within the university, and the negative perception of the socio-political environment, all have provided the basis for another - informal - doctrine element, that of political action. Student leaders are divided along political ideological lines, act on that basis and frequently express themselves on national political issues. In promoting candidates for office at the university, both professors and students often favor and rally around candidates belonging to the political party of the supporters' orientation. Because of the partial identification of authorities

professors and students with the university as an institution, largely because of its part-time nature, this political orientation, along with the formal doctrine element of autonomy and co-government, are of greater importance in guiding social action at the universities than the elements concerned with the functions and academic programs of the institution.

In the area of doctrine little change could be observed during the period of institutional development studied. Rather, attempts were made by the change agents to change conditions within the universities and with regard to their relationships with the environment in such manner that a doctrinal reorientation would result. This was done through work in the areas of program, structure and resources of the institutions.

C - Program

In the context of the research program, program has been defined as "those actions which are related to the performance of functions and services constituting the output of the institution". The program of an institution is the manifest expression of its doctrine. Doctrine provides the motivation for action, it supplies the normative guidelines and determines the boundaries of acceptable action within the institution. Only by studying the behavior within the institution and programmatic action can we determine the extent to which the various formal and informal elements of the doctrine constitute guides for social action. Similarly, only the analysis of programmatic action makes it possible to determine the priorities existing among doctrine elements. Finally, unless the doctrine is stated in very specific terms, program analysis makes it possible to find out the interpretation in action terms of a given doctrine element.

Our case study clearly demonstrated the need for verification of doctrine elements and their interrelationship through the deductive analysis of institutional behavior. What has been said earlier about the priority of certain values as guides to social action is, in fact, the result of observation and analysis of action at the institutions.

While the program of an institution is the principal expression of its doctrine, it is also the major focus for change and a vehicle for introducing change in the doctrine of the institution. Conditions may present themselves in a society or in an institution under which changes in values and objectives lead to a dissatisfaction with actual institutional behavior and programmatic action. If a sufficiently large group in the

power structure of the institution accepts the new values and objectives, and recognizes the incongruence between present behavior and the new values and objectives, or if preponderant external pressure is exerted on the institution, then changes in programmatic action are likely to follow. In the absence of an insufficiently widespread acceptance of new values and objectives or in the case of insufficient dissatisfaction with existing program action, change agents may have to resort to less far reaching adjustments within the as yet accepted and satisfactory doctrine and program. These changes would then have to be viewed as contributing more effectively to pre-existing values and objectives, although they may ultimately lead to their reformulation.

In the absence of sufficient internal motivation or external pressures for fundamental change, the change agents of the Ecuadorean universities had to limit themselves largely to the introduction of innovations which are perceived as improvements on, rather than deviations from the existing patterns. In the process of doing this they hoped to lay the foundations for more fundamental reforms in doctrine, program and structure of the institutions.

In the program area the actions of the external change agents were focused on three different fields: (1) academic and professional programs of the universities, (2) extension programs and functional relationships with other organizations, (3) administration. Some details will be given regarding each of those fields of emphasis.

In period I, all three universities were characterized by a rigid program, geared to provide professional education. There was an almost complete lack of coordination of course materials; laboratories and library facilities were entirely inadequate. Faculties were self contained, all subjects were taught within the confines of a given School. A student failing one subject had to repeat the entire year and those who chose to change fields had to enter the first year of their new field of interest. Yet, during that period, there was an initial move toward greater coordination and programmatic change, particularly in the basic sciences area. Thus, at Central University, Basic Science Institutes were created, distributed over various Faculties in accordance with the relatedness of the science field of the Institute and that of the professional Faculty. "Unfortunately, the Centers did not fulfill their ends by the lack of a firmer structural foundation, lack of their own teaching personnel, and lack of laboratories and equipment".¹

¹ Ing. Alejandro Segovia, Informe, Quito, Editorial Universitaria, 1965 p. 21.

The lack of resources was viewed as the major impediment to program improvement and change. Similarly, resource scarcity was seen as the major factor for the part-time association of professors and students with the universities.¹

Apart from minor modifications over time, programmatic changes in the execution of the basic functions of the universities coincide with the arrival of foreign aid and technical assistance in period II. The foreign consultants stimulated program analysis and review. They organized planning sessions of the professors in their respective fields of specialization, introduced coordination among programs of study, initiated a credit system in several fields, etc. It cannot be said that the availability of expertise made possible the programmatic changes which were introduced. Over and over again the foreign consultants referred to the need on their part to initiate action, to call meetings and to push along the implementation of such decisions as had been reached. In bringing about programmatic changes the control over physical resources on the part of the external change agents appears to have been a decisive factor. Not only did a number of the program reforms require funds for equipment, books and training, but there is evidence that the availability of these funds and their control by the foreign consultants has indirectly served as, and even be used as, leverage to achieve the desired changes.

The most drastic program reform was introduced at Central University through the creation of the Basic Studies Faculty. Contrary to other programmatic changes at the universities, this change could not be accommodated within the existing doctrine and program patterns. It served the aspirations of better coordination within the University and increased emphasis on science teaching, but it violated the concepts of autonomy and of the internal political process. In addition, the program effectiveness suffered from a lack of adequate preparation. Also, adequate human resources for the operation of the program were lacking, while a building to house the fledgeling program was as yet not available. These various factors made it impossible to effectuate change through programmatic action.

Contrary to this attempt at bringing about change in the area of basic

¹ It must be stated, however, that there was no strong desire within the universities in this or the subsequent periods to work toward a full-time university program. With the exception of a few persons in leadership positions, the part-time program was not viewed as a significant problem.

studies, innovations were introduced at the Engineering Faculty at Central University which conformed considerably more with existing aspirations and patterns. In that Faculty the emphasis on practical rather than theoretical programs of study was increased and laboratories were installed to make this possible. Through the introduction of these acceptable innovations in the program an increase in the number of day-time hours students and professors spent at the university became desirable and acceptable, as did increased emphasis on program content and on rational coordination of Faculty resources. In period III the program improvements in the Faculty of Engineering led to positive cooperation among the Faculty's authorities, professors and students, as well as to the acceptance of discipline of a kind theretofore almost unknown at the University. What happened at the Faculty was a telling example of how certain program changes which do not deviate significantly from the existing patterns or are perceived to be in line with the aspirations of an institution's membership can become a foundation for more fundamental institutional change.

In the case of the Faculty of Basic Studies the change agents had not developed a formula promoting basic institutional change through program reform. During period III that Faculty was eliminated as a Faculty and a retrenchment became necessary which limited both the scope of the program and the political power of the unit.

Extension programs and functional relationships with other organizations had traditionally existed at the universities. In the institution building process, however, these program elements were deliberately used as instruments of change. Extension programs were both part of the formal university program and carried out as a social service by professors and students of the universities. Thus, the Federation of Ecuadorean University Students, in collaboration with Central University, obtained economic assistance from the International Cooperation Administration to set up in Quito a program of legal, medical, dental, etc. aid to needy people.¹ Through extension service and contract programs a deliberate effort was made to bring about change at the universities by the change agents during period II and particularly period III. The purpose of the emphasis on these programs was twofold. In the first place it was an attempt to relate the activities of the university more closely to the current needs of the society. Partly because of the autonomous character of the universities they have tended to be neither very responsive to the society's changing needs, nor to offer much

1 AID Ecuador University files, June 12, 1961

leadership as institutions to developments in the various professional fields outside the universities. Secondly, the change agents were intent on developing more interdependence between the universities and their environment in the hope that this would result in pressures for change and responsibility on the part of the universities.

Although initiated as a deliberate programmatic effort to foster change during period II, the alienation between the university participants and the government thwarted increased effective cooperation between the universities and the community. During period III the program has been intensified and certain movements toward institutional change can be traced to this program emphasis. It is too early, however, to see any significant results. In addition to social services such as health services and community development projects, this program emphasis can be found in applied research and consultation programs in fields like engineering, public and business administration, social work, etc.; in-service training programs for teachers in cooperation with the Ministry of Education; inter-university congresses on education in engineering, economics, and dentistry. To the extent that external political influences do not interfere, these programs appear to hold promise for motivating and guiding change.

University administration is another program area through which change was promoted. During period I administrative and financial management was almost entirely in the hands of the decision making bodies and the elected officials of the university. There was a lack of trained and specialized administrative officers, while the authority and responsibility of these appointed administrators was very limited. Central student records or a central university inventory did not exist, nor a central personnel department. The financial affairs of the Faculties were largely handled by the Faculties themselves, without personnel trained in financial management and without central financial controls.

During period II the change agents at the universities, especially at Central University, began to work on administrative reform. Not only did they see the need for more effective and efficient administration, they also recognized administrative reforms as an avenue to achieve more fundamental changes in the orientation toward the operation of the university. Through improvements and professionalization of the administrative structures and processes, justified on the grounds of establishing a more effective system of resource utilization, they saw an opportunity to reduce decision making on political grounds and to promote coordination. The 1965 Law on Higher Education specified some of the administrative reform steps to be taken, such as the creation of a central Finance Department, responsible for programming and executing the institutional budget, as well as for every matter related to economic

flow. The United States consultants at Central University seized this opportunity of bringing about institutional change through administrative reforms and emphasized assistance to the university leadership in setting up financial management and control systems. Although the 1966 Law did not specifically require a Finance Department at the universities, this department had not become a controversial issue and was maintained after the change in government.

At Catholic University, a private institution, financial management was treated as a confidential area. Particularly for this reason the foreign consultants had little opportunity to work in that field. At that university, however, the external change agents were instrumental in the establishment of a Development Office. This Office had fund raising as its principal task but since this necessitated institutional development planning, it served to promote coordination among Faculties and rational decision making. At Guayaquil work in the area of central university administration was initiated only recently during period III.

Although there was not a strong interest in administrative reform, this does not appear to have been an area which was highly institutionalized. Vested interests were not affected by such measures as the introduction of a codified budget planning system and by taking a precise inventory in the various Faculties. Establishing an auditing office as a unit of the Finance Department may have been perceived as a threat, but legitimate controls over expenditures could not very well be opposed. Through these various steps in the area of technical administration foundations may have been laid which will influence and permit change in other administrative and academic areas in the future.

In the area of program, in general, it appears that changes could be introduced under one or more of the following conditions: (1) when the programmatic change was not perceived as being in conflict with doctrine elements, (2) when the benefits to important individuals and groups in the power structure were clear, (3) when resources were available in sufficient magnitude to support the various aspects of the change. The major problems encountered in bringing about program changes were: (1) lack of physical resources, (2) lack of human resources, (3) lack of problem recognition and of internal and external pressure for change.

D - Resources

The resources are defined as the inputs of the institution in terms of physical, human, and technological elements. Rather than making a full

analysis of the effect of resource availability of the basic operation of the institutions, we will focus here on the relationship between resources and institution building and the introduction of institutional change.

We have identified the beginning of the period of foreign technical and economic assistance as the beginning of institutional change at the Ecuadorean universities. From the letters and documents originating in the Ecuadorean universities which led to the assistance agreements it is clear that an overriding factor in the universities' requests was their search for additional resources. Although there were a few leaders at the universities who were oriented toward programmatic, structural and procedural reforms, the majority of the leadership elements were looking for additional financial, equipment and manpower resources to carry out the existing university programs. Contrary to this orientation, the technical assistance team members were fundamentally change oriented, viewing their participation in university teaching as well as the resources at their disposal for equipment purchases, for scholarships abroad, etc., as aids and instruments to bring about change.

The history of the institution building efforts in Ecuador demonstrates that resource availability and control constituted the single most important factor in effecting change. The funds available for higher education from the government and other sources are very limited. Even though there has been an upward trend in government contributions to universities over the last number of years, this increase has been largely offset by the increase in enrollments. The average per student operating budget of the three universities studied was below \$ 200 per year. University authorities, professors and students alike viewed resource scarcity as the most important limiting factor to the progress of their university. Authorities and professors tended to emphasize the lack of buildings, equipment and materials and the lack of funds for professors and administrative personnel salaries. Students mentioned these items, but placed additional emphasis on the shortage of competent teaching personnel.

The inputs in equipment, books, and materials through the three technical assistance projects have been considerable. Since the beginning of the projects until the end of 1966 approximately one million dollars worth of physical resources have been donated to the three universities under the assistance program. An additional amount of almost \$ 400,000 was spent on training abroad and seminars for professors.

While it is clear that these inputs, in addition to the teaching performed by the technical assistants, increased the capability of the university to carry out its programs, the important question is how this affected the change

process.

Prior to the resource inputs mentioned, the universities were largely "blackboard" universities. The virtual absence of adequately equipped laboratories and teaching aids necessarily meant that the preparation of the students was almost entirely theoretical. The introduction of laboratories and equipment led to a more practical education. This, in turn, stimulated the students' interest in their university education and led them to accept programmatic and procedural changes in their fields of study along with the material improvements. It is no coincidence that the greatest changes were observed in the technological Faculties, where improved laboratories have led to more student motivation through their perception of greater relevance of the instruction to the execution of their profession. The resistance to change in the non-technological Faculties or in those Faculties where there was no development of laboratories and equipment was markedly higher.

The foregoing, however, is only part of the picture. Improved physical facilities do not by themselves lead to either programmatic improvements or change. One Faculty was observed which had received a sizable donation from an American Foundation for equipment purchases. Yet, five years after the donation, the Faculty's program showed little programmatic improvement and some of the equipment was still found crated in boxes. Comparing this situation with those where equipment inputs had resulted in program improvements and change, we found the following elements missing in the non-change Faculty: (1) the donation had not been preceded or accompanied by technical assistance; (2) the Faculty was lacking in effective leadership, (3) the donation was not in response to a formulated reform program, but intended to increase the Faculty's capability to carry out its existing program. Clearly, there are cases where additional physical inputs are required and justified to allow the expansion of existing programs. If, however, institutional change is intended, then physical inputs appear to be only effective as an instrument of change if there is a strong motivation for change internal to the institution, if internal and/or external pressures for change exist, and if there is sufficient internal and/or external control over implementation.

Resource availability and control appears to have been a powerful weapon in the hands of the change agents. Although this would be difficult to document, there are strong indications that the prospect of receiving resources for program implementation has in a number of instances caused the decision makers at the universities to accept recommendations for change from the technical assistance groups. In other words, the preference of the donor for a certain institutional rearrange-

ment carried more weight when accompanied by the actual or implied promise of resources than without this. Conversely, a strong desire to acquire physical resources enhanced the change receptivity on the part of the universities' decision makers.

Resource availability undeniably gave a great leverage to the technical assistance team members in promoting change. While there is no evidence of the use of this instrument as "blackmail", the technical assistance groups were well aware of its significance. Clearly, there is a danger in this kind of situation. It may lead to an expedient adjustment of the change target to the wishes of the change agent. In that case, if the recommendations of the latter prove to be wrong, the institution suffers. Or, upon receiving the resources, the recipients within the institution, who have not fully comprehended or accepted the change recommendations, may revert to their preferred ways and no change has been accomplished.

We have already referred to the severe limitations to the discretionary powers of the authorities at the Ecuadorean universities. This limitation is also evident in the lack of control of all university officials in the allocation of resources. Budget allocation and other resource utilization matters are as much subject to decision making by representational bodies as are virtually all other university matters. As a result resource allocation decisions are considerably influenced by internal pressure groups and political manipulation. For the institutional leadership this means that it has three avenues to bring about resource allocation to what it considers priority areas: (1) achieve consensus among the various power groups in terms of the priority areas identified by the leadership, (2) engage in political trade-offs to get support for the leadership priorities, (3) attract additional resources from outside the institution earmarked for the leadership priorities.

The character of internal structure within the universities, the nature of leadership, and the low motivation for fundamental change have severely limited the usefulness of steps (1) and (2) in terms of the allocation of resources to achieving change. Most of the institutional changes brought about were made possible by the infusion of material resources which were not subject to the allocation decisions and control of the various decision making bodies. This includes both funds made available from the outside for a specific purpose (buildings, equipment, salaries, etc.) within a given organizational unit of the universities, and general funding for a given area of activity (such as extra-budgetary funding of a given Faculty by a given Ministry).

Understandably, the above process of resource acquisition and allocation has led to imbalances among the Faculties of the universities. Contributions thus received often do not appear in any of the financial statements of the university and they are not taken into account in the process of allocating the regular resources available to the university. Yet, this process has

encouraged and rewarded entrepreneurship; it has increased the scarce resources of the universities; it has allowed progressive forces to bring about change without being constrained by traditionalism and political conflicts.

Specific purpose funding has been one of the main instruments of change of the United States technical assistance teams. Two limitations were noted on the utility of this instrument of change: (1) when the recipient institution was expected to make a significant counterpart contribution for the specific purpose or for complementary aspects, (2) when recurring operating expenses had to be scheduled by the recipient institution prior to full implementation and acceptance. If, under the circumstances of doctrine leadership, and internal structure, an innovation is introduced through resource inputs which circumvents the limitations imposed by the three variables mentioned, then these resource inputs have to be of sufficient magnitude and duration to acquire stability and develop legitimacy to prevent conflict in terms of the character of the other variables.

In an established institution with low change receptivity the process of change through the identification of potential change elements which do not come into conflict with the existing character of variables will severely limit the scope and speed of change. Additional resource inputs of sufficient magnitude and duration, if resulting in the effective operation of the institutional unit concerned, may lead to the integration and acceptance of the change and gradual change of other units and of variables affecting behavior.

Cases in point of the successful implementation of change through external resource inputs at the Ecuadorean universities are, for instance, the School of Chemical Engineering at the University of Guayaquil and the Faculty of Engineering at Central University. The Institute of Administrative Studies at Central University, providing in-service training, consultation services and carrying out applied research, is another case in point. On the other hand, the resource inputs in the Faculty of Basic Sciences did not have the hoped for results. In that instance, the problems encountered can be traced at least in part to the insufficiency of the resource inputs. Laboratories were equipped, but the construction of the building to house the Faculty and to give it unity and identity was delayed. Furthermore, competent staffing was lacking. Many persons in the University's leadership and among the technical assistants expressed the opinion that, in spite of the negative nature of the doctrine, leadership, and internal structure variables, the new Faculty could have been adequately protected had the resource inputs been sufficient and timely.

Finally, under resources, we have to consider the human resources. The nature and quality of the human resources available for the functioning of the institutions definitely had a considerable impact on the institution building process.

The human resources involved in the production process at the universities, consisted of five distinct groups: the university authorities, professors, students, and the United States consultants. On the university authorities we can be brief since this subject has been treated earlier. We have noted in this regard that the people in positions of academic and institutional leadership at the state universities are elected. We also stated that in these elections, political considerations tended to overshadow the assessment of the professional and administrative capabilities of the candidates. Furthermore, the powers of the elected officials were very limited. Finally they served in their respective offices for a relatively short time. Under these conditions, the university authorities as a human resource could not be expected to constitute a significantly positive factor in the long range institution building process. In fact, considering all the impediments it has been remarkable how responsible and responsive many authorities at the universities have been in promoting and supporting institutional change.

The professors at the universities had a far less salutary effect on institutional development than had the authorities. We reported that a survey among the students indicated that they considered less than five out of every ten of their professors competent in their field. Similarly, the United States consultants and other foreign professors interviewed referred to the limited competence of the majority of the professors. There is evidence that this, in addition to the vested interests of professors, and the limited time they devoted to their university militated against their interest in and support for program changes and most other changes in the operational processes of the institution. Almost invariably the greatest support for institutional change was found among the most qualified professors and the few who devoted considerable time to working at the university. Change motivation and change receptivity among the professors appeared to be closely correlated with professional competence and the intensity of association with the institution.

The students at the universities, as demonstrated by their answers to the questionnaire, did not view the substance of their learning at the university as a priority factor in their future career. Their preparation for university studies was frequently inadequate and admission standards lax. Their criticism of the academic and organizational arrangements at the universities usually were limited to a negative reaction to charges introduced, rather than taking a position in favor of reforms at the university, either by their initiation of reforms or in support of reforms recommended by the university authorities. In terms of quality and orientation, the students as a human resource within the university could not be viewed as a positive element for institution building.

Administrative personnel had little influence on the operation of the universities or on the introduction of change. Although this group had more continuity than had the university authorities and spent more time at the university than the professors, they had little independence of action and were almost totally subject to the rules, regulations and operational decisions of the governing bodies of the university. Their positions lacked the security needed to act as a force independent of the other participant groups at the university. Hence, they were a significant factor in terms of the introduction of change only to the extent that they had adequate motivation and preparation to carry forward the implementation of innovation. Frequently innovations introduced implied increased controls over administrative personnel and required increased competence on its part. Where changes affecting administrative personnel were accompanied by preparation of that personnel, and when the rewards to that personnel in terms of additional compensation and relative status in the institution were enhanced, this group tended to be a positive factor in the institution building process.

The last group of human resources requiring mention is that of the foreign technical assistants. From the foregoing it is clear that the human element in external assistance at the Ecuadorean universities is viewed by us as having been indispensable for institution building. Being independent from the institutional constraints, the United States consultants could act without fear of repercussions from within the institution. Since they worked entirely through their Ecuadorean counterparts, they could afford to have themselves be guided more specifically by technical rather than by political and other intra-institutional factors. Although devoid of direct influence on the operation of the universities, their technical competence, combined with access to material resources, made them one of the most influential human resources in promoting institutional change. This was true both as direct promoters of change and as allies to forces within the universities seeking to bring about change.

Our observations indicate that the resources variable can be both a constraining and an eminently positive factor in institution building at established institutions. The experience at the Ecuadorean universities leads us to the following conclusions:

1. Physical resource scarcity tended to be viewed by the participants of the institutions as the critical impediment to change and progress;
2. Improved quality and the intensification of association with the institution of the human resources facilitated the introduction of change;

3. low motivation for change militated against changes in the patterns of resource allocation;
4. the infusion of external, additional and earmarked resources was effective in bringing about institutional change, provided:
 - a) there was no simultaneous interference with the established patterns of resource allocation within their institution,
 - b) the physical resources were sufficient in quantity, diversity, timing, and continuity to protect the innovation while it was demonstrating its effectiveness and gaining acceptance,
 - c) the human resources required for the implementation of change were available or could be developed within the time required;
5. Control over resources on the part of change agents constituted a powerful direct and indirect instrument for effecting change, even where other institution building variables had a negative influence on the change process.

E - Internal Structure

Internal structure is defined as the structure and processes established for the operation of the institution and for its maintenance.

The patterns of structure, of decision making, of communication and of implementation can be of great significance to the process of institution building. The introduction of change in an institution is affected by the two principal internal structure factors: (1) the number of persons involved in the decision making processes, their location in the institution and their relative power, and (2) the extent to which the decision makers can cause the change to be accepted and implemented by the affected membership of the institution.

In an institution with considerable decentralization of authority, of decision making, and of implementation responsibilities, the number of persons who have to be receptive to a given change may be very large. Clearly, this depends in part on the extent to which the change element affects, or is perceived to affect, the participants with influence within the institution. Since any change in an institution in its implementation

phase also depends on the changed behavior of the affected participants, effective implementation will depend on the extent to which the institution's leadership can control or influence behavior of the participants.

At the Ecuadorean universities, power and authority are widely dispersed, as was already pointed out under the section leadership. The most basic unit of university organization is the subject matter (cátedra). The cátedra is a given specialized field of knowledge assigned to a professor. The professor controls the cátedra and while he has tenure no one else can teach the subject he teaches, within the same faculty or school. This professor (catedrático) has full authority to decide how the subject is to be taught and what is to be included under the subject matter heading. The result of this arrangement, for instance, is that any change with regard to the teaching program requires the consent and cooperation of a number of individual and independent professors.

Apart from certain institutes and centers, the fundamental academic administrative unit is the School (Escuela). The School represents a given professional field, such as civil engineering, administration, or academic discipline, such as political science. The Schools in more or less related fields are combined into Faculties (Facultades). Thus, we find at Central University the Faculty of Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine with two Schools in the respective areas. The School of Economics and the School of Administration (including both Public and Business Administration) form the Faculty of Economics and Administration.

The Faculties are the most important administrative units of the university. The principal identification of both professors and students is with their Faculty rather than with the university. The Faculties have considerable leeway in determining their programs, they have considerable administrative independence and frequently dispose of independent financial resources which are not even recorded in the books of the Central University administration. The universities can, indeed, be viewed as a confederation of Faculties. Each Faculty enjoys semi-independence and has a powerful representational voice in all matters which concern the affairs of the total institution.

There are, of course, certain central administrative services, responsible to the Rector and the Vice-Rector. These services include financial administration with a University Treasurer, administrative and legal services under the Secretary General, etc. The size of these central administrative operations is limited, as is their coordination and control power over the Faculties. As an example, none of the universities has as yet a central personnel department; the recording, maintenance and control of

a central inventory has only recently been introduced at one of the universities. Attempts to centralize and even standardize financial and administrative procedures have been resisted consistently as infringing on the autonomy of the Faculties.

Policy decisions and control over the operation of the various administrative units of the university lies with a number of representative bodies at the respective levels of the institution. Unless they involve university-wide policies, decisions regarding the management, operation, and programs of a given Institute, School, or Faculty are made by the representative body governing that unit. Very limited is the power of institutional authorities and leadership to institute changes pertaining to structure and action at lower levels of the institution. Regarding issues affecting central institutional operations or impinging on structure and action of more than one of the organizational units, decisions are made by representational bodies with the authorities of the university, the professors, and the students all being duly represented. The same representational structure also applies to the Faculties' decision making bodies. Discretionary powers on the part of university authorities are almost non-existent.

Over the period of time studied, little changed in the structure and process of authority and decision making at the universities. The main decision making bodies at the State universities are:

1. University Council

This principal decision making body at the university is responsible for all major decisions, ranging from budget allocations to the various units of the university to the appointment of personnel, the approval of the program of studies of the Faculties and virtually all other academic and administrative matters. Prior to the Law on Higher Education of 1964, and again in the post-Junta Law of 1966, the Council was composed of the Rector, the Vice-Rector, the University Professors' representative, the representative of the Minister of Education, and the Dean and one student representative for each Faculty. Traditionally, the representative of the Ministry of Education is a professor at the university rather than a functionary of the Ministry. Under the Law in force from 1964 until 1966 student representation was limited to three students and the rights of these student representatives to participate in the decision making processes of the universities was limited. Opposition to this deviation from the traditional process of co-government of authorities, professors, and students was strong and the limitations on student representation were rescinded in the 1966 Law.

The University Council frequently has standing or ad hoc commissions to study in detail certain aspects of university management and operations. These commissions have no executive powers, they prepare recommendations for the Council's consideration.

Although in charge of the day to day management of the University, the Rector and Vice-Rector of the universities have virtually no discretionary powers. Every academic and administrative matter involving policy questions must be presented to the University's highest authority, the University Council. Like the Deans of the Faculties, the Rector and Vice-Rector are elected officials. The Law of 1964 furthered continuity in university leadership by specifying that Deans were to serve for three years, the Rector and Vice-Rector for five years. The Law of 1966 returned to the former specification of a two-year term for Deans and a four-year term for the Rector and Vice-Rector.

2. University Assembly

This body is composed of all full professors (principales) and associate professors (agregados) having taught at the University for more than two years. In addition, the students are represented in a number equalling one half of the number of professors. Again, in this instance, the 1964 Law reduced the number of student representatives (to one fourth), but the 1966 Law restored the previous provisions on student representation.

The main attributes of the University Assembly are the election of the Rector, the Vice-Rector, and the Representatives of the professors to the University Council, and "to solve any unusual problems of the University, submitted to it for resolution by the University Council".¹

In spite of its rather limited scope of action, the University Assembly is regarded as a key body, since it is empowered to elect the highest university authorities. In view of this, Faculties seek to retain or gain the largest possible body of students and professors. This gives the Faculty a greater influence on the election of the authorities. Every professor meeting the specifications above is automatically a member of the University Assembly, regardless of the number of hours he teaches at the University. Needless to say that on the basis of Faculty influence

1 Law on Higher Education, May 1966, Art. 10

at the University Assembly, it is more advantageous to have a large number of part-time professors than a smaller number of full-time professors. Since power and influence on internal politics is an important factor in determining action, this factor has discouraged Faculties from engaging more full-time professors.

3. Faculty Assembly

On a Faculty basis, the Faculty Assembly is organized similarly to, and has the same prerogatives as the University Assembly. The only significant difference is that the Faculty Assembly tends to be called upon more frequently to take a stand on Faculty matters or to determine the Faculty's position on a university issue.

4. Faculty Council

There is one such council for each Faculty. Its members are: the Dean, the Sub-Dean, two professors elected by the Faculty Assembly, and a student elected by the students. This Council plays within the Faculties a similar role as the University Council does within the University as a whole. It meets frequently, at least once a month, and the important decisions concerning the program and operation of the Faculty are made there.

In addition to the directive bodies listed, institutes and centers usually have their own councils, composed along similar lines and using similar procedures as the other councils within the university.

With the exception of a short time during the regime of the Military Junta, when student organizations were banned, student organizations play a significant role in the internal structure of the university. The Federation of Ecuadorean University Students (FEUE) has "personería jurídica", which means that it has legal status and constitutes a formal part of the university community. Each State university in the country has a chapter of this national student organization. These chapters elect their President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer and the chapter officers in turn elect the national leadership. The students of each School elect a School representative to FEUE.

Although the elected officers of the student organization do not sit on the university's decision making bodies, their influence is considerable. Not infrequently are the student representatives to the university councils active members of FEUE and as such a channel of influence for the student leadership. Besides, when a FEUE leader wants to take part in the deliberations of the University or Faculty Council, he is usually admitted and allowed to speak. The university authorities are too well aware that their

failure to recognize the student leaders may find them ousted during the next election or may result in a strike organized by a displeased group of student leaders and their followers. In recent years the number of students who are actively participating in student organization affairs has not been large. The power wielded by FEUE as a political student organization on internal and external political and organizational matters has been out of proportion to the number of students they actually represent. Three factors account for the ability of the student leadership to exert such influence: (1) the apathy of the majority of the students; (2) the widely accepted concept of student solidarity (tesis única) which causes the students to accept the "party line" formulated by the student leaders, and (3) "compañerismo"; or comradeship, a sort of "class" identification related to solidarity.

In considering the role of student representatives in the internal structure of the universities, a distinction should be made between the representatives of the student organization and those elected to the decision making bodies of the university. Those speaking as representatives of the FEUE will largely represent the views and policies determined by the leadership on their campus. Student representatives to the decision making bodies will tend to take a more independent stand, unless they happen to be activists in the student organization at the same time.

The decentralization of power within the university, the lack of discretionary power on the part of authorities, the elective, representational nature of the decision making bodies and the role of student organizations have all a profound impact on the operation of the institution. These factors have shown to create great problems to the introduction of institutional change.

When introducing a new element into an institution, an analysis needs to be made of the units and persons within the internal structure that will be affected, of the decision makers who can influence the acceptance and implementation of the change, and of the attitude toward the change of these respective participants. Then, to achieve acceptance and implementation, effective communication must take place. External change agents can frequently play an important role in the analysis of the relationship of the change element and the internal structure. Unless they are widely accepted within the institution and the institution's members are highly change motivated, they are usually not in a good position to serve as the promoters of change, i. e. to play a major role in the communication process. This is the role of the institutional leadership, or the leadership of the unit of the institution to which the change applies, or

to a specific group within the institution which is particularly interested in the change.

The system and procedure of communication has generally been faulty in the institutions studied. Because of the characteristics of the internal structure of the universities the decision makers are not risk oriented. Motivation for fundamental change in the structure and process of the institution is low. The part-time association of the members with the institution, the lack of administrative staff services and of financial resources further hamper adequate communication. The complexity of the internal structure and the political nature of the universities has led the leadership to prefer circumventing the need for bringing up issues in decision making bodies, rather than trying to create a climate of understanding and acceptance of change.

Our study has indicated that a number of characteristics of the internal structure of the Ecuadorean universities constituted impediments to the introduction of change:

1. Decentralization;
2. decision making on virtual all institutional matters by representational bodies;
3. elected officials without discretionary powers;
4. lack of administrative services;
5. excessive influence of student organizations;
6. lack of communication.

F - Institutional Linkage

The research framework of the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building specifies as part of its guiding concepts four categories of institutional linkages.¹ Institutional linkage categories are defined as specifying "the interdependencies which exist between an institution and other relevant parts of the society".² A knowledge of the points of contact between an institution and other social organizations and groups, as

1 Esman and Blaise op. cit. pp. 12-15.

2 Ibid., p. 12

well as of the nature of the transactions taking place between the institution and its environment are, indeed, fundamental to the analysis of the operation of an institution. The nature of the relationships of the Ecuadorian universities with governmental and non-governmental entities materially affected the institution building process.

1. Enabling linkages. Enabling linkages are defined as linkages with organizations and social groups which control the allocation of authority and resources needed by the institution to function.¹ Both in terms of authority and regarding resources, the most significant enabling linkage of the universities is their linkage with the national government. The authority to operate is granted and circumscribed by the Law on Higher Education. This Law, as was described in an earlier chapter, affirms the autonomy of the universities. In fact, the autonomy of the universities, their independence from governmental influence and control, has been strengthened over the recent years. As an example the Law of 1959 specified that the Minister of Education was in charge of such matters as approving the internal university statutes, and approving the creation of faculties, schools or institutes. Thus, in this and other regards, while safeguarding the autonomy of the universities, the law at that time recognized certain rights of the executive branch of government to guide and control university affairs. The laws promulgated in 1964 and 1965 by the Military Junta circumscribed university autonomy to a far greater extent, even allowing the government to interfere directly at the universities "to establish institutional normality", creating academic and organizational units, etc. As a repercussion, the 1966 post-junta Law took away from the government virtually all power and control over university affairs. The grounds of the universities were declared inviolable territory, such responsibilities as had thus far been vested in the Ministry of Education for the coordination of university programs were delegated to a National Council of Higher Education. This Council is composed entirely of authorities, professors, and students of the universities, with only one representative of the Ministry of Education. The powers of this Council are so limited and its membership composition is such that, within the very permissive clauses of the law, university autonomy is practically absolute.

With regard to financial resources, the State universities are primarily dependent on budgetary contributions from the government. This, however, does not mean that the government (or the legislature, which prior to and

1. Esman and Blaise op. cit. pp. 12-15

since the Military Junta must approve the national budget) can or does influence the university programs. During the Military Junta regime, the law specified that the university budget was to be determined in part by the national manpower needs. In reality, there is no evidence that the government at that time influenced the allocation of resources on that basis. The allocation of financial resources by the government and legislature to the universities is a political process which can hardly be said to have any relation with objectively determined, technically analyzed university and national needs. Also in this area self determination by the universities is strictly maintained. Thus, the 1966 Law specifies that the State universities and polytechnic schools shall provide copies of their budgets to the National Council of Higher Education, the Ministry of Public Education and to the government Comptroller General's office, "for information purposes" only.

The legal provisions fully protect the universities against undue influence by their principal enabling linkage, the government. Recent political developments in Ecuador have resulted in the increasing independence of the universities. Desirable though such independence may be, it also precludes any influence of the government on relating university programs more effectively to national priorities. The total burden of responsibility for action within the universities, for allocating resources and efforts to areas of national priority, and for developing cooperation and coordination among the institutions of higher learning rests with each one of the autonomous institutions. Considering the internal limitations of these institutions, as expressed through the institutional variables determining behavior, it seems questionable that the increasing move toward independence observed during the last few years has had positive effects on the development of responsible and responsive institutions. On the other hand, experience has shown that reforms of the Ecuadorean universities cannot simply be introduced by legislation. When the Military Junta - an unpopular government in university circles - attempted to bring about far reaching reforms by issuing a new law, this actually resulted in a stronger move toward autonomy. In retrospect, besides hurting the cause of improving the relations between the government and the universities, this action was a contributory factor to university opposition to the military regime, an opposition which ultimately was partly responsible for the downfall of the Military Junta.

Another set of enabling linkages is the group of international organizations which provided technical assistance and economic resources to the universities. This group includes specialized agencies of the United Nations such as the Food and Agriculture Organization and the United Nations Special Fund. It includes the Organization of American States

and the Inter-American Development Bank; private foundations like the Rockefeller Foundation, and bilateral assistance such as the United States Government assistance channelled through the Agency for International Development. All these organizations and agencies can be said to belong to the enabling linkage complex of the universities.

In almost all cases the resources supplied by these international organizations had an impact on the direction and nature of the institution building process. All foreign aid and assistance was specifically designated for a given Faculty, School, or program of the university. In certain cases, such as the economic and technical assistance given to the Faculty of Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine of Central University by FAO and the Special Fund, this was in response to a request for assistance in that area made by the Faculty and University authorities. In other instances, such as the assistance rendered by the University of Pittsburgh to Central University funded by AID, the donor had a decisive voice with regard to the areas and programs to be supported. One can, therefore, find both situations where the institutional leadership can affect the course of events within the institution by establishing an enabling linkage with a resource donor institution, and resource donor institutions which affect the course of events within the institution by offering support for given areas of activity.

The foregoing, however, is only part of the picture. Talking about the resources variable, in a previous section of this chapter, we have pointed out that where providing resources is combined with the provision of technical assistance, and where the technical assistants have control over the allocation of resources, the influence of the donor agency on the recipient institution may be very considerable. Besides, external agencies offering donations, loans, and/or technical assistance usually attach to their assistance conditions to be met by the recipient institution which have an impact well beyond the more delimited scope of the assistance rendered. For instance, in the case of both the FAO and the AID assistance programs, the need for developing a full time teaching staff was recognized. FAO approached this by requiring a full time counterpart for every one of the technical assistants provided. Within the AID program the appointment to a full time teaching position was made a condition for sending advanced students and professors abroad for training. Developing a full time teaching staff, while aspired to as a long term objective, was not a top priority among the universities' decision makers and conditions were not conducive to attract full time staff members. As a result, the objectives of the donor agencies were only partially reached. Nevertheless, this is an example of conditions of assistance affecting the nature and direction of the institution building process.

If the leadership of an institution is change oriented, then it can at times make effective use of resource donors as enabling linkages. The leadership can in that case attract resources from the outside to bring about developments which would not have sufficient support inside the institution to get the decision making bodies to allocate resources for a given program of action. Even conditions of assistance, unless they are considered so onerous by the power groups within the institution as to require a rejection of the assistance altogether, may help and protect the leadership in its striving for change. Both these situations were observed at the institutions studied. When, on the other hand, a high change motivation on the part of the donor encounters low change motivation on the part of the recipient, we may find expedient acceptance of the donor's preferences, followed by a lack of implementation of the donor's change objectives. This phenomenon was also observed in the case study.

On the basis of the circumstances described, we can only conclude that the relationships of the universities with the enabling linkage institutions within Ecuador, i. e. the executive and legislative branches of the Ecuadorean government, had little if any positive effect on institutional change. This is true both from the universities' and from the enabling institutions' viewpoint. On the other hand, from both the universities' and from the foreign assistance institutions' viewpoint the enabling linkage existing between them could and did contribute positively to the institution building process.

2. Functional Linkages. Functional linkages are defined as the linkages with those organizations performing functions and services which are complementary in a production sense, which supply the inputs, and which use the outputs of the institution.¹ Also included in this concept are those organizations which constitute actual or potential competition for the institution.

Apart from the physical resources needed by the universities, treated under enabling linkages, the inputs into the production process of the universities consist of the students and the professors. A fundamental question with regard to these human resource inputs and the institutions from which they came is to what extent a complementarity existed between

1 Ibid. p. 14

them and the universities, or to what extent the universities sought and were able to bring about complementarity. With regard to the students entering the universities it was found that they frequently lack an adequate preparation for their university studies. By far the majority of Ecuadorean highschool students follow a six-year program leading to a bachillerato en humanidades. This is almost exclusively a university preparatory program. A highschool graduate with this kind of education has little chance of earning a living unless he is willing and able to pursue a university career. This factor, and the prevailing opinion that it is "undemocratic" to refuse entry to the university to anyone who has graduated from high school puts a tremendous pressure on the universities. Only absolute physical limitations are accepted as a ground for restricting the number of students entering the university.

The extent to which students are well prepared depends in large measure on the specific secondary school attended. Particularly questionable is the preparation of students entering the university with a Normal school certificate. These students, admitted to the Faculties of Philosophy Letters, and the Sciences of Education are almost always working as primary school teachers in the daytime while pursuing their university studies. The majority of the university students come from homes where the parents have not had a university education. While this is indicative of upward mobility and as such a positive factor, it also means that the entering student often has little knowledge about university studies. In addition, vocational guidance at the high school or university level is as yet almost non-existent. Finally, a substantial percentage of the university students work during the daytime. This, combined with the daytime occupation of the majority of the professors outside the universities, has led to the part-time system characteristic of most of the university Faculties.

The universities have done little to improve the complementarity between secondary schools and themselves. Little attention has been given to seeking improvements in the student input or to creating conditions under which the entering students can function better at the university. In part, the reason for this can be found in the way university autonomy affects university behavior. Secondary schools fall under the Ministry of Education, which determines programs, appoints teachers of secondary public schools, etc. The conception of autonomy at the universities frequently prevents an effective collaboration of their Schools of Education with the Ministry. The lack of economic resources of both the universities and the students further hampers the effective functioning of the students within the university process.

The professors generally come from the professional groups of society: lawyers, physicians, engineers, high school teachers, etc. One can hardly

speaking of functional linkage institutions as providing this input. In fact, in the case of the professors the universities tend to be self-perpetuating systems. The majority of the professors are graduates of the university where they teach, with or without having pursued advanced studies elsewhere. In certain Faculties, such as the Faculties of Medicine, a considerable number of the professors have augmented their knowledge by studying abroad. In other Faculties a very small minority has engaged in advanced studies. Particularly in the latter cases, and in the absence of advanced study programs at the Ecuadorean universities, the professors often lack the depth of preparation one may expect of a university professor. In fact, a number of instances were observed where a professor was teaching a specific subject matter for which he had had no specialized preparation whatsoever. Concerning the supply of professors one can say that there are no functional linkage institutions supplying adequately prepared professors with the exception of universities outside of Ecuador. The number of professors prepared in that manner is far too low. Primarily because of a lack of resources and in the absence of the university professorship as a career little has been done at the Ecuadorean universities to improve the situation.

The weakness of functional linkages on the output side is equally evident. As linkage institutions using the products of the universities we can identify the organizations employing the university graduates and the professional groups to which the graduates belong upon completing their university studies. In the latter case we are usually not dealing with concrete employing organizations, but rather with professional associations (colegios profesionales).

In terms of the employing organizations and the professional associations it was found that the influence of the universities on programs, behavior and standards of these linkage institutions was negligible. Similarly, the employing organizations and professional associations exerted little influence on the activities and training provided by the universities. There was no pressure emanating from the linked institutions for an improvement or adjustment to changing circumstances of the teaching programs at the university. Nor was there evidence of an infusion of new ideas on higher standards of professional performance from the universities to linked institutions.

We suggest that two factors account for this lack of mutual influence. One is university autonomy as interpreted and practiced in Ecuador. Pressure by outside organizations and associations on the university processes and programs would be viewed as interference with autonomy. Ecuadorean professionals, themselves products of this tradition, tend to fully respect this independence of their alma mater. A second, and possibly even more

important factor is the dual role of the teaching staff as university professor and practicing professional. Frequently, the professors are well known practitioners in their field and leaders in the professional associations. They do not have the independence in either of their two roles necessary to look critically at either of the two institutions with which they are associated. Besides, these men are very busy with the two or more jobs they have. It is unrealistic to expect them to do more than to perform satisfactorily in their respective assignments at a level and in a manner with which they are familiar.

The final category of functional linkage institutions consists of the group of universities and the Polytechnic Institute, the actual and potential competitors. This competition is all too real and frequently detrimental to the effective development of the respective institutions and of the nation. Although coordination among the institutions of a higher learning was to be provided in the earlier years by the Minister of Education and in later years through the Council of Higher Education, there is little evidence that this coordination has had positive results. There is wasteful multiplication of programs and facilities. For instance, there are three Schools of Chemical Engineering in Ecuador, two of them at institutions in Quito. Also in Quito, both Central University and the National Polytechnic Institute are in the process of building and equipping hydraulic engineering laboratories, largely duplicate facilities costing each institution well over \$ 100,000. Again here, institutional autonomy thwarts attempts at bringing about cooperation and rational resource allocation.

During period II, the post-junta days, the United States technical assistants have put considerable emphasis on developing more effective relationships between the universities and the institutions in their environment with which they have functional linkages. In-service training programs for professionals and sub-professionals have been strengthened or developed in a number of areas. University laboratories have begun to provide contract services. Contact between practicing professionals and university Faculties is being promoted through the creation of alumni associations. Conferences among institutions of higher learning on professional education in specific fields have been organized. It is too early to measure the impact these types of activities will have on the functional linkage relationships and how this in turn will affect the change process at the Ecuadorean universities.

3. Normative Linkages. The normative linkages specify the linkages with institutions which incorporate norms and values which are relevant to the doctrine and program of the institution.¹

1 Ibid., p.14

The most significant protection of the norms and values underlying structure and process at the universities does not lie as much in the shared norms of the universities and specific institutions in the environment as it lies in the generally accepted socio-cultural norms relating to university affairs. Such norms and values as co-government and autonomy are widely accepted among institutions and individuals in the society as time honored traditions, as a cultural pattern. One frequently meets influential professionals and other leaders of the society who take exception with the extent to which co-government and autonomy are practiced or with certain of the implications. Yet, as cultural norms these elements are so firmly rooted that most of these leaders of the society rather accept the aspects they consider negative than their abolishment. Besides, those who would like to see an adjustment or change in the norms at the universities are perfectly aware of the universities' capability of protecting themselves. The most important normative linkage for the protection and continuation of the existing norms exists among the institutions of higher learning themselves. Every government and each politician know that tampering with the established traditions would be inviting the wrath of the university community, with dire consequences for the attacker.

If not fully shared, the norms and values of the universities are sanctioned by the government as expressed in the Law of Higher Education. Concerning the purposes and functions of the universities there is also considerable confluence between the universities and the institutions in the environment. These norms and values are expressed in very general terms such as democracy, peace, and working toward the improvement of living conditions. In the general areas of operating practice and of purposes the universities are sub-cultures which until the present reflect the cultural norms and values of the society.

Since the university participants are actively engaged in politics, normative linkages with political parties and ideologies are quite relevant to behavior within the institutions. Students as well as professors and university authorities are often guided in their actions at the university as much or more by their political orientation affiliations than by strictly university considerations. There is, overall, little difference between internal institutional issues and national political issues. All issues, institutional or national, acquire meaning in terms of political doctrine frames of reference. Thus, leftist student groups tend to reject innovations recommended by United States technical assistants on the sole ground that they are North American. Groups of authorities and professors will try to promote colleagues into positions of influence at the university on the sole ground that they belong to the same political party. The use of student organizations for the furtherance of the political objectives of the student leaders is commonplace. There is evidence that students

and professors alike maintain contact with political organizations and use their association with and position at the universities to further the objectives of their political party.

The normative linkages existing between the university participants and the political parties are clearly detrimental to the institution building process. They introduce elements into the patterns of values and action which are quite irrelevant to the purposes of the institution. This situation however, is not likely to change until one or both of the following developments have taken place: (1) a more mature and stable political system in the society, (2) increased identification of the professors and students with the welfare of their university as an academic institution.

4. Diffused Linkages. Diffused linkages are the linkages with groups and individuals outside the specific social organizations. In this category fall relations with influential but independent individuals, relations with the public and the press, etc.

Public opinion as a force independent from the established social organizations is not significant in Ecuador. Although groups organized around economic, professional, or regional interests exert pressure on the government to achieve their ends, campaigns on behalf of a given issue or organization and attracting widespread popular support are virtually unknown. In large part this can be ascribed to the fact that only a very small segment of Ecuador's population can be called politically active. The majority of Ecuador's approximately five million people live on the margin of the economy. While the middle class is growing in size and importance, economic and political power is still solidly in the hands of a few leading families.

The five leading newspapers in Quito and Guayaquil have some influence on molding public opinion. Being in the hands of a few prominent families closely connected with the economic and political interests of the national leadership group, these newspapers seldom express themselves strongly on any really controversial issues.

Partly because the universities have their own channels to exert pressure, partly in a realistic appraisal of the limited influences of public opinion, little attention has been given at the universities to gain broad support by influencing public opinion. Occasionally declarations of the national student organization or one of its branches will appear in the newspaper (for which they pay), but this is as much to spread the word to the university community or to reach government circles as it is to communicate with the general public. Only recently has a beginning been

made at some of the universities - such as at Central University, where a public relations department was created - to reach beyond their constituents, to create a favorable image, and to seek community support for university programs. To the extent that the universities begin to render more direct services to the community, and to the extent that they seek additional sources of financial support, their isolation is decreasing and they are searching for more and better relations with the society of which they are a part.

G - Conclusion

Institution building at an established organization, i. e. its reconstitution on the basis of new values, functions, and technologies, is a difficult undertaking. Our study indicates that certain properties of the established value and action patterns can particularly impede such institution building efforts. Simultaneously we hope to have conveyed to prospective change agents the analyses needed to determine change receptivity and change strategies.

As an evolutionary process, change and modernization will undoubtedly take place at the Ecuadorean universities. During the few years that groups of change agents have been actively engaged in introducing deliberate change at those universities, they have demonstrated, albeit on a modest scale, that this evolutionary process can be accelerated.