Conflict, Postconflict, and the Functions of the University: Lessons from Colombia and other Armed Conflicts

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CONFLICT, POSTCONFLICT, AND THE FUNCTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY: LESSONS FROM COLOMBIA AND OTHER ARMED CONFLICTS

Dissertation

by

IVAN FRANCISCO PACHECO

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Conflict, Postconflict, and the Functions of Higher Education: Lessons from

Colombia and other Armed Conflicts

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Abstract

"Education and conflict" has emerged as a new field of study during the last two decades. However, higher education is still relatively absent from this debate as most of the research has focused on primary and non-formal education.

This dissertation is an exploratory qualitative study on the potential role of higher education in peacebuilding processes. The conceptual framework for the study is a taxonomy of the functions of higher education designed by the author. The questions guiding the dissertation are: 1) What can we learn about the role of higher education in conflict and postconflict from the experience of countries that have suffered internal conflicts in the last century? 2) How are universities in Colombia affected by the ongoing armed conflict in the country? 3) How can Colombian higher education contribute to build sustainable peace in the country?

First, based on secondary sources, the dissertation explores seven armed conflicts that took place during the twentieth century. Then, the focus turns to the Colombian case. The research incorporates the analysis of 23 semi-structured interviews, published and unpublished documents, institutional websites, and government statistics, among others.

In most of the conflicts included in the international overview, Higher education institutions (HEIs) played instrumental roles during the conflict and the postconflict. Yet, those roles were not always conducive for peacebuilding. Universities, professors and students have been affected by the conflict, have participated in it, and sometimes, have been used by the combating parties for logistical purposes or to promote an ideology. In contrast, delegating a peacebuilding role to higher education is a relatively new phenomenon.

Armed conflict in Colombia tends to affect public HEIs more than private ones. Public and private HEIs in Colombia have participated in peacebuilding activities. Sometimes they collaborated with government agencies and NGOs; other times, they worked independently. The contribution of higher education to peacebuilding goes beyond its traditional teaching function and includes many other functions that are hardly mentioned in peacebuilding literature.

A Yolanda y Alfredo, a Danielle, a Mateo. Mi origen, mi centro, el futuro.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACCES	Acceso con Calidad a la Educación Superior (Access with Quality to Higher Education)
ACR	Alta Consejería para la Reintegración Social y Económica de Personas y Grupos Alzados en Armas (High Counselor for Social and Economic Reintegration of Persons and Armed Groups Groups)
ACR	Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración (Colombian Agency for Reintegration)
ACU	American Students Union
ASCUN	Asociación Colombiana de Universidad (Colombian Universities' Association)
BACRIM	Bandas Criminales (Criminal Gangs)
CCM	Centre for Conflict Management
CEAP	Corporación Económica de Amigos del País (Corporation of Friends of the Country)
CERES	Centros Regionales de Educación Superior (Regional Centers for Higher Education)
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CINEP	Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (Center for Research and Popular Education)
CNRR	Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación (National Commission of Repair and Reconciliation)
Colciencias	Departamento Administrativo de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación (Administrative Department of Science, Technology and Innovation)
Conpes	Consejo Nacional de Planeación Económica y Social (National Council of Economic and Social Planning)
DANE	Departamento Nacional de Estadísticas
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
EAN	Escuela de Administración de Negocios (School of Business Administration)
Ecopetrol	Empresa Colombiana de Petroleos (Colombian Petroleum Company)
ELN	Ejército Nacional de Liberación (National Liberation Army)
EPL	Eército Popular de Liberación (People's Liberation Army)
Esatec	Fundación de Educación Superior (Foundation for Higher Education)
ESMWT	Engineering, Science, Management, and War training Program
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)

FARC-EP	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia - Ejército del Pueblo (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army)
FEC	Federación de Estudiantes Católicos (Catholic Students Federation)
FEU	Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios (Federation of University Students)
GUNI	Global University Network for Innovation
HEI	Higher education institution
HIIK	Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research
ICFES	Instituto Colombiano para la Evaluación de la Educación (Colombian Institute for the Evaluation of Education). Before: Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educación Superior
IDEA	Institución de Educación Abierta y a Distancia (Institute for Open and Distance Learning
ILSA	Instituto Latinoamericano para una Sociedad y un derecho Alternativos (Latin American Institute for an Alternative Society and an Alternative Law)
Indumil	Industria Militar (Military Industry)
InWent	Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung gGmbH (Capacity Building International)
IOM	International Organization for Migrations
IPAZUD	Instituto para la Pedagogía la Paz y el Conflicto Urbano (Institute for Peace Pedagogy and Urban Conflict)
IRB	Institutional Review Board
ITUCE	Instituto Tecnológico Universitario del Cesar (Technologic Institute of Cesar (became UPC)
JUCO	Juventud Comunista Colombiana (Colombian Comunist Youth)
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
M-19	Movimiento 19 de Abril (Movement April 19)
MEN	Ministerio de Educación Nacional (National Ministry of Education)
MOIR	Movimiento Obrero Independiente Revolucionario (Independent Revolutionary Movement)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSDStB	Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (National Socialist German Students' League)
NUR	National University of Rwanda
ODDR	Observatorio de Procesos de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSDR	Office of Scientific Research and Development
PDPMM	Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio (Program of Development and Peace of the Middle Magdalena)

PNUD	Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (United Nations Development Program)
PRVC	Programa para la Reincorporación a la Vida Civil (Program for the Reincorporation into Civilian Life
PSSES	Programa de Servicio Social de la Educación Superior (Higher Education's Social Service Program)
RDD	Red de Derecho y Desplazamiento (Network on Law and Displacement)
SATC	Student Army Training Corps
SENA	Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (National Learning Service)
SEU	Sindicato Español Universitario (Spanish Students Union)
SIU	Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education
SNIES	Sistema Nacional de Información de la Educación Superior (National Information System of Higher Education)
TNT	Tontos, Necios, y Revoltosos (Stubborn, Fools, and Transformers)
UCA	Universidad Centroamericana (Central American University)
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UD	Universidad Distrital (District University)
UDES	Universidad de Santander (University of Santander)
UIS	Universidad Industrial de Santander (Industrial University of Santander)
UL	Universidades Laborales (Labor Universities)
UNAD	Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia (National University of Open and Distance Education)
Uniminuto	Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios (Minute of God University)
Unipaz	Institución Universitaria de la Paz (University Institution of Peace)
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UP	Unión Patriótica (Patriotic Union)
UPC	Universidad Popular del Cesar (People's University of Cesar)
USO	Unión Sindical Obrera (Oil Workers Union)
USTA	Universidad Santo Tomás (Santo Tomas University)
UTB	Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar (Technology University of Bolivar)

Chapter 1. Introduction

> We must begin by acknowledging the hard truth: We will not eradicate violent
> conflicts in our lifetimes. There will be times when nations — acting
> individually or in concert will find the use of force not only necessary but
> morally justified.
> Barack Obama (2009), accepting the Nobel Peace Prize.

The role higher education can play in societies during and after violent armed conflict has not been sufficiently studied. This omission is surprising considering the increasing importance of higher education in society, which is illustrated by the almost universal growth of enrolment around the world during the last decades and the importance that international agencies, politicians, and academics attribute to higher education. Such omission is also a motive of concern because by ignoring the potential of higher education in conflict and postconflict societies, policy-makers and scholars are ignoring either a potentially important tool for social change or a dangerous risk for the successful transit from postconflict to peace or, most likely, some combination of these two possibilities.

Davies (2004, p. 7) considered that it was not surprising "that the link between conflict and education is grossly under-analyzed." She explained her skepticism by remarking that the topic "is uncomfortable for policymakers and curriculum makers" and "it is safer to focus on literacy and numeracy, on the number of desks and the achievement of measurable targets."

Attention to the effects of conflict on higher education and the participation of students and professors in the conflict contrasts with the attention received by the potential role of universities as peacebuilding institutions. Several newspaper articles and some books talk about the impact of conflict in higher education and how students and professors get involved in activities associated with the conflict. The role of students in revolt has caught the attention of several authors (Altbach, 1969; Lipset & Altbach, 1969; Natsis, 2002; Zeilig, 2007). More recently, during the episodes of generalized unrest and tension in northern Africa and the Arab countries during 2010/2011, University World News, an electronic newspaper specialized in international higher education, documented how students and professors protested against "the presence of university leaders and administrators associated with the fallen government of Hosmi Mubarak" (Khaled, 2011); how Ivory Coast campuses were closed as a consequence of the conflict and some students "joined the warring factions as militias" (Fatunde, 2011); and how "graduate joblessness spark[ed] violent protest" in Tunisia (Sawahel, 2011). In contrast, the role of higher education in postconflict situations is hardly mentioned or studied.

In the last two decades, education and conflict has emerged as a new field of study. Unfortunately, most of the production of this field is dedicated to primary and non-formal education. There are several studies on higher education and conflict; most of them are single-country, single-institution studies and in general, they lack a solid theoretical framework. A comprehensive study on the roles and functions of higher education and its institutions in the context of conflict and postconflict is missing.

Has the role of higher education regarding conflict and post-conflict been the same across time and space? If the answer is no—as I believe—what have been the main differences in the role and expectations of higher education through time? How has this role been affected by the role education played during the conflict stage? Is the way universities understand their role in a postconflict context the same as governments understands it? There is not a single answer for these questions. It depends on the historical, economic, and sociological context of each conflict in each conflict. This study does not intend to answer all of these questions, but to provide a conceptual framework that allows a better analysis of the problem.

Although most of the original data for this dissertation corresponds to the Colombian conflict, seven other armed conflicts that took place during the twentieth century are reviewed in this study. This international overview will serve two purposes: first to explore the relationship between higher education and conflict, and second, to test the conceptual framework in other conflicts, mainly using secondary sources.

Statement of the Problem: The Elephant in the Room

Colombia has suffered an internal armed conflict with different levels of intensity since the 1960s. Ten years ago people were afraid of driving on the roads that connected some of the main cities because of the risk of being kidnapped by the guerrilla. Very few people can give an estimate of the number of massacres related to the conflict in the last ten, twenty, or thirty years, not because these massacres are ignored by the people but because there have been so many that most people lost track of that number several years ago. Today, thousands of displaced people crowd the traffic lights displaying billboards

declaring their condition and begging for coins to survive. The expenditure in defense, is the highest of all items in the nation's budget and every day the news talks about the most resent bombarding of the army on the guerrillas, the reorganization of former paramilitaries in criminal gangs (called "Bacrims" as a contraction of the words *bandas criminales*), or the attacks from the guerrillas to the government forces.

Despite of these and many other reminders, the conflict was hardly mentioned in Vision 2019, the long-term planning document elaborated during the two-term government of president Alvaro Uribe (2002 – 2010). One of the strategic objectives in this document is that "in 2019 Colombia will have consolidated peace and will have violence indicators similar to those of developed countries."[1] The document does not describe how peace will be achieved. It hardly mentions the conflict, it does not mention the word "war," and it does not mention the causes of the conflict. What role is education going to play in the construction of Colombia's peace? The government has never addressed this question; in fact, very few people have.

The armed conflict is the elephant in the room of educational policy in Colombia. We all know that the conflict is there, but for some reason the conflict, or topics related to it (such as how to teach the history of the contemporary conflict, how to train students to become "peacebuilders," or whether teaching human rights is enough to promote peace in the country) are hardly included in the mainstream of educational policy in the country.

However, the efforts of higher education institutions to contribute to peacebuilding are countless, yet ignored by most people, even within the universities.

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[1] Author's translation. The original says "en 2019 Colombia habrá consolidado la paz y presentará indicadores de violencia similares a los de los países hoy desarrollados."

Are these isolated efforts enough to put an end to the conflict? Of course not. However, through their study, together with other countries' experiences, it may be possible to find public policy tools that allow universities to contribute to the achievement of durable peace in a more decisive way.

Purpose of the Study

This dissertation is an effort to better understand the role of higher education in societies suffering armed conflict and how higher education can contribute to peacebuilding. The objectives of this study are threefold: First, developing a conceptual framework for the study of the potential role of higher education in peacebuilding. Second, providing an overview of the role of higher education during conflict and postconflict in several countries and in different moments of contemporary history during the twentieth century. Third, providing a general overview of the role of higher education in peacebuilding in Colombia, based on interviews with university leaders (mostly rectors), members from the government, and experts in higher education, as well as on documents, newspaper articles, and other sources.

Research Questions

This dissertation aims at answering three main research questions: 1) what can we learn about the role of higher education in conflict and postconflict from the experience of countries that have suffered internal conflicts in the last century; 2) How

are universities in Colombia affected by the ongoing armed conflict in the country? And, 3) How can Colombian higher education contribute to building sustainable peace in the country?

Some additional questions that guide this research are: How does the role that higher education institutions played during the conflict affect their role in a post-conflict transition? And, what are the obstacles preventing higher education from playing a more significant role in the post-conflict?

Importance of the study

This dissertation is a pioneer in many ways. It is one of the very few dissertations addressing the topic of higher education in conflict and postconflict context. It is also the first study on the role of higher education in peacebuilding in Colombia using several case studies and interviews to policy makers and policy administrators. There are a few previous studies on this topic but they have been limited to single universities (Bernal Alarcón, Bernal Villegas, & López Herrán, 2005; Delgado, 2008). This is also the first study on higher education and internal violent conflict analyzing several countries, several universities, and multiple functions of higher education. The few studies on higher education and internal conflict and postconflict tend to be based in single country, single university, and, usually, one single function of higher education.

The inclusion of several countries allows a historical overview of the roles of higher education in three major moments of recent history: the two world wars, the Cold War, and the post-Cold-War period. In addition to the historic perspective, this approach

helps to identify and exemplify some functions of higher education that otherwise would be unnoticed.

The connection between higher education and peacebuilding deserves further analysis because violent conflict is a constant in the history of humanity, and higher education is getting growing importance in contemporary societies. The twentieth century witnessed a large number of conflicts. According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), 248 conflicts in 153 locations worldwide have taken place since the end of World War II (Themner L. & Wallensteen P., 2012). The number of conflicts during a single year in the world grew from 17 in 1946 to over fifty by the beginning of the 1990s and then started to decline to a record-low of 30 in 2003. However, by 2008 there were 37 armed conflicts in the world, a number that was repeated in 2011, despite a decrease between 2009 and 2010.

The endurance of violent conflict in the world has been well documented. According to the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK - Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, 2009), of the 365 political conflicts registered in 2009, almost three quarters (273) were internal conflicts, and 31 involved the use of massive violence (seven wars and 24 severe crises). Even though HIIK observed a reduction in the number of violent conflicts compared to the previous year (2008), when 39 conflicts involving the use of massive violence were observed, there are many reasons to believe that around the world peace remains elusive.

Studies show that even in those countries where peace agreements have been signed, peace is still elusive. Two thirds of the armed conflicts that ended during the first

decade of the 21st century experienced some kind of recurrence during the same period, and 80 percent of the conflicts that became active in that decade were recurrences from previous conflicts (Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, & Gurr, 2010) To counteract this trend, the Center for International Conflict Management suggested, among other measures, "targeted international aid programs" for a period of five to ten years following the end of the war with a focus on promoting social programs and economic growth (Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, & Gurr, 2010, p. 2). Higher education would be in condition of contributing to those "social programs" and economic growth.

After decades in which the idea that investment in primary education provided higher rates of social return than secondary and tertiary education (and a critique to this approach in: Bennell, 1996; See: World Bank, 1995), the importance of higher education to development has been finally acknowledged. In the African context, for example, research shows that every additional year of education achievement represents a 0.39% increase in the gross domestic product of a nation (World Bank, 2009). Additionally, authors have attempted to identify a relationship between economic development and peace (See for example: Gartzke & Weisiger, Forthcoming) and some have pointed out how poverty is among the key predictors for the outburst of civil war (Fearon & Laitin, 2003) If higher education contributes to the nations' economic development and economic development contributes to peace, it seems valid to infer that higher education contributes to peace. Nonetheless, this relationship has not been sufficiently studied.

Using a taxonomy of functions of higher education to explore its role in peacebuilding is an innovative approach that allows studying aspects that have not been

considered before in the context of higher education and peacebuilding, such as buffering unemployment or contributing to local development. The taxonomy and its use in the analysis of documents and interviews can be replicated to explore the role of higher education in different complex situations. This study illustrates how this tool can be used and provides an overview of the challenges, paradoxes, and opportunities for peacebuilding. It is of great importance for the design of social policy to understand how higher education and its institutions can contribute to peacebuilding and what the limitations and possibilities of universities in this regard are.

Selection of Countries

The fieldwork for this dissertation took place in Colombia. The main driver for this selection was personal as Colombia is my home country. There are additional reasons that justify this selection: 1) Colombia's armed conflict is the oldest internal conflict in Latin America. 2) Despite the conflict, Colombia's gross domestic product (GDP) has been growing in a sustained way (with a couple of exceptions) through the last five decades, which is the time that the conflict has been active. 3) Several peace negotiations have taken place in Colombia, some of them finished with the demobilization of armed groups (or most of their members, because it is frequent that dissident factions do not adhere to the peace agreements). However, there has not been a peace agreement or a demobilization process that includes all the combating parties: the leftist guerrillas, the paramilitaries, and the government. In a way, Colombia is simultaneously a conflict and a postconflict nation, which is not exceptional among

countries going through this transition.   4) Unlike many other conflict countries, enrolment in primary, secondary, and tertiary education in Colombia has been growing permanently through the years of conflict and the educational system has not been dismantled.

The other Seven Conflicts were selected based on three different criteria: historic, type of conflict, and geographic region. The historic criterion has been emphasized through the selection of countries and conflicts and through the chronological organization of the chapters. This was based on the assumption that the involvement of higher education in peacebuilding has change through time. The selection of countries is also intended to cover inter and intranational conflict, based on the assumption that such distinction can also affect HEIs involvement in the war effort and in peacebuilding. In terms of geographic regions, the sample contains countries from North and South America, Europe and Africa. Despite these criteria, the sample of countries was not intended to be representative of all the types of armed conflicts that took place during the Twentieth Century.

Conceptual Framework

Using the conceptual framework already developed for the field of education and conflict to analyze higher education can be tempting because it would provide a set of definitions, procedures, and theories that have been already tested. The disadvantage of this approach is that it would imply the assumption that the goals and challenges of primary, secondary, and vocational education are the same than those for higher

education, which is not necessarily true. The complexity of higher education institutions and their role in contemporary societies poses different challenges from those already identified for children's education in the literature of education and conflict.

Instead, this study uses a taxonomy of the functions of higher education in combination with a list of goals and activities related to peacebuilding (Whaley & Piazza-Georgi, 1997) to analyze the involvement of higher education to that goal. The functions of higher education and the purposes and activities of peacebuilding served as the basis to build a list of codes to analyze the data.

Some works evaluating the role of the university have used the functions of university as a conceptual framework before. De Moura Castro and Levy (1997, p. 2) for example, pointed out how "failure to identify the different functions of higher education contributes to sloppy assessment and a lack of appropriate policies." They identified four key functions of higher education and called attention to the existence of real and perceived functions. Two decades before, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) created a list of purposes and functions to evaluate the performance of higher education in the United States. The set of functions identified in these works are not enough to describe the complexities of higher education in conflict and postconflict settings, which motivated the creation of the catalog of functions used in this dissertation.

Unlike the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) and de Moura Castro and Levy (2000), this dissertation does not evaluate higher education or its contribution to a societal goal (in this case, peace). Such evaluation would imply comparing against an ideal to determine whether expectations are met or not. The

purpose of this dissertation is descriptive; it is aimed at understanding what universities have or have not done to contribute to peacebuilding. There is of course a bias in making these observations and assuming that some activities can contribute to peace. This research does not evaluate how effective those activities are in achieving or contributing to peacebuilding. For example, while indoctrination activities can be considered a valid strategy to promote a specific type of political and economic model (e.g. capitalism or socialism), which in turn can be considered a peacebuilding activity because it is helping to create a common set of values, it can also be considered a conflict-generating activity because it may polarize the population. The conceptual framework will be presented in more detail in Chapter Four.

Method

This project is an effort to understand the perceptions, expectations, accomplishments, dreams, challenges and frustrations of those who, at any given point, are or were involved in the policy making process, the application of those policies, or the design of other initiatives to involve higher education in the quest for peace. Sometimes those experiences are well documented; more frequently information is only available through key informants, grey literature, news, and other sources. A project of these characteristics requires "a holistic account" that enables the researcher "reporting multiple perspectives, identifying the many factors involved in a situation, and generally sketching the larger picture that emerges" providing a "*complex*, detailed understanding of the issue" (Creswell, 2007) This type of account is better provided through qualitative research.

To illustrate the complexities of the relationship between higher education and conflict I used short descriptions based either on specific conflicts or on specific universities within a conflict. In the international overview on the second part of the study, I used country examples; in the specific context of Colombia, I used five university examples. These short descriptions allowed a comprehensive view of the portrayed conflicts and institutions, as well as presenting the uniqueness of each conflict and each institution while pointing out shared elements and important differences across cases.

Country examples were based on documental sources including journal articles, newspaper articles, and reports. Most of these sources did not have peacebuilding as a central topic. Colombian universities' examples were based mostly on documental sources and interviews with university rectors and vice-rectors.

The part of this dissertation dedicated specifically to Colombia, is based on 23 semi-structured interviews with university rectors and vice-rectors, government officials, and higher education experts in the country. Interviews were coded using a hybrid inductive/deductive approach. Additional document sources such as newspapers and institutional documentation were used to enrich the description. A more detailed description of the method is included in the third chapter.

Definitions

A definition of terms is needed before going further because words like conflict, higher education, or university are extensively used in ordinary life with different meanings.

Higher Education will be used in this work as a synonym for "tertiary education," and "post-secondary education," referring to the "formal, non-compulsory, education that follows secondary education" (Harvey, 2004-9). Higher education does not include programs that either do not contemplate a secondary degree as a requirement of access or whose completion is not acknowledged with an academic degree. However, higher education institutions may offer this type of non-formal education programs as a component of their service or university extension. In such cases, those programs can be relevant for the purpose of this study.

Conflict: There are many types of conflict and not all of them are considered negative. In fact, some sociologists attribute to conflict an important role in the evolution of societies –hence it does not have necessarily a negative connotation. In the field of education and conflict, "conflict" usually refers to violent armed conflict and it is considered negative for societies. With this perspective, the World Bank, for example, characterized conflict as "development in reverse" (World Bank, 2005). For the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (Uppsala University, 2009) an armed conflict is a "contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year." Based on the intensity, as measured in terms of people killed, they distinguish between minor (armed) conflict (between 25 and 999 battle related deaths in a calendar year) and war (1,000 or more battle related deaths in a calendar year). All the conflicts presented in this dissertation are considered wars under this classification.

Unless otherwise mentioned, the word "conflict" in this dissertation refers to violent political conflict, particularly internal violent conflicts or civil wars. This approach is consistent with the dominant literature on education and conflict. For example, in "Reshaping the Future" (World Bank, 2005, p. 5) "the term conflict is used to refer to violent conflict, including civil and interstate wars and armed rebellions," and for Tomlinson and Benefield (2005, p. 5) the term "was taken to refer to violent conflict between [representatives or members of] groups."

Emphasis on internal conflict or civil war is justified by two main reasons: first, as it was mentioned before, the majority of contemporary violent conflicts in the world are internal conflicts. Second, while it is plausible that international wars can be used to exacerbate feelings of national unity, internal conflicts tend to weaken the social fabric as well as undermine interpersonal and community trust (Colletta & Cullen, 2000, p. 3), posing an additional challenge for social cohesion and stability in the post-conflict stage.

Postconflict: Despite being extensively used, the term postconflict does not have a unanimous definition. Brown, Langer, and Stewart (2008) emphasized the differences of postconflict between international and intra-state wars. In the first case, clear signs of the end of the conflict, like a formal surrender, a peace treaty, or a negotiated cessation of hostilities are easy to observe. That is not the case in intra-state wars. They highlight that post-conflict should be regarded as a "transition continuum" and when observed, it should not be reduced to a single indicator, rather a set of "peace milestones" should be used.

They propose the following peace milestones: "cessation of hostilities and violence; signing of political/peace agreements; demobilization, disarmament and reintegration; refugee repatriation; establishing a functioning state; achieving reconciliation and societal integration; and, economy recovery" (pp. 4-5). Brown and colleagues stress how despite being called landmarks, each or them are in fact processes and "may experience regress." They also emphasis that these milestones not necessarily happen in a linear way; the order in which they occur depends on the particularities of each country. Finally, they note that activities toward the achievement of the landmarks can and should start during the "conflict" stage: "from the perspective of policies towards post-conflict economic recovery it is never to early to start" (p. 6).

University and Non-University: For this study, universities will be defined as higher education institution recognized as such by the national competent authority, which grant degrees equivalent at least to the bachelor's degree corresponding to four yearlong programs. Universities may or may not grant higher degrees like masters and doctorates. For the Colombian case, institutions legally recognized as "*universidades*," "*instituciones universitarias*," and "*escuelas tecnológicas*" will be considered universities.

Non-universities are higher education institutions recognized by the national competent authority, which grant degrees below the bachelor's degree (e.g. associate degree) corresponding to programs between two and three years long. In Colombia, higher education institutions legally recognized as "*instituciones técnicas*" and

"*instituciones tecnológicas*" will be considered non-universities, even though, because of a recent law, they can be allowed to offer bachelor's degree level programs.

Limitations

Paucity of literature on the field of higher education and conflict was one of the biggest limitations of this study and acted as a driver to conduct this research. Other limitations are related to the method of the study, the sampling procedures, and the type and quality of the sources.

Method

As a case study, this dissertation seeks to provide a complex understanding of the role of higher education in Colombian conflict and postconflict. The international overview presenting different conflicts and countries aims at providing a wider perspective of the challenges faced by any higher education system in a conflict or postconflict setting, but there is not enough information or a sound methodology to consider this overview a comparative study.

As an exploratory study, the purpose of this dissertation is to better understand the relationship between higher education, conflict, and postconflict, using the Colombian case study to test the use of the taxonomy of functions of higher education as the conceptual framework.

Given the research design, findings and conclusions of this study cannot be generalized or extrapolated to different conflicts. However, they may help identify sound questions and potential methods to conduct further studies.

Sampling Procedures

Countries for the international overview were selected using a purposive sampling approach, which is explained in the methods section. The seven conflicts included in this study were considered relevant because of the type of conflict, its geographic location, or its significance for the Colombian armed conflict. However, they are not intended to be representative of all armed conflicts that took place during the twentieth century.

The selection of the interviewees for the Colombian case study included only policy-makers and policy-executors, particularly, rectors, vice-rectors, experts, and members of the government. This approach favored a macro-approach to the different challenges and contributions of higher education institutions. The voices of students, professors, and administrative staff were not included in the study, which resulted in the omission of their points of view and perhaps important information as well.

The sample of interviewees for the Colombian case is not necessarily representative of all the universities or higher education institutions in the country. In geographical terms, interviewees tended to be concentrated towards the center and north of the country. By research design, the sample of Colombian HEIs included mostly universities (*universidades* and *instituciones universitarias*), thus neglecting non-universities (*institutions técnicas profesionales* and *instituciones tecnológicas*). This approach was reasonable considering the scope of the study, but it is possible that some features and challenges unique to non-universities were overlooked. However, the use of

additional sources, particularly newspapers and reports, expanded the scope of the study to other universities and regions not included in the selection of interviewees.

Despite these limitations, the universities included in the study represent different categories that proved to be helpful in understanding their involvement in the Colombian conflict, such as the size of the city in which they are located and the type of the institution (public or private).

Type and Quality of the Sources

Data about the conflicts included in the international overview came mostly from secondary sources that in general were not initially intended to explore the connection between higher education and conflict. This approach allowed for the gathering of relevant information that until now was scattered. However, due to the difficulty in obtaining such sources there is a risk that important facts and resources were overlooked.

The quality and abundance of information varied considerably from one country to another. In general, the selected conflicts have received important attention from the media and scholarship. However, the postconflict stage usually gets less attention and the role of higher education in that stage gets even less attention. Language was an additional barrier in many cases. Information presented in this dissertation is limited to sources in English and Spanish; hence important resources in other languages may not have been considered.

Interviews for the Colombian case study were conducted during a very short period (five weeks), which is not enough time to get a real understanding of the complex

situation of the Colombian conflict and its relationship to higher education. This limitation was counterbalanced with my personal knowledge of Colombia and its higher education system. Such personal knowledge allowed for a deeper understanding of the situation in the country and in many cases provided access to interviewees that otherwise would have been very difficult to obtain, but it posed another limitation for this research: the potential of personal bias.

In order to counterbalance any bias in the selection of interviewees derived from my experience in the Ministry of Education, I made multiple attempts to contact several of the most renowned critics of the government among teacher unions and opposition parties by email, telephone, and through people close to them, but I was not successful. Even though some of interviewees assumed a critical position toward the government and its policies, and some of them openly criticized the government or previously belonged to guerrilla movements, the lack of a clear representative of the opposition (or even the conflicting armed parties) must be considered as a limitation of this study.

Despite the aforementioned limitations, this dissertation provides valuable information on the relationship between HEIs and conflict in Colombia. The examples, questions, and conceptual framework presented here contribute to the expansion of the field of education and conflict as well as to a more systematic inclusion of higher education in that field.

In addition to the strategies to control biased interpretations (like triangulation, peer reviewed interview protocols, and peer debriefing), below is a personal background aimed at allowing the reader to understand my standpoint.

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of three parts. In addition to this chapter, there are three additional chapters in the first part. Chapter Two contains an overview of the literature on education and conflict. Chapter Three presents in detail the method followed in this study both for the international overview and the analysis of the data collected in Colombia. Chapter Four is dedicated to the conceptual framework, focusing in the taxonomy of the functions of higher education that was used as the main conceptual framework.

The second part of the dissertation provides an overview of different conflicts in the world during the last century, including World War I and II, the Spanish Civil War, the Cuban Revolution, the revolution and counter-revolution in Nicaragua, genocide in Rwanda, and civil war in Kosovo. The purpose of this part is to illustrate, through selected examples, how armed conflict affected higher education in different types of conflicts and what role (if any) higher education played in peacebuilding. This part consists of four chapters (chapters Five to Eight). Chapter Five includes the World Wars and the Spanish Civil War. Chapter Six is dedicated to the Cold War period and presents the case of Cuba and the Nicaraguan revolutions. In Chapter Seven, two conflicts from the post-Cold War era are explored: the Rwandan genocide and the Kosovo civil war. Finally, based on the taxonomy of functions of higher education developed in Chapter Four, Chapter Eight will provide a transversal analysis of the functions of higher education in the seven conflicts.

The third part of the dissertation focuses on the Colombian case and consists of seven chapters (Chapter Nine to Sixteen). Chapter Nine provides background information on Colombia, its educational system, some demographic aspects that are important for a better understanding of the fore coming chapters, and a brief history of the Colombian conflict and peace processes. Chapters Ten to Thirteen present examples of different universities, public and private, located in big and small cities, how they deal with the armed conflict and what they have done to build peace. Chapter Ten is about the Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, a private university in Cartagena. Chapter Eleven presents Utopia, a satellite campus of La Salle University (private) in Yopal, a small town in Casanare. Chapter Twelve presents the cases of Universidad Popular del Cesar's Aguachica Campus and Instituto Universitario de la Paz, in Barrancabermeja; these two HEIs have in common that they were created or received financial resources because their potential contribution to peace in a zone that was heavily affected by the armed conflict. In Chapter Thirteen the case of Universidad Distrital, a public university in Bogotá, is discussed.

Chapters Fourteen to Sixteen provide a more integral view including new HEIs, in addition to those introduced in the previous chapters. Unlike the preceding chapters, in which the unit of analysis was each university, in this group of chapter the units of analyzes are the different functions of higher education identified in the conceptual framework. Chapter Fourteen focuses on the functions related to knowledge (production, transmission, and storage). Chapter Fifteen deals with the functions related to development and service, and Chapter Sixteen explores functions that can be considered

exclusive of countries in conflict or post-conflict situation, such as the protective role of education, the participation of HEIs in the reinsertion process of former combatants, or the attention to victims of forceful displacement. Finally, on Chapter Seventeen, general conclusions and recommendations are provided.

Chapter Two. Literature Review

The last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first brought important changes to how the role of education is perceived in conflict and postconflict settings. After the end of the Cold War education in conflict and postconflict countries was no longer perceived only as a part of the humanitarian efforts, but it was also made evident that it had a role to play in the origin, transformation, and endurance of conflict.   In fact, the United Nations had to redefine its approach to pro-peace interventions.

The chapter starts with a short introduction to the concepts of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding, and a presentation of different definitions of peacebuilding.   Then, an overview of the literature on the emerging field of education and conflict is provided, including topics such as peace education; the two faces of education; education reform; curriculum, textbooks, and teaching; education and economic recovery; and child soldiers and DDR. Later on, it is argued that the literature on higher education and postconflict is scarce and some examples of conferences and papers addressing the topic are provided. Finally, conclusions are presented.

Peacemaking, Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding

Johan Galtung first coined the term peacebuilding in 1975 in an essays titled "Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding."   Galtung

believed that "structures must be found that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur" (Galtung, 1975, as cited in Peacebuilding Initiative, n.d.)

In 1992, United Nations' Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, presented "An Agenda for Peace", a document exploring "ways of strengthening and making more efficient (. . .) the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace keeping" (p. 1). The document provided definitions for these concepts and illustrated how the UN was conducting activities on each of them. Preventive diplomacy was defined as "action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur." Peacemaking was defined as "action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through (. . .) peaceful means." Peacekeeping was described as "the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well." And peacebuilding, which was presented as a postconflict action that followed peacemaking and peacekeeping operations, was defined as "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, numbers 20, 21).

Even though each of these terms can be tracked back at least several decades before, the definitions provided by Boutros-Ghali became the most frequently cited systematization. However, these are not static or uniform concepts and different efforts

to provide better or more comprehensive definitions have been made since (see for example: Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, n.d.). The borders between the different concepts may not be clear, and what some consider peacemaking actions, others considered peacebuilding.

Lederach (1997, p. 20) challenged the idea of peacebuilding as just a postconflict action saying that it "is more than post-accord reconstruction" and defined peacebuiliding "as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships." This definition contains elements from concepts defined elsewhere as preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping or peacebuilding.

Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping, as defined by Boutros-Ghali, are usually beyond education institutions' normal activities. It is possible that some professors get involved in preventive diplomacy or peacemaking actions, mostly because of their individual skills and experience. Also, education institutions may provide specific training to soldiers and other personnel deployed to intervention zones to make them familiar with the nuances of the culture in which they are or will be immersed. But the literature has granted education a special role in peacebuilding activities.

Durnan (2005, p. 37) identified several recurrent themes of peacebuilding efforts that can be relevant from the perspective of education. Among them, how external agencies conceive peacebuilding activities as interventions; the importance of human rights and the "issue of gender relations"; the "relationship between the transformative

OBJECTIVE	WHAT IT INCLUDES
Formulation of new shared visions of communities and nations	Providing support to this objective
Capacity building	In all the above areas

Adapted from Whaley and Piazza-Georgi (1997). Table by the author.

The Field of Education and Conflict

Several authors (Novelli & Lopes Cardozo, 2008; Smith, 2005; Tomlinson & Benefield, 2005) have proclaimed the emergence of "education and conflict" as a new field of study, based on the increasing number of journal articles, reports, and books on the topic during the last decades. In 2002, Sommers stated that "the literature is too thin and the range of experiences is too wide to be covered in one paper" (p. 2). Since then, the rate of publications has been growing, and some articles reviewing the topic have been written.

Authors have identified a research-practice gap in the field of education and conflict (Paulson & Rappleye, 2007; Tomlinson & Benefield, 2005) that is manifest in the disconnect between the literature produced by practitioners and the one produced by academics. One consequence of this gap is that "theoretical and epistemological recommendations made by academics are rarely fleshed out into ideas that could be used to construct practical programming able to be implemented in the constrained situations where practitioners actually work" (Paulson & Rappleye, 2007, p. 342). This disconnect is also evident in the fact that as a consequence of the lack of evaluative research by academics, practitioners tend to read and use what fellow practitioners has produced to get this type of information (Paulson & Rappleye, 2007; Tomlinson & Benefield, 2005).

Peace education.

Today it is widely accepted that education can have both positive and negative effects on peacebuilding. Based on that fact, both practitioners and academics have explored what needs to be done to enhance the positive effects and neutralize the negative effects of education, focusing mostly on curriculum, textbooks, and teaching.

Among the different topics related to education and conflict, peace education is the one that most attention receives. Even though it can be tracked back to the teaching of the most influential religious leaders of all times, it gained greater attention after World War II (Harris, 2008). Academic production on peace education abounds, to the point that there is a Journal of Peace Education, and even an Encyclopedia of Peace Education (Bajaj, 2008). However, Salomon (2002) noticed a conceptual confusion around this term and attributed it to three main factors: the lack of agreement about what peace education actually is; the absence of agreement of clarity on the goals of peace education; and the scarcity of empirical findings (Seitz, 2004).

Harris and Morrison (2003) identified a dual nature of peace education: as a philosophy and a process. As a philosophy it advocates for love, compassion, non-violence and reverence for all life. As a process, it is aimed at providing the people with "the skills, attitudes and knowledge to create a safe world and build a sustainable environment" (p. 9).

In "Education and Conflict," Davies (2004) dedicated a full chapter to peace education but she did not define the concept. Instead, she announced a focus "on the ways in which modern, 'ordinary' schooling does or could contribute to a peaceful or

non-violent world, in a consistent or permanent way" (p. 124). In that chapter, she addressed topics such as explicit peace education curricula, where she explored the structure of a peace education curriculum and accompanying materials; teaching about conflict and learning from conflict, where she posed the question of whether or how to teach students about a recent conflict, e.g. Rwanda's genocide; democratic organization, in which she illustrated how democratic organizations in schools can be an model of peace; and human rights education, where she provided elements to the discussion about the teaching of human rights as a part of the curriculum.

Like in other topics from the field of education and conflict, literature about peace education in higher education is scarce, to the point that Harris (2003, p. 105) stated that this topic "is often marginalized on college campuses," and Finley (2004, p. 272) regretted that very little has been written about preparation to teach in this field at the higher education level.

A detailed review of the academic offering in several higher education institutions in different countries shows that topics like human rights and peace education are frequently offered as executive education and short-term programs. More examples of this type of non-formal education programs will be presented both in the international overview and in chapters on Colombia. Still, Prasad (2008, p. 1) regretted that because of their high fees, peace education courses provided at the university level are often out of reach for most people and he expressed concern that peace education "has become a commercial endeavor for educational institutions."

The two faces of education.

The end of the Cold War marked the beginning of a new approach in which the general understanding of conflict and education evolved from the scope of "individual humanitarian efforts" to a broader one that privileged the identification and creation of best practices as well as the importance of exploring how education systems can either contribute to peace building or be complicit in creating conflict (Paulson & Rappleye, 2007, p. 342).

Today, the specialized literature acknowledges that education can contribute to the creation and persistence of either conflict or peace (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Salmi, 2000) and very often "education is part of the problem, not the solution, because it serves to divide and antagonize groups both intentionally and unintentionally" (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 33). As a conflict generator, education can contribute to the destruction of peace or the maintenance of identity-based conflicts, by becoming a way to protect or create privilege associated with social positions. Education can also be a weapon for cultural repression, and can be used to manipulate history with political purposes. It can be used to erode self-esteem or to encourage hate, and as a tool for ensuring inequality, inferiority, and stereotypes (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 34).

As a peace generator/contributor, education can have "conflict-limit impacts" by promoting a climate of ethnical tolerance and stimulating the "desegregation of the mind," "linguistic tolerance," "inclusive conceptions of citizenship," and the "disarming of history." These contributions can be complemented with peace education programs and, in some cases, educational institutions can act against institutional violence

becoming "an explicit response to state oppression," as it happened in South Africa when the Catholic Church defied the apartheid regime by admitting black students in their schools (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 34-5).

Also in the line of the positive functions of education, (Machel, 1996; 2001) observed that schooling fulfilled a protective role by providing children with a sense of normalcy when all the rest is chaos.

Education reform.

The awareness about the two faces of education has been used to advocate for substantive education reforms in postconflict societies. For example, Degu (2005, p. 129) declared that "educational reform as part of postconflict development can contribute to break the cycle of conflict or fuel the old conflict or trigger a new one." He claimed that if the reform is expected to break the cycle of conflict the educational reform must include among the fundamental issues the disparities of educational opportunities, economic development, job opportunities, and language as a medium of instruction—particularly in multiethnic countries. In a similar fashion, in "Reshaping the Future," the World Bank (2005, p. xv) considered that "schools are almost always complicit in conflict." The Bank believes that conflict poses a challenge, as a consequence of "the extremely complex and demanding context" "but also significant opportunities for reform of education systems." For the Bank, as well as for several authors, "without [education] reform, reconstruction runs the danger of reproducing the factors that contributed to the conflict in the first place" (p. 85).

Curriculum, textbooks, and teaching.

Curriculum, textbooks, and teachers and their method are three main elements recurrently mentioned in the literature on education reform. Curriculum is considered to be among the most sensitive issues in post-conflict education (World Bank, 2005). A narrowly conceived curriculum in which emphasis is solely made on the transmission of knowledge across generations can be a powerful perpetuator of "political ideologies, religious practices or cultural values and traditions" (Smith, 2005, 380-1). A major curriculum reform is considered a national undertaking, and should be followed by a textbook reform and teachers' (re)training. In the initial phase, a curriculum reform usually concentrates in the neutralization of offensive content ("sanitation"). In a further stage or in the reconstruction, a more substantive reform can be undertaken (World Bank, 2005, 52-3). The language of instruction and the teaching of courses susceptible to manipulation for political purposes –e.g. history and geography- are among curriculum issues that require special attention (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Smith, 2005).

Teachers have been considered "the most critical resource in education and reconstruction" (World Bank, 2005, p. xiii) and they can play an instrumental role in children's trauma therapy and recovery (Davies, 2004). However, their availability in conflict and post-conflict situations can be affected by several causes, including that many of them might have been displaced, killed, or hired for other jobs by either the State or the private sector. On top of this, their development and training might have been neglected during the conflict, producing in some cases a "training backlog" and "an influx of untrained teachers" (World Bank, 2005, p. xviii). Teacher organizations can

also play an instrumental role in the implementation of reform and reconstruction strategies by either obstructing or supporting the reconstruction plans (World Bank, 2005, p. 52). The recognition of the potential role of teachers and teacher organizations is very important because it gives them the status of stakeholder, instead of mere instruments of education policy and practices.

The role that higher education institutions can play in the development of a new curriculum and in the training and re-training of teachers has not been studied in detail. This omission can be explained in part because in some conflict and post-conflict societies higher education systems are very weak or do not even exist, and in others, universities have been affected as much or even worse than schools. Another possible explanation is that universities are not regarded as the only or the most important source for teacher training, which can be conducted by international organizations or even foreign institutions of higher education.

Education, economic recovery, and development acceleration.

It is a frequent practice in the studies on education and conflict to illustrate the negative impact of conflict on education systems (Davies, 2004; Smith, 2005; World Bank, 2005). Another commonplace is to stress the importance of educational reconstruction for stability and future economic growth (Paulson & Rappleye, 2007) or attributing education the role of being an instrument for economic development (Smith, 2005, p. 376). The inclusion of education as one of the eight Millennium Development Goals defined by the United Nations reveals the importance that it has been granted in terms of the development and economic prosperity of nations.

But caution is advised. The direct and automatic connection between education and economic development has been challenged, particularly when it is not part of a comprehensive plan for development with the participation of private and public sectors, and representatives from different levels of society. Some are afraid that if education is taken as an end in itself, the final outcome can be negative, as it may retard development and the national economy will not be able to provide educated citizens with a reward corresponding to their effort (Cowan, O'Connell, & Scanlon, 1965, p. 27). Building on Cowan, Connell, and Scanlon's concerns, (Degu, 2005) pointed out the potential negative effects of having massive unemployment among young educated people: it will cause frustration and affect their sense of national belongingness, and those who identified themselves as victims of the status quo can turn into "a literate reserve for antigovernment forces who are fighting against the existing regime" (p. 141).

Child soldiers, demobilization, disarmament, and reincorporation.

The problem of child soldiers has captured the attention of authors and international agencies like UNESCO and the World Bank, and several efforts have been made to prevent children's direct involvement in conflict. Still, the assumption that the problem of child soldiers is a new and growing phenomenon is very common yet not supported by research or reliable quantitative data (Hart, 2006). Most of the literature on this topic consists of case studies illustrating the children's experiences and the after effects of their involvement in conflict (Druba, 2002).

Very little has been written about higher education and child soldiers. There are important reasons for this: first, children are usually defined as persons younger than 18

years of age, which is usually the entry age for higher education. Given that the upper limit to be considered as a child is the same as the entry age for higher education, there is almost no overlap between these two groups. An additional explanation for the absence of higher education from the debate on child soldiers is that the profile of children recruited as soldiers is usually opposite to the profile of higher education students. In general, child soldiers are recruited among the poorest populations in the most remote locations (Druba, 2002), while higher education students, particularly in developing countries that are suffering an internal armed conflict, tend to belong to the wealthier sectors of the population and to be located in or close to urban areas. These elements may suggest that child-soldiers is not a relevant topic for higher education. However, some countries already mention the possibility of providing higher education to former child soldiers, as in the case of Sri Lanka, whose Ministry of Defense announced measures to provide access to higher education to rehabilitated LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) soldiers (Ministry of Defence of Sri Lanka, 2010).

A broader scope of the problem is achieved by referring to former combatants, not only to child soldiers, as a target population for the educational efforts. Child soldiers are of course an important problem, but focusing the attention only on them is not enough in a postconflict situation for two main reasons: First, many of those who were recruited as children will be demobilized as adults; second, in many countries the combating armies are not formed only by children and children are not a majority among their ranks. If an integral treatment to the problem of former combatants is the way to peace, education

must be part of the solution and higher education should be among the options available for former combatants, even if it will benefit only a minority of them.

Therefore, even if it is accepted that child soldiers are beyond the scope of higher education, there is a related topic that deserves attention: the demobilization, reincorporation, and reintegration of soldiers, including child soldiers, to society. The reintegration of former soldiers to society is crucial for a successful transition to peace because "frustrated ex-combatants may jeopardize the peace and development process" (Kingma, 1997, p 151) in part because "[as a consequence] of their military training, unassimilated soldiers pose a serious threat to law and order" (Kumar, 1997).

There is abundant literature on disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) in which child soldiers still get a good deal of attention—see for example the Bibliography on Children and DDR created by the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2009). There are some studies on the role of education in demobilization, but they also tend to focus on the demobilization of child soldiers (see: Knudsen, 2004). Studies on DDR include some references to education, usually focusing on the importance of civic education, human rights education, and vocational education (for example: Clark, 1995; Kumar, 1997), but in general, higher education is hardly mentioned in these studies. In fact, higher education usually is not considered a priority by most relief agencies (Kumar, 1997).

Srivastava (1994, p. 24) emphasized the importance of training for the creation of "income-earning opportunities for demobilized combatants." He identified two main objectives for this training: "contributing to the longer-term development of training for

(self-)employment programmes in the country and building national capacity for developing flexible training methods and approaches which can meet both short-term and long-term needs of national development" (p. 24). It is important to notice how he related training to both individual and national needs.

The fact that university students have played an important role in several armed conflicts seems to be ignored in the literature on DDR as well as the fact that higher education institutions can perform activities other than teaching. Hence, the role that higher education institutions play in DDR processes is another topic that has not been sufficiently explored.

Higher Education and Conflict

The academic production on higher education and conflict is not as abundant and organized as that for primary education. There have been a few conferences in which the role of higher education in conflict societies has been discussed such as the 4th Global University Network for Innovation (GUNI) Conference, in 2008, and the seminar on 'Universities as Agents for Recovery, Democracy and Good Governance in Post-Conflict Areas' organized by the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education. The papers presented in these conferences and a few others that surfaced on general conflict and education events and publications will be analyzed below to complement the view of the academic production in the field. In general, this body of literature is dominated by single-country and single-institution studies, sometimes lacking a strong conceptual framework. A more systematic view comes from the field of

diplomacy in which Diamond and McDonald (1996) developed the idea of Multi Track diplomacy, which main characteristics will be presented below.

Track five: peacebuilding and diplomacy.

Multi Track Diplomacy (Diamond & McDonald, 1996) offered an interesting view of what could be the role of higher education in peacebuilding. Diamond and McDonald were inspired in the concept of Track Two diplomacy developed by Joseph Montville (Davidson & Montville, 1981) in which Track One corresponds to the "government to government" efforts to make or build peace, and Track Two corresponds to the diplomacy efforts carried out "outside the formal governmental system" (Diamond & McDonald, 1996, p. 1). However, they found that these two tracks were not enough to illustrate the different types of actors involved in the peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts, so they came out with the multi-track model, consisting of nine tracks: Track One is Government; Track Two, nongovernment/professional; Track Three, business; Track Four: private citizens; Track Five: research, training, and education; Track Six: activism; Track Seven: religion; Track Eight, funding; and Track Nine, communications and the media.

Based on the premise "that the more we study and learn, the more capable we are of collectively and concretely doing something about the enormous problems that face the planet" (p. 70) they assigned Track Five (research, training, and education) the function of "generat[ing] and transfer[ing] information about issues of peace and conflict, peacemaking and conflict resolution, and [suggesting] policy or action implications arising from that information" (p. 70).

Diamond and McDonald distinguished two structural components for this track: think tanks, which include a wide spectrum of organizations; and educational institutions, mostly from K-12 and tertiary education. Think tanks and higher education institutions can carry out research, analysis, and knowledge dissemination. Higher education institutions also play a key role in creating leaders (instead of trying to influence leadership). Track Five is compared to the brain of the system, where information is analyzed, synthesized, and produced. It also has a "parental role" by educating future generations ensuring their "evolution and survival" (p. 75). Even though Track Five includes the different levels of education—including non-formal education—the tasks assigned to it in the multi-track diplomacy model are usually associated with the production and dissemination of knowledge, which is considered a characteristic function of higher education.

Building on the Multi-Track Diplomacy model and on Lederach's idea of conflict transformation, Schukoske and Sewak (2003) studied the Indian case by reporting on programs underway in Indian higher education institutions in which they distinguished between traditional fields of study and other roles of higher education institutions. Under the traditional fields they mentioned courses that contribute to understanding the conflict and to building the skills needed to analyze and discuss conflict situations, which include areas like "political science, history, law, social work, and other social sciences" (p. 89). Under other roles, they mentioned "mediation practices, applied research, and innovative training on conflict transformation skills" (p. 89).

Diamond and McDonald (1996) provided a list of organizations from the United States engaged in activities corresponding to each of the nine tracks. Schukoske and Sewak (2003) presented a similar list of higher education institutions developing Track Five activities in India, with the conviction that "sharing information on existing efforts can lead to rapid development of teaching models and resources in this field" (p. 87).

The contribution of Track Five to the study of higher education and conflict is that it inserts higher education and its functions of research and teaching in the big picture of the peacebuilding efforts. Nonetheless these two functions (research and teaching) are not the only ones that higher education serves. There are several other works analyzing the role of higher education in peacebuilding, peacemaking, conflict transformation, and related fields, some of them were presented in the events on higher education and conflict presented below.

The GUNI Annual Conference on Higher Education of 2008

The Global University Network for Innovation (GUNI) holds an Annual Conference on Higher Education. In the fourth of these conferences, in 2008, a special session was dedicated to "the role of higher education in peace building and reconciliation processes." Six papers were presented in this session; all of them about specific countries including Bosnia and Herzegovina (Millican, 2008), Colombia (Delgado, 2008), Kosovo (Tahirsylaj, 2008), Lebanon (Nahas, 2008), Pakistan (Qureshi, 2008), and Sudan (Mohamed, Elnur, & Algbar, 2008). Most of these papers provided descriptions of the conflict, its effect in higher education, and some activities carried out

by one or two local universities sometimes in alliance with an international organization or university.

The main focus of these papers was descriptive and in most of them a clear theoretical framework was lacking. Only Millican (2008) used a well-defined conceptual framework, based on the development of citizenship and how student community engagement programs contributed to that purpose.

Some of the authors stated that universities or professors could act as role models. Nahas (2008) claimed that "the universities will have to be role models in their internal life, and have to make their student body experience the positive impact of dialog to better know the other who is different" (p.1). Drawing from the conclusions of a symposium held in Griffith University (Australia), Qureschi (2008) stated that educators/teachers should "act as role models to impress upon effectively what they are advocating" (p. 14).

Most authors talked about curriculum as an important component of the peacebuilding efforts at the university level. Nahas (2008), for example, stressed its importance "to enhance knowledge of the 'other'" (p. 3) and presented examples of curriculum changes at the University of Beirut. Tahirsylaj (2008) emphasized the importance of further curriculum changes to achieve integration in Kosovo, and Millican (2008) explored "the ways in which participatory and transformational learning might be integrated into an otherwise more formal HE curriculum" (p. 1).

Nahas (2008), Tahirsylaj (2008), and Delgado (2008), provided examples of academic activities related to the conflict, carried out by universities in conflict or

postconflict countries. Some authors stressed the importance of universities fostering adequate conditions for an intellectual dialog (Delgado, 2008; Nahas, 2008) or to conduct social critique (Qureshi, 2008). Only one study (Mohamed, Elnur, & Algbar, 2008) used quantitative analysis methods, in an effort to illustrate the attitudes of students and staff toward the Comprehensive Peace Agreements in Sudan and concluded that students and staff could play an important role in the peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts in Sudan, but a description of what the role should be was missing.

After analyzing the role of higher education in Kosovo, Tahirsylaj (2008) concluded that the existence of the Universities of Kosovo and Pristina evidenced the failure of higher education in fostering a culture of reconciliation and promoting peacebuilding in the country, because each of these universities served specifically one population (either Serbs or Albanians) while excluding the other ethnical group, despite admitting students from other ethnical minorities.

The different papers presented in this conference provided valuable information about the context and challenges of higher education in the corresponding countries. In addition, important roles of higher education were mentioned, like contributing to the development of citizenship, acting as a role model for the rest of the society, or carrying out other types of activities, usually linked to the service component of higher education. Nonetheless a comprehensive and systematic view of the different roles of higher education in the countries or a comparative analysis among them was absent.

The SIU's Seminar "Universities as agents for recovery, democracy and good governance in post-conflict areas" 2009.

On December 2009, the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education (SIU) (2010) held a one-day seminar about "Universities as agents for recovery, democracy and good governance in post-conflict areas" in which the experiences from Indonesia and Sri Lanka (Mundayar, 2010), Nepal (Dhakal, 2010), South Sudan (Maunaguru & Brun, 2010), and Uganda (Maeland, 2010) were presented. Among the main topics of the seminar were capacity building, conflict sensitivity, and how to play an effective role in peace building and recovery (Dybdahl, 2010). The full text of the presentations was not available through the website, only the presentations' slides. The remarks that follow are based on those slides.

More than theoretical elaborations, the presentations in this seminar were practice oriented. Two mayor topics stand out in the presentations: first, the importance of international cooperation in the different experiences presented during the seminar, and second, that universities can contribute to peacebuilding just by doing what they normally do—teaching and research—but covering a wide array of activities, from capacity building in mental health, to reintegration of victims and promotion of democracy.

Given that the purpose of the event was to illustrate the works of the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education with their partner organizations, all the presentations emphasized this type of collaboration among higher education institutions. It must be stressed that this was an internal event with very

specific goals; yet, it provided an interesting view of the possibilities of action for universities in postconflict settings.

Higher Education as an Agent for Recovery and Development.

In a previous section of this chapter it was mentioned how the role of education in economic recovery and development acceleration is a frequent topic. The scene of international collaboration has been dominated for years by the idea that primary education provides higher rates of return than higher education. This trend started to change by the first decade of the twenty first century with works such as Peril and Promise (Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000), a report commissioned jointly by UNESCO and the World Bank, acknowledged the importance of higher education for the economic prosperity of developing nations. Despite of this recognition, there are very little studies on the role of higher education in the recovery and development of conflict and postconflict countries.

Mannan and Nukuitu (2008) studied "The Contribution of Higher Education Institutions in Post Conflict Recovery and Development" using the case of the University of Papua New Guinea in the Autonomous region of Bougainville. They emphasized the use of open distance education as a development vehicle for the region, during the conflict and post-conflict periods. The main contributions that they identified were: providing "an alternative pathway to the school children education during ceasefire period"; giving "a large number of teenagers including combatants who missed education for a decade (. . .) the opportunity to undertake further education"; providing "professional development of teachers and public servants" including in-service teacher

training programs, and providing trauma recovery support; and assisting reintegration processes. They also attribute to education the role of maintaining young people away from the conflict by " keeping [them] busy with studies during armed conflict, and prevent them to join the fight" as well as helping "to withdraw teenagers and combatants from the streets/hideouts and absorbed them into the mainstream social system." The importance of the contributions to peacebuilding illustrated by Mannan and Nukuitu is evident, but they did not make a strong connection between those contributions and the country's development.

The work by Bernal, Bernal, and Lopez (2005) about the Social Development Program and the Peace Laboratory of Coruniversitaria, a Colombian higher education institution, provided a more organized view about this role of universities. The authors stated that Coruniversitaria's Social Development Program "is serving as a motor for regional development an [sic] the central agent in the search for social coexistence" (p. 202). The program had several components: 1) an adult literacy and basic education project, 2) a course on the use of virtual education to train community leaders in areas isolated by violence, 3) the provision of training on peaceful resolution of conflicts, and 4) the creation of a community college type institution, among others. The core of the program was its educational activities, however, it included other objectives, like trying to identify "options to address unemployment in the region," and conducting research on the use of information technology to improve the communications with regions that have been isolated during the conflict (p. 206). This paper brought social and economic

development to the debate and illustrated how coordinated efforts among universities and other social actors can have a positive impact in postconflict development.

Based on the Nicaraguan case, Aguilar (2005) stated that universities have been ignored as potential local partners in peacebuilding processes and advocated for their inclusion in those activities. In her opinion, international agencies coordinating or participating in peacebuilding processes most of the times prefer NGOs as local partners. Although she acknowledged many positive characteristics to the participation of NGOs in such processes, she also presented several criticisms toward NGOs including that sometimes they contribute to worsening the conflict because, usually, they are not impartial as they tend to favor one of the combating parties (usually the weakest). Their properties are attractive for combating parties, something that can generate violence as they may try to steal them, or charge "fees" to allow NGO transit by a specific zone or delivering humanitarian support; and their dependence on international donors makes them more likely to adapt their agendas to the preferences of the donors and not those from the potential beneficiaries. She provided examples of the participation of universities in peacebuilding activities, some of which will be presented in Chapter Five.

Finally, Bermúdez (2001) identified at least five reactions from the university toward the conflict: 1) increase in the number of researches and publications on peace, violence, and conflict, as well as in the number of seminars, forums, conferences, and congresses on these and related issues; 2) creation of academic programs at the graduate and undergraduate levels; 3) participation of faculty in peace processes, 4) participation of the academic community in marches against violence. Regarding the first issue, she

found that the number of books, articles, dissertations and theses on these topics has been growing but, unfortunately, it is very difficult to know how many of them have been published or produced since there is no centralized repository or registry for this type of publications.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter it has been illustrated how, while education and conflict is a new field of study, higher education has not yet received enough attention. Most studies on the role of universities in conflict and postconflict situations are restricted to one country and one institution. One of the biggest weaknesses of these studies is that their theoretical framework is either not very well defined or borrowed from other fields.

The main flaw of this approach is that by doing so it is implicitly assumed that higher education institutions are exactly like other types of educational institutions. It is clear that the education process is a continuum, and that educational institutions have several elements in common. Yet, higher education has its own complexities: academic freedom, institutional autonomy and the multiplicity of functions and purposes are just a few examples. It is precisely what makes universities capable of performing several functions in transition societies, but at the same time, it is what makes it difficult to achieve a complete view of its challenges and possibilities.

Several questions still need to be answered: Can higher education play any 'protective role' for its students in countries in conflict or post-conflict situations? Should the post-conflict educational system reform affect the higher education subsystem? To

what extent can higher education contribute to the achievement of other purposes assigned to education in general? Even more, what role, if any, are higher education institutions expected to play in a post-conflict setting? How different are the challenges of higher education institutions, systems, and students compared to those from primary education that are addressed in the dominant literature?

Trying to resolve these questions within the theoretical framework that already exists for the field of education and conflict can be useful, because it would provide a theoretical framework, a methodology and even a terminology. However, it would imply the assumption that the problems, expectations and challenges of higher education are the same as for primary education. This study will use a different approach in which the role of higher education in peacebulding will be explored from the perspective of the functions of higher education, an approach that is explained in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This dissertation is an effort to advance in the understanding of whether and how higher education can contribute to peacebuilding in Colombia, a country that has suffered armed conflict for almost fifty years. This is an exploratory study with two main foci, an international overview of higher education in seven conflicts that took place during the twentieth century, and a case study on Colombian higher education, how it has been affected by the armed conflict and whether and how it has contributed to peacebuilding. The main purpose of the international overview is to provide a broad perspective of the challenges, opportunities, and realities of higher education in different conflict and postconflict settings. The case study on Colombian higher education is intended at describing how HEIs in Colombia are affected by the armed conflict and whether and how these institutions have contribute to peacebuilding, by using the a taxonomy of functions of higher education as the conceptual framework.

The paucity of research on the role of higher education in peacebuilding and the fact that there are no models or variables that has been tested in similar studies justify the exploratory nature of this dissertation.

Research Strategy

A project of these characteristics requires "a holistic account" that enables the researcher "reporting multiple perspectives, identifying the many factors involved in a situation, and generally sketching the larger picture that emerges" providing a "*complex, detailed understanding of the issue*" (Creswell, 2007). This type of account is better provided through qualitative research.

The international overview was based mostly on secondary sources, particularly books and articles from both academic journals and press. These sources were both printed and available online and were located through searches on relevant databases and the Internet.

I decided to use case study as my approach for the Colombian part for several reasons. Although some authors do not considerer case study a methodology (Stake, 2005), it has gained acceptance as a valid methodology in the mainstream literature (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2009). Yin (1984, p. 20) identified the following three "relevant situations" to consider when deciding what research strategy to use: the form of the research question, whether the research requires control over behavioral events, and whether it focuses on contemporary events. He concluded that case study has a specific advantage as a research strategy when "a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control". This research corresponds to the ideal setting for a case study described by Yin. The main question is "How universities contribute to peacebuilding in Colombia"; the research is

about a contemporary set of events, and as a researcher I don't have any control over the events I am studying.

In a further edition, Yin (2009, p. 18): complemented the formulation adding that the phenomenon is studied within its "real life context" in which "boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident," and it "benefit[s] from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis"; a set of conditions this research also fulfills.

Case studies have been frequently used in education and conflict research as, for example, in Freedman and colleagues study on the Rwanda's experience on teaching history (Freedman S.W., Weinstein H.M., Murphy K., & Longman T., 2008) or in the set of country case studies presented in Education, Conflict, and Development (Mitsumoto, 2010; Otsuki, 2010; Pagen, 2010).

Interpretative Approach

The interpretative approach for this study is constructivist, in the terms described by Guba (1990, p. 26) who identified the following characteristics of a "constructivist belief system": a relativist ontology in which "realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them"; a subjectivist epistemology, in which "inquirer and inquired are fused into a single (monistic) entity [and] (…) findings are literally the creation of the process of interaction between the two; and a hermeneutic/dialectic methodology, where "individual constructions are elicited and refined hermeneutically, and compared and contrasted dialectically."

Exploring the potential contribution of higher education to peacebuilding under the magnifying glass of the functions of higher education involves a good deal of relativism. As it will be illustrated in the conceptual framework, there is no consensus around the functions of higher education, or about what is a "good" function or a "bad" function. Instead of creating a complex set of definitions to control such ambiguity, this research tries to illustrate the perceptions and expectations of different interviewees regarding these and other topics. Inevitably my own mental constructions affect the final report. In fact, my interpretation of the different data that nurtured this research is necessarily mediated by my own experience and beliefs and the same happens with the interviews and the rest of the sources that I consulted.

The simple question of "what 'contributes' to peacebuilding?" is loaded with subjectivity and relativism. The concept of university is relative as well, not only because the formal definitions of university vary across nations but also because of the multiple shapes that the concept of university can take. The questions: "who <u>is</u> the university?" and "who <u>represents</u> the university?" admit very different answers. For example, when students riot against a governmental decision, is the university rioting? (Often times, students participation in revolutionary activities is presented as a contribution of the university to the revolutionary cause). If it is assumed that a university is a group of scholars (students and professors) do they need to act together to represent the university? If we assume that universities are "artificial persons," as corporations are defined for legal purposes, then when the university rector (president) speaks, is the university speaking through him? What if the students and faculty are

protesting against the president? Is the university (group of scholars) protesting against

the university (its legal representative)? Is the university a space or a subject? These

questions were tacitly answered through the interviews and data collected, even though

the answers from the multiple subjects were not necessarily consistent or coherent. They

depend on the context and the mental constructions of those who produce the information

and the ones who interpret it.

Research Design

    Unit of analysis.

Defining the unit of analysis was a difficult decision. Having a country as the

main unit provides a good opportunity to observe policymaking and policy application,

and allows comparisons across institutions and stakeholders that otherwise would not be

possible. On the other hand, focusing on a single university or a group of them, would

have allowed deeper observations with richer details that are not possible in a national

perspective. I opted for an intermediate solution aiming at capitalizing from the benefits

of both approaches: I conducted the international overview, based on secondary sources,

with a limited number of conflicts and countries. For this part, the unit of analysis was

each conflict. For the part on Colombia the main unit of analysis was the country itself,

particularly its higher education system. However, to provide also a closer view to the

complexities that each institution faced, I devoted special attention to five universities from which I will present more detailed narratives.

Selection of countries for the international overview.

The selection of conflicts and countries was based on the assumption that the involvement of HEIs in conflict and post-conflict has changed across time. The selected conflicts are presented in chronological order and cover much of the twentieth century, providing examples for three main periods: World War I and II and the interwar period (1914-1945); the Cold War (1949-1990); and the post-cold war period (1990 to present time), as shown in Figure 1 below. Despite the criteria below illustrated, the selection of countries does not pretend to be representative of all the violent conflicts that took place during the twentieth century.

Another assumption guiding the selection of conflicts is that the type of conflict also affects higher education engagement in the conflict and the post-conflict. World Wars I and II were not only international wars but are also considered total wars; the Rwandan Civil War and Kosovo Civil War are considered by some authors ethnic conflicts; and the Civil wars of Spain, Cuba, and Nicaragua were motivated by the model of government.

Figure 1. Conflicts Timeline

Conflict	Start	End	Decade
			1910 / 1920 / 1930 / 1940 / 1950 / 1960 / 1970 / 1980 / 1990 / 2000 / 2010
World War I	1914	1918	
Spanish Civil War	1936	1939	
World War II	1939	1945	
Cuban Revolution	1953	1959	
Nicaraguan Revolution	1961	1979	
Nicaraguan Counter-Revolution	1982	1990	
Rwanda's Civil War (Genocide)	1994	1994	
Kosovo Civil War	1998	1999	
Colombia's Armed Conflict	1964	Present	

World Wars I and II   Cold War   Post-Cold War

World Wars I and II were included to illustrate how different the motivations of a country and its citizens are to get engaged in a war when the enemy is an outsider, and how the involvement of higher education institutions grew from almost none to become instrumental in the development of military technology that contributed to defining the final outcome of World War II.   Nonetheless, countries engaged in international worlds can also be affected by internal tensions, as illustrated in these examples. Germany, and the United States, received most of the attention among the different countries that participated in these wars, but some references to Japan, Russia, and the United Kingdom were included.

Despite taking place between World War I and II, and being considered a proxy war to World War II, the Spanish Civil War was an internal war. Cuba and Nicaragua were selected because they became emblematic revolutions for the rest of Latin America and some other countries in the world. There are many similarities between the two revolutions, but the final outcome presented an interesting difference: while in Cuba the revolutionary government stayed in power after the revolution, in Nicaragua a contra-revolution took place and introduced new elements into the conflict and the post-conflict.

Rwanda is the only example from Africa. Like many other African nations, Rwanda achieved independence from the colonial powers in the twentieth century followed by internal conflict. Rwanda's genocide was included in this sample of countries because of the role higher education played in the genocide itself and in the recovery process that came afterward.

Kosovo's Civil War is the other post-cold-war conflict presented in this section. Like Rwanda, Kosovo is also a young nation, and some analysts have identified ethnicity as playing an important role in the conflict. In both cases, there are authors who argue that neither ethnicity nor race is enough to explain the real causes of the conflicts. The existence of the underground education system and the challenges of contributing to the integration of a country torn between two nationalities acted as a motivation to include this country in the sample.

The rationale for the selection of the Colombian HEIs and interviewees is presented in the section on interviewees' selection, below. In addition to those institutions from which the rector or vice rector were interviewed, many other HEIs are mentioned in this dissertation. Data about these institutions came from secondary sources.

Data Collection

Data collection was carried out in three stages: During the first stage I gathered background information regarding Colombia, its higher education system, and the history of the conflict. This information was helpful for the design of the interview guide and to provide context information to the case study. The second stage was the fieldwork,

which took place between November and December 2010; most of the interviews were conducted in this stage, as well as some document gathering. In the third stage, I collected complementary information to fill gaps in the data or to clarify specific issues. Data collection about the conflicts included in the international overview took place in parallel to the process of data collection and analysis for the Colombian case.

This study is based on two main sources of information: interviews and documents. Interviews were the most important source to understand the perceptions about the role of higher education in peacebuilding in Colombia, as well as to identify key facts both in the national and the institutional contexts. I also kept a fieldwork log in which I recorded my impressions before and after the interviews, which sometimes included a brief visit to the campus. Documentary sources such as laws, newspaper articles, internal documents from the universities, and official documentation from the universities and the government were instrumental to contextualize the cases with relevant data and to enrich the narratives.

Documentary sources.

Grey literature, defined as "information produced on all levels of government, academics, business and industry in electronic and print formats not controlled by commercial publishing i.e. where publishing is not the primary activity of the producing body" (GreyNet, 2004) was an important source of information in this study. The documents here analyzed came from three main sources: the universities, the government, and the media. Documents from the government included development plans (national and sectoral), annual reports, and policy documents, among others.

Documents from the universities included strategic planning documents (mission, vision, etc.), annual reports, newsletters, websites, and advertisement material, among others.

Newspaper articles used in this project were retrieved through bibliographic research on databases such as LexisNexis, and search engines such as Google News. Two important sources of news were *El Tiempo* and the *Centro Virtual de Noticias de la Educación* (CVNE – Virtual Center for News on Education). *El Tiempo*, is Colombia's largest newspaper and it has a complete online archive. CVNE is an online news repository created by the Colombian Ministry of Education in 2005, that keeps track of news on education in Colombian national and regional media, including newspapers, radio, television, and the Internet. A frequently consulted source in issues regarding to the Colombian armed conflict, particularly the involvement of paramilitaries on it, was Verdad Abierta, a website created by the Ideas for Peace Foundation (Fundación Ideas para la Paz) and the weekly magazine *Semana* and receives support from over 50 local radio stations, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Fescol) the Avina Foundation, the Government of Canada and Open Society- Soros Foundation.

Interviews.

I conducted 23 semi-structured interviews in Spanish (See Appendix A – List of Interviewees), which is my first language. The geographic distribution of the institutions to which the interviewees belonged, is presented on Figure 2, below.

The typical interviewee for this study was a person with trajectory and recognition in Colombia's higher education context such as university rectors, top rank government

officials, and experts in higher education. These people have a qualified view of the public policies, their implementation and challenges.

Semi-structured interviews provide a framework that facilitates comparisons among interviewees, while allowing a degree of flexibility that surveys, and structured interviews cannot provide. Interviews were conducted as conversations, not as scripted surveys. Participants were allowed to talk almost without interruption and my role as interviewer was to be sure that all the topics were addressed and to ask questions that were not included in the interview guide but were relevant to the specific interviewee.

Figure 2. Geographic Distribution of Interviewees

Source: Google Maps generated using Google Fusion.

Interview guide.

Based on the functions of higher education identified in the conceptual framework and the international overview of this research, I created an interview guide consisting of 14 main questions, plus additional probing questions, organized in four mayor sections: participant's background; higher education during the conflict time, higher education during the post-conflict; and challenges, best practices and remarkable failures. The interview guide was designed to be administered in approximately 60 to 90 minutes (See Appendices B and C, Interview Guide in English and in Spanish).

I adapted the questionnaire to each interviewee's profile, based on my knowledge of the interviewee's profile and the institution(s) he or she belonged to, and, for a couple of interviews, I also had to accommodate to the interviewee's limited time, reducing the time of the interview to only 30 minutes. Interviewees were free to talk about other functions or even other topics that I did not consider when I designed the interview guide.

All the interviews were conducted and transcribed in Spanish; only those segments that were cited verbatim were translated into English and to ensure accuracy, the original version in Spanish was included as a footnote.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, I conducted informal interviews with different types of informants including higher education experts, professors, and students.

Interviewees' selection.

Participants were selected to represent three main groups: university leaders (rectors and vice-rectors), government members, and higher education experts. "Government members" hold or have held in the past senior positions in government agencies related to higher education, research, or planning. "Experts" were people who at the time of the interview did not belong to the other two categories but hold senior positions at organizations dedicated to higher education or had expertise in the design and application of political policies on higher education or peacebuilding. Frequently, one interviewee belonged to more than one group: for example, a higher education expert or a government member could have been in the past a university rector; or a rector from a private university could have been the rector of a public university in the past.

Higher education institutions' leaders were current or former rectors or vice-rectors. In Colombian higher education, the rector is the highest authority within universities, followed by the vice-rectors. Rectors and vice-rectors were chosen considering two main criteria: the institution's nature (public or private) and its location (large or small city). The classification public/private is frequently addressed in specialized literature and public policy drafting in Colombia. The distinction large/small city is relevant under the assumption that the effects of the conflict are perceived differently between these two types of cities, not to mention rural areas, since most of the armed conflict takes place in rural areas and smaller cities. Even though no specific universities from rural areas were included in the sample, several interviewees talked about their experiences in those areas. In addition to large and small cities I added a third

type of location called "National" under which I grouped those institutions that despite having their main campus in a large city (usually Bogotá) have multiple satellite campuses across the country in both large and small cities. This criterion proved to be difficult to apply as a distinguishing feature, as it will be illustrated below. However, I chose to keep it because the presence of these institutions across the country gives them a unique perspective of the country's situation and the challenges of higher education.

For this study, large cities were those with 800,000 inhabitants or more. There are five cities with these characteristics in Colombia: Bogotá (6,840,116 inhabitants), Medellín (2,214,494), Cali (2,119,908), Barranquilla (1,146,359), and Cartagena (892,545). The following cities in size would be Cúcuta, (587,676) and Bucaramanga (567,286). If the population of the metropolitan areas is considered, this two cities should be also considered big cities: Bucaramanga´s metropolitan area—which includes Girón, Floridablanca and Pie de Cuesta—houses over a million inhabitants, while Cucuta's metropolitan area accounts for 882.496 inhabitants (DANE - Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadísticas, n.d.).

In Colombia, there are more private higher education institutions (201) than public ones (81). However, after a sustained increase in enrollment in public higher education institutions, by 2008 public higher education institutions accounted for more than 55.3 percent of the total enrolment in the country (Ministry of Education of Colombia, n.d.).

Even though the sample for this study was not intended to be statistically representative it aims to be illustrative of an important number of institutions around the country.

The following table illustrates the integration of the sample of higher education institutions, based on the interviewee's primary affiliation at the time of the interview.

Table 2. Interviewees from HEIs by Type of Institution and Type of City

	Public	Private
Large City	U. de Cartagena (Cartagena) U. del Atlántico (Barranquilla) U. Distrital (Bogotá)	U. de la Salle (Bogotá) U. del Norte (Barranquilla) U. Tec. De Bolívar (Cartagena) U. Santo Tomás (Bogotá) U. de Santander (Bucaramanga)
Small City	Instituto Univ. de la Paz (Barrancabermeja) U. del Magdalena (Santa Marta) U. Popular del Cesar (Valledupar - Aguachica) U. Guajira (Riohacha)	Universidad de Manizales (Manizales) Universidad de la Sabana (Chía–Bogotá)
National	SENA (National) UNAD (National)	U. Antonio Nariño (Bogotá – National) U. Minuto de Dios (Bogotá - Nacional)

The *Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje*, (National Learning Service, SENA) is a special case in many respects: it is the only non-university included in the sample and provides non-formal and higher education. It accounts for an important part of the enrolment increase in public higher education after rocketing from 48,123 students in 2003 to 245,628 students in 2009. The *Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia* (UNAD) is also a special case because it provides distance education exclusively. The *Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios* (Uniminuto) only has one satellite campus (Bello) registered in the Ministry of Education's database but it has wide national

presence through alliances with other higher education institutions and local and national government organizations under the umbrella of the government's strategy called CERES (Regional Centers of Higher Education). The Universidad Santo Tomás, was included among those in Large Cities, because its main campus is located in Bogotá, but it has satellite campuses in Bucaramanga, Medellín, Tunja, and Villavicencio. The Universidad de La Sabana is located in Chía, a medium size town in the (unofficial) metropolitan area of Bogota.

In general, this geographic criterion was hard to apply in a strict sense because universities are allowed to offer academic programs in different cities without registering a satellite campus in the Ministry of Education's database.

Access

When I started planning the fieldwork, I believed that my previous affiliation to the Ministry of Education would help me get access to the potential interviewees but, on the other hand, I feared that such connection to the Ministry would affect the candidness of some interviewees during our conversation. To counteract this effect I added a sentence in the interviews' introduction in which I stated that I was not currently involved with the Ministry. Once in the field, I realized that in fact the connections that I made during my time working for the Ministry were very useful because I gained access to many rectors that, given their multiple occupations, might not be very accessible for another interviewer. I did not know some of the interviewees before our meeting. In that case, I gained access by referral from other rectors and experts, contacting them directly, or through other informants.

The risk of affecting the interviewees' candidness as a consequence of my former relationship with the Ministry of Education was less than I initially expected. Since I had been away from the country for several years it was clear to my interviewees that I was interviewing them as an independent researcher and since all of them were familiar to academic life, they understood my role as a researcher very easily.

Before traveling to Colombia, I contacted by email several potential participants but only a fraction of them answered my emails. I had to wait until I arrived to Colombia to set most of the appointments, which took about a week of my fieldwork and several calls and emails to each interviewee. The final selection of participants included some of those contacted by email and others referred by key informants.

In a couple of cases I could not meet with potential interviewees willing to participate because after setting a time and date an emerging issue required their attention or because their flights to Bogotá were cancelled because of weather conditions (at that time, Colombia was experiencing a historically extreme rain season).

Most of the interviews took place in the interviewees' office or in locations were they felt comfortable, like their own homes. I interviewed some of them in unusual locations, like Bogota's airport, while they were waiting for a flight.

My initial plan was to be based in Bogota, Colombia's capital and main city, and do short trips to Cali and Bucaramanga. However, I was not able to contact most of the participants that I had initially planned to interview in Cali. Then, I was invited to participate in a seminar in Cartagena in which I spoke about the United States' higher education system and my experience as a doctoral student. My participation in this

seminar allowed me to travel to the north coast of the country, which gave me access to an important group of interviewees. None of my interviewees attended the seminar, so there was no risk of bias as a consequence of my participation in the seminar. I decided to discard Cali as a location for my study and replaced it with three cities from Colombia's north coast: Cartagena, Barranquilla, and Santa Marta. I also traveled to Bucaramanga, from where I was able to go to Aguachica, and Barrancabermeja. In total I visited seven cities, most of them located in the North and East of the Country.

Data Analysis

Interviews and those documents that were convertible to a text processing format (Word) were coded using Qualrus® a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software. Coding was conducted using a hybrid inductive/deductive approach. I used two initial categories to code the data: functions of higher education, based on the catalog presented on Chapter Four, and "peacebuilding tasks", based on Whaley (Whaley & Piazza-Georgi, 1997) description of peacebuilding activities, which emerged as a coding category after the interview guides were designed and after most of the interviews were conducted. In addition, I analyzed the interviews and documents using open coding.

Ethical Issues

Protection of subjects.

The names of the universities included in this study and the names of most interviewees were not concealed. From a theoretical perspective, there are good

arguments in favor of disclosure. Yin (1984, p. 136) sustained that "the most desirable option is to disclose the identities of both the case and the individuals" and provided two reasons for that:

> First, the reader is able to recall any other previous information he or she may have learned about the same case.... Second, the entire case can be reviewed more readily, so that footnotes and citations can be checked if necessary, an appropriate criticism can be raised about the published case.

In addition to those reasons, Yin added that anonymity "not only does eliminate some important background information about the case, but also it makes the mechanics of composing the case difficult" (p. 137). Nonetheless he admitted that there are occasions in which anonymity is necessary, like in case studies on controversial topics or when "the issuance of the final case report may affect the subsequent actions of those that were studied" (p. 137).

From the participants' perspective, authors believe that, sometimes, the individuals may want to be identified for several reasons and that they gain ownership of their narratives when their names are mentioned (Ells & Gutfreund, 2006). One additional advantage of disclosing the identities of the interviewees in studies of this type is that it contributes to the researcher's accountability because statements are not attributed to an anonymous interviewee but to a person that can refute what is said using his or her name.

Interviewees were given the opportunity of concealing their identity in several moments: at the beginning of the interview, at the end of the interview, and they were offered the option of contacting me at any moment after the interview (see Appendixes D and E, Consent Form in English and in Spanish). One interviewee preferred anonymity

and some of them asked to keep their identity concealed only for specific parts of their interviews. Only the identities of those who explicitly agreed to such disclosure are revealed. When a participant did not agree to reveal his identity, his name was changed by a pseudonym in the transcripts and any contextual reference that might identify him was suppressed.

To protect the identity of those who preferred to keep it concealed, I will destroy all documents containing personal information one year after my dissertation's approval.

Researcher's Role

I assumed an outsider's role during this research. My previous experience at the Ministry or Education as the Director for Quality Assurance on Higher Education did not have any connection with my research topic, to which I was completely new. Some of the interviewees made reference to actions taken by the government during the time I worked for the Ministry, but most (if not all) of them were not carried out by my office. I presented myself as interested in how higher education institutions deal with the armed conflict and whether or not they have contributed to peacebuilding and avoided making reference to my previous position at the Ministry, but when I was asked about it I acknowledged it and was willing to discuss topics related to that position after the interview. Most of the interviews were fluid conversations and the interviewees were open to share their experiences with me, as an outsider to their institutions and a newcomer to the study of armed conflict.

Validity and Reliability

Four main strategies were used to guarantee the validity and reliability of the study: Expert reviewed interview guides, triangulation, peers debriefing, and member checking.

Expert reviewed interview guides: Two experts in Latin American higher education reviewed the interview protocols to identify possible researcher biases in the questionnaires and to improve the instruments' reliability. One of them had experience in qualitative research and the second one had a similar background to the one I would find in the potential interviewees and deals with Latin American rectors and vice-rectors on a regular basis.

Triangulation was possible across sources of data and types of interviewees. Triangulation across interviewees was possible within and between interviewees groups (rectors, government, experts). Triangulation between sources was possible by contrasting the findings from the interviews with those from documental sources.

Member checking: One interviewee who was able to read in English was asked to comment about a previous version of the findings and conclusions on Colombia. In addition to language limitations in some cases, member checking from all participants was not considered because the position of most interviewees did not allow them to dedicate time to this task.

Personal Background

Because "the investigator is the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing data" (Merriam, 1998p. 20) the researcher's history is of great importance in qualitative research. My personal background necessarily affects how I define the problem, ask the questions, and interpret the answers and the documentation.

I majored in law and during the first years of my professional life worked both as a lawyer and as a researcher on law issues. My first contact with higher education as a practitioner was through ICFES, the Colombian Institute for Higher Education where I entered as *asesor jurídico* (legal advisor), which is a medium-level position in the official bureaucracy. I became very familiar with the variable regulation of higher education and compiled a book in which I attempted to make sense of it. I left ICFES to join the *Universidad Externado de Colombia*, a private university, as a staff member in the doctorate in law program. Then I moved to *Universidad Santo Tomás* (private university) as Secretary General and stayed for a year until I was invited to join the Ministry of Education as the Director of Quality Assurance for Higher Education. I stayed at the Ministry for almost four years and during that time I had the opportunity to get a closer view of the dynamics of the sector and I participated in the design (but not the implementation) of the Centros Regionales de Educación Superior (CERES), an initiate that will be mentioned several times in this research. As part of my responsibilities at the Ministry, I was a member of more than ten *Consejos Superiores* (a close equivalent of the Board of Directors) in Colombian public universities, which gave me a taste of public higher education, something that until then had been unexplored to

me. Among the universities' Consejos Superiores I belonged to are those from the Universidad Popular del Cesar (UPC), and the Universidad Distrital, which are among the institutions studied in this dissertation.

While I was in Colombia doing the fieldwork for this research I was hired by the Ministry of Education to do a short consultancy within the framework of the project of reform to the higher education law. This consulting job was not related in any way with my research topic and I started working for the Ministry when the fieldwork stage was formally closed. Nonetheless, this unexpected extension in the time of my visit allowed me to conduct two interviews that had not been possible before.

During my time at the Ministry of Education I participated in a profound restructuration process of the higher education subsector and in the first stage of the drafting of the national strategic plan document called *Vision Colombia 2019* (Peña, 2006). My involvement with public universities and my participation in the earlier drafting of Vision Colombia drove me to realize two things: first, how important public universities are in the economy of medium and small sized cities, which gave them and their rectors great power in the region and, consequently, makes them very attractive for politicians that are trying to improve their quota of power. Second, how the conflict in which Colombia has been immersed during almost five decades was extensively (perhaps systematically) ignored in the planning documentation. Since then I started to wonder what is the role of higher education in the post-conflict stage?

I do believe that higher education institutions have a very important role to play in the progress of developing countries and I believe that this role is even more important in post-conflict nations.

Chapter Four: Conceptual Framework

"One can only wonder whether the university was a better place before
people began writing and talking so much about it—before they became so
conscious of its uses" (Kerr, 2001, p. xiii)

In the literature review I illustrated that there are very few studies on the roles and
functions of higher education in conflict and postconflict societies and that a systematic
approach to this type of analysis is still lacking. The functions attributed to higher
education in those studies usually reflect the authors' opinions and biases about what that
role should be—a prescriptive perspective—and most of the time focuses on the teaching
component. But universities are complex institutions and a broader, holistic perspective
is necessary to understand their role in societies undergoing a transition from conflict to
postconflict.

The study of the different functions of higher education and how they relate to the
larger society can provide such holistic view. In this chapter I present four classifications
of the functions and purposes of higher education: the triad teaching, research, service;
the Carnegie Foundation's classification of purposes and functions, De Moura Castro and
Levy's classification of functions of the university, and Castell's classification of
functions of the university. Based on these classifications and other functions of higher
education identified in the literature (primarily emanating from the fields of economics
and sociology), I offer a taxonomy of the functions of higher education summarized in a
table that will be presented in this chapter.

In this study I use a different approach to the study of education and conflict than the one frequently used in previous studies, which I have just critiqued. Instead of focusing on a few functions of higher education that I consider relevant, I am using the taxonomy of the functions of higher education to explore how each of those functions can be related to the construction of peace or the transition from conflict to postconflict.

To operationalize this approach, I used the different functions identified in the taxonomy as codes in the qualitative analysis of the interviews and documents consulted for this study and in the international overview presented in the second part of this dissertation.

This chapter consists of three main sections followed by conclusions. In the first section, I address the importance of using a taxonomy as the conceptual framework for this study. In the second section, I explore the concept of function and introduce the working definition that will be used in this dissertation. In the third section, which is the bulk of this chapter, I analyze the four classifications of the functions of higher education, explore additional functions identified in in the literature and introduce my taxonomy.

The Importance of a Taxonomy

There are several advantages of using a taxonomy as the conceptual framework for this research. Gray and colleagues (Gray, Williamson, Karp, & Dalphin, 2007, p. 19-20) pointed several of them: taxonomies are very useful for descriptions, can be used to show the way toward policy recommendations, can be useful as a baseline, and for structuring data collection strategies. These characteristics are of great value for this

research for many reasons: This is an exploratory study in which description plays an important part; one of the outputs of this research is a set of policy recommendations; and the taxonomy was of great value in the design of the interview guide used during the fieldwork. The taxonomy of the functions of higher education allowed a methodical approach in which I used the identified functions to get a broader view of potential ways in which higher education can contribute to peacebuilding. However, my approach is not prescriptive or evaluative; this taxonomy was not used to find what higher education institutions must do, or to assess how they are doing it, but to identify whether or not they are performing any of those functions and to describe how.

Definition of Function

The concept "function" has many definitions in the social sciences and often it is used without stating its scope. Firth (1955) identified four different usages of this word in sociology and anthropology literature:

> 1) Function as the activity of object or entity; 2) function as relation of interdependence with activities of other objects or entities—the contextual identification; 3) function as relation of interdependence of special quality, e.g. in regard to requirements or ends such as maintenance of a social system… 4) function as consequence of structures (p. 244).

From a semantic perspective, Munch (1976) identified two main definitions of function: "a proper activity or performance of an entity according to its essential nature" (p. 194), and "a vital or organic process considered in the respect in which it contributes to the maintenance of an organism" (p. 196). He explained that broadening the base of

the second definition to include organizational activities, it is possible to arrive at the definition of "complementary function: A proper activity or performance of a part entity in accordance with its structural position in a complex whole" (p. 196). Munch argued that using what he called "confusing" or "illicit" "semantic transitions," it is possible to arrive at more definitions of function in which the "proper activity" component is eliminated. One of those cases is when function is considered an "*instrumental* activity, which carries a connotation of *utility* with emphasis upon its presumably *useful effect*" (italics from the original, p. 197); a confusion that he attributed to Durkheim, which was embraced later by anthropologists like Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. Munch explained that sometimes this illicit transition is taken even further by generalizing it "to include any effect—positive, negative, or neutral—that a given unit, system, condition, or process may have upon any other unit, system, condition, or process" or to "any condition from which some body extracts utility" (p. 198); Radcliffe-Brown, Merton, and Levy used this understanding of the term. Another implication of function based on illicit semantic transitions happens when a subjective component is added to the formula and "function" is associated with "intended utility, a connotation which implies *purpose* in terms of an antecedent design" (p. 199).

Among all these implications and meanings of function, in this dissertation I will use the term "function" in the sociological sense of the world, that is, mainly as instrumental activity or effect. However, the expressions "function," "role," "use," and "purpose" has been frequently used as close equivalents in the literature of higher education, often without defining their meanings. So when authors use any of those

expressions as synonyms of use or consequence, that use will be considered a function in this study. It is also frequent that the world "function" is used in the literature as a synonym of goal or intention, "a metaphysical purpose" in the words of Munch (1976, p. 199), those uses will be considered "purposes" and in principle will not be considered functions; yet, many of them (e.g. teaching and social critique) can be also considered uses or instrumental activities, hence can be considered both functions and purposes. At this point, it is important to stress that the purpose of this taxonomy is not to describe how higher education works, or to evaluate how specific institutions or countries perform in some of the functions below identified; the purpose of this classification is to provide a framework that allows a holistic view of the possibilities and challenges of higher education in peacebuilding.

The Functions of Higher Education

From time to time, the literature on higher education tries to identify what the main functions of the university or—less frequently—of higher education are. Some observers have reported an accumulating process of functions of higher education. Flexner (1930, p. 7), for example, wondered if universities should "discern and discharge their special functions or whether they meddle with functions which do not constitute their proper business." Ashby (1958, p. 68) talked about the "accretion of functions over the centuries"; Kerr (2001, p. xiii) mentioned "the increasing recognition of the uses [of university] in economic growth, in international competition, in political and social as well as cultural development"; and the Carnegie Commission (1973) referred to the

"historical process of accumulating purposes." Below different classification of the function and or purposes of higher education will be presented. At the end of this section the reader should have a broad view of the main functions of higher education and an idea of the challenges of attempting a new classification.

The triad: teaching, research, and service

In the Latin American context teaching, research, and extension (outreach) are considered the "substantive functions of the university." Teaching and research are a constant in most enunciations of the triad, while the third function varies among service, extension (outreach), social projection, cultural extension, or a combination of these concepts. Many institutions of higher education base their strategic planning on these "substantive functions."

In the US, the trilogy teaching, research and service has also received great attention. The triad was adopted in the United States around 1870 (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973) aiming to describe what universities do, or what they are expected to do. Several decades ago MCallister (1976, p. 471) stated that "among the colleges and universities of this country there may be universal agreement about little, but it is clear that the blessed trinity of academe has three parts: teaching, service and research."

More recently, teaching, research and service were considered key components to determine faculties' remuneration (Diamond, 1993; Kasten, 1984; Kremer, 1990; Whitman, Hendrickson, & Townsend, 1999). These three concepts (or five if we consider service, extension, and social projection independently) can be useful to give a

simple definition of what universities "do" or what they (or their faculty) are expected to do, but they are not sufficient to illustrate the different functions of higher education in society.

As a catalog of functions, the trilogy faces several limitations. The first one is that it is not clear if the three activities are functions (instrumental activities or effects) or purposes (goals) of higher education. Another problem is that it is usually taken for granted that all higher education institutions perform these three functions on a regular basis, but in fact there are many institutions for which research is not considered part of their core functions, and the service component can be completely foreign to others. Finally, these three concepts fall short to describe what higher education and its institutions really do in society.

The Carnegie classification

In 1973 the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education chaired by Clark Kerr assumed the task of producing a report of the performance of higher education in the United States (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973). The final report tied the definition of functions to the definition of purpose by defining "purposes as being the intentions of higher education, as constituting the general design of higher education, as comprising the end objects it pursues" and "functions as the specific acts performed in the course of fulfilling the purposes" (p. vii). This report attempted to be the second major revision of the purposes of higher education since the 1870s when research and service where added to the initial function of teaching (p. vii).

The authors identified a constantly ongoing accumulation of functions in the hands of higher education –many of them beyond of what universities can fulfill properly. After analyzing the convenience of a hypothetical "massive disaggregation of the functions performed by higher education in the United States" and rejecting it for being "unwise," the Commission suggested, "that all functions now being performed should not necessarily be taken for granted; and that each function should be subject to periodic scrutiny by each institution of higher education" (p. 71). Such recommendations were based on the assumption that higher education institutions can decide what functions to perform.

The following table summarizes the five purposes and 16 functions that the Commission identified:

Table 3. Purposes of Higher Education according to the Carnegie Commission, 1973

Purpose	Functions
1. The education of the individual student and the provision of a constructive environment for developmental growth	1. General education 2. Specialized academic and occupational preparation. 3. Academic socialization 4. Campus environment 5. Personal support 6. 'Holding operation' or period of 'moratorium'
2. Advancing human capability in society at large	7. Research 8. Service 9. Sorting talent 10. Training in vocational technical, pre-professional, and professional skills 11. Cultural advancement
3. Education justice for the postsecondary age group	12. Development of an adequate number of places – particularly of the open access type 13. Development of appropriate special programs –both remedial and cultural 14. Financial support

Purpose	Functions
4. Pure learning-supporting intellectual and artistic creativity	15. Provision of facilities and personnel and a favorable climate for the advancement of pure scholarship
5. Evaluation of society for self-renewal—through individual thought and persuasion	16. Provision of freedom, of opportunities, and of reasonable rules of conduct relating to such evaluation.

Source: Table designed by the author. Content adapted from The Carnegie Commission (1973) pp. 1, 65-6.

The functions associated with the first purpose ("the education of the individual…") deal with the teaching component of education: "General education" covers "the provision of opportunities to survey the cultural heritage of mankind, to understand man and society" (p. 65). "Occupational preparation" refers to "the offering of programs in depth that advance specialized academic and occupational interest" (p. 65). "Academic socialization" alludes to "the establishment of a series of activities (…) and a set of personal relationships which provide an interesting and stimulating environment" (p. 65), and "personal support" refers to the services of advisory and counseling. The function "'holding operation' or 'period of moratorium'" will be discussed in more detail below.

The functions related to the purpose "Advancing human capability in society at large" include research and service as functions, which by now do not require further explanation. The commission did not provide more details for the function "training in vocational technical, pre-professional, and professional skills" but it is important to stress that with this function the Commission acknowledged that higher education provides training at different levels, including vocational and technical. It is also interesting that

this training is considered a function independent from "occupational preparation." The function "sorting talent" will be reviewed in more detail below.

The purpose "Cultural advancement" referred to the "provision of cultural and informational facilities and personnel" (p. 66). However, more information would be useful since it is not clear for example, who are the beneficiaries of this service (the society at large or the students) and if it can be considered an expression of "service" or "university extension."

The functions associated with the purpose "Education justice for the postsecondary age group" are somehow problematic because they are so specific that can be considered tasks. However, it is possible to infer a close connection between this function and the function of social mobility that sociologists recognize as pertaining to education in general. However, it is important to keep in mind that mere access to higher education does not necessarily contribute to individuals' social mobility and that some authors (Bourdieu) believe that education (including higher education) is in fact a tool to perpetuate the status quo.

The function of "provision of facilities and personnel, and a favorable climate for the advancement of pure scholarship…" (p. 66) which is associated with the purpose of "transmission and advancement of learning and wisdom" (p.1) or "providing an effective locus for pure scholarship and artistic creativity" (p. 66) is also problematic. There seems to be an overlap between this purpose and the functions of teaching and research and the description of the function seems to correspond to what the Commission called ancillary functions.

There are three functions that require further explanation: "holding operation or period of moratorium," "sorting talent," and "providing and effective locus for evaluation of society."

Higher education as a buffer against unemployment.

The Commission talked about "holding operation or period of moratorium" and described it as "providing for students a period to assess options and make choices before committing themselves to occupations, styles of life and marriage partners; a period of maturation" (p. 66). Several authors have addressed this topic and many of them took it beyond the scope enunciated by the Commission. Clark (1960, p. 570), for example, stated: "going to College is also in some segments of society the thing to do; as a last resort, it is more attractive than the army or a job."

Certainly, higher education provides students with a period to "assess opinions and make choices" but it has been observed that demand for higher education tends to rise during economic downturn (Douglass, 2008). Umberto Eco claimed that "the university has transformed itself into a 'parking lot' for 'youth' who are no longer young, a place that functions to camouflage modern society's unemployment problem" (Carpenter, 1990, p 77). Like Eco, many argue that higher education disguises unemployment in society or acts as a buffer in the labor market by retaining young adults from entering it for some time. In fact, in some occasions, higher education has been purposely used or considered as part of the strategy against unemployment. For example, in 1969, President Nixon asked the Congress of the United States "for a comprehensive manpower training system as a buffer against possible rising unemployment and as in improved weapon against

poverty" (Nixon asks for manpower training.1969). Similar and more recent examples can be found in Sweden, where education was used explicitly with this purpose (Beach & Carlson, 2004); Mexico, where such role was identified by the National Association of Universities (Coordinación Nacional para la Planeación de la Educación Superior, 1981); and Norway, where the government was accused of using higher education to buffer youth unemployment (Aamodt & Arnesen, 1995).

Sorting talent.

The Commission defined this function as "finding talent, guiding and rating it, and placing it in productive occupations" (p. 66). The same year the report of the Carnegie Commission was published Arrow (1973) published his screening theory and Spence (1973) postulated the signaling theory. Weiss (Weiss, 1995) referred to these two theories with the encompassing name of "sorting." The main assumption behind the sorting theories is that the difference in earnings among people with different levels of education is not a consequence of the value added through education. According to the screening theory this difference is the result of differences in talent screened through the educational process (Layard & Psacharopoulos, 1974). According to the signaling theory, this difference is a consequence of the use of academic credentials as signals conveyed from the potential employee to the market/employer, in a context characterized by asymmetrical information. Academic credentials do not represent knowledge acquired through the education process, but are indicators of the workers' quality.

These theories have been criticized, partly because they are very difficult to test (something that Arrow acknowledged in his paper) but also because if they were true,

there should be another less expensive mechanism to sort workers, among other reasons (For detailed criticisms see: Layard & Psacharopoulos, 1974; Weiss, 1995). In addition, this debate has been concentrated in the US education system. Despite these criticisms, it is admitted that the sorting function of education cannot be completely rejected (Layard & Psacharopoulos, 1974).

Providing an effective locus for the evaluation of society (or the critical function of the university).

The critical function of the university has been regarded as a condition and as a symptom of health for democratic societies. For example, Gutmann (1987) identified the purpose of "protection against the threat of democratic tyranny" as a "primary democratic purpose" (p. 174) of the university. For her, universities are sanctuaries of free scholarly inquiry and therefore non-repression and academic freedom are fundamental conditions to fulfill this purpose. Such protection does not benefit only scholars; it also benefits societies by providing a space for the evaluation of unorthodox ideas on the sole basis of their intellectual merits.

To name this function, the Commission preferred "the term 'evaluation' instead of the more customary one of 'criticism' because of the confusion over the so-called critical function of the university" (p. 43). The Commission identified three possible connotations for the "critical function": developing critical minds, "performing the role of social critic by individual faculty members and students" or the "undertaking of direct action by the university itself against society" (p. 43). The Commission decided to use the term "evaluation" in the second sense (social critic), opposed the third sense (direct

action) and considered the first sense (developing of critical minds) a part of the students education. This decision cannot be overlooked in this chapter for two reasons: first, it illustrates the Commission's bias toward the "positive" functions of higher education. As Birnbaun (1973, p. 30) put it: "the commission's curious insistence on the uniquely harmonious potential of our society influences its views of education." Second, by purposely ignoring that universities can act "against society" it overlooks one important issue for this dissertation: that universities can (and sometimes do) act against the Establishment. Birnbaun words illustrated this bias:

> On one thing the commission is quite clear: the conversion of students and teachers into revolutionary (or pseudo-revolutionary) avant-garde cadres and the reconstruction of the university as a base for an assault upon other institutions— these constitute a potential philosophical and political catastrophe. It deplores collective political pronouncements by student bodies and faculties for reasons that are mixed—some rest on considerations of efficacy, others on more abstract, even more noble, ideas (1973, p. 34).

In hindsight, the list of purposes and functions develop by the Carnegie Foundation was important for several reasons: It provided a more complex approach than the classic triad research-teaching-service; it acknowledged ongoing accumulation of purposes to higher education; and it acknowledged the existence of some level of conflict over the purposes and functions of higher education. But this classification also has several limitations: It was based on an extremely consensual view of society and it subordinated the functions of higher education to its purposes, which limits the scope of

any analysis based on that classification. Because the purpose of the study was to evaluate the performance of higher education in the United States many of the functions identified by the commission are important within the framework of the evaluation but are difficult to extrapolate to different contexts.

De Moura Castro and Levi's typology.

De Moura Castro and Levy (de Moura Castro & Levy, 2000) produced a report for the Inter-American Development Bank, in which, based on four functions of higher education, they assessed and provided recommendations for future policy making on higher education in Latin America. They believed that "failure to identify the different functions of higher education contributes to sloppy assessment and a lack of appropriate policies" (p. 2). They also believed that there is a good degree of inconsistency in the definition of the functions of higher education, which "vary across nations, sectors, institutions, and units within institutions" (p. 9), and they claimed to "identify patterns of success and failure by distinguishing between the real and perceived functions undertaken" (p. 9). Unfortunately, they did not define what they meant by real and perceived functions. The authors stressed that higher education goes beyond the traditional tasks of "training and service to students" (p. 40) and made constant reference to the triad by stating that their functions "incorporate higher education's commonly identified tasks of teaching, research, and extension (…)" and that "each of the four functions [that they identified] should define and mix the three tasks differently" (p. 37).

The four functions of higher education that De Moura Castro and Levy identified are: 1) Academic leadership; 2) Professional Development; 3) Technical training and development; and 4) General higher education.

Academic Leadership has to do with the provision of "high quality research, teaching and extension according to international academic norms" and providing training for "intellectual leaders" (p. 65). Based on the assumption that "the faculty members are intellectual leaders and some of their students will become their successors," the authors believe that "academia produces the leading critics of the status quo" (p. 39); and that "academic work contributes to national development through intensive teaching of future leaders, path breaking research in sciences and humanities, and guidance of broad segments of society and government" (p. 40).

The second function identified by De Moura Castro and Levy is "professional development," which they defined as "prepar[ing] students for specific job markets requiring advanced formal education" and "provid[ing] related tasks in research and extension" (pp. 43, 65). This function is associated with "the transmission of the skills of a well-defined occupation in terms of subject matter and technique" (p. 43).

"Technical training and development," their third function, focuses on "provid[ing] short programs of practical skill-based training for middle-level positions in the labor market and "with pertinent research, for a nation's technological development" (p. 65).

Finally, the function they called "general higher education," consists of the provision of "sound general education [that] broadens students' horizons and enhances their basic critical abilities" (p. 65).

De Moura Castro and Levy identified some limitations of their typology, including that they "specify the typology of functions largely in economically relevant terms and with emphasis on teaching and learning" and that the functions "lack mutual exclusiveness" p. (37). But there are some additional flaws in their typology: First, they do not define what they understand by function, which would be helpful along the document. Second, more than a classification of functions, what they are presenting is a typology of institutions of higher education based on at least three major criteria: the quality of teaching, the type of research, and the role alumni are expected to perform in society or in the labor market. This is a substantial weakness considering their statement according to which "failure to identify the different functions of higher education contributes to sloppy assessment and a lack of appropriate policies" (p. 2).

However, based on the description of the different components in their typology, it is possible to point out some functions of higher education, like providing intellectual leadership and those who will lead the national debate, characteristic of what De Moura Castro and Levy called Academic Leadership; "transmission of skills of a well defined occupation in terms of subject matter and technique"; preparing students for the job market; preparing students for the solution of social problems and challenges like treating diseases or designing buildings, which they associate mainly to the type Professional Development; or providing specific skills for the immediate labor market, a function of

institutions dedicated to technological training and development. De Moura Castro and Levy also believe that "Institutions should design general higher education to improve knowledge, thinking, and citizenship" and that "general education should help teach students how to learn and it should help build character" (p. 60).

Castells' dynamic systems of contradictory functions.

Castells (2001) "identified four major functions [of the universities] at the theoretical level" (p. 206): generation and transmission of ideology; selection and formation of the dominant elites; production and application of knowledge; and training the skilled labor force.

Generation and transmission of ideology: Castells believed that "the formation and diffusion of ideology has been, and still is, a fundamental role of universities, in spite of the ideology of their ideology-free role" (p. 206). He warned that "ideological apparatuses are not purely reproductive machines" but "they are submitted to the conflicts and contradictions of society, and therefore they will tend to express – and even amplify – the ideological struggles present in all societies" (p. 206). However, Castells also stated that universities can work for social change and noted how in societies whose social-political rule relies on cohesion rather than on consensus universities tend to "become amplifiers of challenge to domination" (p. 206).

Selection and formation of dominant elites includes "the socialization process of these elites, the formation of the networks for their cohesion and the establishment of codes of distinction between these elites and the rest of the society" (p. 207).

Castells' third function of universities is the production and adaptation of knowledge, which he believes that despite being considered "the most obvious function of university (…) is, in fact, the exception throughout the world" (p. 208) and in many countries around the world it is not yet considered a fundamental task.

Training the skilled labor force has been a basic function of higher education. It includes training the bureaucracy and the professionals required by the market in postindustrial societies, such as accountants, economists, social workers, teaching staff and medical personnel.

Castells highlighted how universities are submitted to pressures of society, which asks them to fulfill roles beyond those they have been explicitly asked to perform. This situation is exemplified with the increased demand for higher education, at the point of turning it into a "social need, regardless of the actual functional requirements of the economy or of the institutions" which has led to the 'massification of the university system' where universities downgraded some elements of the system turning themselves into "reservoirs for idle labor" (p. 211). Castells called this function "surplus labor absorption" or "warehouse function" (p. 211) is very related to the functions already explored under the "holding operation" or "period of moratorium" function in the Carnegie Foundation's classification.

Another function mentioned by Castells, but not included in his initial list, is the debate of society. He believes that "universities will always be, at the same time, conflictual organizations, open to the debates of society, and thus to the generation and confrontation or ideologies" (p. 212).

Castells considered that Third World universities have special characteristics, derived from it past and the challenges they will have to face. For him, "the recruitment of social elites" (213) became the most important function of these universities. Political instability turned universities into "the social matrix of conflicting political elites, conservative, reformist or revolutionary, all competing to lead and shape the nationalist ideology of cultural self determination an political autonomy" (p. 213) which resulted in the amalgamation of the ideological and formation of new elites functions, in what he called the "political function of university" (213). He also illustrated how the governments in Third World countries use the universities when the development needs of the country claim for skilled labor by increasing enrolment. Unfortunately—he remarked—such increase happened mostly in traditional areas such as law, humanities, and social sciences.

Other Functions of Higher Education

Development, the economic perspective.

Economics of education became an important subfield of economics by the 1960s when attention focused on the role of education in nations' wealth, development and economic wellbeing, and when it became evident that the differentiation in population's education levels was relevant to economic growth (Skolnik, 2005). However, the favorable impact of universities in the prosperity of cities was acknowledged very early in the history of universities. Merchants in the middle age were aware of the positive

impact of universities in the businesses and commerce in cities with a university (Janin, 2008) and local authorities, duly instructed by popes and emperors, usually granted privileges in the shape of ¨dispenses" to masters and scholars with the sole purpose of preventing the university to move to another city. Universities were aware of their importance, and usually threatened to leave the city to obtain more privileges, which frequently included exemption from taxation and military service (Haskins, 2002 / 1923; Lewis, 2002).

The Triple Helix Model postulated by Etzkowitz in which university, government, and industry are interconnected in the quest for scientific innovation provided a new perspective according to which the university is more than a simple provider of knowledge to the industry and other stakeholders (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997b). Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997b) considered that while the transformation of the universities from teaching institutions to research institutions is considered the first academic revolution, "the introduction of economic development as an academic mission" constitutes a second academic revolution (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997b). According to this approach "universities and industry, up to now relatively separate and distinct institutional spheres, are each assuming tasks that were formerly largely the province of the other" (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997a, p. 2). Sutz (1997, p. 11) believed that the novelty of the Triple Helix model is not the direct relationship between university and society – which, she argued, is not a novelty at all – but how the university turned into "a direct producer of goods and services for end users."

In an effort to understand "how do we know the value of higher education to regional development," Thanki (1999) evaluated several studies and identified three approaches to measure the contribution of higher education to economic growth: 1) the study of the correlation between "the concentration of high-technology activity with various location factors perceived as inducing special clusters"; 2) the study of the "university induced growth" in which the role of the university in specific growth processes is evaluated; and 3) the study of "university impact" which stresses "the direct, indirect, and induced (economic) effects of universities" in terms of income, employment and other criteria including the impact on "the decision of graduates not to migrate" (p. 85). Thanki also identified some studies that focused in the positive externalities associated with higher education, such as improving the quality of labor stock in a region, and the universities' capacity to attract inward investment. Based on a study by James and Clark (James & Clark, 1997), Thanki pointed out higher education's impact on "vocational education, the tourism industry, and the quality of the built environment, urban regeneration, and business retention" (p. 87) as well as other aspects of life in a community, like the rented housing market or the use of land. She showed how different studies pointed out cultural, economic, political, and social contributions, but she also stressed the difficulty of measuring such contribution.

With the eruption of the knowledge economy, knowledge became both a product and a tool to be used in the production of economic benefits. Research and development (R&D) defined as "creative work undertaken on a systematic basis in order to increase the stock of knowledge, including knowledge of man, culture and society, and the use of

this stock of knowledge to devise new applications" (OECD, 2008, para. 2) became a new obsession for universities and governments, and a new field of interest for economists.

A recent study by the OECD (Santiago, Tremblay, Basri, & Arnal, 2008) identified four major roles of higher education in the research and innovation system: 1) Building knowledge bases, which refers to research and associate activities; 2) developing human capital, which deals with the teaching component, including transmission of skills and inculcation of specific forms of knowledge; 3) Knowledge diffusion and use; and 4) Knowledge maintenance which happens "through storage and retrieval systems, such as libraries, oral transmission, databases, computing resources and conferences" and whose importance should not be overlooked given that "much of the knowledge that society uses is not new. Old knowledge does not survive by itself, and it is easy for knowledge to disappear" (p. 75).

Chabbott and Ramirez (2000) observed that "although many empirical studies show a positive relationship between many forms of education and individual economic, political, and cultural development, the effects of education on development at the collective level are ambiguous" (p. 163). Based on a review of several cross national studies they concluded that evidence on the links between education and development was weak and claimed for "sociological attention" on "the institutionalization of diffuse beliefs, practices, and routines regarding the links between development and education" (164).

Chabbott and Ramirez (2000) studied the effect of education in three fields: economic development, in which the impact of education is usually measured in terms of individual productivity and national economic growth; political development, which is frequently associated with political knowledge, values, and attitudes of individuals; and cultural development, which they did not define clearly. They associated cultural development with modernization and argued that theories of structural differentiation try "to explain how institutions multiply and the simple structures of traditional society become more complex in response to changes in technology and values" (p. 169). According to these authors, for most of the modernization theorists, "modernization was roughly equivalent to Westernization" (p. 169).

Social change.

Social change is one of the main topics of sociology; it can refer to alteration in the social order of society or to changes in the socio-economic structure of society. Three main positions can be identified regarding education and social change.

The first one holds that higher education contributes to the maintenance of the status quo. For example, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) believed that education contributes to social reproduction as it contributes to sustain the current scheme of social relations, "characterized by exploitation and unequal relations of power, to name but a few negative aspects" and to project it to the next.

The second position holds that university can contribute to progressive social change, change that is gradual and beneficial to society. For example, Thompson and Fogel (Thompson & Fogel, 1976) edited a two volume report on how universities can

contribute to development in developing countries in which topics such as "how can the development needs of rural areas and, in particular, the small farmer be met" or "how can effective health services and agricultural technology be brought to rural areas" (p. 17) were addressed.

The third approach links universities with active involvement in political revolutions. For example, among the authors presented before in this chapter, the Carnegie Commission (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973) mentioned that universities can engage in the "undertaking of direct action (…) against society" but decided to reject this possibility. Drawing on Touraine, Castells (2001) illustrated how "[universities] are submitted to the conflicts and contradictions of society, and therefore they will tend to express – and even amplify – the ideological struggles present in all societies". Castells believed that "the more the socio-political rule of society relies on coercion rather than consensus, the more universities become the amplifiers of the challenge to domination in society at large" (p. 206).

Scholars are not the only ones who recognized the potential of universities in harboring social disruption; some conservative elements of society may fear such possibility. For example, according to the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Homeland Security from the United Kingdom's parliament "universities and colleges 'have become sites where extremist views and radicalization can flourish beyond the sight of academics'" (All Party Group on Homeland Security, as cited in The ties that bind: Universities, multiculturalism and social cohesion.2011, p. 2). More recently Warden (2011) called universities in Egypt "incubators for the revolution" and explained:

"Universities were incubators for what happened not because they were places of free speech –they were as constrained as other institutions – but because they were places were young people gathered" (para. 9). There are also skeptical ones who believe that universities usually accommodate to whoever is in power. In this line of thinking, Goodman (1973) explored the role of universities in social change in Latin America, and acknowledged certain protagonist role of students but refuted any revolutionary role of the universities as institutions. According to her:

> The Venezuelan and Colombian student groups have contributed more than their share to the guerrilla movements that have fought against establishment governments in their respective countries. But the university as a whole has been unable to go beyond self-imposed role of gadfly or supporters of various governments, and has failed to achieve a meaningful position for itself as a leader and innovator in its country's development process (p. 280).

Further more, she believed that "the Latin American university has played an essentially passive role in politics. It has been a target of policy execution, but has not been a major participant in any of the key phases of the political process" (p. 279). Goodman's differentiation between students and university stresses the importance of one of the limitations illustrated in Chapter One: the difficulty to define who or what is the university.

A recent study by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (Brennan, King, & Lebeau, 2004) explored "the various ways in which universities and other higher education institutions generate, contribute to or inhibit social, economic, and political

change" (p. 7). The authors identified four main aspects of transformation, to which corresponded four roles of universities: economic change, political change, the social role, and the cultural role. They concluded that while "the role of universities in stimulating economic change appear[ed] to have been relatively weak," and "economic goals were frequently driving higher education reforms" (p. 8). In terms of that role, "universities were generally responding to external pressures rather than initiating or driving transformation" (p.8).

Regarding political change, they illustrated how universities can be supporters of old regimes and "providers of 'protected space' in which opposition and critique could ferment" and how universities can also "provide personnel for institution building in the new civil societies" (p. 8).

As for the cultural role of universities, they identified two mayor paths: acting as a "route for entry of external ideas and experiences into otherwise closed societies" and acting as "a repository for national sentiments that could come out of 'storage' when time and circumstance permitted" (p. 8). Regarding what they called the "social role," the authors found that "universities probably contribute quite as much to social reproduction as they do to social transformation" (p. 8).

A Taxonomy of Functions of Higher Education

Based on the different perspectives and functions above described, I elaborated a classification of the functions of higher education. I identified four main function groups: Knowledge, Social Change, Development, and Service. To each function group, I

associated a set of functions (instrumental activities or effects) to which I attributed some sub-functions or specific activities.

In the first functional group, Knowledge, I identified three main functions: the production of knowledge (through research and scholarship), the transmission of knowledge (through teaching and non formal and informal learning activities), and the preservation of knowledge (through services of storage and recovery).

The second functional group is Social Change, in which two main functions are identified: the promotion of social change (including promotion of social mobility, promotion of economic development, providing a space for social criticism, and sorting talent based on acquired attitudes). The avoidance of social change, includes the promotion and reproduction of the ideology of the dominant class, acting as a buffer against unemployment (which tends to release the levels of disconformity in society), and the sorting of talent based on previous status or pre-existing skills.

The third functional group is Development and it comprises economic, cultural, and political development. Economic development has five main activities: the production of social capital, which includes the production of leaders and skilled labor, the promotion of local development through direct expenditure and investment in a given region as well as through the application and commercialization of research, and through the production of goods and services to the market. Cultural development has two main activities: the preservation of local/national culture (through research, storage, and diffusion) and acting as a "route for entry for external ideas and experiences" to society.

The function of political development has two main components: the individual and society. In terms of the individual higher education is expected to provide its students with better knowledge of the political system, promote positive values and attitudes, and introduce students to the dynamics of politics (i.e. elections, representation, protest, etc.). In terms of society, higher education is expected to train (and select or screen) the future and current leaders of society. This leadership function is closely related to what has been already illustrated under economic development but the focus is placed on politics rather than economic development.

The fourth and final domain corresponds to service, which includes the different activities of outreach other than the provision of instruction (either formally or informally) such as legal service clinics, health brigades and other initiatives and activities. Table 4 (bellow) summarizes the taxonomy.

Table 4. Taxonomy of Functions of Higher Education

Function Group	Function	Activities
Knowledge	*Production of knowledge*	Research
	Transmission of knowledge	Teaching, non-formal, informal education
	Preservation of knowledge	Storage and recovery
Social Change	*Promotion of Social Change*	Social Mobility
		Economic development
		Providing a space for social criticism
		Sorting talent based on acquired attitudes
	Avoidance of Social Change	Promotion and reproduction of the ideology of the dominant class
		Acting as a buffer against unemployment
		Sorting talent based on previous status, pre-existing skills
Development	*Economic Development*	Development of human capital (leaders and skilled labor)

Function Group	Function	Activities
	Cultural development	Employment generation (direct and indirect)
		Through direct expenditure and investment
		Through applied research
		Through production of goods and services to the market
		Acting as a route of entry for external ideas
		Contributing to the preservation of local/national culture through research, storage, and diffusion
	Political development	Providing the students with better knowledge of the political system Introducing the student to the dynamics of politics Training and selecting the future leaders of society
Service	*Service*	Outreach (Extension) Non-Formal Education Academic clinics, etc.

Functions of Higher Education in Conflict Societies

The functions of higher education so far discussed can be predicated from higher education regardless of the presence or not of violent political conflict in a given region or country. Given the focus of this dissertation on conflict and postconflict societies, it is appropriate to question whether there are functions of higher education that can be performed only or mainly in this type of context. To the extent of my knowledge, there is no research in this area. Research from the field of education and conflict – which focuses mostly in primary education – suggests that education can contribute to either

peacebuilding or conflict perpetuation (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Salmi, 2000). Also, it has been illustrated how some schools have played a protective role by decreasing children's psychosocial stress and can contribute to creating a sense of normalcy (Davies, 2004; Machel, 2001). In the same direction, in 1998, The Oslo/Hadeland Conference on Child Protection stressed education's importance as a protection tool because it has proven efficacy to prevent "recruitment, abduction and gender based violence" (NRC, Save the Children Norway, & UNHCR, 1999, as cited in Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003, p. 9). This protective role has not been addressed yet in higher education research.

In one of the very few articles addressing "The Role of Universities in Post-Conflict Development" Richter (2009) attributed several tasks to higher education: 1) providing skilled human power able to address the multiple needs related to reconstruction, 2) developing global competencies in three main perspectives: ethical, cultivation of foreign languages, and "understanding of world history, geography, economics, and issues of global consequence" (p. 30); 3) promoting good governance; 4) becoming a platform for dialogue by promoting human rights and protecting the rights of the minority groups as well as opening forums in which freedom of speech is fostered; and 5) becoming an attractive employer by remunerating faculty appropriately and providing "sufficient opportunities to learn and develop professionally" (p. 31). Most of these tasks are related to functions that have already been discussed in this chapter, such as knowledge transmission and human capital development. The task of becoming a platform for dialogue can be linked to the (sub)function of providing a space for social criticism, however, in conflict and post-conflict societies it acquires a more ambitious

scope: providing a safe place for discussing the current problems of society in a polarized context in which people can be (and actually have been) killed or hurt because of their ideas. The main limitation of Richter's article is that it addressed the problem from a prescriptive point of view, mentioning what universities should or could do without exploring how those tasks were performed in reality.

These functions will not be included in the taxonomy, but they will be considered through the analysis of data.

Characteristics of this Taxonomy

It has been shown how there have been several efforts to classify the functions of higher education, or its purposes and roles. There are many reasons that make it difficult to achieve a fully coherent classification of the functions of higher education. Among them, the historic character of universities and higher education and the accretion of functions attributed to higher education (Ashby, 1958; Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973), and the fact that higher education has been studied from different disciplines (economy, sociology, politics, philosophy) resulting in complementary, contradictory, or overlapping observations. Hence, the main characteristics of this classification are:

Transdisciplinarity: Several disciplines nurtured this classification: economy, sociology, political science, and the theory of higher education itself. More than accumulating functions, this taxonomy pretends to provide a coherent and integrated view of the functions of higher education.

Incompleteness and subjectivity: Because in this study function has been defined as an "instrumental activity or effect" there is too much room for subjectivity; different observers can attribute different instrumental activities or can observe different effects of higher education and all of those instrumental activities or uses may not be considered relevant for a taxonomy (it can be said, for example, that one function of universities in the United States is to provide the great leagues of sports with fresh talent, and assertion that may be true but that would be irrelevant for this study). However, an effort was made to include the most important functions identified in the reviewed literature.

Non-mutual exclusiveness: One general principle of taxonomies, mostly those in the nature sciences, is mutual exclusiveness; that is, that a given entity can only belong to one class. Considering the transdisciplinarity and the subjectivity of this taxonomy, such condition cannot be fulfilled. This classification may be redundant by allowing some functions to belong to more than one class. For example, the production of knowledge can be identified as "research" but also as "economic development".

Ambiguity: Taxonomies are also expected to be unambiguous, however, given the subjectivity of this classification, some functions of higher education can be attributed to contradictory classes. For example, while some authors consider that higher education promotes social change by contributing to social mobility, others may find that it contributes to the preservation of the status quo and the reproduction of social inequality.

Given that the main purpose of this classification is exploratory (not explanatory or evaluative), these characteristics are considered advantages in this research because

they allow more comprehensive observations. A more articulated classification could be achieved by embracing one specific approach (sociologic, political, economic) but that would imply sacrificing a more integral view.

Conclusion

The different functions of higher education included in the taxonomy presented above will be used to analyze the data in this project but some clarifications are need before starting. First, these functions are not expected to be applicable to and observable in all cases. The inclusion of a function does not necessarily mean that universities or higher education institutions must perform it or that I believe that all higher education institutions do perform it. For example, the role of providing people and resources to the revolution may not be observable in all higher education institutions, not even in all of those institutions in countries suffering a violent revolution.

Also, mentioning a function in the taxonomy does not necessarily mean that it will be included in this study. For example, the different functions related to screening and sorting talent have been theoretically acknowledged but even those who postulated the theory have admitted how difficult is to observe this function in reality.

One may ask if contributing to peacebuilding can be considered a function of higher education. Given that the process of attributing functions (i.e. instrumental activities or effects) is a subjective one, the initial answer would be yes. However, contributing to peacebuilding is not an observable action by itself and it needs to be observed through different specific activities. The eight interrelated objectives in peacebuilding's essential agenda defined by Whaley and Piazza-Georgi (1997) and

presented on Chapter Two of this dissertation happen to be handy now. Take for example, the objective "demilitarization" identified by the two authors; it is not an objective or a function of higher education. The activities linked to that objective (demobilization, disarmament, and demining; and reintegration into civil society and economy) cannot be considered objectives of functions of higher education either. However, different functions of higher education can be linked to those activities. These connections will be explored in the following chapters.

Second Part

International Overview

Chapter Five: The Two World Wars and the Spanish Civil War

The following four chapters are dedicated to the study of seven armed conflicts that took place in the twentieth century: World War I, the Spanish Civil War, World War II, the Cuban Revolution, the Nicaraguan Revolution and its counter revolution, Rwanda's Civil War and genocide, and Kosovo's Civil War.   One of the main characteristics of most of these conflicts is that in the post-conflict stage, universities were not expected to contribute to peacebuilding. As it will be argued later on, one of the reasons is that the concept of peacebuilding emerged until the 1970s, after most of these conflicts ended.   However, in many cases, universities were expected to contribute to local and national development, and they performed or were expected to perform some key functions that today can be linked to peacebuilding (e.g. contributing to reconstruction, economic development, training and re-training of former soldiers and population in general, etc.).   This international overview illustrates how universities performed some of those functions. It also helps to describe the complex environment that HEIs face during an armed conflict and how, in some cases, universities can contribute (or be used) to exacerbate ongoing armed conflicts.

* * *

There is no unanimous definition of "total war" (Black, 2006) but there is agreement that its most salient characteristic is the near total mobilization of population and available resources to defeat the enemy. World Wars I and II are considered total wars, despite the fact that each country's engagement was different in terms of the resources, soldiers, and civilians, devoted to the conflict, as well as the geographic extension of the struggles.

This chapter explores three different yet related conflicts: World War I, World War II, and the Spanish Civil War, and focuses on the role that higher education and its institutions played before, during, and after the conflicts. The main guiding questions for this chapter are: What role did universities play in warfare research? How involved where students and faculty in the conflicts? Did universities play any role in the construction of peace during the conflict or the postconflict periods?

The two World Wars involved a large number of countries, and even a brief overview of higher education in each of them would be beyond the scope of this study. The two selected countries, the United States and Germany, represent two different ideological systems but also had some important points in common, particularly developed higher education systems that were decisive to the final output of the war. Short mentions of other countries will be included when considered necessary. The Spanish Civil War presents an interesting contrast to the global confrontations. Despite its implications for World War II, it was a Civil War, in which the combating parties were mostly compatriots, a feature that introduced important differences in the role that universities played in the conflict.

World War I

The Black Hand, a Serbian nationalist secret society assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, on June 28, 1914. In response, the Austro Hungarian Empire declared war on Serbia. The Russian Empire, allied to Serbia, announced a massive mobilization of troops in support of Serbia. Germany, allied to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, considered the mobilization of Russian troops an act of war, and declared war on Russia. Soon other countries joined the confrontation, some of them because were invaded (Belgium), others because were allies of other countries already involved in the conflict (e.g. France and Britain). The main parties of the global confrontation were the Central Powers (German Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ottoman Empire, and the Kingdom of Bulgaria) and the Allies (French Empire, British Empire, Russian Empire, and other minor members) plus the United States who entered the conflict not as an Ally but as an "associate power."

Germany.

By the beginning of the twentieth century academic nationalism was a very strong legacy in Germany. The "cult of death in combat" and the epic histories of students' engagement in the Free Corps of the War of Liberation against Napoleon (1813) and the Franco Prussian War (1870) contributed to the idealization of "academic sacrifice." Student corporations (fraternities) were very important in German universities, as approximately half of the students belonged to one of them during the pre-war years, and

the field of student politics was contested between three main currents: nationalist, anti-Semitic, and neoliberal. The formal training provided to students in the university and the previous levels of education joined to the corporate influence produce a deeply nationalistic youth (Jarausch, 1984).

Since the beginning of the conflict, German professors supported the involvement of the empire in war. The contribution of most of the professors, particularly those from the humanities and social sciences, was to legitimizing Germany's participation in the conflict by presenting it as a defensive movement (Jarausch, 1984; Noakes, 1993). An example of such support was the letter "To the Civilized World" (Professors of Germany, 1914/1919) signed by 93 renowned German scholars, in which they denied the accusations that their country started World War I and supported the German military actions. The letter became a motive of outrage among the United States' scholars, who accused the German savants of "prostituting the function of their profession" (Gruber, 1975, p. 118).

German students' involvement in the war was massive. As Jarausch (1984, p. 318) described it: "A whole cohort of ten semesters studied less in the lecture halls than in the battlefields." In the summer semester of 1914, 39,585 tertiary students, i.e. half of the total enrolment in tertiary education in Germany, went to the front. By 1918, the number climbed to 57,382 representing more than two thirds (67,8 percent) of the total enrolment (Jarausch, 1984, p. 319).

The reality of war that student soldiers had to face proved to be tougher than the idealized image that motivated them to join the military. Jarausch (1984, p. 319)

described how as a resource "to counteract this *innere Verrohung* [internal brutalization] and to break through their isolation" students and young academics created courses or even soldiers' universities (*Etappenhochschulen*) such as the one in Conflans. There is very little information about these soldiers' universities, but Jarausch suggests that, in this case, education may have provided a way out to the anguishes of war.

University professors also played a key role in this war. In addition to legitimizing Germany's participation in war, many of the youngest volunteered or where drafted, others contributed with their intellectual power to solve some of the challenges imposed by the war, such as development of replacement for missing raw material (Jarausch, 1984) or the development of weapons. Thwing (1920, p. 116) illustrated that Germany made use of its professors of chemistry and physics for military purposes, particularly in the use of poison gas.

The Allied Powers eventually defeated Germany; the Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, and the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919. This treaty imposed heavy burdens on the Germans, such as accepting responsibility for causing the war, paying substantial economic reparations, limiting the number of armed forces and abolishing conscription. Germany's defeat was a surprise within the country's borders and eroded the credibility of the German professors, who legitimized the war and augured success (Remy, 2002). However, a critical reflection on the support of the intellectuals to the war or the causes of the political disaster did not happen; on the contrary, universities kept celebrating the founding of the German Reich and perpetuating the ideals of supremacy and anti-Semitism (Gellert, 1993, p. 12).

One of the outputs of the Treaty of Versailles was a large number of ex-army officers who turned to the university when the size of the German army was dramatically reduced. The proportion of students in higher education in Germany grew from 11 per 10,000 inhabitants in 1924, to 25 per 10,000 inhabitants in 1925; this striking expansion has been attributed in good part to demobilized officers who did not enter the university to study but to conduct propaganda activities among students and teachers(Wolf, 1944).

Students also played a role as potential soldiers. Going against the ban of military training imposed to Germany in the Versailles Treaty, education institutions were used to train students in the use of small arms through courses disguised with names like "defense sports" and even more innocuous ones (Giles, 1984, p. 332). A good number of university students had firearms and other military equipment; they conducted regular military exercises, and were organized on military basis, apparently with the knowledge—and approval—of university authorities(Wolf, 1944, p. 3). This training was complemented with political indoctrination conducted by National Socialist Students' Association (NSDStB).

The Nazis were interested in universities as fields of indoctrination with the conviction that the function of university was to serve the "Volk" (Remy, 2002). For that purpose, they trusted students, who were the first organized group to be seduced by the Nazis and has been considered "the vanguard of the Nazi campaign against the Universities" (Noakes, 1993, p. 376). Small groups of Nazi loyal students took over universities and played an important role in the intimidation campaign against Jewish professors and professors with "pacifist sentiments," some times boycotting their

lectures, other times assaulting individual professors. The university response to these attacks was cautious and ambivalent, and many professors, even some of those who disapproved their actions, sympathized with their motivations and decided to keep silence (Noakes, 1993).

By the beginning of the 1930s, in the middle of the economic depression, German universities played a buffering role as students turned their attention to the classrooms as a way to delay their entrance to the job market. Nonetheless, such temporary comfort soon turned into frustration, when large numbers of professionals with high expectations tried unsuccessfully to enter the job market (Noakes, 1993).

United States of America.

The case of the United States is rather different. Unlike most countries that participated in the two world wars, the US mainland was not directly affected by either war, since both of them took place overseas. Despite of that, the involvement of the US' society was profound and had important implications for universities, which supported the government in many ways: they contributed with students and faculty as skilled manpower; put their laboratories, shops, and facilities to the service of the war; contributed to design propaganda, and became centers for military training (Gruber, 1975).

It is usually said that one of the most important contributions of the university to the war was offering their students to the service of the country. It might be arguable that the participation of students in war can be counted as a contribution of universities but the fact is that such participation affected universities directly as enrolment, particularly

in the East Cost universities, dropped significantly because the number of students who joined the military (Thelin, 2004).

Universities where considered a potential source of officers by the US before the country entered World War I. National Defense Act of 1916 authorized the establishment of Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) in Colleges and Universities. When the country entered World War I, college presidents were supportive of the war effort but were also concerned about the impact that such a drop in enrolment might have on private universities, which depended mostly on tuition and fees for their subsistence. The creation of the Student Army Training Corps (SATC) provided a suitable solution for both the universities and the military (Gruber, 1975; Thelin, 2004). Under this program colleges and universities provided military training and the SATC students received "their subsistence, quarters, clothing, and tuition" from the government, as well as "the pay of privates." Exceptionally and "at the discretion of the Military Staff scientific and technical students may be given an opportunity to complete intensified courses of direct military value" (Explains war education. members of students' army training corps will be inducted oct. 1.1918). Across the country, 517 colleges joined the SATC program and provided military induction to 142,000 college men (Cardozier, 1993). Despite the willingness of the higher education leadership to participate in defense activities, it took 18 months to the Army to establish the SATC program (Cardozier, 1993).

In an effort to articulate the transition from college to the military, the dean of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania suggested the creation of the

Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau, "to assist the government in getting college students and alumni who desire to enlist in government service and placing them where their specialized training will count" (Telegram, William McClean to N.M. Butler, February 6, 1916, cited in: Gruber, 1975, p. 95-6). The New York Times described the idea as "preliminary steps…to put at the disposal of the national Government, in the event of war, the trained resources of the American college world" (Alumni to organize college resources, 1917) In the same page, the New York Times reported the creation of Aero Units in Columbia, Yale, Harvard, and Pennsylvania (Aero units at colleges, 1917) and a called for Loyalty from Dean Brown, a professor of history and political sciences from New York University. Brown stressed the importance of defending neutrality: "if we are to fight in this war it will only be to fight for neutral rights and not fro aggrandizement" (Pledges loyalty of N.Y.U, 1917).

Gruber (1975) illustrated how, during World War I, scholars in the United States faced the dilemma of staying loyal to the ideal standard of academic neutrality or serving the country from their academic position. Many of them managed to find acceptable ways to do so without compromising such neutrality, like putting their career on hold and enrolling in the armed forces, purchasing war bonds, and working for or contributing to the Red Cross. Others could not mark a clear distinction between their academic role and their patriotic fervor. For example, physicists who decided to lend their expertise to the war had to assume a more involved role by developing technology that was clearly oriented to the production of lethal weapons. Professors from other fields also found ways to put their knowledge to the service of the government. For example, some

historians participated in the National Board for Historical Service and the Division of Civic and Educational Publications of the Committee on Public Information, which acted as official propaganda agencies (Gruber, 1975).

Loyalty to the country was expected at every level, but professors were particularly scrutinized. There were purges of faculty based on the assumption of being a Germanic sympathizer in many universities (University of Columbia, University of Minnesota, University of Illinois, University of Oregon, among others). In the University of Michigan the German department was almost dismantled after six of its professors were expelled accused of disloyalty (Wilcox, 1993).

Some authors have pointed out that universities and colleges were not a significant source of expertise and innovation for the United States during World War I, and the government trusted industry more as a provider for product development (Thelin, 2004). In the words of H.G. Wells: "This higher brain, this cerebrum, this grey matter of America was so entirely uncoordinated that it had nothing really comprehensive, searching, thought out, and trustworthy… to go upon" (Harper's April 1937, as cited in: Sargent, 1943). Other authors defend and opposite view. Thwing (1920), for example, stressed the role that university professors and researchers both form Germany and the Allies played in the Great War. He stated that "college teachers formed the great bulk of the scientific army, who in permanent laboratories or extemporized plants worked for their government" (p. 117). University professors were actively involved in military projects in which their qualified knowledge was valuable in areas such as geology, meteorology, chemistry and physics. There were a few efforts to identify and articulate

talent among government, industry and university, like the National Research Council and the Naval Research Laboratory (Thelin, 2004). Thwing (1920) also stressed that the cooperation did not just take place within the United States but it involved researchers from other countries, such as France and Italy.

The participation of universities in chemical warfare illustrates this type of university engagement in the development of military technology. In 1915, the Germans used poison gas in Ypres at the borderline with Belgium causing over a thousand deaths and four thousand wounded people among French and Algerian soldiers. Despite the existence of international conventions (such as the Brussels Declaration and the Hague Conference) banning the use of poison material and poison projectiles, the British enrolled scientists from different academic institutions to work in such projects, and the French militarized several the departments of pathology, chemistry, and physiology from several medical schools and institutes. In the U.S., the government had embarked on research on noxious gases before declaring war on Germany, in 1917. The participation of American University at Washington, as well as other universities including MIT, Harvard, Yale, and Johns Hopkins, in this type of research has been well documented (Fitzgerald, 2008).

The Russian University after World War I.

The Russian case illustrates how the final outcome of the conflict made a big difference in the role universities were expected to play and in how they played that role. After World War I, universities in Russia were adapted to the new conception of society. In 1918, the Russian Commissariat of Enlightenment (*Narkompros*) introduced dramatic

changes to universities by abolishing several features considered until then essential, such as admission requirements (except for age), distinctions of titles and ranks for the professoriate, and even specific requirements for becoming a teacher. Those faculties considered uncooperative by the *Narkompros* were closed, and anti-Soviet scholars, writers, and lawyers were deported. Universities became a space for indoctrination; faculty considered representatives of the bourgeois ideology were isolated from the students, many of them were dismissed and their positions filled with pro-Bolshevik professors. Given that many students would not succeed in a University with their current qualifications, workers faculties (rabfaki or *rabfak)* were created to provide remedial education and giving students high school equivalency in a period of three to four years (Connelly, 2000).

Most of these measures were reversed, but admissions were still controlled, purging those from undesirable political or social background. With Stalin's raise to power in 1922, universities became an important part of his industrialization plan. As part of the First Five Year Plan the number of universities increased from 152 to 701 between 1929 and 1932. Technical education received much of the attention. The expenditure from technical and technological schools grew by three times during 1928-1929, and the percentage of students in engineering programs grew from 41 percent to 70 percent in three years. The preeminence of technical education led to questioning if universities should exist at all. The answer was negative; university faculties were split and assigned to different competent production ministries. Soon these measures showed

its ineffectiveness, and universities, lectures, and the "bourgeois intelligentsia" were rehabilitated (Connelly, 2000).

World War I Final Observations.

While most students in Germany embrace with enthusiasm the participation of the country in the War, students' engagement in the United States varied across universities. Nonetheless, universities in the United States provided military training on campus through the ROTC and STAC programs, before, during, and after World War I.

Universities' involvement in the dissemination of ideology and propaganda was a constant. Professors in Germany, particularly those from the social sciences, were instrumental in the legitimization of the Empire's involvement in war. In the United States, some professors, particularly historians, were actively engaged in the design of war propaganda, and in Russia, universities became places of indoctrination. Loyalty from students, professors, and staff was expected, and in many countries (Germany, the US, and Russia) purges were conducted to assure it.

Some professor contributed with research relevant to the war enterprise. For example, some professors in Germany contributed to the development of replacement for missing raw material. In the United States, a group of professors conducted research related to chemical warfare. Still, the use of university research for military purposes was not very extensive.

In the United States the governments' use of the potential available in higher education was not as timely or as articulated as universities directives would have expected. Even though the articulation between universities and the US government was

not very well organized, it showed the way for more organized partnerships during WWII and beyond.

During the postwar, universities were not actively involved in peacebuilding activities (the concept itself was created over more than fifty years later), however, they performed some activities that today are considered among potential peacebuilding activities, such as taking demobilized soldiers as students, contributing to economic development, or buffering unemployment in recession times. The absorption by German universities of a good number of officers demobilized as a consequence of the Versailles Treaty far to be a peacebuilding activity, had the opposite effect: many of those officers, together with enthusiastic students, were instrumental for the diffusion of the nationalist ideology and the training of large numbers of potential soldiers.

During the economic depression, universities in Germany acted as unemployment buffers harboring thousands of youth that otherwise would have been unemployed; however, it only deferred their encounter with unemployment, which intensified frustration. In the United States, enrolment in higher education during the postwar years also kept rising despite the recurrent economic depressions.

When Stalin came to power in postwar Russia, higher education became part of the national development plan and technical education took a preeminent position. In addition to higher education, the creation of workers' faculties provided remedial and vocational education to the workers and contributed to the transition from the agrarian to the a industrial centralized model. This model inspired the post-revolution Cuban higher education system, as illustrated in Chapter Six.

Some antiwar efforts took place during the Interbellum; they will be addressed in the section on World War II of this chapter.

The Spanish Civil War: A Proxy War in the Interbellum

Spain remained neutral during the First and the Second World Wars; however, its civil war is considered both a proxy war, in which some of the powers that would fight in the second war tested their guns and strategies, and the preamble of World War II. The first three decades of the twentieth century in Spain were called the Silver Age because the remarkable development of literature, arts, and science in the country. This intellectual flowering was achieved somehow despite the poor development of education. The Illiteracy rate was around 32 percent, and universities were widely perceived as simple diploma granting institutions (Claret Miranda, 2006b). Unlike Britain, Germany, or the United States, where universities were expected to do relevant research for industry or the war, in Spain research was far to be among the university's core functions.

At that time, Spain was a monarchy under the rule of Alfonso XIII and his Prime Minister with dictatorial powers, Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923 - 1930). By 1929, a strong movement against the Monarchy and Primo de Rivera's dictatorship started. Republicans and moderates on the left, advocated for the creation of a network of free lay public schools with the conviction that the main challenge for education was to provide the new Spaniards with the intellectual tools to facilitate the transition from King's subjects to Republic's citizens. This aspiration conflicted with the dominant model in which the Catholic Church controlled schools and through them influenced the country's

ideology and made some profit. This struggle for the control of education was know as the educational war (Claret Miranda, 2006b).

University students played an important role in Primo de Rivera's overthrow. In 1927 they created the University Scholars Federation (*Federación de Universitarios Escolares,* FUE), which turned to be influential in future protests. In 1929 students and professor came out on strike against the reform of article 53 of the Universities Statute, which allowed a couple of catholic private universities to grant titles to their students— until then a privilege of public universities. In retaliation, the government incarcerated some of the leaders of the protest and broke into the Central University Campus. The students then marched out to the streets, something unseen since the beginning of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in 1923 (Tuñón de Lara, 2000).

Editorials in newspapers loyal to the Regime illustrate the tension between government and university. Even *El Debate*, which was considered more moderate, said in its editorial of March 15, 1923:

> The government could even close the Universidad Central and all the others in the Kingdom, shall it be necessary, and nothing at all would happen…. Spain is today a solid compound of industries, businesses, and banks, as well as intellectual and editorial companies, which live outside the university and do not need it at all. If the university is up to obstructing the national life, it will be carried away, because life must go on[2] (Cited in: Tuñón de Lara, 2000, p. 216).

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[2] El Gobierno podrá llegar incluso a cerrar la Universidad Central y todas las del Reino, si fuera menester, sin que pasase nada… España es hoy un complejo muy sólido de empresas industriales, bancarias, comerciales y hasta intelectuales y editoriales que viven fuera de la Universidad y para nada la necesitan. Si ella sale a entorpecer la vida nacional, ella será arrollada, por que la vida tiene que seguir."

The dictatorship's response to the students' protest was severe. When revolts started to grow in intensity, the Secretary of Government issued a telegram to the civil governors saying: "Suppress the student movement at all costs. Inform me the number of victims"[3] (Cited in: Tuñón de Lara, 2000, p. 216). Universities were closed, classes were cancelled, and more students were imprisoned. Still, student protest continued. A few professors loyal to the Regime contributed to the efforts to control students and faculty, but the majority supported the protest.

In a desperate move, Primo de Rivera published a diatribe against the universities threatening to close them, because after all, there were too many lawyers and doctors in the country, and the quality of the instruction in the universities was very poor (Tuñón de Lara, 2000). This illustrates not only Primo de Rivera's antipathy toward universities, but also tells about the role the many believed universities fulfilled: training lawyers and doctors.

Primo de Rivera lost the support of the King and the Military, forcing his resignation in January 28, 1930, when a transitory government was established and municipal elections were called as a maneuver to gather forces around the King. Surprisingly –at least for Alfonso XIII— the Republican and Socialist parties won the elections in the most important towns forcing him to abdicate. It was the beginning of the Second Republic (1931—1936).

Education played a major role in the Second Republic. Most of the teachers from schools and universities supported the republic, at the point that according to Claret

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[3] "Reprima movimiento estudiantil a toda costa. Comuníqueme número de víctimas."

(2006a), this was overall "a revolution of teachers." Consequently, the Second Republic emphasized the importance of education in the construction of a new Spain, as can be illustrated by some of the famous posters of the Second Spanish Republic in which citizens are invited to read as an antidote against fascism. The majority of the efforts and resources were centered in primary education; however, some important changes in higher education took place, such as the first steps toward universities' autonomy, starting with a pilot experiment at the faculty of philosophy and literature at the universities of Barcelona and Madrid, implemented despite strong opposition.

Universities' politicization, which began during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, continued during the Second Republic. The ideological struggle between Republicans and Nationalists (or Catholic-Nationalists) moved to the campuses after Primo de Rivera's fall, when rightwing student movement started to appear to counteract the power of the left (Claret Miranda, 2006b).

One strategy to bring universities closer to the masses was the creation of non-formal education programs supported by the Universities, like the *Estudios Universitarios Obreros* (University Workers Studies) in the University of Barcelona and the People's Universities (*Universidades Populares*), created by initiative of the FUE. These were a set of unregulated, free course offered with the purpose of making culture more accessible to the least favored classes (Claret Miranda, 2006b). The people's universities were modeled after the French *universités populaires* created at the end of the nineteenth century and initially replicated in Spain by the beginning of the twentieth

century. There, university students and teachers instructed adults on several topics, from basic literacy courses to higher education courses (Ruiz Carnicer, 1996).

The influence of the FUE among students started its decline with the emergence of the Second Republic, when it was tacitly incorporated into the government. In 1933 the fascist party *Falange* created the Spanish Students Union (*Sindicato Español Universitario*, SEU) with a very clear agenda: to dominate the universities and destabilize the State by using violence, harassment, and constant provocation as the main tools. An important part of the SEU strategy was to crush the FUE, which was their main obstacle to becoming the only student union in Spain. There were other student organizations, like the Catholic Students Federation (*Federación de Estudiantes Católicos,* FEC), and the Catholic Action Youth (*Juventudes de Acción Católica,* JAC), which the SEU did not perceive as enemies because they shared common values. In the end these organizations were absorbed by the SEU (Ruiz Carnicer, 1996).

The SEU achieved official recognition as a party in 1934; the same year that the Republican government issue a law forbidding students to participate in political parties, which affected the official members head count of the Falange since the SEU constituted the base for the Falange (Ruiz Carnicer, 1996).

On July 17, 1936 a military *coup d'état* against the Republican government took place. Nationalists took control of most of Spain but important regions like Catalonia and the Basque Country resisted, turning the failed coup into the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. Most students and some faculty joined the combating armies, and universities suspended regular classes, offering only short courses of patriotic content and

courses in specific matters, like medical services (Claret Miranda, 2006a). On September 1936, the classes restarted and in an effort to show normality, professors were instructed to return to their activities and elaborate an action plan by which higher education institutions could contribute to the betterment of the country. In fact, professors were forced to join the army and other structures created by the new nationalistic government. A few months later, a law was issued defining how professors should serve the government and how laboratories and hospitals were put at the service of the regime (Claret Miranda, 2006b).

The Civil War officially concluded in 1939 with the Triumph of the Nationalists and the following dictatorship imposed by Franco who dissolved the parliament and imposed a period of violent repression (Carrera Ares, 1996). Even though the majority of university professors backed the republic, repression within universities was carried out by professors loyal to the nationalists. A system of denunciations and accusations became the norm and as in many other witch-hunts, accusations became a tool by which people took revenge against opponents or got rid of those who were in their way to getting a better job (Claret Miranda, 2006a).

Part of Franco's strategy to assure political control was conducting a "depuration" in all public positions including, of course, the education sector. It was a systematic process that started with the removal of all public servants, who then should ask for their reincorporation by demonstrating their loyalty to the nationalist project and enumerating their action in favor of the nationalists during the war. The process ended either with the reinstallation of the person in his position, or in a punishment including suspension

without payment for a period between one month and two years, forced retirement (if the condemned had more than 20 years of service), or disqualification to take positions of responsibility (*Cargos de confianza*) (Claret Miranda, 2006b). The purges started in 1936 and went through several changes. After some attempts to stop what had turned into an annoying process, in 1952 most of the sanctions based on these processes were abolished, but it was only until 1966 when the full extinction of the sanctions was made effective (Claret Miranda, 2006b).

The purges that cost universities hundreds of valuable faculty opened new spots for other scholars perhaps less prepared. These slots were filled through a competitive system called *oposiciones* (oppositions), which was later to be called "*op<u>u</u>siciones*" (playing with the name of the *Opus Dei*, the ultra conservative catholic organization that became very influential during Franco's regime) to show the lack of neutrality of the process (Claret Miranda, 2006a; 2006b).

There are several examples of the university-army connection in Spain: The Literary Batallion (*Batallón Literario*) created in the Santiago de Compostela University during the Spanish War of Independence (1808-1814) against the French; the *Oficialidad de Complemento*, created by Alphonse the XIII in 1918, a one year voluntary military service offered as an alternative to the payment of an amount of money in which many future soldiers of the nationalist and republican combating factions received military training; and the Milicias de Falange, created by Franco by the end of the Civil War (García Perla, 2006). The objective of the *Milicias de Falange* was to "guard the national revolution [and] the pre-military and post-military instruction of citizens…." It consisted

of different levels (Permanent Forces, Pre-Military Militias, First and Second Line Militias) and by the University Militias, which were integrated by soldiers over 18 years old who were enrolled in a university, a technical school or a higher education training center. After finishing their training, students from the University Militias joined the army with the rank of sergeant, and four moths later, they would obtain the rank of second lieutenant (*Alférez de Complemento*) (Jefatura del Estado, 1940).

In 1943 Franco issued a law on the organization of universities in which the Catholic Church, and the Falange, occupied a predominant role. According to this law, the rector, who was the main authority of the University, must belong to the Falange. The law also contemplated the creation of several offices in the universities—including a direction of religious formation—, and gave a protagonist role the JONS and the SEU, which were designated the only legitimate student political organizations within the universities and were assigned the task of allocating students to the University Militias.

After the Civil War, Spain opted for an autarchic economic model motivated in part by the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini—Franco's allies—which left Spain politically isolated, but also because the rest of the world was recovering from World War II and had no money or energy to spend in Spain. After twenty years of ostracism, the country's economy was in very poor shape, forcing a change of direction with the Stabilization Plan issued in 1959. In this context emerged the Labor Universities (*Universidades Laborales,* ULs), which were more like technical colleges than real universities, created as an alternative to provide industry with skilled workers through short programs.

An ideological agenda permeated the whole idea of the ULs. They were conceived as indoctrination tools to spread the ideology of the Spanish Falange, and most of them were commended to Catholic orders (Jesuits, Salesians, or Dominicans). The purpose was to prevent future revolutions by bringing culture to the masses and, in the long run, that the future middle management were immersed in this ideology. However, this goal was more rhetoric than reality since each UL was autonomous. A few years after the creation of the first six ULs the militia concept and the paramilitary component of these institutions was abandoned (Zafrilla Tobarra, 1998).

In hindsight, the importance of the participation of the universities in the politic events between Primo de Rivera's overthrown and the consolidation of Francisco Franco's dictatorship is undeniable. University and school professors played an important role in Primo de Rivera's fall and in the construction of the Spanish Second Republic. During the Civil War and Franco's regime, university professors, as well other public servants, were subject to ideological purges that forced many of them out of the country. Loyalty became a requirement to get and keep a job.

Unlike the United States, Germany, and other countries that took part in the two World Wars, universities in Spain did not play a role in the production of technology or the training of the military in specialized issued, such as meteorology, languages, medicine, etc. The general perception of universities as diploma mills prevalent at the beginning of the century, Franco's mistrust on universities, and the fact that it was an internal war that did not required or used, advanced technology to achieve victory, might explain the lack of interest in applied research during the Civil War and afterwards.

University students were actively involved in Primo de Rivera's overthrow. When the Civil War erupted students did not take a unanimous position. The campuses were politicized, and students joined the combating party closest to their ideological stand. Similarly to what happened in post World War countries, after the end of the Civil War, universities continued contributing to the training of officers through the University Militias.

The *Estudios Universitarios Obreros*, *Universidades Populares*, and *Universidades Laborales* were attempts to provide education to the masses by establishing a connection with higher education, although, their motivations and organization were different.

After Franco's triumph, universities were not expected to contribute to the construction of peace. Franco's bet was to impose peace by force, using extensive repression, fear, and imposed loyalty to achieve the pacification of the country.

World War II

United States of America.

Altbach (1973 / 1997, p. 17) identified four major currents that were particularly influential on campus during the 1930s: 1) A generalized disillusionment experienced by Americans, mostly the middle class; 2) the economic insecurity product of a decade (the twenties) that despite being "roaring," was also marked by unemployment and economic shifts, 3) the Russian revolution, and 4) "the cultural ferment of the period." There were two major currents regarding the involvement of the United States in war: the anti-war

movement, which was against any intervention of the country in any international conflict, and the antifascist movement, that advocated for the United States intervention to stop the expansion of fascism in Europe and the world.

Antiwar movement was dominant during the first half of the 1930s, not only in the United States, but also in many countries that suffered the effects of the war, such as England or France. Oxford University's students surprised the world on February 9, 1933 when its Student Union's debate society, voted and passed (257 in favor, 153 against) a motion saying "that this house will in no circumstance fight for its King and country." The motion became to be known as the Oxford Oath or the Oxford Pledge and it was strongly criticized by the government, the elder, and many other sectors of society. Nonetheless, by March of the same year, the Oath was adopted by the universities of Manchester and Glasgow, and later on in the University College in Wales (Cohen, 1993).

In the United States, the pledge was adapted to national context. Brown University's student newspaper reworded the pledge so that its signers refused to "support the United States Government in any war it may conduct" (Altbach, 1973 / 1997, p 67). Same as in England, American media were anxious about the perspective that in case of need the youth would not be willing to defend the country. Time would show that there were no reasons for such fear, as very few students protested when America entered World War II, and during the war campuses were fully dedicated to winning the war and only the pacifists, who were a minority, opposed the involvement of the country in the war (Altbach, 1973 / 1997).

During the Spanish Civil War, the United States remained neutral and, based on that neutrality, they (the same as England and France) imposed an embargo to the Spanish Republic. The result of the embargo was disastrous to the Republicans and benefited the Nationalists, who were supported by Hitler and Mussolini with largesse. Between 1936 and 1938, approximately 500 American students joined the International Brigade supporting the Republican forces and were able to witness the effects of the embargo. They advocated, unsuccessfully, for it to be raised and were able to share their views about the issue with several leaders of antiwar student organizations and, in some cases made them change their opinion. As Cohen (1993, p. 158) summarized it, "the Spanish Civil War forced pacifist to choose between two evils that were almost equally loathsome to them: war and fascism." In 1937, the Convention of the American Students Union (ASU) voted to decide whether or not to keep the Oxford Pledge in the ASU Program. An overwhelming majority (282 to 108) voted to drop it and embrace the collective security ideals.

Nationalism was a great cohesive force in the US during World War II. University presidents were supportive, once again, of the government and the war enterprise. In the 1942 National Conference of College and University Presidents on Higher Education and the War, a declaration was issued with the following preamble:

> In the present supreme national crisis we pledge to the President of the United States, Commander in Chief of our nation, the total strength of our colleges and universities—our faculties, our students, our administrative organizations, and our physical facilities. The institutions of higher education of the United States are

organized for action, and they offer their united power for decisive military victory, and for the ultimate and even more difficult task of establishing a just and lasting peace (National Committee on Defense and Education, 1942).

Higher education leaders wanted their institutions to contribute substantially to the war effort. They also wanted the government to avoid the same mistakes made during World War I, such as delaying too much the involvement of colleges in defense activities and, once they decided to reach for higher education institutions, the military practically took control of campuses (Cardozier, 1993). During World War II, the involvement of US higher education institutions in the war effort was better coordinated than during World War I. Universities were regarded as innovation sources, and courses of practical content were preferred to the humanities. As Sargent (1943, p. 32) described it:

> Our education machinery, appropriately enough, is being used with increasing effectiveness in the current war. Mathematics, physics, and chemistry are replacing the humanities in the liberal arts colleges. Those not equipped for scientific instruction are depleted in numbers and income and many will fail to survive.

Colleges and universities in the US also took a training role and were deeply involved in preparing students in skills relevant to defense and the "war-production work" (Johnson, 1943). By the initiative of universities and college leaders, these

institutions provided non-military training programs for the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force as well as military training programs. Something similar happened in other countries participating in the war. For example, in the UK, London University taught languages to intelligence officers and interpreters, instructed medical officers on tropical diseases proper for the conflict zone, and even taught courses to prisoners of war in the respective camps (Logan, 1946). In England and Germany universities were forced to modify their courses eliminating those studies that were not oriented toward contributing to the war (Sargent, 1943).

Unlike what happened during World War I, in World War II the US government looked the universities for innovation and technology. The final outcome of World War II would have been dramatically different without the development of radar, ballistic missiles, and the atomic bomb, all of them developed through the participation of research universities and institutes in Germany, the United States, and England.

In the US, The National Defense Research Committee and the Office of Scientific Research and Development were in charge of assigning each military project to the best-equipped university, poring important amounts of money unto the universities. In the same line, the Engineering, Science, Management, and War Training Program (ESMWT) focused its efforts on the production of knowledge relevant to the war (Brown, 1946; Patterson, 1964).

Among the courses created for the military were military administration, army postal services, and drafting surveying and geodetic computing. The Corp of Engineers contracted this course with the university of Kentucky, to train white enlisted men, and

the Virginia State College, to train black engineers. Medical training was another relevant field. The Army Medical Corps employed several universities in order to provide training for both soldiers and civilian officers in a wide variety of specialties including surgery, anesthesiology, tropical medicine, and venereal disease control, to name a few. Other areas of training were languages, and Military Government (Cardozier, 1993).

Curriculum changes took place across the country to prepare men and women to perform different roles in the government, the war industry, and, of course, the military. A wide gamut of courses including mathematics, engineering, history, languages, geography, meteorology, radio, and many others, were adapted to the needs of war. The course offering was oriented not only at providing relevant training but also to provide students with a better understanding of the reasons for and dynamics of the world crisis (Cardozier, 1993).

In 1940, the, presidents of Harvard University and MIT, as well as a former vice president of MIT who by then was the president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and the president of Bell Telephone Laboratories, considered that the entrance of the United States into the war was imminent and that the country did not have weapons suited for that purpose and convinced president Roosevelt to support relevant research. IN 1941, Roosevelt created the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSDR). OSDR coordinated research on topics such as antisubmarine warfare; rocketry and ballistics; and radar, counter-radar measures, and microwaves use; and the development of nuclear weapons. Not all the research by OSDR was directly related to

the production of instruments of war, as it also was responsible for medical research in fields such as aviation medicine, the prevention and treatment of malaria, or the production of penicillin.   The impact of OSDR in higher education was unprecedented. By 1944 105 colleges and universities had participated in research projects financed by OSDR, however, most of the resources were concentrated in eight universities. OSDR was not the only source of resources or demand for applied research; the Army, Navy, National Academy of Sciences and other government agencies also sponsored research. (Cardozier, 1993)

The end of World War II came with new challenges for the education systems of the countries that participated in it. In Britain, for example, universities had two main challenges, reconstructing themselves and contributing to the reconstruction of the Empire. The country was in very bad shape, and its universities were no exceptions as several campuses had suffered bombings and other effects of the war. In the defeated countries, universities were used to promote deep cultural changes by the victorious nations. For example, postwar brought the second major reform to Japanese education, which was heavily influenced by the United States ideal of a university; the universities' role was not just to help the country in the recovery from the military defeat but also to participate in the creation of a new state according to the brand new Japanese constitution.   Education was called to play a guiding role in the construction of a "democratic, peaceful, welfare, and cultural state" (Morito, 1955, p. 341).   In Germany, the "re-education" process conducted by the United States occupation forces centered its efforts in the "denazification" of the country, which included the "exclusion of anyone

'seriously compromised with the Nazi party'" from universities and public positions (Remy, 2002; Tent, 1982, p. 63).

The role of universities as unemployment buffers could be observed during the Weimar Republic in Germany, but it was taken to the level of national policy in the United States with the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944—the G.I. Bill of Rights, which was issued with the purpose of minimizing the potential negative implication of massive postwar unemployment. It was an anti-recession tool (Olson, 1973) consisting of three main components: unemployment insurance for veterans; loans for housing, businesses and agriculture, and educational loans. The unemployment allowance was the most controversial part because many were afraid that it would dampen veterans' interest in getting a job. Surprisingly this was the least popular among the benefits contemplated in the bill. A bigger surprise was the reception of the education part: In 1949, 49 percent of the college admissions consisted of veterans, and by 1956 7.8 million veterans had been beneficiaries of the education of training programs. A complete success, considering that there were 16 million World War II veterans in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d.). From those 7.8 million, 2.2 million attended college.

Germany.

When the Nazis took control over the universities in Germany, a massive purge of Jewish and socialist faculty took place with the indirect consequence of opening way for the young Aryan faculty to move up in the tight academic ladder (Noakes, 1993). What happened later with the professoriate, and how much they got involved with the Third

Reich, is still a matter of debate among historians. Remy (2002) identified two lines of thought: the first one, represented by the work of Gerhard Ritter (1945) "The professors in the 'Third Reich'" and further works by other authors, claims that universities and most professors were captive to the Nazi regime and were not involved with it, being its victims more than its supporters. The second line, pioneered by Max Weinrich (1946 / 1999), came to the opposite conclusion and even held that "German scholarship provided the ideas and techniques which led to and justified this unparalleled slaughter" (p.6).

Based on his research on the case of the Heidelberg University, which had been depicted as a bastion of tolerance and pro-republican feelings during the Third Reich, Remy (2002) concluded that such image of Heidelberg and its professoriate was a myth. Furthermore, he claimed that Heidelberg professors oriented their efforts to serve the regime's quest of creating a "racially pure" (235-6) Germany, planning its territorial expansion, creating weapons and weapons related technology, and carrying out medical experiments that resulted in the "murder of innocent human beings" (85-6).

Some authors believe that the Nazi leadership did not trust academics nor value rational inquiry or debate (Noakes, 1993, p. 376). Giles (1984, p. 331) illustrated such lack of confidence by comparing how Germany and Britain made use or their universities during the prewar and war periods. While in 1935 the British consulted their universities on the immediate problems that could derive from the war and the best way to deal with them, German universities were not consulted on a contingency plan for the outbreak of war. Since most of the academics were not conducting Nazi proselytism, they where regarded with "outright contempt" by National Socialist the Nazi leadership closed most

universities for the duration of the war, however, 20 of them were reopened soon between October and December 1939 (Giles, 330-1).

As universities provided a safe setting to conduct military training bypassing the ban imposed in the Versailles Treaty, and NSDStB, the fraternities, and other rightwing organization used them for their indoctrination efforts, students were "overwhelmingly ready" for action when the call came. However, the number of volunteers was considered low in comparison to the levels of World War I.

Giles identified three special groups of students. The first group consisted of those released from the armed service for short periods to prepare for an examination; the period of the leave varied from less than three weeks to up to six weeks, depending on the type of examination for which they were preparing. The second group consisted of medicine students; they belonged to "students companies" and were beyond the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Reich Student leadership. This preferential treatment was because of the need of doctors for the war. A similar strategy to attract and retain medical students had been adopted by the British who gave medical and science special treatment by deferring them from the military service; a strategy that might have helped to decrease the dropout rate in during World War II, as compared to World War I (Berdahl, 1959). The third group consisted of extension students, that is, students who did not show up on campus at all and conducted their studies during their spare time in the front. This idea generated great enthusiasm among students, as well as an overwhelming workload for some instructors who in an effort to reduce the workload

generated for this distance methodology, proposed offering short course in the front itself (Giles, 1984).

Like their American counterpart, Germans turned to their universities and scholars looking for research applicable to the war. The role played by the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Chemistry in the research toward the creation of the German atomic bomb has been well documented. Biologists at several universities in Germany were also beneficiaries of large amounts of money for their research (Deichmann, 1996), and universities and research institutes provided personnel to the newly created research centers of the German army, air force, and navy (Macrakis, 1993; Remy, 2002).

In addition to excluding the Jews from education and, in general most spheres of public life, Nazis also excluded Polish and Czechs from education by closing all the universities in those countries as a part of the occupation strategy aimed at repressing the countries intelligentsia and weakening their national resistance. In response, Polish people created underground universities inspired in the Flying University (or Floating University *Uniwersytet Latający*) that existed in Poland during the second half of the nineteenth century. These underground universities were instrumental in the Polish effort to keep their identity (Connelly, 2000).

World War II final observations.

Despite the extended antiwar movement during the 1930s in the United States and despite the disdain with which the National Socialists regarded professors and students in Germany, in both countries students were ready to fight for their countries during World War II. Professors and researchers also played an important role in both countries but in

Germany it is still a point of debate how involved and how close professors were to the Reich. What is undeniable is that researchers and some professors became instrumental in the development of technology that was decisive in the final outcome of the conflict. In both countries curriculum changes took place to adjust to the needs of the conflict, providing military and nonmilitary training in areas relevant to the war.

Universities were not expected to play a particular role in peacebuilding; for them contributing to their own reconstruction and the reconstruction of their countries was the main challenge. During the postwar, the United States conducted re-education (or denazification) efforts in Germany and influenced the Japanese educational system.

The impact of the G.I. Bill in United States and its education system showed that higher education could be used as part of the strategy to reincorporate large numbers of veterans and to defer their entrance in the labor market.

Conclusion

According to Lederach (1997, p. 20) peacebuilding "is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships." Traditional narratives of the three conflicts here analyzed do not suggest that higher education took part in peacebuilding activities in neither of them. Even though intergovernmental organizations such as the League of the Nations, created after World War I, and the United Nations, created after World War II, aimed at

maintaining world peace, it is not evident that higher education institutions had some participation in the creation of these multilateral organizations.

The different sources consulted for this work addressed extensively the involvement of students and faculty in the war. The participation of these two groups in anti-war and pacifist movements is mentioned in some of those sources as well as the participation of universities in the reconstruction of the countries. However, there were no mentions to efforts conducted by higher education institutions or any of its constituents purposely oriented at—using Lederach words— "transforming the conflict toward more sustainable [and] peaceful relationships." In general terms, universities supported their governments and governments created the agencies whose mandate was to maintain the world peace. This does not mean necessarily that universities did not play a peacebuilding role, but if they did it went unnoticed for most authors. After all, as it was mentioned before, the concept of peacebuilding only emerged until the 1970s.

In terms of the analysis of the functions that university performed during these conflicts there are some important points that need to be addressed, including what kind of knowledge the produced and transmit, how they contribute to economic and social development and, particularly, to the reconstruction of their countries when that was the case. Some of these functions can help to understand the role of higher education in other conflict and postconflict settings in which its peacebuilding role was easier to identify.

During the two World Wars, universities provided expertise and knowledge in different areas related to the war, ranging from language instruction to medicine, and

including among its beneficiaries students, troops, public servants, and even prisoners. In Britain, Germany, and the United States, universities, adapted their curriculum to the needs of the war, implementing an updated version of the concept of service that has oriented universities at least since the nineteenth century.

Particularly during World War II, universities were more than simple manpower providers; they were an essential piece in an increasingly technological race. Berdahl (1959, p. 2) noted that "as war becomes more technical, so the universities value to the nation has increased; it is axiomatic in the nuclear age that the value of a university physics department can often surpass that of an aircraft carrier."

On the contrary, technology was not a key issue in the Spanish Civil War or its postwar period. In this case, the war was more about the hearts and minds of the Spaniards, despite the participation of international forces in the conflict. The effects of the Civil War and Franco's rule on the development of sciences were disastrous and could even be described as a backward movement. In fact, research became a priority only after Franco's death in 1975 (Otero Carvajal, 2004).

Throughout this chapter it has been mentioned how the Soviets, the Nazis, and Franco's Nationalism, used education, and universities, as indoctrination tool to spread their ideology. The Spanish example illustrates how volatile was the dominant ideology in universities: Republicans valued education as a tool against fascism, hence, they invited people to read because, as one of the posters said, fighting ignorance was a weapon to defeat fascism. Just a few years later, Fascists saw the importance of

controlling students' organizations (as well as any other political organization) and developed a successful strategy for that purpose.

Much less attention has been given to the way in which US universities indoctrinated students to the ideas of democracy and capitalism. Even before the United States entered the war, Harvard professor Orval Hobart Mowrer (1943), raised twenty "questions to be asked and answered" regarding the effectiveness of education in an eventual transformation of Germany. Number 19 on the list was: "Should students be indoctrinated in Democratic ideals or is Democratic indoctrination a contradiction in terms?" The role that education plays in the socialization process of individuals should not be ignored. Clearly, indoctrination has long been a function of higher education in conflict and post-conflict periods.

Universities also served some students as shelters against the draft, as was the case for medical students in Germany, and for a wider range of students in Britain. Paradoxically, they also proved their effectiveness as training grounds by adapting to the government's needs and delivering manpower to the war. In Germany they provided a good cover to bypass the prohibition of military training contained in the Versailles Treaty with courses with innocuous names such as "defense sports." in the United States the SATC program, allowed universities to provide military training without affecting the universities' incomes.

Being a student was not an effective shield against the conflict during the Spanish Civil War. Students were very exposed to the conflict, the combating parties fought for their loyalty and they played an active role in the different stages of the Spanish history

reviewed in this chapter: they challenged the government when Primo de Rivera was in power, and later under the direction of the SEU and other organizations, they were instrumental in the defeat of the Republic, leading to Franco's fascist regime.

Denial of access to higher education was used as part of a strategy to erase Poland and Czechoslovakia's cultural identity, but the use of the Flying University by the Polish people, showed another use of higher education during times of conflict, fostering social cohesion and the preservation of culture.

A final point needs to be stressed: there was no ideological unanimity within universities. It has been shown how in Germany there were professors loyal to the Nazi regime but there were also fierce and discrete opponents. Something similar happened in the Soviet Union, and even in the United States during the 1930s, where university presidents and reputed scholars were at least indifferent to the anti-Semite campaign in Germany (Norwood, 2009).

Chapter Six. The Cold War: Cuba and Nicaragua

The United States and the Soviet's alliance against Nazi Germany proved to be effective, but once World War II ended they became rivals for geopolitical control of the planet. Political and economic competition and military tension characterized the years between 1945 and 1991. Several proxy wars in which the two powers supported armed groups around the world were fought in this period, particularly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The list of wars includes the Greek Civil War, the Korean War, The Vietnam War, the Lebanese Civil War, and the Angola War of Independence, among others. The Cuban Revolution and the Nicaraguan Revolution were just two of them. The Cuban Revolution became an icon for the revolutionaries in Latin America and around the world. The Nicaraguan revolution was heavily influenced by the example and advice of Cuba but had to suffer an additional stage in the conflict: the counterrevolution. This chapter explores the role higher education played in these two revolutions.

The Cuban Revolution

There is a tank in the University of Havana's Agromonte Square. It has been there since April 4, 1959. According to the university's website (Universidad de la Habana, n.d.), the tank was captured by rebel students in combat against troops loyal to dictator Fulgencio Batista and brought to the University as a symbol of the revolution. The square itself is named after Ignacio Agromonte, an independence revolutionary and alumnus of Havana University who fought and was killed by the Spaniards in the 10

Years War (1868 – 1878).   The tank and the name of the square are reminders of how much students are valued and the role they have played in the country's history.

Historical background.

Since its foundation in 1728, the University of Havana, the only university in the country until 1947 when the *Universidad de Oriente* was created, has played an important role in the history of Cuba. Its students and faculty took active part during the independence movement against the Spaniards until independence was achieved in 1902. Three decades later, in 1933, students in alliance with military forces, in particular a group lead by army sergeant Fulgencio Batista, were instrumental in the overthrow of dictator Gerardo Machado. Ramón Grau San Martín, a former professor of Medicine at the Havana University, was appointed as the head of the revolutionary government and Batista was self-appointed chief of the armed forces. During Grau San Martín's first period as a president (which lasted about 120 days) university autonomy, which included the prohibition to the police to enter the campus, was granted. Anti-government activists, including Fidel Castro, capitalized on such degree of autonomy during the revolution of 1959.

Castro, the students, and the revolution.

Batista managed to gain power, controlling presidents and making himself elected president in 1940. In 1952 he run again for the presidency but realizing that his defeat was imminent, he decided to head a military coup and installed himself in power one more time. The same year, a young lawyer from the University of Habana, Fidel Castro,

was a candidate to the House of Representatives from the Orthodox party. Because of the coup, elections were suspended and several actions against the new dictatorship, some of them violent, started to be organized; one of them was assault to the Moncada Barracks, lead by Castro.

Despite having a degree in law, Castro re-enrolled as a student in the University of Havana to prepare his attack; university autonomy was a good shield against the actions of the police. The Federation of University Students (*Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios*, FEU), the most important student organization during that period, authorized Castro to use the university campus for military practices and to store arms. Nonetheless, the relationship between Castro and the student movement was marked by distrust, and among those who joined Castro in the Moncada attack, there were no students (Mujal-León, 1988; Suchlicki, 1969).

The Moncada attack was a military failure but it gave a boost to Castro's revolutionary image. Castro was imprisoned and after a few years amnestied and released. He then created the July 26th Movement, named after the date of the attack. During this stage of the revolution, university students and Castro's movement were the two mayor opposition forces against Batista's dictatorship. The FEU was the most important organization during Batista's rule. Founded in 1922, by the mid 1950s it represented the about 17,000 students at the University of Havana.

During Batista's final years in power, repression turned unbearable. The FEU stopped activities and a smaller group, formed with former FEU members, called the *Directorio Revolucionario,* continued with the opposition against Batista, getting

involved in some bold actions such as the assassination of the head of the Military Intelligence Service in 1956, and the attack on the presidential palace with the objective of killing Batista in 1957. Batista survived the attack, and to prevent students from participating in protests and riots against his government, closed Havana University. The final effect was just the opposite; students got more involved in the actions against the dictatorship. Many of the *Directorio* leaders were killed or imprisoned and the *Directorio* could not recover from Batista's retaliation (Mujal-León, 1988).

Former university leaders were key in the creation of political parties such as the Partido Revolucionario Cubano (Auténtico), created in 1934 by former *Directorio* members; (Mujal-León, 1988; Suchlicki, 1969), as well as clandestine movements against the government, such as *Joven Cuba*, founded by Antonio Guiterras, who before being a member of Grau San Martin government's was a student leader (Mujal-León, 1988). Castro's movement July 26th, took most of the attention and the glory after the revolution but historians agree that the role played by students and university professors in the revolution against Batista was critical.

After the revolution.

After the triumph of the revolution in January 1959, higher education contributed to the most important goals of the new regime: the consolidation of the State's hegemony, the creation of a "new socialist man," the creation of a new intelligentsia, and the promotion of the new political and economic model.

Consolidation of the new state's hegemony.

"The construction of the new State's hegemony" (Arbesú García, 1985, p. 104), or the consolidation of Castro's regime (Mujal-León, 1988), was the priority during the first years of post-conflict in Cuba. Universities were not immune to this effort, and the revolutionary government took several measures to assure control of higher education, including a cleansing of professors and staff related to the deposed regime, the closure of private universities, and the abolition of the universities' autonomy.

"Cleansing" of faculty and staff.

The revolutionary government knew the importance of assuring control of the Havana University. Among other measures to consolidate its rule the government created a "Cleansing Commission" (Comisión de Depuración), integrated by six professors and six students from Havana University, with the mission of clearing out the university from professors and staff who were related to Batista's regime.

Closure of private universities.

A following step was issuing the Law 11 of 1959, by which the revolutionary government acknowledged the three public universities (*La Habana, Central de Las Villas,* and *Oriente*) as the only HEIs of the country, closed the rest of HEIs—which were private—, and declared void all university titles issued abroad, as well as those issued by private universities during the two years in which the Havana University was closed during Batista's regime (Arbesú García, 1985). According to the considerations' part of the Nationalization of Education Law, there were two main reasons for this closure: the

confessional nature of those institutions, which belonged to the Catholic Church and, according to the government, were teaching contents contrary to the Revolution's philosophy, and exploiting teachers and staff; and the fact they favored children from wealthier families. These two characteristics were against the main principles of the new State (Consejo de Ministros - Cuba, 1961; Paz Sánchez, 2007).

Abolition of university autonomy.

As another step towards the hegemony, Castro's government suppressed the university autonomy to which the University Reform of 1962 was instrumental. According to Castro, university autonomy had no sense anymore because the university and the State were identical and higher education should be devoted to the promotion of a socialist state (Mujal-León, 1988; Paulston, 1991).

Castro maneuvered to take control of the remaining of the FEU. During the elections to designate the new FEU's president, he openly asked Pedro Luis Boitel—one of the candidates, who also was a member of the 26th of July Movement—to withdraw his candidacy. Rolando Cubela, who was loyal to the regime, won the elections and since then, the FEU became almost part of the State. Students split into two groups: those loyal to Castro and those disappointed by his shift toward communism and "by his resort to demagogic, plebiscitary measures" (Mujal-León, 1988, p 17). A group of students created a Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil DRE, which among other anti-Castro activities carried out a plot to assassinate him. A mixture of a repressive environment— in which mob violence and beatings against opposition students were not uncommon— and the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion, marked the end of the anti-Castro opposition,

and allowed Castro's government to focus in the next task: the creation of the new socialist man (Mujal-León, 1988, pp. 16-7)

Creation of a new socialist man.

After Cuba was declared a socialist country in 1961, the creation of a "new socialist man" emerged as the new task for education. The new man should be free of egotism, against individualistic ideology and aware of the work methods inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideology (Arbesú García, 1985; Suchlicki, 1969). The idea of the new man entailed a paradigm shift in values, including the transference of allegiance from the family to the party and the fatherland, the abolition of the Church's influence, the re-valuation of manual labor and the traditional place of women at home (Suchlicki, 1969). Two elements of the educational agenda contributed to the creation of the New Socialist Man: The combination of study and work and the literacy campaign.

Combination of study and work.

The combination of study and work played an important part in the quest for the New Socialist Man and was aimed at contributing to the elimination of the barriers between the manual and the intellectual work that were traditionally related to the working class and the bourgeoisie, respectively. This idea influenced several changes in the curriculum, as illustrated below.

Literacy Campaign.

The number of people mobilized around the literacy campaign was remarkable. In a country of approximately seven million inhabitants, the number of volunteers has

been estimated in 1.25 million, including more than 100,000 secondary and university students, as well as teachers and volunteers from diverse backgrounds (Arbesú García, 1985). Secondary students and, in lesser extension, university students were instrumental in bringing the literacy campaign to remote rural parts of the country, where the biggest illiteracy rates were located.

This program was not only about literacy; it was also used to disseminate the revolution's ideology. The Cuban government designed the students' booklet *Cartilla Venceremos* (We Shall Overcome Booklet), the instructors' handbook Alfabeticemos (Let's Teach to Read), and the book "Ahorrar, Producir, y Ganar" (To Save, To Produce, and To Win) for the literacy campaign. The *Cartilla Venceremos* included 15 lessons which contents were designed considering the political ideological aspects of the revolution and psychosocial characteristics of the illiterate Cuban adult. Among the fifteen lessons where one dedicated to the Organization of American States (OAS), from which Cuba withdraw, a chapter on the Militias, an a chapter titled "La Revolución Gana Todas las Batallas (The Revolution Wins all the Wars). These lessons correspond to chapters in the handbook such as The Revolution, The People Together and Alert, and Fidel is Our Leader (Pérez Cruz, 2011).

The literacy campaign ended in December 1961 and was followed by continuation programs, including post-literacy programs and adult education. By 1967, approximately 650,000 people graduate from sixth grade under these programs (Borroto López, 2000)

Rebuilding the country's intelligentsia.

One year after the end of the armed conflict, enrolment in higher education dropped substantially. Some students fled the country dissatisfied with the new regime and its measures, others simply dropped out, and others became voluntary teachers or accepted a position in the government. The change from capitalism to socialism also motivated several members of the country's intelligentsia to emigrate. The rest were pushed out of their positions in government and academia. The new regime did not trust the education of the socialist man and the consolidation of the new hegemony to a group of people raised under capitalist ideology. Many of the members of the new intelligentsia came from workers and rural environments, they had less exposure to western values and way of life than the old intelligentsia, and they were instilled with negative views of capitalism and the United States (Suchlicki, 1969).

Access to higher education was a valued good in post-conflict Cuba and it was distributed in a way that helped consolidate the regime through loyalty to the party. Tuition was abolished in 1962, but access to higher education was provided based on a set of requirements including transcripts from previous education levels, a test of "revolutionary attitude," and, in some cases, a report from the Committee for the Defense of the revolution or other similar organization or, a certification of the father's good conduct (Arbesú García, 1985, p. 63).

Scholarship beneficiaries were obliged to "raise [their] political and cultural level, comply with the teaching discipline, and be ready to defend the revolution at any time" as well as to participate in voluntary work in socially productive activities like industry and

agriculture. Loyalty to the revolution and the party was a must for higher education students during the application process and during the time of studies (Suchlicki, 1969).

A similar degree of loyalty was expected from the professors. Tenure was abolished in 1962 and faculty started to be hired on yearly-based contracts that could be terminated at any time. Professors were expected to be loyal to the party and to teach in accordance to the revolution's ideology, otherwise they could be fired. In addition periodic courses in Marxism –Leninism were a requirement for contract renovation (Paulston, 1991).

Perfeccionamiento.

In the mid 1970s a system of improvements for higher education called *perfeccionamiento* (improvement or refinement) came out from the First Congress of the Communist Party. Among the changes included in the *perfeccionamiento* strategy were curriculum changes, the institutionalization of voluntary work, and some provisions regarding military service for students (Mujal-León, 1988).

University students did not play a key role in the alphabetization campaign, in which secondary students and other volunteers were a majority. However, university and pre-university students acted as professors in the "*cursos de perfeccionamiento*" (improvement courses) that were offered later for those beneficiaries of the literacy campaign and had coursed up to less than the sixth grade of primary education (Mujal-León, 1988).

The new curriculum.

Changes in curriculum aimed at improving the ideological quality of the students' education formation included the revision of textbooks and professors handbooks as well as changes in the program of studies so that at least ten percent of the courses taken by any student were on subjects such as historical and dialectical Marxism or scientific communism. Teachers were also expected to take courses on philosophy, political economy, history of the international working class and communism. Two features stimulated the connection between study and the labor work: the work-study program, in which students were expected to apply their knowledge in their field of expertise, and the "voluntary" work, that used to take place in the country field in activities that usually involved physical work, such as harvesting coffee or planting crops, but it could also include participating in Communist party rallies, or attending Castro's speeches (Mujal-León, 1988).

Military service.

Students were expected to dedicate about one day a week for military training and to join a military unit for 45 days before leaving the university. In some cases, at the end of the program the student would get the rank of lieutenant. Refusing to participate in such training could be punished with prison time. (Mujal-León, 1988).

Higher education and development.

After the university reform of 1962 liberal arts programs that were dominant before the revolution were largely replaced by science and applied technology and higher

education was oriented toward providing industry and agriculture with high quality specialists and applied research (Suchlicki, 1969). Polytechnic education was the favorite vehicle to connect education with production and efficiency. Between 1961 and 1963 the socialist production model based on industrialization and agriculture diversification stimulated the four-fold growth of enrolment in technical schools. During this period, Cuba decided to copy the socialist model of development, based on economic growth fostered by industrialization and agricultural diversification. In this model, technical education was key as it provided skilled labor. Enrolment in industry schools tripled between 1959 and 1963 (Arbesú García, 1985).

Technical education provided skilled labor and contributed to the ideological formation of students; it also contributed to the absorption of a large number of youth who had dropped primary education. Combined with forced draft and obligatory secondary education, it helped to buffer the social impact of having such a crowd of youngsters idle (Arbesú García, 1985).

Worker Peasant Faculties (*Facultades Obreras Campesinas*, FOC) emerged as part of the strategy to deliver universal coverage in higher education. Its main purpose was to provide adult workers with the education required to access higher education or to achieve technical training in a relatively short period (OEI - Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos, n.d.). The first *Facultad Obrera* was created in 1961 and by 1975 they were spread around the country with 140 teaching units; 62,746 worker-students had been matriculated and 7,414 of its graduates gained access to higher education (García Rodríguez, 1975).

Peacebuilding in Cuba?

Peacebuilding was not included in the agenda of the Cuban Revolutionary government. This is not surprising because, as mentioned before, the term was not coined until some decades later. Nonetheless, in their own way, the Cuban government developed a strategy to retain power and maintain peace after the triumph of the revolution. Part of the strategy was to suppress any form of opposition. This strategy included the creation of a New Socialist Man, conducting purges of potential enemies to the new regime, and the use of education as an economic and social equalization tool, as well as an component of the economic model, either when it was centered in Agriculture or in Industrialization. Higher education, that initially played a role in the revolutionary movements predating Castro's government, changed its focus.

Instead of the individual achievements of students' leaders and the massive achievements of student movements, the university and the rest of the educational system became a tool purposely used by the State to promote its political and economic program. While some celebrate the achievement of the revolution in terms of literacy and social inclusiveness, others criticize the suppression of democracy and university autonomy.

Despite the fact that the Cuban Revolution only paid attention and dedicated economic resources to higher education several years after the triumph, this case illustrates that higher education can be effectively included in a postconflict strategy.

Nicaragua: Somocistas, Sandinistas, Contras, and the University

Unlike the Cuban case, the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua did not mean the end of the war or the undisputed consolidation of the revolutionary power. The United States' support to the Contras, fearing the consolidation of a communist axis in Central America, fed the conflict for an additional decade. Three stages can be observed in this conflict: the Sandinista war against the Somoza's regime; the Contras war against the Sandinista government, and the postconflict period that followed the election of Violeta Chamorro as Nicaragua's president in 1990.

Students' activism against Somoza's government.

The Sandinista government declared July 23 the National Students' Day through Decree number 1487 of 1984 (Junta de Gobierno de Reconstrucción Nacional de la República de Nicaragua, 1984). The story of this recognition to the students' importance in the Sandinista revolution can be traced back to June 24 1959, when a guerrilla unit in an "anti-Somoza expedition" tried to enter the country from Honduras through a place called *El Chaparral.* In a joint operation, Honduran army troops and the Nicaraguan National Guard ambushed the column, six guerrilla were killed in combat, three more were captured and then executed and fifteen more—including Carlos Fonseca, a student leader and one of the founders of the Sandinista Front of National Liberation (*Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, FSLN*)—were captured and imprisoned (Zimmermann, 2000p. 54). One month latter, on July 23, students demonstrated against the massacre. Somoza's government repressed the demonstration with brutality, killing

four students and hurting about 80. According to Decree 1487, the events of July 23, "marked the beginning of the revolutionary students movement."

Several authors (Arnove, 1994; Zimmermann, 2000, among others) have acknowledged the importance of students in the Sandinista revolution. Rothschuh (2010a) for example, described how the university classrooms became political focal points to challenge Somocism. He also illustrated that the universities were sources of cadres and soldiers to populate the Sandinista National Liberation Front (*Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional*, FSLN) that all the social and political organizations were attentive to what happened in the universities. University students were considered "the single most important source of FSLN organizers and combatants thorough out much of the insurrection period" (Arnove, 1994). In fact three students activists (Carlos Fonseca, Tomás Borge, and Silvio Mayorga) were among the main founders of the National Liberation Front (*Frente de Liberación Nacional*, FLN) that became later the Sandinista National Liberation Front (Arnove, 1994). Student activists did not come only from the universities, a good number of them—including Fonseca and Borge—started as activists in secondary schools and then continue their activism in the university, as Fonseca (1968 / 2006)acknowledged.

The UCA: Catholic education to counterbalance communist influence?

The creation of the Central American University (*Universidad Centroamericana*, UCA), in 1960, seemed to be an effective way to counterbalance the leftwing influence at the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua (*Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua*, UNAN), which was the only university in the country since its establishment

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in the city of Leon in 1812. UNAN was considered a leftwing antigovernment stronghold.

Created by Jesuits, The UCA was the first private university in Central America, and it was expected to provide a strong rightwing counterbalance to the UNAN. Its first rector was a priest and also a cousin of President Somoza, and its campus was built in lands belonging to the Somoza family (Zimmermann, 2000). Surprisingly, the UCA became an enclave of activism against the Somoza's rule, to the point that conservative families preferred sending their children to the UNAN in Leon to keep them away from the influence of the radicals from the UCA (Zimmermann, 2000).

Inspired by the ideas of the Liberation Theology and the thinking of Paulo Freire, UCA's students together with a group of parish priests, both Catholic and Protestant, became highly involved in the revolution (Arnove, 1986). Guillermo Rothschuh Villanueva (2010a), a former dean of the school of communications at the UCA, provided an example of that involvement by recounting how UCA's students demonstrated to demand the authorities to return the corpses of FSLN guerrillas—who where also students, killed in Boca y Raití in October 1963. The UCA provided leaders to the Sandinista forces. For example, Daniel Ortega, a FSLN leader who later became a President of Nicaragua, was a student activist at the UCA.

Professors and university leaders

The role of the faculty during the Sandinista revolution has not been studied enough, and there are just isolated references to their participation in the revolution. In his Message to the Revolutionary Student, Fonseca (1968 / 2006) mentioned among the

martyrs of the revolution Dr. Danilo Rosales Argüelles, who was a young professor. The involvement of university leaders has not being thoroughly described either but the participation of Fernando Cardenal, a Jesuit and ex vice-Rector of the UCA; Carlos Tünnermann, ex rector of the UNAN; and Ernesto Castillo, a lawyer and former professor at the UCA, in the so-called Group of Twelve deserves mentioning. In 1977 the FSLN designed a strategy consisting on the simultaneous attack on several military barracks followed by a declaration of support to the revolution by a group of intellectuals and businessmen that were not openly associated with any party and who were asked by the Sandinistas to sign the declaration, this group was later know as the Group of Twelve. The military plan was not very successful. Among the selected army positions, the FSLN was able to attack only the San Carlos barracks, however, the Group of Twelve continued supporting the activities of the FSLN (Ferrero Blanco, 2010).

The triumph of the revolution

On July 17, 1979 president Somoza fled the country to escape the advance of the FSLN, which a few days latter, entered Managua triumphant. The provisional Government Junta of National Reconstruction (*Junta de Gobierno de Reconstrucción Nacional*), established since June 19, took power. The Junta consisted of five members representing diverse political tendencies: Daniel Ortega, as a member of the FSLN directorate; Moisés Hassan Morales and Sergio Ramírez, representing the leftwing activists; and two representatives of the right: Alfonso Robledo and Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. The Junta ruled until 1985, when Daniel Ortega took power as elected president.

The Sandinistas' education reform

After the end of the war, the Nicaraguan government started a series of social and economic changes to deal with three main challenges: reconstructing the country, reactivating its economy, and creating the basis for further development (Consejo Nacional de la Educación Superior, 1988). The educational reform had seven major objectives:

(1) primary and secondary education free and compulsory, (2) control of prices for books and school supplies, (3) regulation of private schools, (4) development of vocational technical schools, (5) establishment of rural schools; (6) respect for the autonomy of the National University, and (7) eradication of illiteracy (Comisión Interamerica de Derechos Humanos, 1981).

The literacy campaign was the main priority and the government also conducted a National Consultation to create the "National Development Plan for Education" (Plan Nacional de Desarrollo de la Educación), and created a National Council for Higher Education.

Literacy campaign.

Illiteracy was one of the main issues that the new government decided to undertake by developing the Cruzada Nacional de Alfabetización "Héroes y Mártires por la Liberación de Nicaragua" (National Literacy Crusade "Heroes and Martyrs of the Liberation of Nicaragua"). Given the high levels of illiteracy in the country, estimated in 52 percent of the population, the government launched a literacy campaign involving

approximately 95,000 thousand volunteers—about 60,000 *brigadistas* (mostly secondary and college students who went to the countryside) and 35,000 popular "alphabetizers" (most of them adults who stayed in the cities), got engaged in a massive campaign to improve the literacy in the country. By the end of the campaign (August, 1980) illiteracy rates had reached a low 13 percent (Arnove, 1986; Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1986). The positive impact of the campaign has been recognized, among others, by Unesco, which in 1981 awarded Nicaragua the Nadezhda Krúpskaya medal, and in 2007 the distinction Memories of Humanity.

The creation of a new man.

As a result of the Nation Consultation of 1981, the Sandinista government adopted among its purposes "to build fully and integrally the personality of the New Man" whom, among other characteristics should be, in the political aspect, "a patriot, revolutionary, and committed to the interest of the workers and peasants…" and in the social and moral aspects, "responsible, disciplined, creative, cooperative, hardworking and efficient" (Junta de Gobierno de Reconstrucción Nacional, 1983).

Reorganization of the higher education system.

Higher education was not a priority during the Sandinista rule and had to take "a back seat to elementary and secondary education for the nation's largely illiterate population" (Hackel, 1990, parag. 17.). However, when the Sandinistas came to power, they dismantled the old university system, which they considered "elitist, too expensive, and unresponsive to the needs of the average citizen" (Hackel, 1990, parag. 7.) and

replaced it with a tuition free system in which students from low-income background who were also active in the political party got subsidies for books and transportation. The number of institutions of higher education was initially reduced and merging schools and faculties across institutions contributed to the reduction of redundancy in academic programs (Arnove, 1986). On the other hand new institutions and programs were created according to the needs of the revolution (Consejo Nacional de la Educación Superior, 1988).

The revolutionary government and the Contras.

The triumph of the revolution did not bring peace to Nicaragua. When Ronald Reagan became president of the United States (1981) he decided to finance the counterrevolution in Nicaragua to prevent the advance of communism in Central America. The US supported the creation of what started to be called the Contra (a short for *contrarrevolución*: counterrevolution) integrated by former members of the National Guard and members from diverse tendencies and groups, including former revolutionaries disenchanted with the first measures of the Sandinista government, such as Eden Pastora and the ARDE group. The internal war forced the new government to take some measures like dedicating more resources to the war than to education and introducing the obligatory military service in 1983.

During these years, university was not a good shield against the draft and many students had to postpone or discard their entrance to college because of it (Hackel, 1990). The time for the military service was two years, which could be extended or reduced by six months by decision of the president of the republic. Only those in the last year of

studies were allowed to postpone their entrance to the military (Junta de Gobierno de Reconstrucción Nacional de la República de Nicaragua, 1983).

Loyalty.

Professors were expected to show high political commitment and to be carriers of the Sandinista ideology and while political apathy was tolerated, political hostility was not. Despite teachers and students were expected to participate in political demonstrations, teachers' participation during working hours needed to be authorized by the university official. Students' participation, on the other hand, would not buy them any special treatment. Political fervor was not enough to hold a teaching position; teaching skills were also expected and appreciated and professors were expected to dedicate between four and eight hours to the improvement of their teaching and research (Arnove, 1986).

Indoctrination.

Sandinistas were aware that education is a political act and that education systems indoctrinate, so they decided to conduct open indoctrination to transform the ideology and values of the Nicaraguan people. One of the biggest criticisms to the literacy campaign was the political content of the textbooks (Comisión Interamerica de Derechos Humanos, 1981). Authors provided several examples of this bias. Among them, that the "*Carlitos*" introductory reader, was plagued of references to the FSLN, its symbols and images of importance, and national heroes such as Sandino and Fonseca (Arnove, 1994); the first topics of the booklet where: Sandino, Fonseca, the FSLN, and the revolutionary

triumph (*Diseño curricular del cuaderno de educación sandinista de lecto-escritura "El Amanecer del Pueblo".*2005) the words "La Revolución" were used to teach the five vowels (Comisión Interamerica de Derechos Humanos, 1981).

Arnove (1994) illustrated how changes in higher education during the Sandinista government were aimed at achieving a close integration between this educational level and the national economic plan, a goal that permeated every activity in the universities. Curriculum development, student admissions policies and even faculty selection were all integrated to serve the goals of the new government. Curriculum changes included, for example, the elimination of the bourgeois economy, which was replaced by Marxism-Leninism, and the inclusion of a work component program that included diverse social service tasks. Examples of this work component were "social sciences students conducting housing surveys and recording nutritional deficiencies in school children, law students helping to establish and run legal aid clinics for low-income people, and engineering students working in sugar mills" (Arnove, 1994, p. 21).   Students were expected to participate "voluntarily" in productive activities like sugar cane and cotton cuttings and coffee picking; as well as in political activities, like manifestations supporting the new regime and belonging to the militias.

Despite the declared objectives for the educational reform, university autonomy was a victim of the revolution. Using an argument that seems to be copied from the Cuban revolution, the new Nicaraguan government claimed that university autonomy was not necessary because of the unity of purpose between government and the university community (Arnove, 1994; Marques & Bannon, 2003).   Among other restrictions to

autonomy, a rigid national curriculum in which classroom activities were detailed almost to the minute was imposed (Arnove, 1994, p. 40).

The Sandinista government exercised close control over student associations, something that, according to critics, did not happen even during the worst years of the Somoza's regime (Alaniz Pinell, 1985). The disciplinary system within the universities became stricter than during the Somoza period. Attendance was controlled every day, and members of the Sandinistas Youths monitored the "revolutionary fervor" of their fellow students (Alaniz Pinell, 1985). The political and ideological sectarianism also affected those students who dared criticizing the new government were subject to retaliations (Rothschuh Villanueva, 2010b). Opponents of the FSLN and some members of the government criticized this situation (Arnove, 1994, p. 40).

The aforementioned examples of violations to university autonomy contrast with an article in the Chronicle of Higher Education (Hackel, 1990) in which the author reported that one of the fears of university administrators during the transmission of power from Daniel Ortega to Violeta Chamorro was "that the new government will change the universities' broad independence from government regulation, which includes freedom to set the curriculum and make appointments". A few days before the Sandinista government turned over power to Chamorro, the National Assembly passed the National Autonomy Law of Higher Education Institutions (Law 89 of 1990) in which six universities and two technical institutions were granted autonomy (Arnove, 1994, p. 139).

Higher education for development.

The Sandinista government had great expectations for higher education as a tool for national development. The government defined four priority areas of development: agricultural sciences, medical sciences, educational sciences, and technology and large numbers of students were attracted to those fields through different incentives, mainly the availability of fellowships in those areas. In addition to the traditional university programs, technical education, including sub professional and technical specializations were encouraged (Arnove, 1986).

When faculty became bureaucrats.

Providing skilled personal for top and middle positions in the country was an important challenge for the new government. University professors—particularly those who contributed to the revolution—happened to be handy for that purpose. During the first years of Sandinista government, about two hundred senior university professors were recruited to fill the numerous positions required by the revolution including several ministries (Arnove, 1994; Rothschuh Villanueva, 2010b). But the price to pay was the depletion of faculty (Consejo Nacional de la Educación Superior, 1988). In addition to that, a purge of faculty came after the triumph of the revolution. Not only Somoza sympathizers were purged, extreme ultraleftist who criticized the FSLN economic policies, which they believe were bourgeois reformist, were also expelled (Arnove, 1994).

While enrolment was growing at all levels of education, the number of faculty was shrinking. To respond to this problem at the university level, the government created

the Student Assistants Movement (*Movimiento Alumnos-Ayudantes*) under which advanced students became teachers who were also beneficiaries of teaching training programs. A typical Student Assistant was a fulltime student with "revolutionary values" a solid academic background, and who liked teaching (Consejo Nacional de la Educación Superior, 1988).

The end of the war.

In the 1990 elections, Violeta Chamorro, representing a coalition of anti Sandinista forces, beat Daniel Ortega and became Nicaragua's president. The United States stopped financing the Contras and the civil war came to an end. Among her first measures as a president, Chamorro promoted the indefinite suspension of the obligatory military service through the decree number 2 of 1990.

Chamorro's government did not agree with the Autonomy Law, which in addition to conferring autonomy to eight institutions of higher education, established the requirement of allocating six percent of the national budget to those institutions. She argued that the late minute recognition of autonomy was a move to provide shelter in the university to Sandinista militants and that the Sandinista government never honored the six percent goal while in power (Arnove, 1994). However, the Autonomy law remained effective but with some reforms.

Chamorro's government launched an education reform that Marques and Bannon (2003, p. 12) described as following a "three-pronged sequenced approach": in which the first step was dismantling the education system constructed by the Sandinistas—including some parts that were working well; the second step was depoliticizing the

system and purging it of ideological contents from the Sandinista era; and the third step was providing the system with a "market based development model, [with] priority on primary education, human capital and skills building, and attention to technical and higher education." However, most of the attention was for primary education, leaving higher education excluded from the core of the government's educational agenda.

Although, higher education was not contemplated in the educational reform, public and private institutions were engaged in several peacebuilding activities. For example, during two years, The UNAN held a project to build national consensus around the most import changes to be implemented in the country. Different members from the government and academia were invited to present their views on different topics related to the country's future. A final report consisting of four volumes and a four pages executive summary and was delivered to president Chamorro with the intention of using it as a starting point for a national dialog about the construction of the Nation-State based on the four central topics identified by the UNAN. However, it was finally ignored (Aguilar, 2005).

In some cases universities partnered with international organizations, particularly with the Organization of American States (OAS), to carry out multiple activities. Aguilar (2005) presented some examples of those activities, such as: the construction of houses for demobilized Contra's combatants in which the dean of engineering, professors, and students from the Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería (UNI) participated; the creation of vegetable gardens, production of farm animals and reforestation projects in which students and faculty from the National Agrarian University (UNA) took part in 1992; or

the Technical Collaboration Program created by the OAS, in which the involvement of university students was instrumental. Students participated as teachers of English, mathematics, and spelling; the construction and reconstruction of municipal libraries; and even urban planning. Some universities also participated in research on the future of children in postwar rural areas, as well as in sensitization and training on the risks of landmines, which is still a problem in Nicaragua. The successful collaboration between the OAS and the universities in the postconflict stage inspired further experiences in post-disaster emergencies, and motivated other organizations to work with university students, such as the United Nations' Program for Development (UNDP).

Aguilar also illustrated how universities were proactive in peacebuilding activities and were able to develop their own programs without the support of other organizations. As examples she mentioned the participation of the UNAN in the project to build a politic consensus (which was illustrated above), and the creation of the Institute for Investigations and Social Action "Martin Luther King" at the Polytechnic University of Nicaragua (*Universidad Politécnica de Nicaragua*, UPOLI), which provided training on peace culture and human rights.

There is not much information about how universities absorbed former combatants. Burke (1992) pointed out that one of the challenges of the transition from Ortega's to Chamorro's government was having in the same classroom students who belonged to the different combating parties. However, she also pointed out that they found their way to befriend their former enemies. As one of her interviewees mentioned "we realize we all have the same problems" (para. 12).

Higher education in the aftermath

The role of students, professors, and even administrators of higher education institutions in Nicaragua was very important. The creation of the UN in an effort to counterbalance the influence of UNAN brought the opposite result than initially expected, as it became another important focus for anti-Somoza activism. After the triumph of the Sandinista revolution, several changes took place to make education more accessible and to integrate it into the reconstruction and development of the country. However, higher education did not play a mayor role in this post revolutionary stage and it had to wait several years to receive a budget in accordance with its mission. Nonetheless, the Sandinista government exercised close control on higher education and the students. When Chamorro became president, she honored the recently granted university autonomy but conducted a series of efforts to dismantle the educational reform initiated by the Sandinistas. During this period, higher education institutions assumed an active and clear role in the construction of peace by presenting proposals to the new government and by performing different activities. Among the cases presented in this study, this is the first time that such engagement was clearly observable.

Conclusions

There are many similarities between these two revolutions: the use of literacy campaigns in the dissemination of the ideology, the quest for a "New Man", and the Assistant Teaching movement are just some of them. Unlike Cuba, Nicaragua suffered a

counterrevolutionary war period that ended when rightwing candidate, Violeta Chamorro, representing a coalition of forces, won the presidency in the elections of 1990.

During the two world wars, university professors, students, and administrators aligned with their countries to fight the external enemy, despite the presence of a certain degree of internal conflict and dissent. The conflicts in Cuba and Nicaragua, as well as the Spanish case, present a different scenario in which students, faculty, and sometimes administrators, were instrumental in the overthrowing of two dictatorships (i.e., Batista and the Somozas). They aligned themselves against the establishment, which they considered unfair and oppressive. The role of the students in the Cuban revolution was very important, but it was overshadowed by the effectiveness of the repression against the *Directorio* and the success of Castro's July 26 Movement. The role of students in the Nicaraguan case is still remembered and celebrated.

In both countries, once the revolutionaries came to power, the new governments conducted systematic efforts to control the student movement and the university itself. In both countries, university autonomy, which served as a shield against the government during the revolution, was taken away under the pretext that there was no need for such autonomy since university and government were intrinsically linked. As in Nazi Germany and Nationalist Spain, student movements were taken over by the official party and its sympathizers, and any sign of dissent was promptly repressed.

Unlike in Spain, both Cuba and Nicaragua gave great importance—yet not a great budget—to higher education and relevant research. The quest for a close and harmonic

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relationship between university and production, both through agriculture and industry, became an obsession.

In both countries education reform took place when the revolution came to power. Literacy campaigns, curriculum reform, changes in higher education promoting technical education were some of the most salient characteristics of these reforms aimed at contributing to the creation of the new man and a more fluid relationship between education and production. In Nicaragua, another education reform took place when Violeta Chamorro came to power. One of the main issues in this reform was to clean the curriculum and textbooks from indoctrination content introduced during the Sandinista government.

Chapter Seven: Post Cold War

Rwanda: Genocide and the Metamorphoses of the National University of Rwanda (NUR)

In Rwanda, like in many other post-colonial African countries, the university was among the first institutions to be created after the achievement of independence. As Omari (1991, p. 181) observed, for these nations, universities, together with the national flag and national airline, became "symbols of sovereignty and disengagement from the metropole."

The National University of Rwanda (NUR) was not the first higher education institution in the country. The Catholic Church established a Senior Seminar in 1917, which in 1936 moved to Nyakibanda. However, the seminar only provided training for men who wanted to become priests. Those who wanted to study in any other fields had to travel abroad, usually to the Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire) or Belgium.

NUR was created in 1963, one year after Rwanda became an independent nation in 1962. Three years later, in 1966, the Institut Pédagogique National (National Institute of Education) was established, and in 1981-82 the Institute merged with NUR. By 1994, the year of the Genocide, there were ten HEIs in the country, seven of which were private and accounted for 35 percent of the total enrollment (World Bank, 2004).

For decades, higher education was a privilege for the elite. During the 1960s, the annual enrolment was estimated in less than a hundred students. By 1970, approximately 1,000 students had access to higher education. During the first half of 1990, before the genocide, the number of students fluctuated between 3,000 and 5,000. In 1993, with

approximately 3,000 students, NUR was the largest and most important HEI in the country.

The genocide.

The genocide was the final stage of a civil war between Hutus and Tutsis that started in 1990 (Hayman, 2005). However, the struggle for power between the two groups predates the civil war, and even the independence period. In 1959 the Hutus (the majority group) launched an attack against the Tutsis, deposed their king, killed thousands of Tutsis, and force to exile approximately 150,000 people. Some of the children of those who where in exile created the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), which conducted attacks against the government from the neighboring countries (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012).

An estimate of between 800,000 and one million people[4] were killed in during a time span of about a hundred days, from April to July 1994. These numbers correspond to approximately ten to twelve percent of the country's population at the time, estimated in the neighborhood of 8.1 million people by 1993 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012). Most of the victims were Tutsi, who were the minority ethnic group, which had been closer to the colonial rulers for decades. It is estimated that three quarters of this ethnic group were exterminated in the massacres (Des Forges, 1999), almost two million people were displaced to neighboring countries (Bridgeland, Wulsin, & McNaught, 2009) and one million more were internally displaced.

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[4] Different organizations provide different figures, ranging between half a million and 1.5 million; 800,000 is the most commonly agreed number.

History and the genocide.

According to the current official version of Rwanda's history, the ethnic difference between Hutus and Tutsis was not very important before the colonial powers (first Germany, then Belgium) but the colonialists magnified such differences to keep Rwandans divided and oppressed. The colonial authorities choose Tutsis, who represented about ten percent of the population, as the elite (Hayman, 2005) and, among other privileges, they were given more access to education at all levels (Bridgeland, Wulsin, & McNaught, 2009). After the Belgians granted Rwanda its independence, democratic elections took place, and the Hutus, being more in number, came to power and retaliated from decades of exclusion. After the genocide the country started the process of rebuilding its history and how it is taught, but the main facts of Rwanda's history are still unsettled (Freedman S.W., Weinstein H.M., Murphy K., & Longman T., 2008).

The uses of NUR.

During early independence years, access to education was used as a tool of domination from one ethnic group over the other either by total exclusion or through the imposition of quotas. In 1970 the Hutu government implemented a quota system based on the ethnic distribution of the country (90 percent Hutu, 9 percent Tutsis, 1 percent Twa) in all levels of education, including tertiary education (Bridgeland, Wulsin, & McNaught, 2009). When Juvenal Habyarimana (Hutu) came to power following a military coup on July 5, 1973, the National University of Rwanda (NUR) became an ideological apparatus to the service of the government: access was not granted on the

basis of merit but on ethnicity and loyalty to the government, and credit opportunities and promotion to positions of power were used to that purpose (Urusaro, 2003).

NUR: Victim and Murderer

Habyarimana was in power for 21 years, until April 6, 1994, when the Presidential Airplane with him and the president of Djibouti on board was shot down and the two presidents, among several others, died. Rwanda's government blamed the Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a guerrilla group integrated mostly by Rwandan expatriates who had fought in the Ugandan civil war, and used the incident as an excuse to start the massacres. According to Des Forges (1999), the attack against the Tutsi minority had been planned at least since 1993. The role that NUR played as a tool of the government to keep fanning the several crises that Rwanda went through until 1994 is now widely recognized (Lwakabamba, 2010).

Despite the division between supporters and detractors of Hutu Power among its faculty (Des Forges, 1999), NUR turned into something else than an ideological apparatus; it was the headquarters for the genocide (Block, 1995). Emmanuel Buningo, NUR's vice-president during the reconstruction, recounted:

This university was in the front line of the political division of this country. We had killers on campus. When I say killers, maybe they didn't pick up machetes and cut people down, but they master-minded the genocide. All the killing in Rwanda was carefully planned by intellectuals and those intellectuals all passed through this university (as quoted in: Block, 1995, parags. 9 and 10).

The planning role that some "intellectuals" from the university played, did not shield the campus against the massacres. NUR suffered the genocide as the rest of the society. Urasaro (2003) narrated how:

The site of the genocide on the green hills of the beautiful Butare campus is the final refuge for the sons and daughters of this country, who at times, after having been tracked down like animals perished under the stroke of their colleagues, their teachers or their students (pp. 5-6).

The toll NUR had to pay to the conflict was high: around 600 staff members and students were killed, 106 staff members disappeared and 800 of them were displaced to other countries. Four years after the genocide, only 19 percent of the staff remained at NUR (Bridgeland, Wulsin, & McNaught, 2009; Urusaro, 2003).

In 1994 the RPF came to power putting end to the genocide and establishing a transitional government with the participation of the political forces in the country, excluding those who took part in the Hutu power coalition (Urusaro, 2003). The new government assigned two main roles to education: to be an instrument of peace and reconciliation and to contribute to economic development (Bridgeland, Wulsin, & McNaught, 2009; Hayman, 2005). International donors placed most of their attention in primary education, neglecting at some extent secondary and tertiary education (Hayman, 2005).

Contribution to peace and reconciliation.

NUR challenges as the only public university in the country after the genocide were many. In addition to the hundreds of university members killed during the conflict,

the university—and the country—had to deal with brain drain, consequence of the forced migrations and the lack of well-paid opportunities in the country. On the other hand, when the conflict came to an end, neighbor countries sent back the refugees that they hosted during the conflict. This massive return meant for NUR having an extremely heterogeneous population to deal with (Urusaro, 2003).

In addition, NUR facilities and laboratories were vandalized during the conflict. Under these circumstances, the university had several challenges to overcome: deconstructing the perception of being an ideological apparatus of the murderer State, repositioning itself as a vehicle for peace and development, contributing to the economic development of the country, and providing other services compatible with its academic nature.

To address these challenges, the university launched in 1997 a set of consultations to identify how a "new university" should look like. Political and military authorities, development partners and other members of society were consulted (Urusaro, 2003). As a result, several changes were introduced in the university affecting the structure of teaching and the curriculum, motivated the creation of new courses, and renewed interest in research.

The renewed interest in research leveled the field for the creation of the Center for Conflict Management (CCM) in 1999, with the support of the United Nations Development Program, UNDP (Urusaro, 2003). The mission of CCM was defined as "to address the knowledge gap in the field of genocide, peace and conflict studies, and post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation through conducting research, teaching as well

as community services in the form of policy research" (National University of Rwanda, n.d.). One of the questions the center wanted to answer was why the intellectuals planned and participated in the genocide (Never Again International, n.d.).

CCM became a very active research center producing several papers, articles, and books, and it has also developed two masters programs: "Genocide Studies and Peace" and "Peace and Conflict Studies." The center has dedicated special attention to the *Gacaca* courts, a form of indigenous justice that was recovered to deal with more than 120 thousand defendants that were to be processed under accusations of participating in the genocide.

In addition to CCM's efforts, the university has developed other activities, such as a community mental health care center, a legal aid clinic, as well as providing marginalized people with advice on microeconomic development and infrastructure development (Lwakabamba, 2010).

Contribution to economic development

Rwanda is a small landlocked country with very limited natural resources and it is no exaggeration to say that human capital is its most important asset. Aware of this reality, Rwanda's government dedicated the highest portion of the national budget to education (23% of the GDP) but most of these resources went to primary education. However, higher education started to grow consistently; Hayman (2005) talked about an "explosion in the number of higher education institutions" since 1999. NUR is still the only public university in the country, but there are also five public non-universities, and 14 private universities. Enrolment in higher education has been growing significantly

since the genocide. The number of students enrolled in higher education before the genocide was estimated around 5,000. By 2003, that number was more than tripled with an enrolment estimated in 17,000 students (World Bank, 2004). In 2011 the total enrolment in higher education was 73,674 including public (37,902) and private education (35,772). Between 2000 and 2004 the number of students for every 100,000 people doubled from 100 to 200 (Bridgeland, Wulsin, & McNaught, 2009). By 2008, that number had grown to 474 students per 100,000 people (Unesco. Dakar Office, 2012).

In 2009, fifteen years after the end of the civil war, Rwanda was looking toward the future and engaged in the design of "Rwanda Vision 2020," the national development plan, which was also defined through a consultation process. One of the ambitious medium term goals defined in this document was "transforming [Rwanda] from an agrarian to a knowledge-based economy" (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning - Republic of Rwanda, 2000)[5]. Other important goals were improving food security and nutrition, providing access to clean water, and reducing the prevalence of diseases. All these goals require innovation and technology; hence higher education needed to assume a more important role in the country's future.

The limited resources available as well as the conviction that expenditure in primary education yields a better rate of return are not helping the case for higher education. Technical and professional education are costly and, according to multilateral

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[5] A more recent version of the document suppressed the reference to an agrarian society but kept the goal of becoming a "prosperous knowledge-based economy" (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning - Republic of Rwanda, 2002).

donor evaluations, it tends to favor the wealthiest among the population, those who finished secondary education and can afford the costs associated with conduct higher education studies.

Higher education is not enough to address the needs of skilled labor. Despite the rate of growth in enrolment and the creation of new higher education institutions, the country's needs for skilled labor remain unsatisfied. Not to mention that the number of students with the credentials required to gain access to higher education and the financial resources to afford the expenses related to going to college, is still very limited.

Ingando and indoctrination

Teaching history is another challenge for the country because, as previous experiences have shown, those in power have manipulated it in the past. History lessons at schools were suspended in the country between 1994 and 2010 and there was only one course of history in the university. In a joint effort, CCM, the Ministry of Education, and the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) have been working in the contents of the history courses for the country (Never Again International, n.d.). At the university level, in present time, the faculty of Arts, Media and Social Science of NUR offers a Bachelors' Degree in Political Science in which the "prescribed electives" for the third year include "international Conflicts, Conflict Resolution, and Human Rights," "State Society Relations in Rwanda since Independence" and "identities, conflicts and development in Africa". There is also a Free elective for the fourth year in "post conflict peace-building and transitional justice" (National University of Rwanda, 2008).

During the prohibition, there was only one place where history was taught on a regular basis: the *Ingandos*, which are centers developed by the NURC "as a tool to build coexistence within communities" and were oriented initially to ex-combatants returning from DR Congo. The program was expanded to include students from every level, including approximately 3,000 pre-university students per year (NURC - National Unity and Reconciliation Comission, n.d.). However, the neutrality of *Ingandos* has been questioned and they have been accused of disseminating pro-RPF ideology. The great majority of university students attend *Ingandos* before entering college, which provides the government with a valuable opportunity for indoctrination (Mgbako, 2005).

Very few universities in the world have a history as dramatic and full of contrasts as NUR, which in a few years evolved from being considered the headquarters of the genocide to be considered a peacebuilding tool. Rwanda's government goal of transforming the country into a knowledge-base society gives higher education an important role. In addition to NUR other HEIs, public and private, has been created in Rwanda and the number of students has been growing since after the genocide.

Kosovo: A Balkan Tale of Two Universities

Kosovo is a new country with an old story that can be tracked back at least up to the Dardania kingdom and the Roman province of Dardania. After the First Balkan War (1912-13), Kosovo was incorporated to the Kingdom of Serbia. Serbia became part of Yugoslavia, and it was until the constitutional reform or 1969 that Kosovo achieved the status of autonomous territory. Now Kosovo is torn between its Albanian and Serbian

roots. The majority of Kosovo's population is Albanian; however, based on historical arguments, Serbia still considers Kosovo part of its territory.

Historic background.

Recent history of Kosovo is necessarily linked to former Yugoslavia. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was created in 1918 but the Axis Powers invaded it in 1941, and officially abolished it two years later. In 1943 it reappeared as the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1946), and in 1963 it became the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which consisted of six socialist republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. The Kosovo region was not considered a republic or an autonomous province.

In 1969, a constitutional reform granted autonomy to the province of Kosovo and Metohija. Twenty years later, in 1989, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic introduced a constitutional reform revoking the autonomy status. The measure was protested by Kosovo-Albanians who, unsuccessfully, declared Kosovo's independence in 1991. Violence between Albanians and Serbians became a constant and in 1996 was created the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA).

A counterinsurgency offensive with the participation of Serbian police, military, and paramilitary forces started in 1998. Massacres and massive expulsions of Albanians took place and the international efforts to mediate the conflict failed. Despite the intervention of the international community, Serbian aggression against Kosovo-Albanians worsened and in January 1999 the Racak massacre took place, in which 45 Kosovo Albanians were killed. The massacre drew attention from the international

community. An agreement to be signed between Yugoslavia and representatives of the Albanian population in Kosovo was drafted under the auspice of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The agreement included the restoration of Kosovo's autonomy and the deployment of NATO peacekeeping forces but the Serbian Party rejected it.

In 1999, NATO launched a military campaign against Serbia, which started with the bombardment of March 24, forcing the Serbs to withdraw their armed forces from Kosovo allowing Albanian refugees to return. Kosovo became a protectorate of the United Nations, which created the Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). The great majority of Serbs, including students, teachers and university staff, left Kosovo fearing hostility and revenge from the Albanians. In 2008, Kosovo unilaterally declared its independence from Serbia; and at by November 2012, 95 countries, but not the United Nations, had recognized it as a country (kosovothanksyou.com, 2012).

Power in Kosovo has been shifting between Albanians and Serbians in what Nelles (2006) described as a "domination pendulum." Higher education has not been immune to this situation; in fact, education has played a major role in the preservation of the two national identities (Kostovicova, 2005).

Higher education in former Yugoslavia and Kosovo.

The development of higher education in the different parts of former Yugoslavia varies widely from one region to the other. In Croatia, the Jesuits established an Academia in 1669, which was the first among many other initiatives toward the consolidation of a modern university. In Serbia, a college was established in Belgrade by 1805 but it closed five years later. Then a Lyceum continued providing higher education

between 1838 and 1863, and then it moved to Belgrade, where it became the Belgrade College, which in 1905 became the Belgrade University (Šoljan, 1991). The Kosovo region had to wait until the second half of the twentieth century to have its own university.

After World War II, in the newly re-founded Yugoslavia, universities were assigned the role of contributing to the reconstruction of the republic and its economy, as well as improving the general culture and political values of its people (Šoljan, 1991). During Tito's rule (1952-1980) the education system helped to maintain the cohesion of Yugoslavia. Still, ethnic tension was latent and separatist activism was not unusual (Nelles, 2006).

University of Pristina: the pride of autonomous Kosovo.

Kosovo did not have its own higher education institutions until 1970. Before that year only faculties from Serbian universities were established in the territory (Miklavič, 2012). In 1968, allegedly Albanian separatists demonstrated demanding a local university be established in Pristina, Kosovo's Capital but the demonstration was suppressed. Months later, Tito allowed the subsidiary of the University of Belgrade in Pristina to become the University of Pristina, which provided higher education in Albanian and Serbian (Bache & Taylor, 2003). The university became a symbol of the Albanian movement for autonomy and was even called "the pride of autonomous Kosovo" (Bellamy, 2001, p. 40-1).

Some authors believe that, in addition to providing education, the new university was used to keep young people away from the labor market to maintain low

unemployment rates. Such strategy soon backfired as it produced "a large group of discontented but articulate unemployed young people with a growing awareness of Albanian culture and history" (Clark, 2000, p. 38).

When Tito died, in 1980, rising ethnic tension was already an issue. The next year, a student revolt that would have important consequences for the future of the country took place. There are those who say that the protest started when a student from Kosovo University found a cockroach in his soup (Clark, 2000); others believe that the initial protest was motivated by the lack of working opportunities for students after graduation (Nelles, 2005). Regardless of the motivation, the protest grew as more students and workers joined it. Demonstrations unfolded to the rest of Kosovo and the academic claims were followed by political demands (Clark, 2000). To contain the protest the police arrested several students and as the protest extended the brutality of the repression worsened producing tenths of deaths and hundreds of imprisonments (Perritt, 2008).

In 1990, the Serbian government introduced a set of interim measures that led to the expulsion of Kosovar Albanian professors and students from the University of Pristina (Tahirsylaj, 2008) and Albanian was forbidden as a language of instruction. The Serbs took "the pride of autonomous Kosovo" away from the Albanians. In 1991, the Serbian government revoked the Kosovo legislation on education. Albanian teachers were dismissed massively (approximately 14,500 from primary education, 4,000 from secondary, and 862 form university) and Serbian and Albanian academic communities

were separated (Pichl, 1999). The university of Pristina split in two: a Serb state-run university and a parallel university for Albanians.

The Albanian parallel education system.

As part of their non-violent resistance strategy (Kostovicova, 2005), during the decade of the 1990s, Albanians created a "shadow system" financed mostly by Kosovo Albanians in the diaspora and lead by their clandestine president, Ibrahim Rugova. The two main components of the system were the health service and the parallel education system, which became "the centerpiece for [the Albanians'] resistance to Serbian dominance and repression" (Sommers & Buckland, 2004, p. 40).

Kosovar Albanian resistance had two faces: A non-violent and a violent one. The parallel system was the main component of the non-violent strategy. The KLA led the violent resistance strategy. In a way, the University of Pristina contributed to the violent-independence-strategy by providing a safe place for organizing demonstrations and to recruit militants (Perritt, 2008).

Despite the hostile environment, in 1996 the number of Albanian students in the parallel Albanian University of Pristina was around 16,000 and the number of teaching personnel was 1026: 826 full time, 200 part time and associate (Pichl, 1999). Many of those how held professor or assistant positions before the interim measures continued teaching without receiving payment (Sedgwick, 1999). Not all the students from the University of Pristina joined the parallel university. The Tirana University in Albania provided refuge to some students, faculty, and staff members; some others went to

Macedonia, and others stayed in Kosovo and joined the Kosovo Liberation Army (Sedgwick, 1999).

The Tetovo University—created in 1994, in Macedonia—was another Albanians illegal university, with the difference that this one was illegal but not clandestine. By 2001 Tetovo University had 10,000 students, 29 departments and 400 teachers, and held operations in a four-story building (Tzimas, 2001). This university was later officially recognized by the Macedonian government as the Tetovo State University in 2004.

In 1996, Kosovar Albanians' president Rugova and Serbian President Milosevic signed an education agreement according to which Albanians will gain access to education institutions thanks to a shifts system to alternate the use of the facilities between Serbians and Albanians (Pichl, 1999); however, the Serbians did not honor the agreement.

In an effort to recover the university, the University of Pristina Student Union (UPSUP) adopted a pacifist approach and proposed a march to reopen the education buildings; however the march did not materialize. A year later (September 1997) evening promenades (*korza*) were organized with the same purpose and UPDUP urged students to participate. That same year, the first student march took place. Popa (2010) narrated how:

> On October 1, 1997, the start of the university year, wearing white shirts and committed to a non-violent code of discipline, 15,000 students marched towards the university. Stopped by police, the front line remained standing to receive

baton blows, while those behind stood down. The police attacked the protesters (para. 10).

A few days later, on October 29, another march took place. This time, approximately 10,000 students carrying banners saying, "Kosovo University Now – Tomorrow will be late" participated (Popa, 2010). Despite the marches, serenades, and demonstrations, Albanians had to wait almost two years to be able to return to the building of the University of Pristina.

Serbian's parallel education system.

The NATO bombing campaign against Milosevic's rule lasted 76 days (March 24, 1999 to June 10, 1999) and forced peace negotiations that put an end to the war, and led to the creation of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).   On June 8, 1999, following the agreements of the peace negotiation the Serbian rector delivered the key of the university buildings to the UNMIK, which had to deal with several challenges: After the NATO bombing campaign and the Serbs departure, the university had to deal with the building's renovation—facilities were vandalized even before the bombing campaign started—the acquisition of equipment, and the updating and recovery of the university documents (Sedgwick, 1999).

   While Albanians were eager to return, approximately 70,000 Serbs, including most of the academic community, fled Kosovo to avoid reprisals from the Albanians. The fear was not unjustified. On June 24, 1999 a Serbian economics professor and two

more people were killed on campus. Extremist Albanians wanted all Serbians out of the University (Sedgwick, 1999).

Serbian professors and students created their version of a parallel education system that included what they considered the "Serbian Branch" of the University of Pristina distributed through several villages at the north of the country (Pichl, 1999). The rectorate, as well as most of the professoriate and staff of the University, moved initially to Krusevac, and a few years later to Mitrovica.

The UNMIK and some Serbian leaders wanted to formalize the university and suggested the name of Mitrovica University, which the Serbians refused because for them, this was the University of Pristina temporarily located in Kosovska Mitrovica and accepting a different name might be understood as support to Kosovo's secession.

For the academic year 2008/9 the Serbian university had 8,738 first cycle students, 726 graduates, 691 academic staff, and 358 administrative and technical staff (Institutional Evaluation Program, 2010).

The two universities.

The current status of this university, that by February 2002 was called "University of North Kosovo", is not easy to define. The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) recognized it as an independent institution under the name of "University of Mitrovica." However, Serbs consider it an extension of the University of Pristina, hence they call it "University of Pristina in Mitrovica," "University of Pristina temporally settled in Kosovska Mitrovica," or "University of Pristina in exile."

In 2004, the university of Mitrovica's council elected Radivoje Papovicas as its rector, apparently following directions from the Serbian Education Minister. Papovicas, who had been rector of the University of Pristina in the 1990s after the Albanians left the university (Lazarevic, 2011), had been linked to the "cleansing" of Albanians from Pristina University during Milosevic's rule (Rich, 2004). The UNMIK condemned the election because it infringed Kosovo's autonomy and put on hold the renewal of the university's accreditation.

What is clear is that the University of Pristina and the University of Mitrovica are today two very different institutions, despite UNMIK's initial resistance. While the Albanians rule the University of Pristina, the Serbs control the University of Mitrovica whose curriculum is defined by the Serbian Ministry of Education. There is no Serbian student in the University of Pristina and no Albanian in the University of Mitrovica; however, both universities admit students from other ethnicities (Tahirsylaj, 2008).

Today, both the University of Pristina and the University of Mitrovica offer bachelors, master, and doctorate degrees in all the fields of knowledge. By 2010, Pristina had 48,732 students (graduate and undergraduate), 1,021 academic staff, and 399 administrative staff (WUS Austria, 2011). By 2009, the University of Mitrovica had 8,738 first cycle students, 726 graduates, 691 Academic Staff, and 338 administrative and technical staff (Institutional Evaluation Program, 2010).

Failure or opportunity?

Until October 2010, when the University of Prizren started activities, the universities of Pristina and Mitrovica were the only two public universities in the country (assuming that they are two different institutions and not one disjointed university). The existence of the two public universities, each one having its own clientele determined mostly by their ethnicity, has been interpreted as a failure because it tends to perpetuate racial separation. Instead of working for reconciliation and coexistence, the two universities have been pushing nationalistic agendas (Tahirsylaj, 2008). Some authors recognize something positive, as this scheme at least has allowed students from both ethnicities to continue their studies in their native language (Nelles, 2006).

Despite all the difficulties, each university has contributed to the development of their regions. Mitrovica is on the way to be considered a university town and its impact in the economic development of the region has been praised (IKS - Kosovar Stability Initiative, 2009). Higher education institutions, in addition to providing education, are sources of employment and development for the country, and there are great expectations on its potential to contribute to the achievement of elusive social goals. Bajraktari and Parajon (2006), for example, believed that the creation of a European University in Pristina, similar to the one in Tetovo, "would take advantage of the city's relatively educated Serb population and provide an institution that would welcome Albanians as well as Serbs" (parag. 19).

Teachers' training is a common necessity in postwar countries and Kosovo is no exemption. The University of Pristina carried out teacher training programs with the

support of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). However, this project encountered resistance both from teachers and local authorities (Walker, 2010).

Since 2001 at least 30 private providers of higher education had been authorized in Kosovo, most of them located in Pristina (GAP Institute for Advance Studies, 2008). The role these institutions can play in the countries transition to peace has not been studied yet.

Conclusion

Rwanda and Kosovo are two young nations. Rwanda got its independence from Belgium in 1962; Kosovo's independence process from Serbia started in 1991, when the Albanian Referendum declared Kosovo's independence followed by Kosovo's Assembly declaration of independence in 2008, which has been recognized by at least 95 countries.

Both countries have very young systems of higher education. NUR, the first university in Rwanda, was established in 1963. The University of Pristina was created in 1969 but it was initially established as a branch Campus of the University of Belgrade in the early 1960s.

The conflicts suffered by the two countries have been defined as ethnic conflicts; however, authors have illustrated how ethnicity is not enough to explain them. The Kosovo conflict seems to have more to do with nationality than with race (Kostovicova, 2005), and authors and the government have challenged the racial component of the Rwanda's conflict. In a recent study evaluating the causes of the conflict Shyaka (n.d., p. 41) pointed out how "the Rwandan conflict is neither racial nor ethnic nor caste-based", but political.

The involvement of the "intellectuals" in the Rwanda's genocide tainted with blood the history of NUR that, like the rest of the country, is now struggling to recover from one of the most horrendous episodes in the history of humanity. The university had to rebuild itself, deconstruct and reconstruct its public image, and at the same time help the country to recover and reconstruct. The consultation process allowed the people to say what they expected from the university, and as a result of it, the university was able to play a positive role in trying to understand the reasons of the conflict, to prevent new violent conflicts to happen and to heal the wounds of the country.

NUR has played several roles in Rwanda's history: symbol of sovereignty, tool of domination and exclusion, active actor in the genocide, post-genocide healer and researcher, and tool for economic development. Some of these roles are incompatible at first sight, but in this case they only prove the resilience and adaptability of universities.

Kosovo's case illustrates many of the opportunities and challenges of higher education in a conflict nation. In postwar Yugoslavia, higher education contributed to the reconstruction of the country and the Yugoslavian nationality. Higher education was simultaneously a tool of domination, by the exclusion of one ethnicity, and of resistance through the organization of parallel education systems when either Albanians of Serbians were excluded from the formal education systems. Apparently, Kosovar higher education system has failed to contribute to the coexistence of the two ethnicities; however this process is very slow and the simple fact of having education accessible in both languages (as well as in other minorities' languages) can be a step in the right direction. Still, more audacious measures are required if universities are to play a role in

integration. The creation of multi-ethnic institution as a good step in this direction has been frequently pondered (Bajraktari & Parajon, 2006; IKS - Kosovar Stability Initiative, 2009). Regardless of the limitations, higher education institutions are providing employment and hope to a population with very few options.

The symbolic role of universities deserves special attention. While NUR, as many other African universities, was considered a symbol of detachment and sovereignty of its country, the University of Pristina was for many a symbol of the Kosovo's autonomy. The power images conveyed by those symbols tend to be ignored in the evaluation of the functions of the university.

Among the different conflicts reviewed in these chapters, only in Rwanda higher education was attributed the mission of contributing to peace and the understanding of the conflict and the creation of the CCM at NUR provides an example of how universities can get involved in the achievement of those goals.

Chapter Eight: A Comparative Overview

This chapter provides a comparative view of the seven conflicts presented in the previous chapters, using as the conceptual framework the multiple functions of higher education introduced in Chapter Four. First, the functions regarding knowledge (particularly production and transmission) will be presented, followed by the functions related to social change, those related to development (economic, political and cultural) and finally, the activities related to service. Then, two issues that have emerged in many of the studied conflicts will be discussed: the use of purges of faculty and the denial of education, and the protective role that higher education may have played in the conflicts previously studied. Later on, the question: "can higher education contribute to peacebuilding?" will be addressed, followed by the chapter conclusion. Most of the examples that illustrate each point will be briefly referenced, as they were described with more detail in each conflict's section.

Production of Knowledge

If production of knowledge is one of the key functions of universities, what kind of research should universities carry out during the conflict and postconflict stages? For many of the countries involved in World War I and II (Britain, Germany, the United States) the answer was relatively easy: knowledge should be relevant to the nation's challenges, and national defense was the biggest priority.

The participation of United States universities in the development of military technology was not very well organized during World War I (Sargent, 1943), but during World War II the involvement of research universities was evident, well organized, and

produced important benefits to the military and the development of higher education in the country. Nevertheless, the idea of classified research and the involvement of universities in the development of war technology have been questioned since. In Germany, the role played by the Kaiser Wilhem Institute in the production of chemical weapons of massive destruction during World War I has been extensively documented (Heim, Sachse, & Walker, 2009).

Answering the question of the type of research in countries suffering civil war is more complex. In the five internal conflicts studied in previous chapters (Spain, Cuba, Nicaragua, Rwanda, and Kosovo), references to universities' involvement in the production of technology applicable to the conflict are scarce, if any. While in international wars the enemy is an outsider and it is legitimate to use all the resources to defeat it, in civil wars and internal conflicts the logic is quite different: the enemy is within the national borders, it is usually a conational; hence the use by the government of universities in the production of military technology applicable to the internal conflict is less defendable and poses ethical dilemmas hard to ignore. From a practical point of view, using universities to produce technology applicable in the internal conflict is also risky because in some of these countries universities were considered opposition foci and the chances that the "enemy" got access to that knowledge simultaneously than the government (or even before) can be very high.

Postconflict societies (and their governments) usually attribute important tasks to research. Many of the United States universities that participated in military research during World War II continued developing military technology after the war. That

technology played an important role during the Cold War and beyond and indirectly benefited non-military applications. The dramatic increase in enrolment and the new impetus for research granted higher education a privileged position in public policy.

Cuba and Nicaragua turn to their universities for technology to improve industry and agriculture, within a government articulated plan (Arnove, 1994; Suchlicki, 1969). In Rwanda, higher education research was expected to play a role in the transition from a rural economy to an economy of knowledge, but at the same time and NUR was also expected to contribute to understanding the reasons of the Genocide and how to prevent it happening again (National University of Rwanda, n.d.; Urusaro, 2003). In contrast, Spain did not use universities as technology producers until several decades after the end of the civil war (Otero Carvajal, 2004).

Transmission of Knowledge

Humanities are frequently relegated to second place, as technical and "practical" knowledge are preferred in conflict times. During World War I and II, the content of teaching in Britain, Germany, and the United States aimed at providing knowledge useful for the war, including sciences and mathematics—which were applicable in the development of military technology—medicine, nursing, and other types of relevant knowledge, such as history, languages, radio-operation, or meteorology, among others. This type of instruction was available to soldiers, spies, physicians, and even prisoners (Logan, 1946; Macrakis, 1993; Sargent, 1943). After the war, teaching came back to normality and areas neglected during the conflict, like the humanities, recover their position in academic life.

Spain was trying to reform its educational system decades before the civil war. During the Second Republic some changes were introduced to higher education, including granting autonomy to a few universities. Same as it happened in other countries during the World Wars, in zones controlled by nationalists during the Spanish Civil War, teaching was initially limited to knowledge relevant for the conflict like medicine and nursing. After the Civil War, several changes were introduced in the curriculum to favor the values of nationalist-Catholic government.

After the triumphed of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, profound curriculum changes took place: programs related to agriculture, industry and medicine, displaced courses in law, and the humanities, which had been extremely popular for centuries. Education was assigned the goal of contributing to the nations' development, even though such importance was not reflected in the allocation of resources.

The teaching of history is a very sensitive topic that has been addressed in many post-conflict societies. The use of literacy campaigns to contribute to the creation of the new socialist man in Cuba, and Nicaragua was loaded with stories about the revolution heroes, a bias that, in Nicaragua, was purposefully neutralized with Chamorro's education reform, as mentioned before. In Kosovo, the teaching of national history and music was foreseen as a sensitive issue that would affect the University of Kosovo's access to the "European, HE mainstream" (Bache & Taylor, 2003). In the Rwandan case, while the country struggles to recover from the genocide, the history of the country, its ethnicity and how to describe what happened during those one hundred days is still an unresolved challenge. The teaching of history was banned from schools until 2010 when

the government issued a teachers' book but no students' materials. During the prohibition years, only the *Ingandos* were allowed to teach history (Freedman S.W., Weinstein H.M., Murphy K., & Longman T., 2008; Mgbako, 2005).

Military training. Universities engaged in providing military training during and after the conflict in some countries. That was the case in Germany during the interwar period, when "defense sports" and similarly named courses concealed (Giles, 1984).

In the United States, during World War I, universities provided initial military training under the Student Army Training Corps (SATC). During World War II, the Engineering, Science, Management, and War training Program (ESMWT) was created with the purpose of "provid[ing] short course of college grade which [were] designed to meet the shortage of engineers, chemists, physicists and production supervisors in fields essential to the national war effort" (Cardozier, 1993, p. 169). The United States' Army, Navy, and Army Air Force also signed countless contracts with colleges to provide specialized military training in similar fields to that of the ESMWT program, but also in other areas such as medicine, languages, meteorology, and military government. Some colleges also provided basic military training for aviation cadets and midshipmen (naval cadets), and in several cases programs to enlist college students allowing them to continue their studies until finishing or until needed (Cardozier, 1993).

In post-Civil War Spain, students were encouraged to join the University Militias and some of them received training to become sergeants (Jefatura del Estado, 1940). After the revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua, students received military training on a regular basis and were expected to join the militias as part of their duties to the

revolution. In Rwanda, universities are not expected to provide military education, but *Ingando* education, which is a requisite to access higher education, has a strong component of military training (Mgbako, 2005).

Teacher training has been identified as a priority component in several post-conflict educational reforms (Davies, 2004; World Bank, 2005). In Cuba, the process of rebuilding the country's intelligentsia included training a new generation of students as teachers using the Students Assistants Movement, a strategy later copied by the Nicaraguan revolution. Since illiteracy was identified as a major problem in both countries, thousands of people (mostly secondary and tertiary level students) were trained as literacy teachers. The process continued with advanced training for the new professors for primary, secondary, and tertiary education. In these two countries, as well as in Spain, loyalty to the government was inculcated and expected as part of the teaching experience.

In Kosovo, the University of Pristina participated in a teacher-training program in association with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) (L. Walker & Epp, 2010). In post genocide Rwanda, teacher training did not happen initially in the higher education level. The shortage of teachers was overwhelming because most of them had been killed or fled the country. To correct this situation, the reconstruction plan gave priority to twelfth grade students in order to train them as primary teachers. In addition, the Kigali Institute was founded in 1999 to train teachers, but the lack of qualified teachers is still a problem in the country (Bridgeland, Wulsin, & McNaught, 2009).

In Cuba, Nicaragua, and Rwanda, universities were not the main sources of teachers, who were in fact recruited mostly among those who finished secondary education and, in a lesser degree, among those who finished in the few teachers' schools surviving in each country. The findings from the previous chapters suggests that postconflict teacher training in those countries was not particularly oriented at peacebuilding but to provide the schools with qualified teachers required for the expansion of their education systems.

Legal training. The literature of education and conflict, stresses the importance of teaching human rights, peacebuilding values, and similar contents (Waters, 2005). However, this is a recent phenomenon that started to be observed when international organizations (like the World Bank or Unesco) began to participate in a more decided way in the educational reform of countries.

In postwar-US-occupied Germany, legal education played an important role in the denazification of the country in an effort to "conform with democratic standards" (Loewenstein, 1948, p. 724). In Cuba and Nicaragua the change in the political and economical system affected the curriculum of economics and law (Arnove, 1986; Pérez Macías, 2002).

Human rights were not an important part of the curriculum in either of these countries, partly because the human rights discourse gained importance later on, when international agencies started to play a role in postconflict reconstruction. This trend is clearly illustrated in the case of Nicaragua after the Contra war as well as in other Central American countries such as El Salvador and Guatemala (see: Marques & Bannon, 2003).

In the case of Rwanda, peacebuilding and conflict resolution occupied an important place in the new curriculum by providing training in human rights and conflict resolution. In some cases, such components are included in all levels of education, in other cases, they are just part of focused programs like masters and executive courses.

Indoctrination and Ideology

Throughout the conflicts studied in this international overview, universities have been used for or accused of contributing to indoctrination and ideology diffusion. In most of these cases the ideology they reproduce is that of those in power. However, the opposition's ideologies have also found a way to be disseminated by professors and students.

During World War I, historians affiliated with the National Board for Historical Service and the Division of Educational Publications of the Committee on Public Information participated in the design of propaganda for the United States government (Gruber, 1975). Youth, and among them university students, were used as a beachhead for the indoctrination process that took place before and during the war (Nazi Germany and nationalist Spain, for example).

In Spain's Second Republic, education was expected to play a significant role in the transition to republicanism and to be an antidote against fascism; but a few years later, during the Civil War and the fascist rule, universities became an important tool for nationalist indoctrination. After the Civil War, there were no dramatic changes in the higher education system in Spain; on the contrary, several regulations—including the Law of Organization of the University (*Ley de Ordenación de la Universidad*)—were

issued to assure that education was imparted according to the principles and values of the Catholic Church and the Falange.

In Cuba and Nicaragua the classical model of university inherited from Spain prevailed before and during the civil wars but communist ideas circulated surreptitiously in the campuses as well as in some secondary schools. In both countries governments closed the universities when students started to be perceived as a threat because of their sympathy toward leftwing ideology and their ability to organize demonstrations and protest against the regime. Somoza's rule in Nicaragua backed up the creation of the UCA, a Catholic university, with the hope that it would help to counterbalance the leftwing influence of the UNAN, but it turned out to become and additional source of criticism against the government this time inspired not by left wing ideology but mainly by the ideas of the Liberation Theology.

After the triumph of the revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua, the creation of the new socialist man was among the most important goals for the revolutionary governments. Cuba's process marked the route to be followed by Nicaragua, using the literacy campaigns to transmit basic literacy knowledge while instilling a new set of revolutionary values and symbols as well as earning the sympathy of the young generation. Loyalty to the ideals to the revolution became an imperative for students and professors in both countries. In the Cuban case, participation in periodic courses on Marxism and Leninism became requirement to keep the position of professor.

Unlike Cuba, Nicaragua had to face another dramatic educational reform when Violeta Chamorro came to power putting an end to the Contras War. The educational

reform in part designed and financed by international agencies, emphasized the importance of "rid[ing] the system of the curriculum of textbooks and material that might contain ideological propaganda or sectarian political views" (Marques & Bannon, 2003, p. 12).

During the 1980s, In Kosovo, education in Albanian was considered "a hotbed of Albanian nationalism." The pro-Serbian government took several measures to eliminate the "Kosovo Albanian's sense of nationhood" including the critical review of faculties and institutions of higher learning, a "Marxist Analysis" of the ideological tenants of textbooks from both schools and universities, as well as "postgraduate theses, research projects, and academic publications, in order to remove the content that causes 'nationalist and irredentist consciousness" (Kostovicova, 2005, p. 53).

Habyarimana's rule (1973 – 1994) openly used the National University of Rwanda as an indoctrination tool (Urusaro, 2003). In post-genocide Rwanda, the government's bet has been to convince their people that there are not races in Rwanda: "neither Hutu, nor Tutsi, just Rwandan" (Neither hutu nor tutsi, just rwandan.1999). Apparently, universities have not being a key element toward this goal, but the *Ingandos*, which now are obligatory pre-university programs, have been accused of indoctrinating students not only with the government's no-races theory, but also with pro RPF ideology.

Production of Leaders for Conflict and Peace

Higher education systems in the different countries reviewed in this study were in an elite stage, according to Throw's (1973) classification. One of the main characteristics of this stage is that higher education is a privilege of few, who often will rule the country

from the government or other positions. This leadership training, however, was not limited to the government and establishment positions; universities also provided leaders for the subversive groups. Teachers and intellectuals did play an important role in Spain's Second Republic, a "teachers revolution" (Claret Miranda, 2006). Student activists were instrumental in the Cuban and the Nicaraguan revolution. Some consider Fidel Castro a student leader; several of Nicaragua's FSLN Founders belonged to the UNAN and a few of them belong to the UCA. The negative leadership of some Rwandan professors has during the genocide has been documented elsewhere (The genocide in rwanda: The difficulty of trying to stop it happening ever again.2009; Chege, 1997) and a good number of former students of the University of Pristina joined the KLA (Hedges, 1999) but also many of them took part in pacific protest such as those from September 1997.

In some cases, one of the combating groups—often the challenging one—found in university students a source of middle rank leadership. In Germany, Spain, Cuba, and Nicaragua, young students were selected and trained as leaders to spread ideology on campus; sometimes even exercising control over the professors.

University professors have been a valuable resource of expertise and technical knowledge in early postwar stages, as it was witnessed by Cuba, Nicaragua, and Rwanda were the internal brain-drain from the university to the government and industry was one of the challenges universities had to deal with.

Social Mobility

It is usually believed that education contributes to social mobility by providing students a set of skills and knowledge that will empower them to perform well-remunerated tasks and by giving them access to social and professional networks. In many of the countries reviewed in this study, social mobility was not necessarily a consequence of access to knowledge and social networks, but access to higher education was restricted based on party affiliation or belonging to a specific ethnicity. That was the case in Nazi Germany, Kosovo, Rwanda, and in a lesser extension, in nationalist Spain, where while student's enrolment to higher education grew at a steady pace, access to the academic profession was conditioned to loyalty to the regime.

After the failed coup in Spain, nationalists' efforts were oriented to avoid the social change that republicans wanted to impose and with that purpose they pushed a very conservative agenda. Later on, when the country faced the challenges of autarchy, the government turned to technical instruction to train the skilled workers that the country's endogenous industrialization required; but universities were still reserved to the upper-middle class, hence higher education was not a vehicle for social mobility.

In post-revolution Cuba and Nicaragua, educational reforms aimed at expanding access to education, which was regarded as a social equalizer. While most of the economic resources for education went to primary education and the literacy campaigns, higher education also expanded in these two countries. Particularly in Cuba, access to education—including higher education—was free but access to scholarships usually was

conditioned to the students and parents' loyalty to the party and good conduct. In Cuba, general social equalization was the result of several strategies, including free education.

In Rwanda, the colonial powers favored Tutsis over Hutus by giving them access to all levels of education and other privileges (Hayman, 2005). When the Hutus came to power, after the elections of 1961, they established a quota system based on ethnicity distribution of the country (Bridgeland, Wulsin, & McNaught, 2009), which was removed only after the genocide, when it became important to stress the idea of an ethnicity-free nation. The disregard of ethnicity to gain access to higher education is an important step toward social mobility, which needs to be complemented with many other strategies. In Kosovo, the differentiated systems of higher education have prevented social mobility by perpetuating ethnicity as the main social differentiator.

Social Criticism: Are Universities Incubators for the Revolution?[6]

When the Carnegie Foundation addressed the critical function of higher education, it identified three different connotations of the term: "providing an effective locus for evaluation of society" which the authors of the study preferred; developing critical minds, which they considered part of the student education process, and "the undertaking of direct action by the university itself against society" which they categorically opposed (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973). However, history seems to indicate that universities, and in particular some of its members, usually

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[6] I am borrowing the title for this section from "Universities incubators for the revolution" (Warden, 2011)

get involved in the conflict and can undertake action against the establishment as it has been illustrated along this study.

During the Arab Spring, Barbara Ibrahim, the Director of the John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement at the American University in Cairo, offered her interpretation on university students' involvement in the protest. She said that "universities were incubators for what happened not because they were places of free speech -they were just as constrained as other institutions - but because they were places where young people gathered" (Warden, 2011). It is valid to ask whether universities created leaders like Fidel Castro and Ortega, or they just went to the universities because that was the natural environment for anyone with their ideals and ambitious goals. After all, during these two revolutions, universities were still reserved for the elite. The fact that Castro registered at Habana University two years after finishing his studies of law is very telling; he did not enroll looking for additional education but looking for a haven and sympathizers for his subversive activities.

In the different conflicts here studied, universities exercised a critic role over society. University professors in Germany dared to criticize the Nazi regime and its ideology and university professors in the US criticized the use of atomic power in the war. University professor were involved in the Cuban and the Nicaraguan revolutions (although their participation has been eclipsed by the students' involvement). However, there are also examples of professors supporting the Nazi regime, getting involved in the development of nuclear weapons, producing ideology to justify the current regime, and even whistleblowing on their fellow professors and students based on ulterior motives.

More than a neutral and objective observer and critic of society, universities have been battlefield for ideological and political struggles.

Economic Development

Economic development refers to several activities including the production of human capital—both leaders and skilled labor; direct and indirect employment generation; direct expenditure and investment; applied research; and the production of goods and services to the market. The production of leaders for both the government and the challenging forces (in the case of internal conflict) has been addressed along this chapter. The cases of Cuba and Nicaragua, and to some extent Spain in the late Franco's regime, illustrate the importance of higher education in the production of skilled labor aligned with the economic priorities of the government. Oftentimes, (Cuba, Nicaragua, and Rwanda) the need for qualified talent for leadership positions in the government and the private sector can represent a source of brain-drain for universities but, on the other hand, a contribution of universities to the societies' need of leadership.

While in Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom, universities were considered important components in the industrialization process, in the interwar Spain universities were not considered part of the development strategy but a deadweight that if necessary would be "carried away" by the rest of society, as it was suggested in the Editorial of *El Debate* (Tuñón de Lara, 2000). It was only until the late post-conflict period when technical education (not necessarily universities) was considered an important component for Spain's development.

Inspired by the Soviet Model, Cuba and Nicaragua aimed at creating a profound articulation between national development plans and the contents of higher education. Despite being considered part of the national development strategy it was not well funded during the first years of postconflict. New relevant programs like engineering and agricultural sciences displaced traditional programs on theology, law, and humanities; the new curriculum stressed the importance of work and students were expected to work closely with peasant and industrial workers as part of their education.

In the effort to reconstruct Rwanda after the genocide and to promote the country's economic development, the government envisioned the transition from an agrarian to a knowledge-based economy as the path to follow in the forthcoming years (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning - Republic of Rwanda, 2002). Many other countries have set similar goals in their development plans; only the execution will tell how effective was this change of course.

Despite the apparent failure of the universities of Pristina and Mitrovica in providing a space free of discrimination based on ethnicity, higher education is considered an important engine for development, as it has been documented in the case of the university of Pristina (IKS - Kosovar Stability Initiative, 2009).

Employment generation.

Job sources in economies devastated by conflict are usually very scarce. The struggle for teaching and staff positions within universities sheds light on a less studied issue: the importance of universities and higher education institutions as sources of employment. In several cases, massive emigration, purges, and death of scholars were

consequences of the conflict. After World War II, during the denazification process in Germany, Nazi-tainted staff and faculty were purged from the universities (Wiecki, 2009). Under Franco's regime in Spain, a "depuration" process took place in all public positions, including professors. Something similar but less radical happened during the first years of the Second Republic (Claret Miranda, 2006). In Cuba and Nicaragua, many professors fled the country and others were removed from their position because their loyalty to the revolution was questioned.   In Kosovo with every swing of the "power pendulum" came an adjustment of teaching positions, as well as with many other public positions. After the genocide In Rwanda, only 19% of the faculty and staff returned to their positions at NUR (Bridgeland, Wulsin, & McNaught, 2009). The decline in the numbers of professors after these conflicts posed a major challenge for the university, but it also opened an opportunity to enter the academic profession for many.

In many cases, loyalty to the government or belonging to a specific party, ethnicity, or group, has been a requisite to benefit from government-sponsored employment. However, the importance of teaching, administrative, and support positions generated by higher education institutions is usually ignored in the scarce studies of the higher education conflict and postconflict.

Unemployment buffering.

Higher education has been accused of acting as unemployment buffer by absorbing large amounts of young people delaying their entrance to the labor market. Such buffering role was identified in Germany during the economic recession of the 1930s (Noakes, 1993); the United States, with the implementation of the G.I. Bill;

Kosovo (Clark, 2000, p. 38); and Cuba (Arbesú García, 1985) in which case Mujal-Leon (1988, p. 48) wondered if the massification of the university after the revolution "not only helps to mask un- and under-employment in Cuban society but has contributed to this phenomenon." However, providing access to higher education as a mere strategy to reduce unemployment can be counterproductive for the governments if there are not real job opportunities when they graduate. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that unemployment and combatants reincorporation are among the biggest challenges of postconflict societies, and higher education has the potential to contribute in the transition from conflict to peace.

Direct investment.

A topic that has been consistently ignored in postconflict studies is the impact of public and private investment in higher education, including construction of buildings, acquisition of services, and other types of expenditure. The economic impact that universities can have in a postconflict setting by attracting a large (and usually growing) number of students to a specific area, has not been studied either.

There are some studies of the economic impact of universities in industrialized nations (Appleseed, 2003; Huggins & Cooke, 1997). In less developed societies, or in societies affected by violent conflicts, this should be an important topic but there is not enough research to support this idea. In the studies conducted in developed societies, the role of applied research in the region usually takes an important part of the attention. Even though the importance of research, technology, and knowledge has been

emphasized in different postconflict scenarios (e.g. Cuba, Nicaragua, and Rwanda) there are is not enough data about their actual contribution to those nations' development.

Cultural Development

Brennan, King, and Lebeau (2004, p. 8) identified two manifestations of the cultural role of universities: to be "a route of entry of external ideas and experiences into otherwise closed societies and a repository for national sentiments that could come out of 'storage' when time and circumstances permitted."

Preservation of local or national culture is a function that has not been addressed frequently in conflict and postconflict literature. The examples of the Flying University from Poland, or the parallel education systems developed at different times by Albanians and Serbians in Kosovo, where not only about providing access to higher education to their nationals, but to preserve their cultures in moments of persecution and denial of education.

Political Development

Chabbot and Ramirez (2000, p. 168-9) considered "a major generalization" the extended idea that individuals with more schooling tend to have a better knowledge of the political system as well as "to have more positive political values and attitudes." They also found that for some authors over enrolment in higher education led to political instability; and pointed out how cross-national analysis did not support such hypotheses. Based on the examples presented in this study, it could be argued that it is clear that students, particularly activists, gain a broader understanding of the country's political

system or are introduced to the dynamics of politics by engaging it several activities. In many cases (Spain's Second Republic, Cuba and Nicaragua before the triumph of the revolution), those activities were not sponsored by the universities but took place in an almost clandestine setting. In some other cases (Russia, Nazi Germany, Franco's Spain, Cuba and Nicaragua after the triumph of the revolutions), they were part of a carefully planned indoctrination strategy.

In a cross-national study, Brennan, King, and Lebeau (2004, p. 8) considered that the role of universities in political change complex and contradictory because universities can play a role in both "'removing the old' and 'building the new'" by either supporting the old regimes or acting as "'protected space, in which critique and opposition could ferment." The examples included in this study support those findings.

Service

During the world wars, the participation of universities with students, training, and technology was considered part of the service component of higher education in the United States, Germany, and Britain. In Cuba and Nicaragua, the participation of students in volunteer and mandatory activities such as literacy campaigns, legal clinics, architecture clinics, and construction was considered part of the service component of the university. In Rwanda, universities became the preferred interlocutor of NGO organization to channel different types of aid after the genocide. The "extension" function of universities, that for many is another form of service, deserves special analysis here.

Sometimes by the initiative of students and faculty, others by initiative of the governments, universities (or similarly named institutions) have been instrumental in giving access to education to peasants, workers, and other groups of traditionally excluded populations. In some countries, these groups were served through the creation of a certain type of institutions that were not higher education institutions but were called "universities" or "faculties" and provide open non-formal education. In Spain the *Estudios Universitarios Obreros* (University Workers Studies) and the People's Universities (*Universidades Populares*), created after the French model during the first third of the Twentieth Century, were followed by the Labor Universities (*Universidades Laborales,* ULs), created by Franco's government in the 1960's. In Cuba, the Worker Peasant Faculties (*Facultades Obreras Campesinas*, FOC) targeted adult students excluded from the higher education system and offered them short course of technical training or remedial courses to prepare them for higher education.

Purges and Denial of Education

Denial of access to the university, and to education in general, has been used as a weapon against minorities. The exclusion from higher education of Polish and Czechs, by the Nazis during World War II, the exclusion of Hutus or Tutsis in different moments of Rwanda's history, or the exclusion of either Serbians or Croatians in Kosovo illustrates this trend.

In some transition periods and during totalitarian regimes, purges of students and faculty have taken place in several countries. In the interwar period Germany saw how Jewish and socialist faculty were purged from their universities and many other jobs. In

Spain purges were massive during Franco's first years but their effects extended until late 1970s. However, the Nationalists were not the first ones using this strategy; when Republicans came to power the also purged universities and key positions form loyalists to the king (Claret Miranda, 2006). In a similar fashion, during the Somocistas' rule in Nicaragua, a purge of potential detractors of the regime (including ultra leftists and Somoza's sympathizers) took place. In Kosovo there was a purge of Albanian faculty after the 1981 revolts followed by a massive dropout of Albanian students after the NATO bombing.

The Protective Role of Higher Education

The literature on education and conflict has identified among the positive functions of education the protective role that it can play in conflict, postconflict, and disaster situations. Authors and practitioners (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004; Population Council, n.d.) believe that schooling plays a protective role by providing a sense of normalcy to children and contributing to the prevention of recruitment and abduction (NRC, Save the Children Norway, & UNHCR, 1999, as cited in Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003, p. 9). Such a role has not been explored in higher education. Based on the examples presented in the previous chapters, it is possible to make some generalizations. In some cases, universities provided some degree of protection from the conflict to their students. For example, medicine students in Germany and England received special treatment including deferral of recruitment or more time to study and prepare exams. However, these privileges were only justified by the expectation of their incorporation to the military providing medical care to the troops. Other students

received some benefits, but in general, universities did not protect students against the military draft.

On the contrary, in several of the countries studied, university students (and sometimes high school students) were considered the best vehicle to promote a political agenda both on campus and in society. Young students were selected and empowered as standard-bearers of different ideologies. In Germany, Nazi students took control of universities and even exercised control on their professor activities and loyalty; something similar happened in Spain, where the SEU was created as part of the strategy of the Falange to take over the country.

In Cuba and Nicaragua the student movement was instrumental to the overthrowing of the dictators. In Nicaragua, the obligatory military service was implemented after the Sandinista's triumph to defend the revolution and deferment of enrolment only applied to students from the senior year, after which they were expected to join the military. In Spain, Cuba, and Nicaragua, students were expected to join the militias created by the state to protect the revolution.

Can Higher Education Contribute to Peacebuilding?

A review of the eight interrelated objectives identified by Whaley and Piazza-Georgi (1997) is very useful in answering this question. At least five of those objectives can be connect directly to the functions of higher education explored in this study. The first one is demilitarization and it includes "demobilization, disarmament, demining, and the reintegration of soldiers into civil society and the economy." The first three

components (demobilization, disarmament, and demining) involve activities that are usually carried out by international organizations, the reintegration of soldiers involves society at large and higher education can contribute significantly to this goal.

The G.I. Bill in the United States is an example of a successful (yet unintended) use of higher education to reintegrate soldiers to society. However, some important differences should be considered before replicating the G.I. model in other societies: First, the veterans who benefited from the G.I. Bill came from an international war that was fought in international grounds. These two facts have important consequences: there was no internal polarization, as it happens in internal wars, and the country was not devastated by the conflict. Second, the United States' economy was in relative good shape after the war, which allowed heavy expending on education. Also, universities had an excellent public image, partly because their contribution to the victory through applied research for military purpose. A third important element is that a large group of veterans had the credentials to access higher education; they had completed high school. This is not necessarily the case in most internal wars.

Whaley and Piazza-Georgi (1997) identified three objectives in which reconstruction is emphasized: political reconstruction, social reconstruction, and economic reconstruction. Postwar periods bring a complex set of challenges; reconstructing universities and the educational system is often one of them. That was the case after World War I and II in Germany, Britain, and Japan, but not in the United States because the war did not affect the campuses directly. In the United Kingdom universities took the double challenge of reconstructing themselves while contributing to the

reconstruction of the country; in the newly founded Yugoslavia, universities were also given the function of contributing to the reconstruction of the country and its economy (Soljan, 1991).

Rwanda faced a different challenge. It was not only about the reconstruction of the campus, or even the country, it was also about the recovery of people's confidence in the university as an institution after the involvement of directives and scholars in the genocide (Urusaro, 2003). Unlike post World War I Germany, where scholars lost their credibility because they supported the expansionist plans of the empire and wrongfully predicted its success (Noakes, 1993), in Rwanda so-called intellectuals linked to the university actively participated in the design and execution of the genocide (Block, 1995).

In post-revolution Spain, Cuba, and Nicaragua, the reconstruction was not only about the buildings, but also about the reconstruction of the countries' intelligentsia, after massive emigration of scholars and purges that took place to consolidate the hegemony of the new powers. However, the role of academia in the reconstruction of Spain was limited because the nationalists' mistrust in intellectuals.

The different aspects of reconstruction are closely connected to another objective from Whaley and Piazza-Georgi: the "support for the formulation of new shared visions of communities and nations." Once again, higher education has very much to offer, and to illustrate this the same examples mentioned in the previous paragraphs should suffice.

Conclusions

Along this section it has been illustrated how the use of the functions of higher education as a conceptual framework allows a holistic analysis of the role of higher education in conflict and postconflict societies. Some functions have received more attention than others in the literature, but this conceptual frameworks elicits questions that otherwise might be ignored. Among the functions that have not received enough attention are the storage and recovery of knowledge, and the production of goods and services for the market.

Universities have been described as organized anarchies (Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972) and loosely coupled organizations (Rubin, 1979; Weick, 1976). Characterizing what universities are is not an easy task, and understanding its role is necessarily connected to that characterization. The examples provided in these chapters illustrate how within universities it is possible—and frequent—to find multiple and contradictory ideological and pragmatic positions. This fact cannot be ignored when analyzing the potential of higher education in peacebuilding.

The selection of countries and institutions is not (and was not intended to be) representative of the universe of conflicts and higher education institutions. However, these examples are illustrative of the complexity of the study of higher education and conflict. It is important to stress that the data for this chapters came mostly from secondary sources that frequently were not intended to provide information on this relationship (higher education and conflict). This limitation necessarily affects the

quality of the findings, but it also illustrates how higher education and its subjects need to be considered to understand and these conflicts.

In some of these examples, functions of higher education are attributed and studied on the basis of the actions of a specific group: Social change through rebellion usually emphasizes student involvement, the participation of the university in propaganda design usually corresponds to a small group of faculty, and the manifestations of unrestricted support to the government usually come from the president, vice-chancellor, or whoever is the head of the university. None of them represent the university (or higher education) by themselves. Instead of compromising the validity of these observations, this fact should illustrate the profound complexity of higher education. Such complexity makes more difficult a study like the one intended in this dissertation, but also provides a great opportunity for richer findings.

Third Part

Colombian Case Study

Chapter Nine. Background on Colombian Conflict and Higher Education

This chapter is the first in the section dedicated to Colombia, which includes four chapters presenting individual examples of five universities in the country and three chapters on functions analysis including a larger number of HEIs. The first section of this chapter provides contextual information about Colombia, its higher education system, socioeconomic background, and armed conflict. The second and largest section of this chapter is about the contemporary conflict in Colombia. It includes an overview of higher education and armed conflict in Colombian history, a short introduction to the irregular combating forces (i.e. guerrillas, paramilitaries, and emerging gangs), an overview of the conflict in numbers, and a summary of the peace negotiations conducted since 1982 between the government and different groups. This section also contains a brief description of civil society initiatives for peace including the "peace laboratories" which have been an effective peacebuilding strategy in the country and are mentioned in some of the following chapters. Finally the chapter ends exploring the question "is Colombia a post-conflict country?" which is a relevant question not only for this dissertation but also for the design of public policies.

Colombian Education System

The Colombian education system is based on two main laws: the General Law of Education (Republic of Colombia, 1994), which defines and regulates the education system focusing on primary, secondary, non-formal and informal education; and the Higher Education Law (Republic of Colombia, 1992). Colombia's higher education

regulatory system is very dynamic and the above-mentioned laws have been partially modified by other laws issued by the congress. In addition, the initial laws and the laws modifying them have been regulated or developed through many executive decrees issued by the government. The result is a complex system of norms that is not always coherent.

Educational system's structure

Elementary and secondary education in Colombia consists of 11 years of schooling (Republic of Colombia, 1994, Art. 11), five years of basic primary education, four years of basic secondary education, and two years of middle education. According to the Constitution, education is obligatory between the ages of five and fifteen, and it is free in public schools; however, there are also many private schools. The quality of education at public and private schools varies significantly from one institution to another. Public schools attract more people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, yet there are a good number of private schools serving lower income students as well. More affluent people usually prefer private schools.

There are four types of higher education institutions (HEIs) in Colombia: *Instituciones Técnicas Profesionales* (Technical Professional Institutions), with undergraduate programs of typically four semesters, leading to the "Técnico Profesional" degree; *Instituciones Tecnológicas* (Technological Institutions), with six-semester-long programs concluding in the degree of *Tecnólogo* (technologist); *Instituciones Universitarias* (University Institutions), similar to the colleges in the United States, and *universidades* (universities) both of them with programs lasting between eight and twelve

semesters, depending on the field, leading to the degree of "*profesional*", usually the equivalent to a bachelor's degree, but also to the degrees of Lawyer and Medical Doctor, which are undergraduate programs and usually take more than five years.

In practice, the distinction of higher education institutions based on the type of programs that they offer is not as simple as illustrated in the previous paragraph because new regulations issued after the Higher Education Act of 1992 allowed technical and technological institutions to offer professional level programs (usually eight semesters) and some universities and university institutions, encouraged by the government, have expanded their offering of shorter programs. A recent reform bill promoted by the Ministry of Education to change the Higher Education Law contained, among many other topics, a proposal to simplify the differentiation of institutions in just two categories: universities and non-universities. However, because of students' protests not necessarily motivated by this issue, the government withdrew the proposal.

For the purpose of this research, I will consider only two groups of institutions based on their denomination and training that they provide: universities and non-universities. Instituciones técnico profesionales and instituciones tecnológicas that mostly offer programs below three years will be considered non-universities; instituciones universitarias, escuelas tecnológicas, and universidades, which mostly provide undergraduate programs of four years and over and usually offer graduate education, will be considered universities.

There are 286 higher education institutions (HEIs) in Colombia, the majority (206) are private but public institutions accounted for more than half (55%) of the total

enrolment in 2010. Most HEIs are located in the five largest cities: Bogota, Cali, Medellín, Barranquilla, and Bucaramanga. Bogota, the capital, concentrates about 110 higher education institutions. With over 7.5 million inhabitants, Bogota accounts for approximately 17 percent of the country's total population, but it gathers 51% of the total enrolment in higher education, as illustrated on Table 5 below, which shows how the largest cities of the country absorb most of higher education students.

Table 5. **Percentage of Total Enrolment in Higher Education by Cities (2010)**

City	Enrolment	% National Enrolment
Bogotá	808,078	51%
Medellín	158,620	10%
Cali	82,824	5%
Bucaramanga	68,020	4%
Barranquilla	64,478	4%
Cartagena	37,468	2%
Pamplona	29,345	2%
Other cities	346,016	22%
Colombia	**1,594,849**	**100%**

Source: Snies-MEN

There is at least one public university in each *departmento*. Departamentos or departments, in English, are the administrative and political subdivisions of Colombia, in many ways they are similar to a state in the United States but with less autonomy. Contrary to the global trend, during the last ten years, most of the growth in enrolment in Colombia is attributed to public higher education institutions, even though enrolment in private HEIs is also growing. Table 6 below summarizes the number of institutions from each type, and the number of students enrolled by 2010.

Table 6. Institutions by Type and Number of Students (2010)

	Type of Institution	No. of Institutions			No. of Students
		Public	Private	Total	
Non Universities	Instituciones técnicas	9	29	38	93,014
	Instituciones tecnológicas	13	41	54	449,344
Universities	"Instituciones universitarias" "escuelas tecnológicas"	26	87	113	1,045,570[7]
	Universidades	32	49	81	
	Total	**80**	**206**	**286**	**1,587,928**

Source: SNIES-MEN

Government structure.

Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Education and its Vice Ministry of Higher Education are responsible for the definition and implementation of educational public policies, the designing and maintenance of information systems, and the direction of quality evaluation. In addition to the Ministry and the Vice Ministry, there are several government agencies and programs that have been instrumental in the definition of the Colombian higher education system. Because many of the interviewees and documentation consulted for this research frequently mentioned them, I included a short description of those agencies and programs to provide the reader with better tools to understand the complexities of the Colombian higher education system.

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[7] SNIES data did not discriminate the type of institution for students at the universities level.

ICFES.

The Colombian Institute for the Evaluation of Education (Instituto Colombiano para la Evaluación de la Educación, ICFES) is the government's standardized tests agency. ICFES designs and applies the Saber 11o Test, applicable to all students of 11th grade and people who want to access higher education, and the Saber Pro Test (Pruebas Saber Pro), a mandatory test applicable to all students from the two last semesters of undergraduate higher education programs. The results obtained in the Saber 11o Test are used by most higher education institutions as an indicator of academic merit, and many HEIs base their admissions process in the scores obtained in this exam. Before 2008 ICFES performed most of the functions currently conducted by the Vice Ministry of Higher Education.

ICETEX.

Another important component of the educational system is the Colombian Institute of Educational Credit and Technical Studies Abroad, Mariano Ospina Pérez (Instituto Colombiano de Crédito Educativo y Estudios Técnicos en el Exterior, Mariano Ospina Pérez, ICETEX), which until recently was the government's agency for students' financial credit, and recently became a public bank, still specializing in student financial credit with a clear mission of promoting social inclusion and prioritizing the lower income population (ICETEX, n.d.b).

Through a loan from the World Bank, ICETEX and the Ministry of Education created the program Acceso con Calidad a la Educación Superior (Access with Quality to Higher Education, ACCES), a student loan program that provides low-cost loans with

special conditions for people from strata one and two (an explanation of the term "strata" is provided in the subtitle Demographic and Socio-Economic Information, below). There is a relatively complex set of rules governing the interest rate, and the possibility of a partial abatement of the credit. Students from lower strata, living in urban locations or smaller cities, and studying at technical and technologic programs would obtain the best benefits. Displaced and demobilized people, as well as members of indigenous groups also receive preferential treatment (ICETEX, n.d.a). ACCES credit has become an important tool for the expansion of enrolment in higher education. Several interviewees, mostly form private universities, declared that it allowed their institutions to admit students from less favored backgrounds.

Colciencias.

The *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología* (National Administrative Department of Science and Technology) Colciencias is the government's agency for the promotion of science, technology and innovation. Among many other functions, it coordinates the National System of Science and Technology and keeps a database of researchers (CVLAC) and research groups (GroupLac). Through these two databases, researchers and research groups gain visibility in the academic community. Having research groups ranked by Colciencias is considered an indicator of quality for HEIs, which try to have as many research groups ranked by Colciencias as possible. Through out this research, Colciencias databases provided valuable information on groups and lines of research related to conflict, human rights, and peacebuilding.

Centros Regionales de Educación Superior, CERES

In an effort to promote the creation of higher education programs in regions traditionally underserved, the government created the program *Centros Regionales de Educación Superior* (Higher Education Regional Center, CERES), which stimulates alliances between higher education institutions, local industry, and national and local government. Among the participant of each alliance, one HEI is selected as *institución operadora* (operating institution) taking responsibility for adequate operation of the center. Each participant HEI is responsible for the academic programs offered through the alliance.

The program has been successful at bringing higher education to remote or marginalized populations of the country. By 2009, more than 30,000 people from more than 500 municipalities in 31 departments had benefited of the over 100 CERES that were already operative. The ministry of Education and ICETEX agreed to create a special line of ACCES loans for the students enrolled at the CERES. Because many of the CERES are located in zones affected by the conflict, they receive demobilized combatants, displaced people, and perhaps active combatants. Most of the times, the HEIs that offer the academic programs prefer not to ask about the students' background.

Demographic and Socio-Economic Information

In terms of land extension, Colombia is the fourth largest country in Latin America, and with an estimated population of over 46 million people, according to DANE, it is the third most populated country in the region. By 2010, it had the fifth

largest gross domestic product (GDP) in the continent below Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, and Argentina (World Bank, n.d.). However Colombia's GINI index (56), which measures the inequality of income and wealth distribution, is among the worst in Latin America and the Caribbean, only better than Honduras (57.7), Bolivia (58.2), and Haiti (59.2) (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012). This level of inequality is a major problem since poverty and inequality are considered the main drivers of violence in the country (Conferencia nacional sobre cooperación y derechos humanos, 2007).

Social stratification in Colombia is usually described in terms of six socioeconomic strata summarized in Table 1, below:

Table 7. Strata and socio-economic status

Stratum Number	Socio-economic Status
One	Low-low
Two	Low
Three	Medium-low
Four	Medium
Five	Medium-high
Six	High

Source: Law 689 of 2001. Table by the author.

This stratification was initially defined for tax collection on real estate and for defining differential fees in public utilities but it soon was extended to the people living in those properties. Even ICETEX uses this classification to define the conditions of credit granted to each student. Several rectors, economists, and practitioners of higher education use this stratification to characterize the composition of the universities' enrolment.

According to the most recent census (2005), the majority of the population (75%) lives in urban areas, the average age in Colombia is 29.4 years, 90 percent of the

population is literate, 32.6 percent have finished ninth grade or higher, and less than eight percent have finished college (República de Colombia. Presidencia de la República, 2006). There is a growing trend in higher education enrolment: In 2005, there were 1,136,281 undergraduate and 59,443 graduate students, and by 2010 the figures had improved to 1,594,849 and 96,948 correspondently (MEN –SNIES).

The relatively high GDP figures, as well as the constantly growing rates of enrolment in higher education, hide one of the main problems of the country: that for almost five decades Colombia has been immersed in a low intensity conflict; the oldest armed conflict in Latin America.

An Overview to Higher Education and Conflict in Colombia's History

Higher education has been present in Colombia since the early Colonial period, in the second half of the XVI century. The title of "oldest university of the country" is disputed between the *Universidad Santo Tomas* (1580) and the *Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario* (1653), today known as *Universidad Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, *Universidad del Rosario*, or simply, *El Rosario*.

Some of the Independence movement heroes, such as Camilo Torres, Francisco José de Caldas, and Francisco de Paula Santander, were alumni of the Universidad Santo Tomas. Many of El Rosario students were actively involved in the independence movement (1810-1819) for which they had to pay a high price as Spaniard forces executed some of them at the university's cloister(Universidad del Rosario, n.d.). El Rosario's involvement in the independence movement is also illustrated by the fact that

Antonio Ignacio Gallardo y Guerrero, its Rector, was the only institutional signer of the Independence act of July 20th, 1810 (Universidad del Rosario, n.d.).

Colombia suffered several minor civil wars after achieving its Independence from Spain in 1819. Between 1898 and 1902 the Thousand Days War took place; it was the longest and most violent conflict since independence, and among many other consequences, produced the collapse of the public education system.

As in many other Latin American countries, there is high involvement of university students in politics, and violent repression against the student movement characterized the first half of the twentieth century. Students were among the few who openly protested for the Bananeras Massacre, which took place on December 6, 1928. In this massacre, official troops killed a number estimated between one thousand and two thousand workers from the banana plantations of the United Fruit Company during a strike demanding better working conditions. Six months later, on June 8, 1929, student Gonzalo Bravo Pérez was killed in Bogota during a demonstration against this Massacre and the appointment of a new Chief of Police for Bogota (8 Y 9 de junio…, 2004) Bravo Pérez is remembered as the first student killed by Colombian government in its recent history; his death would be only the first of many to come.

On June 8th 1954, during the de-facto presidency of general Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, the police shot and killed student Uriel Gutiérrez during a demonstration commemorating Bravo Pérez's killing. The next day, about 10,000 students from private and public universities marched to protest Gutiérrez's killing. The march was received by troops that had just arrived from the Korean War; without any type of warning the

troops opened fire against the crowd: killing nine more students. Since then, June 8 and 9 are commemorated as the students' day in Colombia.

Rojas Pinilla's regime, that was supposed to be based on reconciliation and peace, happened to be brutal and many social sectors, including students, workers, and the traditional parties, protested against him. After some resistance, he resigned on July 10, 1957.

The participation of the universities in the political struggle and its use as an ideological tool was not limited to the occasional involvement of students in sporadic protests or violent episodes. Since the beginnings of Colombia's republican history, universities were not considered a neutral haven for knowledge. On the contrary, they were linked to partisan ideologies of either Conservatives or Liberals who when came to power tried to modify the curriculum to promote their ideologies (Pacheco, 2002; Soto Arango, 2005).

The first private non-confessional university, the Externado de Colombia, was created in 1886, to promote the radical liberal ideology. Decades later, in 1923 the *Universidad Libre* (Free University) was created with a similar purpose, and in 1955 the Universidad INCCA was created as a private university oriented by socialist principles.

During the Cold War, the United States' strategy for Latin America was modeled by the purpose of winning "the hearts and minds" of the governments and the people in the subcontinent. There was not a centralized strategy coordinated by the United States' government, instead an "amorphous, overlapping group of agencies made presence in the area" (Tiller, 1973, p. 79) For some, the involvement of the United States and its

agencies had the praiseworthy aim of contributing to the development of the Latin American countries (Urzúa, 1973). Others believe that this interest was far from being neutral for it was led by the United States' interest in containing the advance of communism in Latin America (Franco, 1973). The Soviets also used higher education to gain the hearts and minds of Latin Americans by providing them full scholarships to attend Russian universities, among them the Patricio Lumumba University.

The Contemporary Conflict

Authors believe that the contemporary conflict started in 1964, the year when the *Fuerzas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (Revolutionary Forces of Colombia, FARC) and the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (National Liberation Army, ELN) were created. However, it is generally accepted that the assassination of Liberal leader and presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948 became a milestone in the country's history and that it is a direct antecedent of today's conflict. Revolts after Gaitán's assassination, mostly in Bogota, left hundreds of people killed and the city's downtown virtually destroyed.

A new period of interparty violence in Colombian history known as *La Violencia* (The Violence) had started. The way out to the conflict came with the *Frente Nacional* (National Front, 1958-1974) an agreement between the Liberal and the Conservative parties, which were the two dominant parties in the country. The agreement consisted of two main elements: first, during four presidential terms, the two parties will alternate in the presidency of the country. Second, during the four terms, all the bureaucratic positions of the country will be equally distributed between the two parties. This

agreement ended what was supposed to be a bipartisan violence, but it excluded smaller parties and organizations, particularly those of communist origin.

Liberal guerrillas formed with dissidents who did not agree with the *Frente Nacional*, and radical communists created redoubts in isolated parts of the country called "independent republics" by the most conservatives. In 1963, President Guillermo Leon Valencia launched and offensive against the so-called independent republics, including Marquetalia, the most emblematic one. The FARC's saga tells how Manuel Marulanda Velez and Jacobo Arenas survived the Marquetalia operation and months later created the FARC. Higher education students or professors were not involved in this early stage of the FARC.

The guerrillas.

After the FARC, several guerrilla movements were created, including, the National Liberation Army (Ejército de Liberación Nacional, ELN) created in 1964; People's Liberation Army (Ejército Popular de Liberación, EPL) created in 1965; Movement April 19 (Movimiento 19 de Abril, M-19), created in 1970; the Quintín Lame Armed Movement (Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame, MAQL) created in 1984, and more. Most of them have been beaten, dissolved, or demobilized. Currently, the main guerrilla movements in Colombia are:

Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army, FARC-EP). Procommunist peasants and former liberal guerrilla members created the FARC-EP, or simply the FARC, in 1964. An attempt for a negotiated peace between the government and the

FARC took place in 1985, and as a part of the agreement the FARC, together with the Colombian Communist Party, created the Patriotic Union (*Unión Patriótica,* UP), a new political party. In the upcoming years, hundreds of UP members were victims of selective killings and the UP as a political option disappeared. The FARC continued their fight.

Ejercito de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army, ELN). The ELN was created after an internal division within the Movimiento Obrero-Estudiantil-Campesino (Workers-Students-Peasant's Movement, MOEC) created in 1960 (Hernández, 2006) In 1965 the ELN proclaimed the Simacota Manifest, which summarized the ELN's political platform. This manifest already contained references to the problem of education that, according to them, was in the hands of merchants looking for profit. The manifest came with the "Simacota Program," whose eighth point was dedicated to education, advocated for educational reform and reclaimed a social function for the university (Hernández, 2006).

Camilo Torres Restrepo, a Catholic priest who joined the National University as a Chaplain and was a cofounder of the faculty of sociology, was one of ELN's most salient figures. Despite being killed in his first combat, in 1966, he became an icon for the Latin American revolutionaries.

Student activists, mostly from public universities and particularly from the Industrial University of Santander UIS, played important role in the creation and consolidation of this group (Hernández, 2006). An article published in ELN's *Revista Insurrección* (Ejército de Liberación Nacional, 2008), contained a call for the resurgence

of the student movement as a strategy to contain the advance of the neoliberal model in education. Regarding universities, the postulates of the movement remain similar to those in the Simacota's Manifest and Program: public and free education, universities' autonomy, education to the service of the people and the nation, and university well-being (*Bienestar Universitario*), which has been a constant demand in Latin America since the University Reform Movement that started in Cordoba (Argentina) in 1918.

The **Ejercito Popular de Liberación** (Popular Liberation Army, EPL), was created in 1965 by the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) with the goal of promoting a rural based socialist revolution from the countryside. Despite the fact that students were only a minority in the EPL, there are some references to students' participation in this army. In 1989 nine of its militants were killed by the police, among them five were students; one year later there was a commemorative riot in the National University (Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2001).

In 1997 the EPL participated in a demobilization process from which emerged the political party *Esperanza, Paz y Libertad* (Hope, Peace and Freedom). Similarly to what happen to the UP, members of this emerging political party were also victims of selective killings, most them attributed to a group of dissidents of the EPL itself. There are still a small number of soldiers from this organization (approximately 200) who refused to lay down the arms. Even though the group remains active, it "now operates as little more than an organized crime network" (Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, 2006).

In addition to the active groups, there is one that deserves special mention because of its impact and visibility in the Colombian conflict, **the Movimiento 19 de Abril** (April

19th Movement, M-19). It was created in 1970 by a group of radical students and workers who belonged to ANAPO, a political party. In 1985 they carried out a takeover on the Palace of Justice. The takeover ended up as a massacre of judges, guerrillas, and civilians, after the army stormed the palace. The M-19 demobilized in 1990 after a peace process with president Barco. The group became a political party (*Alianza Democrática M-19*: M-19 Democratic Alliance) and some of its leaders became politicians, including Carlos Pizarro, a presidential candidate who was killed; Antonio Navarro Wolf, who after the group's demobilization became a member of the Constitutional Assembly that created Colombia's new Constitution and later was the Mayor of Pasto; and Gustavo Petro, who was a senator and in 2012 became Bogota's mayor.

The paramilitaries.

The creation of paramilitary and self-defense groups emerged in the 1980s as a strategy to fight the guerrillas. The literature identifies two main sources of paramilitarism: one associated with the counterrevolutionary strategy of the military forces through the use of "dirty war," against guerrilla and communism; these groups were initially labeled as paramilitaries. The other one was initially considered a strategy for the protection of landowners, ranchers, investors, and rural merchants, who had been targeted for decades by the guerrillas; this type of movement was called *autodefensas* (self-defense forces). This distinction became blurry during the 1990s when the composition, tactics, and objectives of the two types of groups turned very similar (Romero, 2004). By the middle of the 1990s, two umbrella organizations gathered most paramilitary groups in Colombia the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (United Self-

defense Forces of Colombia, AUC), and the *Autodefensas Unidas de Cordoba y Urabá* (United Self-defense Forces of Cordoba and Uraba AUCU).

Narcotraffic permeated both guerrilla and paramilitaries adding complexity to an already complex setting. The term narco-guerrilla, was coined by Lewis Tamb, a former ambassador of the United States in Colombia to refer to the guerrillas financed with money from the narcotraffic (Montes-Wolf & Cepeda Castro, 2005). This term (narco-guerrilla) opened a door for the Colombian government to use money from the Plan Colombia, initially dedicated to fight narcotraffic in the country, to fight also the guerrillas.

Peace agreements.

Colombia's quest for a negotiated end to the conflict started in 1982 with president Belisario Betancur. After this year, every president has launched peace negotiation processes using different approaches but without achieving definitive peace. Between 1982 and 2002 the country went through eleven peace negotiation processes with different groups (Villarraga, 2010), to which should be added at least two processes carried out after 2002, during the presidency of Alvaro Uribe, and the current peace negotiations between Juan Manuel Santo's government and the FARC.

Belisario Betancur (1982-1986) was the first president in acknowledging the armed opposition as a political actor. He initiated peace dialogues with several rebel groups and was able to achieve temporary ceasefire agreements with many of them. However, no definitive results were achieved and the truces did not last much after the Betancur presidential period ended (Chernick, 1996).

Virgilio Barco (1986 - 1990) assumed a hardest negotiation strategy, which on the one hand produced the re-incorporation of several guerrilla groups like the M-19, most of the EPL, and the Quintín Lame, but on the other hand produced the end of the ceasefire agreements with the FARC (Chernick, 1996). One of the M-19's demands to completing the demobilization process was the integration of a national assembly to reform the Constitution. In 1990 the Seventh Ballot Movement emerged. Students, mostly from private universities, were instrumental for the movement, which advocated for the inclusion of an additional ballot (the seventh) in the fore-coming elections, to ask Colombians whether or not they wanted a constitutional reform. The answer was *yes* and the road for a constitutional reform was opened. The peace agreement with the M-19 was signed on March 8, 1990. Cesar Gaviria (1990-1994) convened the National Constitution Assembly and achieved partial peace agreements with the FARC and the EPL.

During Ernesto Samper´s presidential period (1994-1998) there was no formal peace process. However, he authorized secret negotiations with the ELN, which happened to be unsuccessful. A scandal based on the accusation that his campaign had received economic support from the narcotraffic ruined any possibility of negotiation with the FARC, which capitalized on the situation declaring that they would not hold peace conversations with Samper because he was not a legitimate president.

Andres Pastrana's period (1998-2002) started with the promise of an ambitious negotiation process with the FARC, which by that time was already the most important revolutionary group in the country. A generous part of the national territory (15,000 square miles) bigger than Denmark and a little smaller than Rwanda, which started to be

known as *El Caguan* (after the name of the largest town in the area) was designated as a "distension zone." In this zone, government's troops or any other form of representation of the state were not allowed and no international observers were designated. Close to the end of his presidential period, Pastrana declared the process failed, ordered the military to reoccupy the zone, and the negotiations ended. During this period both the FARC and the Colombian Army gained military strength.

When Alvaro Uribe (2002-2006 / 2006-2010) came to power, Pastrana's peace process was regarded as a national failure and some observers even wondered if Colombia could be considered a failed state (Pizarro, 2003). Uribe focused his strategy in the military defeat of the FARC and simultaneously pledged finishing with the paramilitaries through a negotiated demobilization for which he authorized a "distension zone" much smaller than *El Caguan*, in *Santa Fe del Ralito*. Uribe's government and the paramilitaries reached a demobilization agreement. However, gangs integrated by former paramilitaries, which the government started to call Bacrims (as a contraction of Bandas Criminales or Criminal Gangs) started to blossom across the country and became a new threat to national security. Uribe also held negotiations with the ELN by initiative of this group, but these negotiations were not successful.

Uribe was reluctant to acknowledge the existence of an armed conflict in Colombia, according to him what the country was facing was a terrorist threat; a position seriously criticized by the media and political analysts (Sí hay guerra…, 2005). Contrary to Uribe, current president, Juan Manuel Santos (2010-2014) admitted the existence of a

conflict and after two years of secret negotiations, formal peace negotiations started in October 2012.

The conflict in numbers.

Fatal Victims.

The number of people killed as a direct consequence of the armed conflict between 1964 and 2006 is estimated between 91,729 and 95,463 (Otero Prada, 2007). According to recent calculations, paramilitaries alone are accountable for at least 30,470 killings in a twenty-year period; that is about 1,523 per year. These figures correspond to conservative calculations because they are based on information provided by former paramilitaries during their confessions within trials that would allow them to be beneficiaries of substantial punishment reductions (Ex paramilitares declararon…, 2010).

Definitions of civil war based on the number of fatal victims require either 1,000 victims in the whole conflict or 1000 victims per year, if the conflict lasts more than one year (Sambanis, 2004). In the Colombian case, the average number of victims is over 2,000 per year, to which should be added the number of forcedly displaced people, which can also be used to understand and define a conflict (Sambanis, 2004). In Colombia, this number ranges between two and a half million and more than four million, which would represent between five and almost ten percent of Colombia's population. The variations in the figures of victims and displaced people correspond to differences in the methodology and the periods of calculation (Otero Prada, 2007).

Expenditure in Education Vs. Expenditure in Defense.

In 2008, Colombia's budget for Defense was over six billion dollars. Compared with the rest of South America in terms of dollars spent, Colombia occupied the second place while Brazil with $26.2 billions was in the first place, and Chile, with $4.4 billions, in the third place. Colombia dedicated 2.97 percent of its GDP to defense, while Chile dedicated 2.63 percent Brazil 1.62 percent, and Ecuador, 3.41 percent. In terms of the country's investment budget dedicated to defense Colombia used 12,98 percent, Chile 27,18 percent and Brazil only 6.95 percent (Vargas, 2009). In 2007, defense represented 18.9 percent of the national budget, excluding interest payments on the national debt, while education represented 18.4 percent (Ministerio de Defensa, 2009). In 2010 the budget for defense grew almost 10% while the budget for education grew less than one percent (Durán, 2009). These figures do not include the money received for defense from the United States' government through the Plan Colombia, about $550 million per year.

There is an ongoing tension between those who defend the expenditure in defense and those who believe that that money would be better invested in education and other types of social investment. A recurrent question is how would the budget look like in an ideal post-conflict scenario in which the expenditure in defense was smaller and at least part of those resources were dedicated to education.

Demobilized people.

Although Colombia is still suffering a violent conflict, several post-conflict activities are already in place. Demobilizations, either collective or individual, are frequent and the government created the Program for Humanitarian Attention to the

Demobilized (*Programa de Atención Humanitaria al Desmovilizado*, PAHD) now Colombian Agency for Reintegration (Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración) to serve this population. According to the program's data, between 2002 and 2008 there were 52,403 demobilized people: 35,353 from the self defense movements; 13,681 from the FARC; 2,883 from the ELN; and 486 from smaller groups that remained after successful demobilization processes, identified as dissidents.

According to a report from the Police based on 2006 data, 5.11 percent of the demobilized people enrolled in primary education courses; less than one percent (0.11%) were getting certificate degrees, and 0.22 percent had enrolled in higher education programs (República de Colombia. Presidencia de la República, 2006). Additional information on demobilized soldiers and displaced people is available in the following chapters.

Child Soldiers.

It is almost impossible to know how many children are directly involved in the Colombian conflict. According to Human Rights Watch, in 2005 there were about 11,000 children involved in the conflict; according to Colombian senator Jimmy Chamorro, the number could be closer to 17,000; while this number is not more than 10,000 according to Elvira Forero, head of the *Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar* – ICBF, the government agency in charge of children protection (Más de 4.000 niños …, 2009).

Between years 2000 and 2007, 10,732 former children soldiers were captured or demobilized. A study of these children showed that the average age of enrolment was

12.9 years, but cases have been documented in which children declared having been recruited by irregular armies when they were as young as four years old (Springer, 2006). According to Springer's study the majority of child soldiers (52,1 percent) had been recruited by the FARC, 29.1 percent by paramilitary groups, and 16.8 percent by the ELN. There is no evidence that the Colombian Army or the Police had recruited children (Caracol, 2009); however, human rights organizations have denounced their continuing use as informants (Hay 14.000 niños…, 2012).

Civil society's initiatives for peace.

There have been countless efforts from members of civil society to contribute to peace in Colombia. The Seventh Ballot Movement in 1990, the referendum for Peace in Aguachica 1995, or the National Mandate for Peace, are among the most famous of these endeavors.

Some international organizations such as the United Nations with its Development Program (UNDP) and the European Union have shown interest in these initiatives and have conducted efforts to make visible, organize, and finance them. UNDP, for example, created in Colombia a Bank of Better Practices to Overcome the Conflict (PNUD Colombia, n.d.), and the European Commission decided to finance what it called Peace Laboratories in Colombia.

The history of the European Commission's peace laboratories in Colombia dates back to The Program of Development and Peace of the Middle Magdalena (Programa de Desarollo y Paz del Magadalena Medio, PDPMM). This program was created by

Ecopetrol (the State-own oil company), the oil industry union (Unión Sindical Obrera, USO), and the Diocese of Barrancabermeja (the biggest city in the Middle Magdalena), with the purpose of answering the question of why a region as rich in natural resources had so much poverty and violence, as also what could be done to make oil a real vector for the region's development (Barreto Henriques, 2009). The World Bank, Ecopetrol, the United Nations, and some European countries initially funded the program. Later on, the European Union got interested in the project and decided to finance it as a "peace laboratory." The peace laboratories became mechanisms preferred by the European Union to funnel collaboration resources for Colombia (Castañeda, 2009), and the Colombian government got a loan from the World Bank to develop its peace and development program, incorporating the Peace Laboratories into the Colombian government planning strategy and reports.

After the successful experience of the Middle Magdalena, the European Union decided to finance two more peace laboratories, and the Colombian government incorporated the peace laboratories in its official planning schedule. Today, there are three peace laboratories in six regions, as summarized in Table 8:

Table 8. Peace Laboratories in Colombia

Peace Laboratory	Regions
First	• Middle Magdalena
Second	• Colombian Massif and the Alto Patía (the region of the highest part of the Patía river's basin) • West of the department of Antioquia • Department of Santander del Norte
Third	• Montes de María • Department of Meta

Like other civil organizations, many universities have been financed to conduct specific projects through the peace laboratories mechanisms: for example, the Universidad Javeriana, Universidad de Cartagena, Universidad San Buenaventura, and Universidad de la Salle, participate in at least one peace laboratory. Nevertheless, the denomination "peace laboratory" is not exclusive from projects financed by UNPD and some universities, such as the Universidad de Ibagué, claim to have alternative peace laboratories (Bernal Alarcón, Bernal Villegas, & López Herrán, 2005).

Is Colombia a Postconflict Country?

Based in the number of peace processes and peace agreements the answer could be positive. However, even with those efforts, peace agreements involving all the combating groups, or at least all the guerrilla groups have never been reached. Regardless of the military triumphs achieved by the Uribe and Santos administrations, analysts are still reluctant to declare the end of the conflict and some have cast theories trying to understand the current situation (Wieland, 2008). Despite the many times annunciated "beginning of the end" of the conflict, based on military victories, the country is still fighting a low intensity conflict with the guerrilla (mostly the FARC), so-called emerging bands (former paramilitaries), and organized crime, which still affects society, including higher education institutions. While the military strategy seems to be the preferred solution to the conflict by the government, several peacebuilding initiatives generated by civil organizations and some times backed up by the government have taken

place. In the following chapters, it will be illustrated how HEIs have been affected by the

conflict and how the have participated in the efforts to build peace.

Chapter Ten. Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar (UTB)[8]

When asked "how is the conflict experienced in the university?", Rector Patricia Martínez answered: "The truth is that we don't experience the conflict as such; it is possible to feel the [financial] limitations that some of the population suffers, particularly those from strata one and two…."[9] Martinez's answer is not different from what one would expect from most private university rectors in the country. They would also acknowledge that the conflict affects their institutions in a similar way than it does other sectors of society. But in their campuses there are no hooded students, no graffiti on the walls, and students almost never get engaged in riots against the police. "We don't suffer from drug related problems, nor bad relationships, in general, we can say that we live in peace, it has been years of harmony,"[10] she continued.

Despite the fact that the conflict does not affect the university directly, UTB is not indifferent to it or to the social problems of the city.   As examples of the university efforts toward building peace in the country or the region, Martínez mentioned the *Vigías de la Democracia* (Lookout for Democracy) program; UTB's participation in 14 CERES in the department; the program ReconciliArte; and it is participation in several organizations working for peace and development in the department, including peace laboratories and peace and development programs.

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[8] I am in debt to professor Pablo Abitbol from his comments on this chapter.
[9] "La verdad es que el conflicto como tal no se siente; se sienten las carencias materiales que tiene la tipología de población especialmente de estratos 1 y 2 …"
[10] "No hay problemática de drogas, ni malas relaciones, en general podemos decir que se vive una paz, han sido años de armonía".

Before embarking in the description of these activities, it is included a succinct overview of the university's history and the general background of Cartagena and the department of Bolivar, emphasizing the challenges of poverty and displacement that both the city and the department have to face. This overview will provide a general idea of the university origins and goals.

Some experiences that illustrate UTB's involvement in peacebuilding activities are presented in the following order: 1) *ReconciliArte,* a project created to facilitate the reinsertion of demobilized combatants into the receiving communities through the use of art. 2) UTB's participation in 14 CERES, including a more detailed description of the CERES of Cimití, acclaimed by the Ministry of Education. 3) Program *Trazando mi Propio Destino* (Charting my Own Destiny), which among other objectives, was aimed at preventing children from being recruited by illegal armed groups. 4) Non-formal education activities including a certificate program in human rights and transitional justice, and a seminar on the law of victims of the conflict held at UTB. 5) Two initiatives derived from research projects: the University Agenda Against Poverty, and the program Vigías por la Democracia (Lookouts for Democracy).

A Glimpse at UTB's History

UTB is a private not for profit university in Cartagena, Created in 1970 by industry associations. It was the first private higher education institution in the city, and one of its main objectives was providing the companies that belonged to the industry associations with skilled labor that the traditional public higher education institutions already established in the city were not able to provide. According to Martínez, the

university was created as an alternative to public universities, which academic offer focused on liberal programs such as medicine and law, and which were in the grip of leftwing movements. In contrast, UTB started with programs on economics and engineering, which until then were not available in the region. Today, the university emphasizes its industrial orientation and its social responsibility, as well as its commitment to provide solutions for regional development (Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, n.d.).

UTB was considered an elite university because it served mostly students from the local upper-middle and upper class. Martinez explained that, since 2002, the university decided to create the conditions to admit lower income students, who needed financial support, allowing the university to attract skilled students regardless their economic background. By 2011 there were 13 higher education institutions in Cartagena (4 public and 9 privates) that combined enrolled 55.968 students from which almost seven percent (3,914) studied at UTB (Ministry of Education of Colombia, n.d.). While it is still a selective university, nowadays, 86 percent of the undergraduate students belong to strata one, two, and three; that is, those from the lowest income backgrounds; many of which are beneficiaries of the ACCES program. There are also several student-aid programs based on merit and need, including full scholarships for students from the lowest strata who had showed good academic performance. This program is complemented with a sponsors program (*Plan Padrino*) in which participating companies pay the tuition and room and board of qualifying students (Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, 2012).

Cartagena: Poverty Among Abundance?

UNESCO declared Cartagena's port, fortresses, and group of monuments a World Heritage Site. A legacy of its importance to the Spanish Empire during the colonial era, the colonial relics, combined with kilometers of beaches and abundant hotels make of Cartagena one of the main touristic destinations of the country and the Caribbean. By the 1960s the city experienced an important growth of its industrial sector, particularly from the chemical and petrochemical industries, adding another strength to the city.

The image of Cartagena as a colonial city, a beach resort, and an industrial center, overshadows the extension of poverty in the city. There have been several studies trying to quantify the number of people living under the lines of poverty and misery (extreme poverty). According to an extensively cited study by the Corporation Viva la Ciudadanía, poverty grew from 61 percent to 75 percent in a five-year lapse (1997-2004) and during the same time, indigence reached 40 percent (DANE - Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadísticas & Corporación Viva la Ciudadanía, 2003). Another study showed that the situation of Cartagena, compared to other major cities of the country, was discouraging, and poor people were concentrated in specific parts of the city without access to opportunities to improve, which created poverty circles (Pérez Valbuena & Salazar Mejía, 2007). A more recent study using the Multidimensional Poverty Index provided a more optimistic view in which during the last four years, poverty in Cartagena dropped from 40.2 percent to 33.4 percent, and misery dropped from 6.9 percent to 4.7 percent. These numbers were below the national average of 34.1

percent of people living in conditions of poverty and 4.7 percent living below the line of misery (Abello Vives, 2012).

Even more ignored is the fact that Cartagena was ranked fifth among the top internal displaced people receivers in the country. Between 1999 and 2005 Cartagena received 43,018 displaced people generally from the department of Bolívar, but also from neighbor departments such as Sucre, Atlántico, Norte de Santander, and others. Displaced people in Cartagena have settled down mostly in slums in some of the most populous *barrios* (neighborhoods): Boston, Nelson Mandela, Olaya, Pozón, Revivir, Villa Hermosa, San José de los Campanos, and the city hills (Tapia Góngora, 2006).

Contrasting with Cartagena's reputation as a touristic and industrial city, inland Bolivar, particularly the south of the department, and the "Montes de María" region, are among the most conflict affected-regions in the country and poverty indicators for the rest of the department of Bolívar are not better than those for Cartagena. According to a study by UTB, almost 53 percent of the population lives in poverty and about 13 percent lives below the indigence line (PNUD Colombia, 2007).

The south of Bolivar is part of the region called "*Magdalena Medio,*" (Middle Magdalena) the middle part of the Magdalena's river basin. The ELN was borne in the Middle Magdalena and years later, the self-defense movement also started in this zone, financed by landowners, stockbreeders, and drug traffickers, to counteract the threat of the guerrilla. The Middle Magdalena turned into a battlefield where guerrillas and paramilitaries struggled for power.

A similar pattern was observed in The Montes de María region, which was affected first by the presence of different guerrilla groups (FARC, ELN, and EPL), and since 1997 the paramilitaries conducted a violent takeover of the region. Between 1999 and 2002 the paramilitaries committed 56 massacres and displaced more than 20,000 people. In 2008 the government declared the extermination of the FARC in the zone, but paramilitaries still had a strong presence (Molano, 2011)

UTB's Involvement in Peacebuilding

ReconciliArte.

In 2007, UTB professor Germán Ruíz, a political scientist with a PhD in economics from the University of Texas, started the project that later would be called ReconciliArte. The main purpose of the project was to contribute to the construction of a postconflict scenario in Colombia by helping to the effective reintegration of former combatants into their communities. Based on the methodology of Sustained Dialogue created by Harold Saunders (1999) Reconciliarte aimed at promoting the reintegration of demobilized combatants to society by creating a space in which they were able to work together in a lucrative venture. The project was also about helping the communities to understand and accept the former combatants as well as to allow the ex-combatants to get used to formality and legality (D'Alessandro, 2010).

Although other productive projects were considered (a bakery and a butcher's shop, for example) they opted for a cultural enterprise, considering the abundance of artistic talent in Cartagena. The project was initially financed by the European Union and

executed by UTB, which acted as the managing institution. Cartagena's Major's Office (Alcaldía) and the Mamonal Foundation, a non-profit created by a group of companies located in Cartgena's industrial park (Mamonal) and associated with the National Business Association of Colombia (Asociación Nacional de Industriales, ANDI), were also partners in the project.

Initially, ReconciliArte gathered a group of 30 demobilized paramilitaries and 100 neighbors from the barrios El Pozón, Nelson Mandela, Olaya Herrera, and others where ex-paramilitaries and displaced people coexist. The official debut of the project was in UTB's Napoleón de la Rosa Auditorium. About 300 people, most of them from the same barrios, attended the gala ceremony in which ReconciliArte presented a show of theater, dance and multimedia. In November of the same year, ReconciliArte made another presentation in an open space, Cartagena's *Plaza de la Aduana* (Customs Square), which got the attention of the local media. The idea was to take the show around the country.

ReconciliArte had three spin-offs: a television Channel (Crystal Caribe) that broadcast through a local cable television provider; a tropical music band (*Orquesta Cristal*); and a company dedicated to the commercialization of cultural events (SuperArte) (D'Alessandro, 2010). SuperArte came to have about 70 employees among demobilized people and people from the communities where they lived. Unfortunately the lifetime of the project was very short: between mid 2010 and June 2011 (Desmovilizados sueñan con recuperar superarte.2011). There is not much clarity about the reasons of this failure. For some it was because society and project's partners,

included UTB, forgot about ReconciliArte; others believe that the explanation is much complex than this and an evaluation of the causes is still missing.

Participation in the CERES project.

At UTB, CERES are conceived as part of the university's outreach program. UTB participates in 14 CERES, in six of them as the "operating institution," that is, the member institution that performs most of the administrative tasks of the CERES. Some of these CERES are located in towns of Bolívar; others are in sub-urban marginalized regions of Cartagena. According to the department's Secretary of Education (Ceres Cartagena, 2011), in addition to UTB, which offers 9 programs, four other HEIs also participate in different CERES in the department: *Universidad de Cartagena* (7 programs), TECNAR (17 Programs), *Universidad Los Libertadores* (2 programs), and Unicolombo (2 programs). The location of the different CERES can be appreciated in Figure 1 (below). For a list of the different CERES in the department with the number of students and the programs offered as of 2011, see Appendix F.

Unlike the university campuses, the effects of the conflict are easy to perceive in some CERES. According to Martinez, this is more evident in CERES located in Cartagena than those in small towns. This assertion, which is somehow counterintuitive because Colombian conflict is mostly rural, is explained because CERES in small towns are located in the urban areas—hence they are less exposed to the conflict that affects mostly the countryside—while the CERES in Cartagena are located in *barrios* recognized as displaced people receivers (e.g. Nelson Mandela and El Pozón) thus the effects of the

conflict are more evident in this population. There are also CERES in *barrios* located in zones considered of extreme poverty but not necessarily receivers of displaced people (e.g. Pasacaballos).

Figure 3. Location of CERES in which UTB Participates
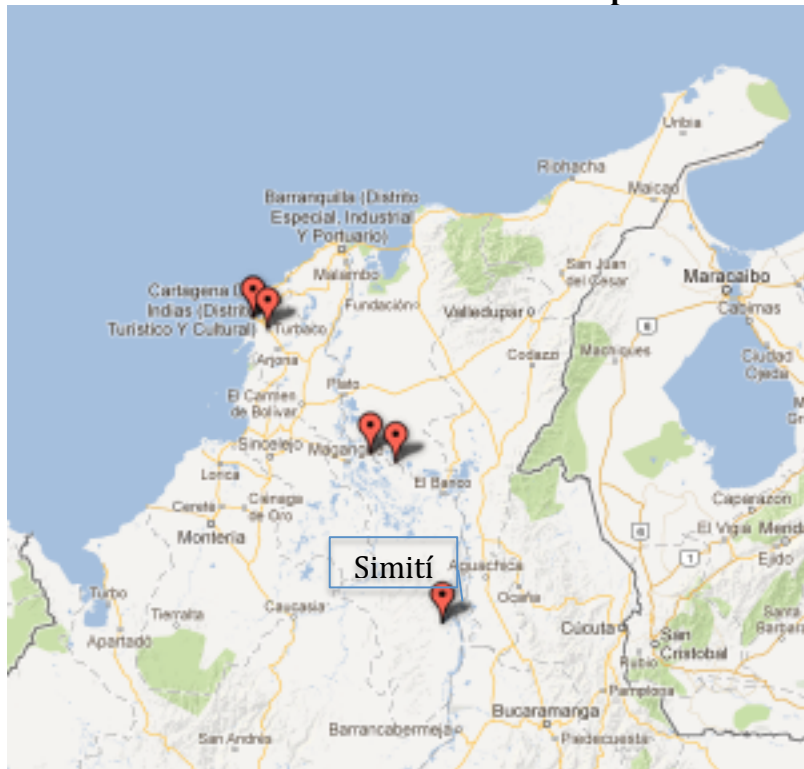
Source: Google Maps, using Google Fusion tables.

Like most of the academic programs offered through the CERES project, those offered by UTB are delivered mostly in distance or semi-presence methodologies. Each CERES provides access to the technology and facilities required to benefit from the academic programs (e.g. access to computers and the Internet, classrooms, library, etc.). Martinez explained that the average CERES' student belongs to the lowest income

backgrounds (strata one and two). Most of them are overage students and work in some productive activity during the day, including housewives and unskilled workers.

She also pointed out that the education provided through the CERES is considered part of the social arm of the institution and in many ways the CERES are considered "a parallel institution." In contrast with the programs offered by UTB in its two campuses in Cartagena, the admissions criteria for the CERES are not selective or competitive; it is considered open education, yet students need to fulfill the legal requirements to access higher education: they must have presented the national exam to access higher education (known as ICFES Saber 11o), must have finished secondary education (grade 11th), and male students must have defined their status regarding the military service, which is demonstrated by presenting the Military Card (*Libreta Militar*) (Ceres Cartagena, 2011).

Ceres Simití: Higher Education in the Conflict Zone

Getting to CERES Simití from Cartagena takes a twelve-hour drive on a poorly maintained road, an hour on a motorboat by the Magdalena River, and half an hour in small jeep-type vehicle or motorcycle. Periodically, 15 professors (10 from UTB and 5 from Universidad de Cartagena) make this trip to attend their meetings with the students at Simití.

This CERES, from which UTB is the operating institution, was created through an alliance among higher education institutions, the Association of Stockbreeders (ASOGASÍM), the Dairy Processing Plant (PROSILAC), the Provincial Center for Agroindustrial Management (CORPOAGROSUR), one school—that serves as the

CERES's headquarters—and the mayors from the towns benefited by the project: Simití, Cantagallo, Morales, San Pablo and Santa Rosa Sur, which integrate the area (Colombia Aprende, n.d.a). An overview to the goals of CERES Simití, as described in a PowerPoint presentation elaborated for the inauguration of the CERES, emphasized the improvement of the quality of life for Simití's inhabitants, the reduction of poverty, and the provision of adequate conditions for the exercise of citizenship and the "enjoyment of the existence" ("*el disfrute de la existencia*") (Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, 2006).

Two academic programs are offered in Simití: farming administration (*administración agropecuaria*) offered by the University of Cartagena, and Systems Technology (*Tecnología de Sistemas*) offered by UTB. This CERES started activities in 2006, with 86 students; by 2011 the enrolment was of approximately 100 students and in July 2010, the first cohort of 34 systems technologists graduated (Colombia Aprende, n.d.b).

Displaced people or demobilized combatants are not the main beneficiaries of the CERES; the program targets a broader population: those who have been historically marginalized from higher education. When I asked the rector if those two groups (displaced people and demobilized combatants) were part of the CERES' clientele her answer stressed the point: "We have students. We never ask about where they are coming from or where they are going. There is open access…."[11]

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[11] "Son estudiantes. Nosotros no preguntamos de donde vienen ni para dónde van. Hay ingreso abierto…."

In 2007, the Ministry of Education awarded a special recognition to CERES Simití as one of the best in the country. The Ministry took into consideration that despite its remote location and being in the middle of a zone affected by the conflict, it has been able to stay active and, in alliance with some NGOs, to work for peace and human rights defense, turning itself "into a territory of peace and hope for youth who have grown up in the conflict"[12] as it is highlighted in ColombiaAprende.com a web portal administered by the Ministry of Education (Colombia Aprende, n.d.a).

Program "Trazando mi propio destino" (Charting my own destiny).

In 2012, Colciencias, the government's agency to promote research in the country, and Coca-Cola Femsa, the largest publicly listed bottler of Coca-Cola, signed an alliance to create in the country the program "*Trazando mi propio destino*" (Charting my own destiny). The program's objective was "to join forces and strengthen skills in children and young people to make informed decisions properly, promoting and enhancing healthy lifestyles, and promoting ethical values and principles in order to avoid recruitment by groups outside the law" (Colciencias, 2011).

The program replicated a similar initiative of FEMSA in México—its main business location, and Brazil. One important difference is that in Mexico the armed conflict was not mentioned. UTB was designated coordinator of the program for the Department of Bolivar, in which it aimed at benefiting 1,800 children in Cartagena and four other towns from Bolivar (Arjona, Carmen de Bolívar, Maríalabaja, and San Juan

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[12] "un territorio de paz y esperanza para jóvenes que han crecido en medio del conflicto."

Nepomuceno) as well as 52 teachers from Bogotá and Cartagena (Firman alianza para alejar a niños de los grupos al margen de la ley. 2011).

Non-formal education.

Certificate program in human rights and transitional justice

In July 2011, UTB offered a certificate program (*diplomado*) on "Human Rights and Transitional Justice" in alliance with the department's Secretary of the Interior and Citizens Coexistence (Secretaría del Interior y Convivencia Ciudadana, SICC). The 120 hour program was oriented at providing human rights defenders, citizens, public servants, and students with basic knowledge on human rights, transitional justice, environmental protection, prevention of violence, forced displacement of people, and victims' attention and human rights

Meeting on the Law of Victims

UTB was the venue for the First meeting on "Challenges and Expectations toward the Law on Victims and its Regulation" (*Retos y Expectativas frente a la Ley de Víctimas y su Reglamentación*) that took place on November 3-4, 2011. This meeting was part of the project on Citizen Coexistence (*Convivencia Ciudadana*) and Human Rights of the university's Direction of Virtual Education, and was carried out in cooperation with Cartagena's Secretary of Interior and Citizen Coexistence (*Secretaría del Interior y Convivencia Ciudadana*) (Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, 2011b). The Law of Victims and Land Restitution (Republic of Colombia, 2011) was issued by the Congress in 2011 and among other provisions, it took first steps toward land restitution to displaced

people, and it recognized as a victim of the conflict any person who had been a victim of an aggression related to the conflict since 1985, regardless of who the perpetrator was: guerrilla, paramilitaries, or State's agents. As a direct consequence it was expected that the government would compensate approximately four million people affected by the conflict. This law is considered an important landmark in the history of the conflict; however, there were several criticisms to the project emerged since it was a bill under consideration in the Congress.

Research lines and research groups.

The two lines of research presented in this section are not specifically oriented at preventing conflict, reincorporating combatants or displaced people to society, or other activities typically associated with the transition from conflict to postconflict. However, they are oriented at contributing to the understanding of the elements that some consider as direct or indirect causes of conflict or as potential threats for a stable peace: poverty and corruption.

University's Agenda Against Poverty.

The program University's Agenda Against Poverty (*Agenda Universitaria contra la Pobreza, AUPO*) was an institutional line of research that used action research methodology and had two main components: the study of poverty in Cartagena and the Caribbean coast, and the identification, formulation, and application of social policy instruments aimed at contributing to the overcoming of vulnerability and exclusion of the region's inhabitants (En la UTB…, 2006). Martinez included this experience among

those related to peacebuilding because in addition to the strudy of the structural causes of poverty, this line of research seeks to prevent further deterioration of the "social tissue," which would have impact in peacebuilding.

Vigías de la Democracia (Lookouts for Democracy)

Corruption has been a great challenge for democracy in the country, but in 2005 the perception of corruption for the elections for mayor of Cartagena was particularly high. UTB's former professor and director of the Political Science and International Relations Program, Germán Ruiz Páez, together with 66 students from the various universities in Cartagena, had an initiative to exercise citizens' overview of the process and created the program *Vigías de la Democracia* (Centro Virtual de Noticias de Educación, 2007; Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Foundation, 2007).

Defining itself as a group of citizens supported by UTB, *Vigías de la Democracia* worked in two main fronts: citizenship training and oversight to the elections process using some of the citizens' participation tools provided by the law (Vigías de la Democracia, Cartagena, 2008). They also designed a video campaing using Youtube to create awareness on the disadvantages of vote-selling.

The experience called the attention of Colombia's Ministry of Interior an its vice ministry of justice as well as from Konrad Adenauer Foundation, who decided to replicate the model in other cities and election processes. The program was then adopted by the National Program of Fight on Corruption (*Programa Nacional de Lucha contra la Corrupción*) and replicated across the country in several cities and electoral processes. In 2011, the Program of Fight on Corruption took the program to 17 municipalities,

including three in the south of Bolívar: San Onofre, Sincelejo, and Marialabaja (Quiroz, 2011).

Conclusions

Like many other private universities in the country, UTB has not been not directly affected by the armed conflict. Nevertheless, it has participated in several programs and projects aimed at building peace and strengthening citizenship. Some of them are not directly related to the conflict (e.g. CERES, Agenda against Poverty), others had a clear peacebuilding component (ReconciliArte, training programs for demobilized people, and participation in peace laboratories).

More than peacebuiling strategies, the university is engaged in social responsibility programs including a wide range of activities and beneficiaries. However, as illustrated in this chapter, many of those activities have a clear impact on conflict-affected people. In Most of these activities UTB does not play a leading role but it is seconding initiatives from the government, international organizations (European Union, PNUD, etc.), or companies (e.g. Femsa).

Despite its technological nature and its industry background, UTB created a School of Social and Human Sciences. Some of the products of this school are the ReconciliArte, Lookout for Democracy, and some documents used by the local government to address the problem of poverty and indigence in the city.

As in many other universities, there is not enough data to evaluate the impact of the activities illustrated in this chapter. Such type of study goes beyond the scope of this

dissertation but understanding the real impact of those activities in the university, the peace process, or the affected or beneficiary communities is a task that would be of great help for the understanding of the potential of higher education in peacebuilding.

Chapter Eleven. La Salle's Quest for Utopia

"Ella está en el horizonte" – dice Fernando Birri – "Me acerco dos pasos, ella se aleja dos pasos. Camino diez pasos y el horizonte se desplaza diez pasos más allá. Por mucho que camine, nunca la alcanzaré. Entonces, ¿para qué sirve la utopía? Para eso: sirve para caminar."[13]

Eduardo Galeano

La Salle University's Utopia project is one of the few efforts conducted by a higher education institution, specifically oriented at taking students away from the conflict by providing them with top quality higher education.   This chapter starts with general information of La Salle University in Bogotá, followed by a short summary of different activities related to research and teaching on topics such as the Colombian conflict, peacebuilding, and human rights, conducted by La Salle. The second part of the chapter is devoted to the project Utopia in Yopal (Casanare) and it consists of a brief history of the project, a description of how the project works, an overview of the program of Agronomic Engineering, a characterization of its students, a description of the students' code of honor, and a section in which the declared purpose of taking youth away of the conflict is studied. Finally, general conclusions for the chapter will be provided.

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[13] "It is on the horizon" – says Fernando Birri – "I advance two steps, it goes two steps backward. I take ten steps and the horizon moves ten steps forward. No matter how far I walk, I will never reach it. What is the use of utopia? That's its use: to help us walk" (Translation by Rafaella Baccolini).

An Overview of La Salle University

La Salle University is a private, Catholic, university located in Bogota. It was founded in 1964 by the Institute of Brothers of the Christian Schools (also known as Lasallian Brothers) and started activities in 1965 with 20 teachers and 98 students distributed in seven academic programs. By 2011, it had 14,665 students and 1,014 teachers, distributed in 23 bachelor degree programs (pregrados), 16 specializations, and five masters (Ministry of Education of Colombia, n.d.; Universidad de la Salle, 2008a). The university's corporate identity, vision and mission, emphasize its engagement with social transformation, the quest for social equity and integral and sustainable human development (Universidad de la Salle, 2008b). Consistent with its focus on equity and inclusion, 80 percent of its students belong to *estratos* 2 and 3.

Carlos Gómez R., a Lasallian Brother, was inaugurated as the University's rector in 2007, after being the rector of the Central Technological Institute, a public institution run by the same religious order. An educator his whole life, his experience previous to the Central Technological Institute was in primary and secondary education. His career has taken him to some of the most conflictive zones of the country at times when they were in the middle of major crises: he was in La Guajira during the so-called "*bonanza marimbera*", when the illegal production of marijuana exploded in the Colombian northern coast; he was an educator in Orocue (Casanare) when the paramilitary violence started, and he was in El Caguan during the distension zone.

Academic Productivity and Non-Formal Education

Unlike other universities, La Salle does not have many programs in the fields of social studies and humanities for which its theoretical production on peacebuilding and human rights may not be as abundant; yet the university, mostly through its faculty of social work, has produced a number of relevant works, some of which will be presented here. A search of thesis and dissertation in the university's library catalog (Universidad de la Salle, 2012) using different keywords delivered the following results: 87 documents matched the word "guerrilla," 46 matched "paramilitar"; 10, "reinsertado"; 9, "desmovilizado"; 819, "conflicto"; 583, "violencia"; 290 "derechos humanos." These numbers give a broad idea about the interest of graduate and postgraduate students in conflict related topics; even though many of the hits to some keywords may not be related to the conflict, and there is the possibility for some results overlapping.

La Salle has participated in several activities both related to human rights and combatants' demobilization. The university hosted a two week congress called "To Strengthen the Army's Policy on Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Law" oriented at army soldiers (and staff), which counted with the participation of the United Nations Organization, UNICEF, the Red Cross' International Committee and several government related agencies (Escuela de Aviación del Ejercito, 2009). A professor of the School of Social Work wrote a book on the teaching of human rights (Quintero Mejía & Molano Camargo, 2010), and the same school has a research line in "human rights and democracy strengthening" (*derechos humanos y fortalecimiento de la democracia*) (Universidad de la Salle, n.d.e). La Salle's Research Center on Education and Pedagogy (*Centro de*

Investigación en Educación y Pedagogía, CIEP), has been exploring the field of human rights education in the country; particularly they have been trying to understand, among other relevant issues, why despite the levels of violence in Colombia, there is not a public policy on education and human rights (Universidad de la Salle, n.d.d).

Regarding reinsertion, the University hosted a conference on "Successful experiences with reinserted people" attended by leaders from the community of displaced people living in Bogota. The organizers of this conference were the Bogota Mayor's Office (*Alcaldía*), the *Corporación Viva la Ciudadania*, and La Salle's faculty of Social Work. the Mayor's Office and the Corporation published a book with some of the materials used in the conference(Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá & Corporación Viva la Ciudadanía, 2012(?)).

Gómez emphasized that even though professors write academic papers on conflict related issues, the university emphasizes more on the production of applicable knowledge. "We are working very hard in the processes of technology transfer to the peasant who does not care much about those scholarly articles that only the journal's editor reads." The ideas of technology transfer and applied knowledge presented by Gómez become meaningful after learning about the Utopia project, which illustrates many different ways in which higher education can get involved in peacebuilding processes.

La Salle's Utopía

Figure 4. La Salle's campuses in Bogota and Yopal

Source: Google Maps, using Google fusion tables.

By the year 2000, as they were trying to find a way to help the victims of Colombian violence, Carlos Gómez and Néstor Polanía (also a Lasallian Brother), came up with the idea of creating Utopia (Sánchez, 2011), a project in which victims of Colombian violence would be trained not only as Agronomic Engineers but also as

leaders and citizens. Years later, the project became a reality: Utopia was inaugurated in
2005 and Polanía was appointed its director. Two years later, Gómez became La Salle
University's rector.

The place selected for the project was a 120 hectares estate called "*San Jose de
Matadepantano*", thirteen kilometers away from Yopal, the capital of Casanare, and
about 340 kilometers from Bogota (see Figure 4, above). Gómez remarked how it would
have been easier to bring students to Bogota, but they soon discarded the idea not only
because it is necessary to release Bogotá from this kind of pressure and tensions, but also
because to live in the big city "that dazzles and overwhelms" students would have to lose
many of the social skills gained in their rural life and would be forced to get new skills to
live in an urban context, some of which are very difficult to acquire. Instead, La Salle
opted for a bigger challenge: taking the program to *el llano* (the plain), how is commonly
know the region of the Colombian *Llanos Orientales*.

The *Llanos Orientales* (Eastern Plains) is a vast tropical grassland east of the
Andes mountains, shared by Colombia and Venezuela. The Colombian part includes the
departments of Arauca, Casanare, Meta and Vichada. Its economy is based mostly on
stockbreeding and oil extraction. This zone has been affected by violent conflict since *La
Violencia* period (1948-1958). Between 1964 and 1999 The FARC had their
headquarters in La Uribe, Meta. The MAS (*Muerte a Secuestradores*, Death to
Kidnapers) group, which was one of the first paramilitary groups in Colombia and was
financed mostly by stockbreeders and drug traffickers, was also born in Meta; this group
is accused of the systematically killing of approximately 717 member of the Patriotic

Union (UP), the political party created after the ceasefire agreed between the government and the FARC in 1984. Additional self-defense groups were created in Casanare, with the support of the Army's seventh brigade. The distension zone—also known as *El Caguan*— created by president Pastrana to negotiate peace with the FARC included four municipalities of Meta and one of Casanare (VerdadAbierta.com, 2011(?)).

Despite that, Yopal was a relatively peaceful place. Between 1990 and 1991 no homicides were registered in the city but since 1992 a paramilitary offensive to take control of the Llanos changed this for the worst. In 1992, 32 killings were reported and similar numbers were reported during the following four years. In 1997, the number of killings per year climbed to 63, then to 105 in 1998, and peaked at 147 in 2003. A slight reduction happened in 2004, with 119 killings reported, followed by a sharp reduction with 27 killings per year in 2008 and 2009. The total number of killings between 1992 and 2009 was 1104 (VerdadAbierta.com, n.d.). What happened to Yopal was not an isolated case; the increase in violence affected the whole region of the Colombian *Llanos*. Utopia was created in such a context.

The project.

Utopia is a very ambitious project. It is a proposal for the reinvention of rural Colombia[14], in a model in which the country could become a food provider for the world (Convertir a Colombia en una despensa agrícola, la intención de la universidad de la salle.2009). Gómez believes that the country's agrarian tradition, its strategic geographic

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[14] "Una propuesta para la reinvención de la Colombia rural"

location, and the growing demand for food in the world are aligned to make this dream possible. Utopia has also been defined as a research, educational and agro-technologic park (Sánchez, 2011), an incubator of talented young people, and "an educational and scientific response to a political problem" (Llanera.com, 2010).

La Salle considers Utopia a peace laboratory, but not of the type of those promoted by the European Union, but one of their own creation. In this regard, the university counts among its main achievements: the permanent, peaceful, harmonious and fraternal, coexistence of its students, who come from very different backgrounds and have been affected and influenced by the combating parties and other violent groups; and a new attitude of Utopia's students toward life, in which it is more profitable to look toward the future with hope than toward the past with hatred (Universidad de la Salle, n.d.a).

Utopia is based on "three pillars": the Lasallian Center for Research on Agriculture and Stockbreeding (*Centro Lasallista de Investigaciones Agrarias y Ganaderas*); the program on Social, Political and Productive Leadership, (*Programa de Liderazgo Social, Político y Productivo*); and the academic program on Agronomic Engineering (*Programa de Ingeniería Agronómica)* (Universidad de la Salle, n.d.b). The program is based on the methodology of "learning by doing and teaching by demonstrating" (aprender haciendo y enseñar demostrando). In fact, students are not the only ones learning through this process; "we built the first phase [of Utopia] with a

different educational project, a different methodology, a different way of being university. And in the process we are learning from the youth." [15]

The project has two main objectives: First, "to turn young high school graduates from rural areas affected by violence into agriculture engineers with the best possible training…." Second: turn this same group of students into "leaders of social, political, and productive transformation in their places of origin." In addition, Utopia is expected to become an engine for research on new pedagogic models for rural education, models of coexistence, and citizenship building, while contributing to the development of the department of Casanare and the country in general (Llanera.com, 2010). In the words of a student from the program, "we are getting trained as agronomic engineers for a social change" (Universidad de la Salle, 2011b).

The Yopal campus was inaugurated on June 25, 2010, with an initial enrolment of 64 students. The goal is to have 100 new students each year. By 2011, the university's investment in Utopia was over 12 billion pesos (about US$6.7 million) but the full project has an estimated cost of 30 million dollars (Sánchez, 2011). The total cost of educating a student for the four-year program is 68.5 million pesos (approximately US$38,000) including tuition, room and board, and a students' health insurance. Each student pays approximately 10% of this cost (Universidad de la Salle, 2011a). For the rest, the institution depends on donations to keep the project active. In 2011, the university and ICETEX signed an agreement that will allow Utopia students to get a low-interest, long-term credit to pay their part(Alianza icetex - universidad de la salle para

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[15] "construimos la primera fase con un proyecto educativo diferente, una metodología diferente, una forma de ser U diferente, y ahí vamos aprendiendo de los muchachos."

beneficiar a jóvenes campesinos de zonas en conflicto - centro virtual de noticias de educación.2011).

The program of agronomic engineering.

Unlike regular higher education programs in Colombia, that are usually organized in semesters and take five years, with 32 academic weeks per year, this program is organized in quarters and takes 45 weeks per year during four years. This is in part because in the countryside, there are not many vacation periods, Gómez explained.

Students live on campus. Gómez emphasizes that it is not a boarding school, they live in university housing in which they are free to come and go as they please, but they need to comply with the schedule. A normal day of activities at Utopia starts very early in the morning; by five AM they are already working in the fields. By eight AM they go back to the dorms to shower and have breakfast, and at nine AM academic duties start and go until four PM, with a lunch break.   Sometimes they go back to the fields after four PM otherwise, they have complementary academic activities, such as leadership training, oratory, and team management training courses.

Gomez recalled that many people asked why they did not create a technical program instead of an engineering one, which in theory should take less time to graduation. "In the collective imaginary being a technologist and a professional is not the

same. The youth that have suffered from violence-related problems need help to improve their self-esteem."[16]

The students.

One of the biggest differences of the Agronomic Engineering program is the students' selection process. Students do not apply to the program; the university looks for them in a process that starts by choosing a specific region among those most affected by violence. Then the University contacts school rectors and the priests of that region trying to identify potential students: boys and girls who have shown leadership in different activities such as sports or social service, and finally, students are invited to the program. Not all of them accept. For the first year, the university had the goal of putting together a group of 62 students, equally distributed by gender. However, because the project was new, there was a reasonable amount of distrust from the families, mostly from girls, so the first cohort started with 10 women and 52 men (Utopía, un año…, 2011).

There are five main conditions to be a student at Utopia: 1) They must want to build their life project in the countryside; 2) they must have roots in the region; 3) they must have suffered directly from violence, which is not something difficult to find in those regions; 4) they should come from poor backgrounds, they should not be able to afford their education; and 5) they must display leadership.

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[16] "… en el imaginario colectivo no es lo mismo un tecnólogo a un profesional. A los chicos que han tenido problemas de violencia hay que darles las condiciones para que su autoestima se eleve."

There are also legal requirements to fulfill: having finished secondary education and presenting the state exam (ICFES Saber 11o). There is not a minimum score required for the test for two reasons: first because at the program they are aware that these students come with poor education; second because the ability to learn and leadership skills are more valued that the score in the tests. To stay in the program, students need to have a grade point average (GPA) of 3.5 in a scale of zero to five.

Code of conduct.

Utopia students' defined their own code of conduct, which they called the decalogue and includes the following principles: 1) Life is sacred; 2) Everything on time and well done; 3) Going above and beyond; 4) I am worth what my word is worth; 5) We work as a team and we are solidarian; 6) We are always proactive and creative; 7) We are passionate about the things of the earth; 8) We are great when facing difficulties; 9) We are constant and persevering in the work; 10) Nothing is tiring if done with willingness and enthusiasm (Universidad de la Salle, n.d.c). Regarding the first commandment of this code of conduct, Gomez explained that they take it so seriously that nothing is killed in Utopia, not even a snake.

Stealing Soldiers from the Conflict

A recurrent issue in Utopia's narrative is that they are stealing soldiers from the conflict. "We are very glad to know that we are taking combatants away from this

senseless conflict"[17], declared Utopia's director in an institutional video (Universidad de la Salle, 2011). In a newspaper article Gómez is quoted explaining how the university expects "to avoid peasant from abandoning the countryside and being recruited by either the guerrilla, the paramilitaries, narcotraffic, delinquency, or any other type of violence"[18] and how they want to contribute to the solution of the country's violence problem by "taking one hundred youth away from the combating groups every year"[19] (Convertir a Colombia…, 2009)

Gómez believes that many of their students have found in Utopia an alternative to the imminent risk of being recruited by any of the armed groups involved in the conflict, as these groups may already have their eyes on them. He also explained how these students have suffered different types of violence coming from different groups: "the 'elenos' (people from the ELN) came first, then the FARC kicked out the elenos, then the paramilitaries kicked out the FARC, the army, all those things…."[20]

Part of the merit of Utopia is that it offers its students an alternative way of life. Based on his experience in other rural areas, Gómez believes with regret that in areas like the Llanos the main motivation to go to school is that there is nothing else to do, it is not because the school has something to offer. Joining any of the combatant parties is always a temptation for the youth in those regions because that would be a way out of their

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[17] "Nos alegra mucho saber que estamos quitándole soldados a este conflicto"

[18] "Evitar que los jóvenes campesinos abandonen el campo y sea captados ya sea por la guerrilla, los paramilitares, el narcotráfico, la delincuencia o cualquier otro tipo de violencia"

[19] "Quitándole cada año 100 jóvenes a los grupos armados…"

[20] "Ellos han pasado por todas las violencias: primero lo elenos, luego las FARC sacaron a los elenos, luego los paracos sacaron a las FARC, el ejercito, todas esas cosas."

difficult situation, in which the greatest expectation they may have is working for a farm of for an oil extraction company doing some poor paid, unqualified job.   Gómez believes that without alternatives, the chances are high that the violence circle will repeat itself, men will join the armed groups and women will get pregnant when they are 18 or 20 years old.

One of the objectives of Utopia is to give these young people dreams.   He illustrates his point with the example of a kid whose parents were killed in front of him. To save his life he had to hide while the corpses were still laying on the floor (for days) until he had the chance to pick them up. "How can we ask those kids not to repeat the circle of violence?" Gómez asked. But he continued saying how today this boy has the dream of having his own productive project and recovering part of his estate now that new law seems to pave the way in that direction. The students, he remarked, have an observatory to monitor the evolution of the law on land restitution and it's implementation. This way of thinking in which students are focused in the future and not in the past, is part of the transformation Utopia is trying to accomplish.

Utopia students are expected not only to become Agronomic Engineers, but also leaders for the socio-political transformation of their places of origin. They are expected to contribute to transformation of the countryside into a productive enterprise.

Conclusion

Like many other higher education institutions, La Salle can show a list of publications, events, and dissertations, on topics related to the conflict and postconflict. However, Utopia is a very unique experience considering the students' selection process,

the content of the courses, and its emphasis in contributing to peace while promoting a financially viable option for their students.

La Salle targets victims of the conflicts as potential students. But their definition of victim goes beyond displaced people and includes many others. Unfortunately, there are many victims of the armed conflict in Colombia's countryside; not all of them are displaced people. Utopia's enrolment strategy is very proactive. They don't wait for the students to come to the university; they go and recruit them.

Unlike the CERES strategy, Utopia does not rely on distance education. It is very targeted, only one program is offered in the Yopal campus and it is specifically designed to address the particular situation of students who are also victims of the conflict, they are trained not only as engineers, but also as citizens and leaders. More than a peace education model, Utopia is an education for peace initiative in which integral training is provided while simultaneously instilling leadership and peacebuilding skills to the students.

Something that deserves attention is the elevated cost of the program. The investment for the whole project is estimated around $30 million and the cost of tuition and room and board for one student through the full program is estimated in $38,000. Compared to United States standards, this cost is reasonable, or even low. But compared to other programs of study in Colombia, particularly those for demobilized soldiers and displaced people, it is very expensive. However, La Salle's goal is to provide top-quality education for these students, and this is expensive.

An evaluation of the impact of the program would be difficult to make, partly because it is very young and its first cohort will graduate in 2014. It will be very interesting to know more about the impact of Utopia in the life of its students, the impact of the university's investment in Yopal, and the success of the program as a peacebuilding idea. Utopia is a pilot experience that other institutions interested in contributing to peacebuilding through education in Colombia or elsewhere will have to explore.

Chapter Twelve: The Universities of Peace

In a ten-year period, two higher education institutions were created in the Middle Magdalena region, one of the regions most affected by violence in the country. The *Institución Universitaria de la Paz* (University Institution of Peace - Unipaz), was established in Barrancabermeja (Santander) in 1986, and a satellite campus of the *Universidad Popular del Cesar* (Popular University of Cesar – UPC) was established in Aguachica (Cesar) in 1997. The creation of these two higher education institutions would have made perfect sense in a peacebuilding strategy. However, there was not such strategy and the institutions were created just as a result of political pressures and the diligence of local governors and leaders willing to have a HEIs in their own towns.

This chapter provides a short overview of how these two institutions experienced the armed conflict and whether or not they have contributed to peacebuilding in the region. The first section of the chapter provides general background information about the Middle Magdalena Region and the conflict. The second and third sections will be devoted to introduce the cases of Unipaz and UPC. In the fourth section, the question of whether these institutions have contributed to peacebuilding will be explored, and finally conclusions will be presented.

The Middle Magdalena Region

The Magdalena River—perhaps the most important of the country—runs between the Central and East branches (*Cordilleras*) of the Colombian Andes and connects the

center of the country with the Caribbean Sea. The Middle Magdalena region, as is commonly known the middle part of the river's basin, is not officially defined, and its extension, as well as the departments and municipalities that it includes, may vary from one author or organization to another. According to Rudqvist and van Sluys (2005) the region is mostly rural and it includes 27 municipalities from the departments of Antioquia, Bolívar, Cesar, and Santander, and it has two main urban centers: Barrancabermeja (Santander) and Aguachica (Cesar).

This region has been scenario for the emergence of organizations that have participated actively in Colombia's armed conflict. The ELN, a Marxist-Leninist guerrilla, was founded on July fourth, 1964, in San Vicente de Chucurí, (Santander). Six months later, on January seventh, 1965, the ELN carried out the attack over Simacota (Santander), and released the Simacota Manifest, which became a foundational document for the movement (Hernández, 2006).

The FARC expanded to the region during the 1980s, coexisting—not always peacefully—with the ELN. Soon the Middle Magdalena became one of the regions where the FARC had bigger influence in the country. In 1984, as a result of the peace negotiations with Belisario Betancur's government, demobilized members from the FARC and other guerrilla movements created a political party, the *Unión Patriótica* (Patriotic Union, UP) and for the first time they were able to run for public election positions. The UP concentrated its efforts in regions where the FARC had most influence, including the Middle Magdalena, and got 16 town mayors, 16 senators, and 256 town councilors, elected across the country (VerdadAbierta.com, n.d.).

The UP's triumph generated concern among the extreme right, and several paramilitary and self-defense movements were then created in the region to counteract the influence of the left through the UP, which was perceived as an extension of the FARC, if not as part of the FARC itself. Paramilitary groups would also provide protection to illegal crops and drug trafficking routes. Among those groups was the death squad *Muerte a Secuestradores* (Death to Kidnapers – MAS), financed mostly by drug traffickers (VerdadAbierta.com, 2011c). Also during the beginnings of the 1980s the Army's XIV Brigade, trained and equipped self-defense groups in the Middle Magdalena. (Romero, 2004). The MAS and the self-defense movements that soon became death squads, are considered responsible for the killing of over 5,000 militants of the UP across the country, many of them in the Middle Magdalena, as well as for the killings of members of the Democratic Alliance M-19 (Alianza Democrática M-19) the political party created after the demobilization of the guerrilla movement M-19.

During Andrés Pastrana's government (1988-2002), in a different peace process, this time with the ELN, San Pablo and Cantagallo—two towns of Bolivar's Middle Magdalena region—were designated as a clearing zone (*zona de despeje*).

Instituto Universitario de la Paz – Unipaz

Barrancabermeja was officially founded in 1922, but it had already been established as an important settlement, after the construction of oil extraction wells in the region by the Tropical Oil Company (today Exxon). Workers of the Tropical Oil Company founded in 1922 in Barrancabermeja the *Unión Sindical Obrera de la Industria*

del Petróleo (Union of Oil Workers, USO), one of the most powerful and belligerent unions in the country. Early on, the city witnessed different social conflicts, initially between unionized workers and foreign oil companies, then between Ecopetrol (the Colombian state oil company) and unionized workers, and later on armed groups including the ELN, the FARC, and the paramilitaries organizations joined the scene turning the conflict more complex and violent.

In 1986, the government authorized the creation of the Colombian Instituto Universitario de la Paz (University Institution of Peace, Unipaz) in Barrancabermeja. Like Colombia's Unipaz, there are several "peace universities" around the world: William Peace University, in Raleigh, NC, founded in 1957; the University for Peace (Universidad de la Paz) established in Costa Rica in 1980; the International University of Peace, Unipaz, in Brasil, founded in 1987; the European Peace University, founded in 1990 in Stadtschlaining, Austria; and the International University of Peace (Universidad Internacional de La Paz) which started activities in 1997 in Baja California, Mexico. The main difference between Colombia's Unipaz and the rest of these institutions, is that in the Colombian case, peace did not seem to be a priority in the academic and service activities conducted by the institution.

Unipaz's history.[21]

According to Oswaldo Rios, Unipaz's former academic vice-rector, it was President Belisario Betancur who first proposed the creation of a university of peace in Barrancabermeja in 1985, during a speech he gave in the city while trying to bring a general strike to an end. After this speech, Horacio Serpa, a Congressman for the department of Santander, became very involved in the project and was instrumental in the creation of Unipaz. Rios pointed out how the institution was created in a record time of less than a year, with the participation of the *Universidad Industrial de Santander* (Industrial University of Santander, UIS), the Santander's Governor office (*Gobernación de Santander*), and the Barrancabermeja's Mayor's office (*Alcaldía de Barrancabermeja*).

Because the largest oil refinery of the country is located in Barrancabermeja, the initial idea was to create several programs relevant to the petroleum industry. However, Rios recalled, based on a regulation that limited the number of HEIs allowed to offer similar degrees in the same department, the ICFES did not authorize the creation of those programs because the UIS was already offering similar programs in the department of Santander. As an alternative, Unipaz decided to focus on degrees related to agriculture.

Unipaz started activities in 1987 with one academic program: Veterinary Medicine and Animal Husbandry (*Medicina Veterinaria y Zootecnia, MVZ*). In 2012 it

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[21] There are very little documental sources about on Unipaz's history. The interview with Oswaldo Rios Carrascal, Unipaz's former academic vice rector who has studied the institution's history, resulted instrumental for the documentation of many of the facts presented in this section. Unipaz's History webpage (Unipaz - Instituto Universitario de la Paz, n.d.), which was also used as a source, is based on Rios' research.

offered 15 degrees and only one of them had an explicit peacebuilding component: the recently created program on Social Sciences, Ethics, Development and Peace, which is a teacher-training program (licenciatura). The other programs offered by 2012 were: seven baccalaureates including Social Work, MVZ, Pedagogy of Arts, and four engineering programs (Agricultural, Industrial, Environmental, and Production); five technologies—the equivalent to the associate level degree—including Technology in Industrial Hygiene and Safety, Food Technology, Electromechanical Technology; Technology in Chemical Industry Processes; Technology in Business Management), and Nursing Assistant, a certificate degree program (SNIES-MEN).

Financial constraints.

Students from Unipaz come from diverse economic backgrounds including ranch owners, peasants, and union activists. However, most of them belong to middle- and low-income families. When the university started activities in 1987, it had 50 students. Between 2000 and 2006 enrolment fluctuated between 1,200 and 1,400 students. This number grew significantly during 2007 and 2008, surpassing two thousand students, adding more tension to a financial situation that was already difficult, as what they pay for tuition is but a fraction of the cost of their education.

Contrasting with public universities, which are financed by the government but are not part of any of its branches because they are autonomous, Unipaz, as a public non-university, is subordinated to the department of Santander. Unipaz's financial situation has never been good. Since its creation, there have been several student and administrative marches and takeovers demanding more resources for the institution. In

2008 the department's assembly decided to allocate to the institution the equivalent of 7,000 legal monthly minimum wages (about US$2.2 million) per year, in addition to the resources already allocated by the national government, ten percent of the moneys collected through a special contribution called "pro-UIS stamp" which is a tribute over most contracts celebrated with the department of Santander or any of its municipalities. Since 2003 Unipaz owns 24 percent of Ferticol, the department's fertilizer plant located in Barrancabermeja (Unipaz, accionista de ferticol.2003). However, Ferticol is now in financial stress and near bankruptcy (Serpa, 2008). Through tuition and services the institution can earn additional financial resources. For example, in 2003, it made two billion pesos (a little more than a million dollars) through services; this amount was more than half of the budget for that year, but it did not generate enough profit to cover the institution's 600 million pesos deficit (Diaz Jiménez, 2003).

Unfortunately these financial resources are not enough and, apparently, they are not very reliable. The financial resources from the Pro-UIS stamp are limited and since the creation of this tribute in 1993 the institution has grown in terms of number of students served and academic programs offered. In 2011, Unipaz was among a list of public higher education institutions that did not receive any money from the government, except for the resources coming from the pro-UIS stamp (Las IES denominadas públicas y que no reciben un peso del estado.2011).

Unipaz and the armed conflict.

There has never been a peacebuilding plan related to the creation of Unipaz. Its corporate mission and vision hardly mention peace among its priorities and a review of

the documentation submitted to ICFES for the creation of Unipaz showed that "peace" was scarcely mentioned. Rios noted that the use of the word "peace" in the name of the institution has not been exempt of criticism, among them those of late Mons. Jaime Prieto Amaya who constantly challenged the institution about the meaning of such a word in its name. According to Rios, Unipaz could have had any other name and it would not have made any difference.

It was just until 2011 that Unipaz created *licenciatura* on Social Sciences, Ethics, Development, and Peace, which was its first academic program directly related with peace, peacebuilding, human rights, or conflict resolution. The institution has offered some certificate and non-degree programs on human rights, which are usually carried out in association with other organizations, such as NGOs, universities, and government organizations. According to Rios, there was a project to create a faculty for peace in the Middle Magadalena. The initiative for the project came from a group of people from CINEP, the PDPMM, and professors from Harvard. The conversations to create the programs took more than two years but did not have any concrete output.

Unipaz has participated in the resolution of several regional conflicts and the creation of peace and development programs. In 1995, CINEP, the *Corporación Económica de Amigos del País* (Economic Society of Friends of the Country, CEAP), the USO, and Ecopetrol, created the *Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio* (Development and Peace Program for the Middle Magdalena, PDPMM). Rios mentioned that Unipaz participated in the elaboration of a regional diagnosis before the program started. When the European Union started financing the PDPMM, it became the Peace

Laboratory and Unipaz continued contributing occasionally to it. For example, in 2003 Unipaz's students participated in the industry census of Barrancabermeja, and in 2004 the institution participated in a project in which small herds were loaned for four years to 300 peasant families (Entregarán ganado a familias.2004). Rios remarked the importance of Unipaz' students in these type of projects by pointing out that because they belong to the region, they know how to move around in such a complex and violent environment.

By 1998, Unipaz was part of the negotiation group that the government put together during the so-called *Gran Éxodo Campesino a Barrancabermeja* (Great Peasants Exodus to Barrancabermeja) a multitudinous peasant march to the cities of Barrancabermeja and San Pablo. Simultaneously, Unipaz students supported the marchers collecting donations and cooking for them.

Unipaz has been affected by the conflict in different ways. On March 23, 2000, Paramilitaries tortured and forcibly disappeared student leader José Gregorio López Lennis (CINEP, 2004). In 2005, in an obscure incident, the Army killed Edison Martínez, an alumnus of the MVZ program, he and another person were riding a motorcycle when they were shot dead. According to the Army, they were killed after they opened fire against the troops. Unipaz's Academic Council sent a letter to the Ministry of Justice asking for the elucidation of what really happened (Unipaz pide justicia por egresado.2005).

In 2006 Unipaz convened a March for Peace to protest against the murder of a representative of the Popular Women's Organization (OPF), an attempted murder of a school teacher, and the murder of two of them, as well as against the kidnapping by the

ELN of two technicians from Unipaz who worked for the government's project "Families in Action" (*Boletín.*2006). In 2008 over 200 peasants took over Unipaz's campus as a measure to press against the aspersion of the herbicide Gliphosate to eradicate coca crops, and in favor of the substitution of the coca crops in the south of Bolivar (Campesinos se toman universidad …, 2008)

Unipaz's current situation is not encouraging. A candidate for university rector mentioned in an article (Duarte Rueda, 2012) that, contrary to the growing trend of the institution during its first years, student enrolment has been shrinking recently, there are serious weaknesses in the quality of the academic programs, and the scores obtained by its students in the SaberPro tests are among the worst in the country. Duarte also alleged that the university was not contributing to the development of the region or the construction of peace.

Economic development.

Unipaz was initially conceived as a pilot project for agro-industrial development in a model in which higher education would propel development in the Middle Magdalena. In a way, that goal has been achieved.

The local government has included Unipaz in its development strategy. In 2008, Horacio Serpa—who played an important role in the creation of Unipaz—became the governor of Santander. In his department's development plan, Serpa assigned Unipaz the goal of creating five new academic programs to contribute to the goal of improving the department's university absorption rate (Serpa, 2008, p. 232). However, the plan did not include fresh financial resources to achieve this goal, but proposed increasing by 17.1%

the annual income of the department's three public higher education institutions (Unipaz, UIS, and the Santander Technological Units) through self generated resources.

Universidad Popular del Cesar (UPC)

Cesar is a young department officially created in 1967, after its separation from the department of Magdalena. Valledupar, the capital and largest city, was founded in 1550. According to the last census (2005) it has over 354,000 inhabitants. Cesar's main productive activities are agriculture, cattle raising, and agroindustry. With over 100,000 inhabitants, Aguachica is the second city of the department, as well as the second largest city in the Middle Magdalena region (Valledupar is not considered part of the Middle Magdalena). Aguachica is located in the limits of the departments of Cesar and Santander, 289 Km away from Valledupar, and 164 Km away from Bucaramanga, the capital of Santander.

The Universidad Popular del Cesar (People's University of Cesar, UPC) is a public university from the national level that serves the department of Cesar. It was created in 1973, four years after the creation of the department of Cesar. It was initially a technologic (non-university) institution called *Instituto Tecnológico Universitario del Cesar* (Cesar's Technologic Institute, ITUCE). In 1977 it became a university with three faculties (schools): education, health, and administration and accounting. Initially, the three schools offered seven academic programs. By 2012 the university had six faculties and 18 academic programs (Universidad Popular del Cesar, 2012). Enrolment has been growing constantly, rising from 5,266 students in 2000 to 11,791 in 2010.

UPC's main campus is located in Valledupar, it has a satellite campus (*seccional*) in Aguachica, and it participates in a CERES in Agustín Codazzi, a smaller town in Cesar. UPC has been part of most of the department's history, and its satellite campus was created taking advantage of the peace efforts during Ernesto Samper's mandate (1994-1998).

Social protest and the referendum for peace: Background for the creation of Aguachica's satellite campus

Cesar, and other departments of the region have enjoyed several economic booms associated with good international prices for agrarian products such as tobacco, coffee, cotton, and palm oil, as well as marihuana. They have also suffered recession when the prices of those products fell.

After the cotton boom of the 1960s and 1970s, the international price of cotton dropped substantially in 1983, causing a regional economic recession (VerdadAbierta.com, 2011a) that, among other negative consequences, stimulated the proliferation of coca and marihuana crops (Molano, 2012).

Stimulated by the economic crisis, there was a big regional strike that affected the departments of Arauca, Cesar, North Santander, and Santander, between the 7th and the 14th of June 1987. Approximately 120,000 peasants participated in the strike, known as *Paro del Nor-Oriente* (Strike of the Northeast), which apparently was organized by the ELN and the FARC (Santrich & Almeida, 2008)

In Valledupar, *¡A Luchar!* (To Fight!), a leftwing group, played an important role in the organization and logistics of the strike (Harnecker, 1989; Santrich & Almeida,

2008). Peasants took over Valledupar's emblematic Alfonso López Square, and blocked the access of food and supplies to the region. They were demanding for vacant lands to be assigned to unemployed peasants, as well as for better roads, water supply, sewer services, and schools. The take-over shocked Valledupar's upper class, since many of them lived around the square. However, some of *Causa Común* members, which organized the takeover, belonged to Valledupar's elite; among them was Ricardo Palmera, a professor from UPC (VerdadAbierta.com, 2011a; VerdadAbierta.com, 2011b; Wolf, n.d.).

The government created a group to negotiate with the leaders of the protest and finally agreed to grant them much of what they were requesting. However, the government's promises were not fulfilled; instead, a dirty war was unleashed against the organizers and participants of the occupation (VerdadAbierta.com, 2011b). Many of the protest leaders were killed, others were forced to exile, and others decided to join the guerrilla, as in the case of Palmera, who joined the FARC and assumed "Simón Trinidad" as his *nome de guerre*.

According to Maya, the occupation of the Plaza Alfonso López marked the history of the conflict in Valledupar and the rest of Cesar. The dominant class tolerated the leftwing as far as it was confined to the university and some other spaces, but the occupation of the Plaza Alfonso López was interpreted as crossing a symbolic line between what was acceptable and what was not. After that came the massacres and all the violence.

The situation in Aguachica was also difficult. The ELN arrived at this part of the Middle Magdalena around 1985 (Céspedes, 2002) and soon started to blackmail landowners, ranchers, and businessmen. The guerrilla gained strength after the Strike of the Northeast, and to enhance their finances and tactical power they kidnaped ranch-owners and businessmen, and recruited soldiers among the unemployed youth (Molano, 2012).

Tired of the guerrilla's siege, landowners and stockbreeders created and financed small-armed groups to protect them from the guerrilla, starting several self-defense organizations. During the first half of the 1990s, violence in Aguachica was unbearable. Only in 1994, 15 political crimes took place, including the killing of two city councilors, and the killing of one of the mayor's secretaries (García, 1995).

Guerrillas and paramilitaries justified their killings arguing that they were acting in the name of the people. This situation inspired Aguachica's mayor Luis Fernando Rincón—who was a M-19 demobilized combatant—to call a plebiscite (*consulta popular*) asking Aguachica's inhabitants: "Do you reject violent people and agree to transform Aguachica into a town model of peace?" [22] (Céspedes, 2002).   Both paramilitaries and guerrillas opposed the plebiscite and tried to stop it by violent means, including the burning of some ballot boxes.

The plebiscite took place on August 27, 1995. From approximately 30,000 potential voters, 10,397 voted "yes", 42 voted "no", and 68 voted blank (García, 1995). Despite the large abstention, which is common in any election in Colombia, the plebiscite

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[22] "¿Rechaza usted a los violentos y está de acuerdo con transformar a Aguachica en un modelo municipal de paz?"

was considered a success for peace. The power of this consultation was symbolic in many ways. The output of the consultation would not obligate neither paramilitaries nor guerrillas, because they are outlaws and would not obey a mandate imposed through this procedure. However, it caught the attention from several international organizations and the government was expected to take actions to promote development in the region and to prevent violence.

Violence declined substantially for awhile. The government and private companies financed several projects of social interest aimed at bringing peace and progress to the region. Among the many projects motivated by the plebiscite, there was an agreement between the town of Aguachica, the Department of Cesar, and the Universidad Popular del Cesar, in 1996, which guaranteed 150 million pesos (about UD$75,000) for the construction of a satellite campus of the Universidad Popular del Cesar in Aguachica and a technological institute.

But peace was still elusive. On October 6, 1995, the ELN killed one of the leaders of the peace plebiscite, triggering a chain of retaliations between guerrillas and paramilitaries. By 1996, businessmen, landowners, and local politicians contacted representatives from the AUC asking them to send a group of paramilitaries to control the guerrillas (VerdadAbierta.com, 2011a).

The paramilitary strategy to take control of the region was bloody and merciless, to the point that some considered it genocide (VerdadAbierta.com, 2011b). Between 1990 and 2004, the Autodefensas del Sur del Cesar (Self-defense Organization from the South of Cesar) was responsible for 5,827 killings, from which 1,988 took place in

Aguachica (VerdadAbierta.com, 2011b). One of those murders was that of Orlando Claro, a Masters student founder of the Association of Unemployed People of the South of Bolívar, who also participated in the Permanent Assembly for Peace, and the PDPMM. Another victim of the paramilitaries' escalate was Luis Rincón, the major who promoted the plebiscite (VerdadAbierta.com, 2011a).

Seventeen years later, Aguachica's struggle for peace continues; on March 12, 2012, its inhabitants marched once again rejecting violence and clamoring for peace (Noticias Caracol, 2012).

The plebiscite for peace and the creation of the satellite campus in Aguachica.

The plebiscite for peace in Aguachica became a milestone in the use of the citizens' participation tools that were created in the recently issued Political Constitution of 1991. Even though a long lasting peace was not one of the products of the plebiscite, authors attributed it some tangible outcomes, such as the creation of UPC's satellite campus in Aguachica, the creation of a Vocational Technical School, and the master plan for the city's aqueduct and sewer system, among others (Céspedes, 2002).

However, the idea of creating a HEI in Aguachica predated the plebiscite. In an informal interview, a UPC professor explained that Aguachica's campus was not a product of the plebiscite, because there had been ideas on creating a university in the region before the plebiscite. Raúl Enrique Maya, who was UPCs rector when the interviews for this study were conducted, was emphatic at saying that there was not such peacebuilding strategy:

> That was just the hook for the State to give permission [for the creation of the satellite campus]. But the State always turned its back to it . . . the State created a policy of peace but did not support it in the university.[23]

He added that the contributions from the community and the university itself were fundamental for the creation of Aguachica's campus. Even though the central government provided economic resources for the payroll, many other expenses remained uncovered and the university had to find its way to cover them.

There is another argument to refute the theory that the Aguachica campus was created as the direct consequence of the plebiscite for peace. Even though this campus started activities in 1997, the feasibility study required by the law for the creation of any higher education institution was produced in 1992 (Universidad Popular del Cesar, 2010).

UPC in the conflict.

Like many other public universities in the north of the country (e.g. the universities of Sucre, Córdoba, and Atlántico), violence affected UPC in different ways, partly as a consequence of the campaign by extreme right movements to take over the universities. At least three reasons motivated these take-overs: 1) the fact that these universities were partially under the control of leftwing movements that they were fighting; 2) the bureaucratic power of the universities, that translated into many jobs that they could allocate to friends, sympathizers, and lieutenants; and 3) the relatively abundant budget of the universities, which allowed to divert some resources to finance paramilitary activities or to enhance particular fortunes.

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[23] Ese fue el gancho para que el Estado diera el permiso pero el Estado siempre estuvo de espalda . . . el Estado creo una política de paz pero no la apoyo en la universidad.

Maya identified two different moments in the university's history: when the left

dominated it, and when the right dominated it:

> I entered the university, in 1986, when the left prevailed in the university. I even
> had the opportunity to be recruited by the groups that were within the university,
> which at that time were the JUCO, and the MOIR. There were also illegal
> leftwing groups which had some influence in the groups within the university.
> That might have lasted until the end of the nineties, 96, 97; perhaps until 2001
> there was the influence of the left in the university[24].

Maya explained how during the years of leftwing control in the university their

influence was evident. They controlled the *Comité Superior Estudiantil* (Students Higher

Committee), which was the students' representation body. Oftentimes students knew

when a fellow student belonged to the guerillas, even though they used hoods to cover

theirs faces, people knew who they were. During that initial stage, many professors were

also leftwing inclined, which was reflected in the contents of the courses. The leftwing

influence on the university affected in a negative manner how the dominant class

perceived the university; the dominant class did not consider the university a

development pole.

When the decline of the leftwing started in the region and extreme rightwing

groups emerged, there were violent events that affected the university, such as killings of

students and teachers, forcing others to exile, Maya observed.

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[24] Yo entré a estudiar en el 86 y en ese momento imperaba dentro de la U el conflicto de
izquierda. Inclusive, yo tuve la oportunidad de ser reclutado por los grupos que estaban
al interior de la universidad. En esa época estaba la JUCO, estaba el MOIR, y venían a
converger otros grupos también de izquierda pero que estaban al margen de la ley pero
que tenían ingerencia en los grupos que estaban al interior de la universidad. Eso pudo
haber durado como hasta finales de los noventa, 96, 97, quizás hasta el 2001 estuvo esa
influencia de la izquierda en la universidad.

In 1997, in a period of less than two months, three students affiliated to leftwing movements were killed.   These crimes caused alarm and fear in the university and the city; student leaders did not produce any statement and the university's *Consejo Superior* (an equivalent to the direction board) decided in a meeting "to keep full silence in order to avoid having the institution get involved in serious matters, hence there will not be marches or manifestations"[25] (Temor por asesinatos…, 1997). In 2001, the president of the university's teachers union was murdered; a few months before, his brother, who was a professor at the *Universidad del Atlántico*, was killed as well (Asesinan a presidente…, 2001).

The presence of the extreme right in the university was not as noticeable as that of the leftwing movements. Maya recounted that people did not use to say "this person belongs to the AUC", or "that other one is a commander," as it was the case with the guerrillas, but people knew they were present. Many rectors since then have been accused or suspected of belonging to either the "paras" or the far left.

After the massive demobilization of paramilitaries across the country, many of them told the public prosecutor's office (*Fiscalía*) how they infiltrated different public entities in the country, including UPC.   According to these versions, in 2004 paramilitaries influenced the designation of the university's rector, which corresponded to the Consejo Superior. After interviewing other candidates, David Hernández Rojas, a paramilitary leader, decided that José Guillermo Botero would be the rector and threatened to kill any other person appointed for that position (VerdadAbierta.com,

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[25] "… guardar completo silencio para no ver involucrada a la institución en cosas graves y por lo tanto no se realizarán marchas, ni manifestaciones."

2010). Based on the accusation of a former member of the Consejo Superior, a public prosecutor investigated Botero but the case was dismissed because there were serious inconsistencies between the initial accusation and a later declaration made by the person who initially accused Botero (Precluyen investigación..., 2010).

Maya was the University's rector in 2010, when the interviews for this research were conducted. Months later, (on March 2011) the *Consejo de Estado* (Council of State, a national tribunal specialized in public administration issues) nullified his designation because of serious procedure mistakes during the designation process. A few days before the notification of the Council's decision, Maya denounced life threats against himself and his family, including an attack with an explosive device at his house, while he was absent. Maya attributed the threats to the fact that he managed an institution with an annual budget of 35 billion pesos, approximately 19.6 million dollars (Observatorio de la Universidad Colombiana, 2011).

UPC today.

In 2012, UPC Aguachica offers five academic programs: Management, Public Accounting, Agro-industrial Engineering, Systems Engineering, and Agrarian Technology. Despite some reductions during specific years, overall enrolment has been growing significantly; in 1996 there were 188 students, by the second semester of 1999 this number almost doubled, with 391 students, and during the first semester of 2011 there were 1,132 students (Universidad Popular del Cesar, 2011).

UPC Aguachica's area of influence covers 18 towns from the south of Bolivar, the south of Cesar, and Santander. The university, in Alliance with the major's offices

of some of these towns, created the "*Corredor Universitario*" (University Corridor) program, in which free transportation, and sometimes meals, were provided to the students from nearby towns (Aguilera Díaz, 2004). The University allocated one bus and the major's offices from those towns paid the oil expenses.

Research is taking off in Aguachica. There is a Research Group called Buturama, in which there is a Unit for Promotion and Development (*Unidad de Promoción y Desarrollo*) which main objective is "to detect and analyze the opportunities for development and employment (and) to promote sustainable growth in the municipalities of south of Cesar" (Blanco Contreras & Neuto Forero, 2009, p. xxi). Another research group called Agrilimce (a contraction of *Agricultura Limpia del Cesar*, Cesar's Clean Agriculture) specializes in organic agriculture, as an alternative for the region, which has been dominated by the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides (Pacheco Carrascal & Franco Barrera, n.d.). The university also has issued some publications on human rights (See: Rodríguez Bolaño, 2008). There are no groups or professors doing research about the social conflict in the region; fear is still a big deterrent because, as one professor put it, "one hears that stuff still happens."

Are These Institutions Contributing to Peacebuilding?

Given the use of the conflict as leverage for the creation of Unipaz and UPC Aguachica, it is valid to ask whether or not these institutions have contributed to peacebuilding in the region. Interviewees (particularly Daza and Rios) believed that in

their institutions' case, the answer is affirmative. Below are some of the reasons they provided.

Improving the knowledge basis of society.

By providing higher-level education to a growing number of students these two institutions, as well as the rest of HEIs in the country, are improving the knowledge basis of society. Maya mentioned that UPC has approximately 11,000 alumni; he believed that even if some of them engage in the conflict, the preparation that they received in the university will make a difference, they will think in a different, more humanitarian, way.

Contributing to upward social mobility through education.

According to Daza, UPC has contributed to upward social mobility; however, at the beginning, this mobility generated some level of tension in the region. Daza recalled how Valledupar's upper class was integrated mostly by descendants of European immigrants who became landowners and ranchers; they did not give much importance to higher education but when they did, they sent their children to other cities of the country or abroad to get their education, which produced a group of people with advanced training in fields that were not relevant to the region. The creation of UPC in Valledupar gave access to higher education to a middle class segment that otherwise would have been excluded, because they did not have the financial resources to travel to get their education. These people where trained in Valledupar and most of them stayed in the city gaining access to middle and high level positions that would allow them a better standard of living. They started to buy real estate and became members of the social club, which

generated some sort of tension with the traditional families. However, that tension was never violent and little by little, UPC's alumni ascension in the social ladder was tolerated and became normal.

Providing leadership and skilled labor.

Unipaz has produced different types of leaders for the Middle Magdalena, ranging from mayors and councilmen to skilled technicians at the *Unidades Municipales de Asistencia Técnica* (Municipal Units for Agriculture and Stockbreeding Technical Advice, Umata), which are government agencies that provide training, consulting, and technology transfer to farmers.

UPC has also provided leadership and skilled labor to the region. Daza pointed out how UPC's alumni are gaining social spaces in Cesar's society: "[UPC's] rector graduated from UPC, [many city] councilors, 70 percent of senior officials of [Valledupar's] town hall are graduates of the UPC (…) anywhere you go, you'll find a [UPC] alumnus."[26]

Generating employment.

Daza pointed out that a working force of 700 teachers—including full-time, part-time, and hourly-based—and 500 other employees, not to mention indirect employment,

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[26] "El rector es egresado de la UPC, concejales, 70 por ciento de los funcionarios altos de la alcadía son egresados de la UPC (…) adonquiera que uno llega encuentra un egresado".

contributes to peace and regional development. Because of its condition as a non-university, Unipaz's financial resources are scarcer, which is reflected in lower employment generation. According to an official report by the institution (Unipaz, 2012), in 2011 the institution had 28 teachers with a permanent contract and 169 lecturers or teachers with less stable contract. Most of the expenditure of the university during the same year was devoted to the construction of its new campus, which may have had an effect on indirect employment generation, and which was not estimated in the report.

Teaching.

In 2011, Unipaz started its program on Social Sciences, Ethics, Development, and Peace, which initially, would be called Social Sciences with Emphasis on Human Rights, Conflict Resolution, and Development. This was the first academic program offered by Unipaz explicitly addressing topics such as peace, human rights, and conflict resolution. In addition, Both Unipaz and UPC have conducted several certificate level courses (*diplomados*) on human rights (See for example: Uscátegui, 2003), peace, and other issues. However, these programs are not considered a priority in either institution.

Protective role.

Daza believes that the university (both in Valledupar and Aguachica) plays a protective role for most of its students, keeping them away from the conflict. "The

university favors peace as far as it upholds the youth, who are easy prey to the conflict."[27]

He explained that youth who do not get access to the university are very likely to get involved in the conflict in one way or another. "If a youngster is not in college he is implicit in the conflict, because he is idle; the 'false possitives'[28], most of them were unemployed youth."[29] But this protective role is not absolute. Daza aknowledged that the combating parties need infiltrated elements within the university, which normally are not aggressive and do not carry guns. He also aknowledged that there is some drop-out from college to join the combating parties.

Contributing to soldiers' demobilization.

The contribution of Unipaz and UPC to soldiers' demobilization was not evident. According to Rios, Unipaz had not admitted demobilized soldiers as students, but it had admitted some displaced people. At UPC, Daza mentioned that, the university had admitted what he called "*conflict ringleaders*" (cabecillas del conflicto) from both combating parties. He recalls how in one occasion "there was a confrontation between two gangs and the leaders ran into each other in a classroom. We moved one of them to a different group, and the situation did not escalate."[30] However, during the interviews or in

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[27] "La universidad favorece a la paz en la medida en que acoge a los muchachos, los cuales son presa fácil del conflicto"

[28] "False positives" (falsos positivos) was the name that the press gave to men who were recruited with fake promises or under engaño by the army or paramilitaries and then executed and presented as enemy's cassualties in combat to show effectivity, to get rewards (economics rewards or days off-duty), or both.

[29] "si el muchacho esta fuera de la universidad está implícito en el conflicto, porque está en el ocio, los falsos positivos casi todos son muchachos desocupados."

[30] "hubo un enfrentamiento de dos cuadrillas y los jefes se encontraron en un salón, entonces cambiamos a uno de grupo; no pasó a mayores."

the different documents and articles that were consulted, there were no references to any active involvement of these two institutions in the demobilization of former combatants.

Other peacebuilding activities.

Interviewees mentioned some other activities that they considered might contribute to peacebuilding. For example, Unipaz' participation in health campaigns for displaced people, its few publications on conflict related topics, and its sporadic participation as a mediator in regional conflicts. The lack of information regarding these activities did not allow deeper analysis.

Conclusion

Unipaz and UPC Aguachica have many elements in common: they are both in the Middle Magdalena region; they were created under very similar circumstances, and those who advocate for the creation of each institution used the quest for peace to gain some financial support and the central government's authorization for the establishment of the HEIs.

Unipaz's name was the product of an opportunistic strategy in which Belisario Betancur's interest on peace was used to achieve the creation of a unique higher education institution in the region, not just a satellite campus of another university. Peace was just part of the name of the institution, but not a driver or a long-term goal. In a similar fashion, the mandate for peace in Aguachica was used to get financial resources and support from the central government for the creation of the satellite campus.

Neither of these institutions included programs related to peacebuilding, or conflict resolution in its initial academic offering. Unipaz recently created one program in that field; apparently, UPC does not have any plans in that regard. However, UPC directives and Aguachica's community seem to believe that it is contributing to peace, and they are using this argument to advocate for the renewal of the license (registro calificado) to offer academic programs, as it was illustrated by the documentation submitted to the Ministry of Education:

> Therefore, we insist on a categorical and imperative form, that the QUALIFIED REGISTER for the Agroindustrial Engineering program at UPC, sectional Aguachica, must be RENEWED, not only as a social investment in the long term, potentially stealing potencial to guerrillas, paramilitaries; drug trafficking and common crime, but as an opportunity to vindicate the population centers, based in the region, giving them the opportunity to transcend poverty and enabling clearer food independence and industrial development[31] (Universidad Popular del Cesar, 2010, p. 19).

There are also significant differences between them: UPC is a university, Unipaz is not; this has critical consequences in terms of financial resources allocation. UPC was infiltrated by the paramilitaries; Unipaz was not. Unipaz tried to focus its academic offering in programs considered relevant to the region, initially programs related to the oil industry and later on programs on agriculture topics; UPC has focused on more

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[31] "Por ello, insistimos de manera categórica, y en forma imperativa, que debe ser RENOVADO EL REGISTRO CALIFICADO al programa de Ingeniería Agroindustrial de la UPC seccional Aguachica, no sólo como INVERSION SOCIAL a largo plazo, robándole potencial a la guerrilla; al paramilitarismo; al narcotráfico y a la delincuencia común, sino como una oportunidad de reivindicar a los núcleos poblacionales, con asiento en la región, dándoles la oportunidad de trascender la pobreza y permitiéndoles una más clara autonomía alimentaria y desarrollo industrial."

traditional programs and the relevance of its programs has been challenged (Universidad Popular del Cesar, 2012).

Despite being part of—at least nominal—peacebuilding strategies backed by the central government, UPC Aguachica and Unipaz experienced serious financial constraints, which make it difficult to observe and understand the real potential behind a higher education institution created in a conflict zone. Still, the contribution to peace of these two institutions goes beyond their academic offering and includes employment generation and regional economic development.

Saying that these institutions have not contributed to peace would be unfair. Nonetheless, at least in the case of Unipaz, a better-defined peacebuilding strategy would be the minimum expectation toward a university that calls itself "of peace" in a region considered among the most violent of the country.

Chapter Thirteen. Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas

Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, also know as La Distrital and usually abbreviated as UD, has suffered the effects of the armed conflict in a similar way than other large public universities in Colombia. Traditionally, leftwing movements either clandestine or not, and violent or not, have been present in these universities. In the last two or three decades, some public universities, including UD, have suffered the effects of a right-wing extremist offensive groups trying to takeover the university or at least to erode the influence of the left. As an institution, the university has taken an active part in demobilization and reincorporation processes following peace negotiations in the country, by taking demobilized soldiers as students. It has also contributed to the understanding of the conflict, through the creation of a research center and through other activities.

This chapter consists of three main parts: in the first part background information including some historical facts about the university, and a brief overview of the university today, mostly in terms of academic programs and students, will be provided. The second part is dedicated to illustrate how the conflict has affected the university and it includes a general overview of different manifestations of the conflict in the university, as well as a more detailed analysis of an alleged episode of infiltration by the guerrillas, which caught the attention of some politicians and the media for a while.   The third part is dedicated to exploring what UD has done for peacebuilding in Bogota. Finally, conclusions will be presented.

Background

Bogotá is Colombia's capital and most important city. With over 110 higher education institutions, it is also the country's main higher education hub. La Distrital was established in Bogotá in 1950, under the name of *Universidad Municipal de Bogotá* (Municipal University of Bogota) as a spin-off of the "Municipal School of Bogotá", which started activities in 1948, one year before the assassination of populist leader and presidential candidate Jorge Eliecer Gaitán on April 9, 1949.

Gaitán's killing divided in two the contemporary history of the country, and one of its immediate consequences was "*El Bogotazo*" a massive riot that took place during approximately ten hours after Gaitán's murder, in which the city center was virtually destroyed, and the number of victims was estimated between 3,000 and 5,000. Revolts spread to other cities, marking the beginning of the historical period known as La Violencia (*The Violence*), an internal violent conflict of approximately ten years that is in many ways an antecedent of the contemporary conflict.

In 1950 the Municipal School of Bogotá was renamed "Municipal School Jorge Eliecer Gaitán." The same year the "*Universidad Municipal de Bogotá*" was created with five academic degree programs considered minor specializations, including: radio engineering technique, topography assistant, geology assistant, forestry expert, and exploration and drilling of wells. This was the first technology oriented university in the country (though the National University had created some technological courses too), and some of the programs offered were pioneers for Latin America, for example, the radio

engineering technique program (Reina Rodríguez, 2010). Both the school and the university were created with the specific purpose of providing relevant education to the least favored classes.

Between May 10, 1957, and August 10, 1958, a Military Junta took transitional power after dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla was ousted by political and popular pressure that included massive protests that paralyzed the country for several days. The Junta changed Bogotá's nature from a regular city to Special District, and consequently changed the name of the university, from "Municipal" to "Distrital." In addition, the Junta added to the name of the university the name of Francisco José de Caldas (1768-1816), a lawyer, naturist, and geologist, considered a wise man in his time (people usually referred to him as *El Sabio Caldas*: Caldas the Learned), who was also an independence precursor and martyr.

La Distrital suffered a brief closure between 1979 and 1981. The reasons are not very clear, and in the University's website the only mention of this episode says that it was because of "political and administrative difficulties within the institution" (Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, n.d.b).

La Distrital Today

Despite being one of the three public universities in Bogotá (the other two are the National University and the Pedagogical University, which are national level universities) La Distrital considers itself Bogota's university not only because it belongs to the city but also because it has tried to serve of Bogotá's inhabitants, as opposed to the National and

Pedagogical universities, which tend to attract people from all over the country. The great majority of La Distrital's students are from the least favored sectors of population: 68 percent belong to socioeconomic strata one and two, 30 percent belong to stratum three and only two percent belong to upper strata (Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, 2011). According to Roberto Vergara, who was acting Rector when he responded the interview, students usually come from public schools and they tend to be critical students with some leftwing background, though he believes that this critical part is declining and that it was more evident in the past.

Bogotá is officially divided into 20 localities (the equivalent to boroughs in New York or *arrondissements* in Paris) and La Distrital's campus is spread along 10 different buildings and building complexes in six of those localities. Enrolment at La Distrital has been growing almost constantly at least since 2000, when it had 15,206 students, compared to 28,700 in 2010 (SNIES, 2012). This university has five faculties: Arts, Engineering, Environment, Technology, and Sciences and Education. It is mostly a bachelor's degree granting institution in which graduate students represent less than six percent of the total enrolment. Among the 72 academic programs offered in 2010, 45 were at the undergraduate level, including technologic degrees, the rest were postgraduate programs, including 26 *especialización* programs, seven masters, and a doctoral program offered jointly with other public universities, (SNIES, 2012). Despite the low proportion of graduate students, La Distrital has about 200 research groups, ranging from high-level groups with peer reviewed publications and full-time researchers to groups that are just starting.

La Distrital in the Conflict

Like the other two public universities in Bogotá, leftwing ideology has traditionally dominated among students and professors of La Distrital. Vergara, who belonged to the M-19 for 17 years until the group demobilized in the early 1990s, believes that the university reflects what happens in the conflict in the outside world. He acknowledged the presence of both far left and right groups in the university and mentioned that some UD's students have been arrested for belonging to the FARC. The presence of leftwing armed groups is not new to the university and, in fact, it has declined in comparison to the 1970s and 1980s. Far-right armed groups have emerged recently. Even though their presence on campus is weak, it is perceived when they paint graffiti or when they threat students or professors that they believe belong to or sympathize with the guerrillas.

Riots in front of La Distrital, the National University, and the Pedagogic University are relatively frequent and are coordinated by radical groups; some of them acknowledge connections with the guerrillas, others deny it (Arias, 1999; Martínez, 2008). Some of these riots are predictable, like those on the birthdays of Camilo Torres or Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the day of the fallen student, or when the president of the United States visits the country: others are not so easy to predict. Usually the riots produce chaos around the universities and affect mobility in the neighborhood. These riots have impacted in the universities' budget because of the damages to the universities' facilities (Romero, 2006). The university's authorities and the media agree that radical

demonstrators are a tiny minority; however, they have the power to paralyze the universities.

From time to time, the media has given some visibility to alleged plans of the FARC to infiltrate public and private universities in the country (See for example: Presunto plan…, 2008; Autoridades de Cali preocupadas…, 2012). While the media has extensively accepted the infiltration hypothesis, some voices argue that those alleged infiltrations are just an effort to criminalize student protest and neutralize demonstrations against the government's plans to privatize higher education in the country (Denuncian que infiltración …, 2011).

TNT Welcomes You to the University

The peak of the debate on the presence of guerrillas in the university was in 2010, when Senator Gina Parodi presented in the Republic's Congress a video in which hooded men were addressing a group of freshmen in a public university. She denounced that there were at least 30 videos in Youtube featuring this or similar demonstrations. The debate on the "infiltration" of the FARC in the universities spread from the Congress to the media which reproduced some of those videos. Part of the scandal was that Carlos Ossa Escobar, the university's rector, was at that event (Polémica por videos…, 2008).

Two of the videos exposed by Parody are titled "Welcome 2008" 1 and 2 (El Macarenazoo, 2008a; 2008b). They show the participation of a group of hooded men in the university's freshmen welcome ceremony. The first video (El Macarenazoo, 2008a), of approximately five minutes, shows an outdoor auditorium with a painting of Che

Guevara decorating one of the walls. One group of approximately ten hooded men addressed the audience, composed mostly by first semester students. They reported that the previous year the university was about to be closed because of the financial deficit. They invited the students to participate in a university constituent (*Constituyente Universitaria*), and invited the students to get involved in the university's transformation. From time to time they shouted slogans of the *Movimiento Juvenil Bolivariano* (Bolivarian Youth Movement), a radical leftwing organization sympathizer of the FARC and Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez. The crowed observed quietly how the hooded men shouted their slogans and formed as a non very well organized squad. At the end of their brief presentation, the hooded men took some pictures of themselves in the auditorium, there were some laughs in the audience followed by a discrete round of claps.

The second video (El Macarenazoo, 2008b), of approximately eight minutes, took place in the same auditorium. A hooded man was in the podium using the microphone while several university's senior authorities, among them Carlos Ossa Escobar, who was the rector at that time, were sitting at the presidential table. The hooded man, who identified himself as a member of the student movement TNT (*Tercos, Necios y Transformadores*: Stubborn, Fools, and Transformers), encouraged students to get involved in the defense of public university, to excel in their studies, and to get involved in the discussion of the university's constitution. He never identified himself as a member of the FARC or any other guerrilla group and did not mention them.

When the media asked Ossa Escobar about his presence at the event he explained that the members of the university management were present because it took place during

freshmen week and the masked men showed up without notice. He added that it is normal that students wear masks during this kind of protests and he also said that they were just exercising their freedom of speech. In an official communication the rector said "wearing a hood to proclaim political slogans is not illegal nor it is a subversive act."[32] (Ossa Escobar, 2008). The rector argued that it was irresponsible, not to say dangerous, stating that universities are infiltrated by the FARC without identifying the individuals who are doing so, since it can lead to stigmatize the university's community. A few days latter, students marched to the Congress showing solidarity with the rector, and to protest how the government had accused students of belonging to illegal organizations.

Further events would reinforce the infiltration thesis or, at least, illustrate the involvement of some students in subversive activities. On March 24, 2012, three students died while making small hand-made explosive devices to allegedly be used in a riot. The explosion happened in the residence of one of them and affected 46 neighbor houses. According to the police large amounts of printed material promoting the FARC were found at the site (Tres universitarios mueren en accidente con explosivos en Bogotá.2012). It was initially reported that the three students belonged to La Distrital, but it was known latter that they belonged to the Pedagogical University.

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[32] Usar una capucha para proclamar consignas políticas no es ilegal ni tampoco un acto subversivo.

Peacebuilding in La Distrital

La Distrital is one of the few HEIs that included in its planning literature explicit references to the construction and promotion of peace. According to the Institutional University Project (*Proyecto Universitario Institutional*) for the period 2001-2005: "The University aims to be a generator of civic coexistence strategies which promote tolerance and negotiated forms of conflict resolution to contribute to national peace building"[33] (Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, n.d.a). The same document included the following strategies under the Development Axis number three, called "University coexistence as the foundation for a peace culture":

> To create a permanent lecture (*cátedra*) on the peace processes to convene a reflection by the university community on this national purpose, and to postulate proposals of criticism or support to state and civil society initiatives.
>
> To look for collective forms of conflict negotiation aimed at building environments of coexistence that facilitate a culture of peace in the university's behavior.[34]

La Distrital's interest in peacebuilding dates back several years before this document. It became very involved in the peace process when Cesar Gaviria's government held peace negotiations with several guerrillas, including ELN, Quintín

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[33] "La Universidad pretende ser generadora de estrategias de convivencia ciudadana fomentando la tolerancia y las formas negociadas de solución de conflictos para aportar en el camino de construcción de la paz nacional."

[34] Crear una cátedra permanente sobre los procesos de paz que convoque a la reflexión de la comunidad universitaria en torno a este propósito nacional y postule propuestas de crítica, acompañamiento o apoyo a las iniciativas estatales y a las de la sociedad civil.

Propender en el accionar universitario por formas colectivas de negociación del conflicto para construir ambientes de convivencia facilitadores de una cultura de la paz.

Lame, and PLT. Vergara narrated how La Distrital was perhaps the university that more demobilized combatants admitted during this period. He mentioned that the university created a special program that benefited 250 reinserted combatants. Under this program, the only requirement in addition to those defined by the law to get access to higher education, was a certification from the government identifying them as reinserted combatants, there was no admission test or additional requirements. This was a great benefit, considering that La Distrital is a very competitive university and access is granted on merit basis. This program benefited mostly demobilized combatant from the different guerrilla groups. It is possible that some demobilized soldiers from extreme left groups benefited from this program, but Vergara is not sure about it. At some point, the program even benefited members from the ex combatants' families who hold a certification from the Ministry of Education. The university's *Consejo Superior* created a special status for demobilized combatants and a special office for peace issues created at the Presidency of the Republic (*Consejería Especial para la Paz*) backed the university through the process.

The program participants' condition of being demobilized was not kept secret: "sometimes fellow students help them; others they kept a low profile, but people knew who they were," [35] Vergara pointed out. However, the program, which lasted until 1997, was not very effective: among the 250 beneficiaries, only 20 finished their studies and graduated. Vergara considers this a failure and attributed it to the fact that the beneficiaries of the program had been up to ten years without having in any formal

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[35] "los compañeros los ayudaban a veces, otros mantenía un perfil bajo, pero la gente sabía quienes eran"

academic training, despite of which the university did not provide remedial or leveling courses. More recently, the university created similar programs with admission quotas for ethnical minorities and beneficiaries of reinsertion programs (Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, 2001a), and another one for victims of forced displacement (Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, 2002). Potential beneficiaries compete among them for these special spots; those with the best scores in the Saber 11 Test (previously known as ICFES) are preferred.

The welcoming attitude of the students toward leftwing demobilized combatants contrast with that toward members from the police and the army. Vergara mentioned that the reincorporation of this type of combatants is taboo in public universities and just mentioning it may cause one to be considered rightwing sympathizer. This topic has been hardly addressed by the government and the university ignores it. In this regard Vergara recounts what he considered a biter-sweet experience: The university was hired by the District's *Personería* (ombudsman office) to teach a certificate level course on human rights for 300 police officers: "my concern was not the course itself but where should I put them so that the students do not boo them or attack them and we had to find a different place [to teach the course]."[36]

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[36] "mi preocupación no era el curso sino no dónde los ubico para que nos los ataquen o los chiflen, toco buscar un sitio"

The Technology Faculty in Ciudad Bolivar

Ciudad Bolívar is the largest of the 20 localities of Bogotá, and with over 658,000 inhabitants, it is the third most populated one. Most of its inhabitants live under conditions of poverty or indigence and belong to the *estratos* 1 and 2 (Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá, 2007). According to official data, general criminality is lower than in the rest of the city, but the homicides rate is higher than in the other localities.

Vergara claims to be the founder of the Technology Faculty, which started activities in 1995 with 140 students from which 120 lived in Ciudad Bolívar. He pointed out how this locality is the one that produces more secondary education graduates but also the one with lower rates of higher education students. La Distrital decided to bring technological education (a rough equivalent to associate degree) to Ciudad Bolívar, which they considered the most relevant training given the localities' demographics and the profile of the potential students. However, this was new to the university, which had focused on bachelor's level training. Part of the challenge was providing high quality technological training before low-quality private providers arrived to the locality.

During 1994 and 1995, Ciudad Bolívar was suffering an intense social conflict marked by the extended presence of juvenile gangs and narcotraffic organizations. Vergara described that the university went to the heart of this conflict and was able to socialize approximately 100 gangsters. He mentioned with pride that there was a gang called *"Los Pitufos"* (The Smurfs) and its leader, a young gangster who was one of the program beneficiaries, became a councilor for Ciudad Bolivar governing corporation.

Gaining the community's trust was not easy. Vergara recalled that "after 15 days of activities, the militias lifted me up, cover my head with a hood, and told me that if this was another swindle against Ciudad Bolívar, I would be held responsible"[37]. He also told how later on he was able to walk through parts of Ciudad Bolívar that were forbidden for most people.

Vergara recalls that during the first years of the Technological Faculty it was normal to see gangsters, guerrillas, and "paras" attending classes there. Despite some minor conflicts among students, the university was considered a safe space where people were allowed to express their opinions. In Ciudad Bolívar, the university provided special training for 4,500 "community mothers"[38] as well as courses on human rights. The university was open to the community on Saturdays and Sundays; even policemen took courses in the faculty and nobody bothered them, something that in the main campus would be almost impossible to achieve.

"Today, I am critical of the [Technological] Faculty because it started to lose vision in social matters; it started to be a "university", lecturing and the forgetting of the social,"[39] stated Vergara. However, he also pointed out some differences regarding the attitude toward riots between the Facultad Tecnológica and La Distrital main campus. There have been two riots in Ciudad Bolívar during the last two years, compared to *La*

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[37] "en los primeros 15 días, las milicias me llevaron encapuchado y me dijeron que si era otro engaño para Ciudad Bolivar yo respondía."

[38] Madres comunitarias (community mothers) is a government programs in which some women take care of the children of working mothers from the same community and get economic compensation for it.

[39] "Hoy soy crítico frente a la facultad porque en lo social comienza a perder la visión, comenzó a ser "universidad", a dictar clases y se está olvidando de lo social"

Macarena (UD's largest campus) where there was a riot almost every 15 days. Vergara remarked that in Ciudad Bolivar the community believes in the Faculty, and the community itself dissolves most conflicts because they do not want to have any trouble.

Like the rest of the university, the Technological Faculty is vulnerable to the conflict and to the power struggle between armed organizations from the far left and far right. It was recently denounced in a blog that the Black Eagles—an extreme right group that spun-off from demobilized paramilitary groups—threaten 12 members of the Technological Faculty as well as three student organizations, and ordered a group of them to leave the university (López González, 2012).   These threats were not an isolated case. In many public universities black lists and threats against leftwing activists attributed to paramilitary groups are frequent and affect the universities' stability.

Research on Peace and Conflict

The Institute for Pedagogy, Peace, and Urban Conflict (*Instituto para la Pedagogía, la Paz y el Conflicto Urbano,* IPAZUD) was created on December 2002 with the purpose of promoting the research, pedagogy, construction, and knowledge of peace (Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, 2001b). The institute is responsible for two "*cátedras,*" which are series of lectures open to the public that can also be part of formal academic programs: "Democracy and Citizenship," and the "Virtual *Cátedra* on Urban Displacement." It also has a research project on "Armed Conflict, Nation, and Territory," and it holds different seminars on the country's conflict and political situation. The institute publishes a newsletter and has published books on conflict and alternative

justice (Guerra García, 2010; Serna Dimas & Gómez Navas, 2009; IPAZUD, Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, & Mesa Distrital de Justicia Comunitaria y Alternativa, 2005; Grabe Loewenherz, 2003). In addition to the teaching activities and publications, IPAZUD participates in activities related to the promotion of human rights, such as a Social Observatory of Human Rights in the locality of Bosa (Diazgranados Garavito, 2012).

Economic Development

UD's general budget is among the biggest within public universities. The income budget for 2012 was over 260 billion Colombian pesos (approximately US$141.5 million); most of it coming from the city (Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, 2011), including a stamp created to provide financial resources to the university. The university has 740 tenured teachers and approximately 1,300 teachers hired under temporary or non-tenured contracts (Observatorio de la Universidad Colombiana, 2010). The administrative staff consists of approximately 350 jobs in administrative positions and 800 full-time people hired through a mechanism called OPS (from: *orden de prestación de servicios*) which allows to hire personnel without formally incorporating them to the institution's payroll. This situation is considered a negative aspect for the university, which is in the process of increasing the number of formal administrative jobs to 650. The university's ten-year facilities development plan is estimated to cost between 136 and 163 million dollars (Gutiérrez Roa & La Rotta, 2010). These numbers, combined to the enrolment figures, suggest that the University impacts the development of the city. However, there are no studies trying to understand such impact, which is not

an easy task, considering the size of the city and the fact that La Distrital is just one among over a hundred higher education institutions in the city.

Conclusions

La Distrital was created during one of the most violent periods of Colombian history, perhaps comparable to the last decade of Colombia's armed conflict. Since its creation, La Distrital has been oriented toward the low-income population of Bogotá, aiming at providing education relevant for the students and the city. UD's emphasis on the city needs makes it an important ally in the implementation of social policies in the city.

Unlike Unipaz or UPC, the strategic vision of La Distrital included peacebuilding among the guiding goals for the university. The university has played an important role in the quest for peace in the country: it supported at least one demobilization process, created special quotas for communities and social actors under risk, and created the Technological Faculty, as a strategy for social mobility and inclusion. Better documentation on the role of the university in the demobilization process of the M-19 and other groups is missing.

As Vergara mentioned, the university reflects what happens in Colombia's society, and there is a constant tension between leftwing and rightwing movements, some of them linked to armed organizations. The left has been predominant in the university, but the emergence of far right wing organizations in this and other public universities generated tension in the ordinary life of the university that has affected academic

normalcy within the university. The media and the authorities have denounced efforts by the guerrillas to infiltrate the universities. By contrast, the media has been shy at mentioning the efforts of the paramilitaries and the emerging gangs to take control of the university by threatening and killing members of La Distrital's community. The media has reported similar paramilitary efforts in other universities (e.g. University of Cordoba).

Chapter Fourteen. Production, Transmission, and Preservation of Knowledge

This is the first one of the three chapters dedicated to a transversal analysis of the functions of higher education. In this chapter the production, transmission, and recovery of knowledge associated with the armed conflict by Colombian HEIs will be explored. The first part will focus on teaching at the formal and non-formal levels, particularly through the study of the creation of academic degree programs. The second part is dedicated to the production of knowledge and focuses on research about the conflict and research applicable to it. The third part explores the role of universities in the preservation of knowledge about the conflict and its victims. Finally, general conclusions for the chapter will be presented.

The production and transmission of knowledge are the two most frequently mentioned functions and missions of higher education. Colombian HEIs face the same challenges than their international peers; accreditation and rankings are part of their everyday life, as well as the challenges of student retention, internationalization and financing. Unlike most universities in non-conflict-affected countries, the quest for peace, and the study of the effects of the conflict, share some of the attention with the traditional issues.

Transmission of Knowledge

Transmission of knowledge can happen in very diverse ways, from the formality of a classroom, to the complete informality of a study group or even a conversation. This chapter is dedicated to the study of formal and non-formal education, as defined by the

Colombian law on education, which follows the classic distinction of formal, non-formal, and informal education by Coombs and Ahmed (1974).

The analysis of formal education will focus on programs that in their denomination include at least one of the following keywords: conflict, postconflict, war, peace, or human rights. This analysis is based on data from SNIES, the National Information System on Higher Education, a database that is constantly updated with information provided by each HEI and by the government, and which is used to keep track of the programs that have "qualified registry" (*registro calificado*), a required license granted by the ministry to offer any degree granting program in the country. This section also includes a brief mention of other programs that may deal with conflict, postconflict, and peacebuilding but do not have these words in their denomination. In addition to the programs' denomination and emphasis, two issues that are frequently mentioned in mainstream of education and conflict will be briefly explored: history teaching and teachers training in a (post)conflict nation. Finally, an overview of non-formal education offered by HEIs will be presented.

Academic degree programs which name relates directly with conflict or peace.

According to the SNIES, by November 2011 there were a total of 11,664 higher education programs offered in the country: 6,984 at the undergraduate level and 4,680 at the postgraduate level. A first approach to identify those programs focused on peace or conflict was conducted by searching SNIES by name of the program using the keywords "paz" (peace), "conflicto" (conflict), "derechos humanos" (human rights), and "guerra"

(war). The results are summarized in the table below. The word "guerra" generated an empty list; hence it is not included in the table (See appendix H).

From the 104 academic degree programs obtained in this search, 61 were active; among them 29 were offered by public institutions, and 32 by private ones. Inactive programs, i.e. those that despite having a registration code in SNIES are currently not admitting students, were included in the results because they give a general idea of what has been offered in the country during the last decade. Specialization programs were the most popular ones (87), followed by masters programs (17), and there were no doctoral level programs.   If results are restricted to active programs, specializations are still dominant (40), followed by masters (16) and undergraduate programs (5).

There was some overlap in the results of the three keywords used for this search, as six programs contained two keywords in their names. The total number was not corrected in the table to keep the number of hits for each keyword, but this overlap means that there are only 98 programs, from which 55 are active—all the double entries corresponded to active programs.

The number of programs related to conflict, peace, and human rights might not appear impressive; however, it shows that there has been permanent interest from the HEIs and students to learn about these topics. In an international perspective, these numbers become more notable. In a technology watch report, Colciencias (Barrantes, Sánchez, Aguilera, Plata, & Medina, 2007) conducted a web-based search on academic degree programs on resolution of social conflicts around the world. Most of the institutions working in the field of social conflicts resolution identified through

Colciencias' study were in the United States (79 out of 150), followed by Colombia (15) and Canada (9). Barrantes and colleagues identified 171 academic programs: nine at the doctoral level, 78 masters, 79 specializations, and 14 undergraduate. They reported a growing trend in the creation of research centers and academic degree programs since the 1990s. Despite the difference of five years between the publication of Colciencias' study and this study, and the difference in the queries used by Colciencias and those used for this study, the position of Colombia in the international context, in terms of the number and variety of programs, is remarkable, even though Colombia does not have a doctoral level program in this field.

One interesting fact in the Colombian case is that many of the programs identified through the search at SNIES are offered by higher education institutions associated with the military, as summarized in Appendix I.

Except for the Specialization in Defense Analysis and Solution of Conflicts, these are all active programs. From the total 55 programs previously identified, 6 were offered by military-related HEIs, that is, over ten percent of the academic offering on conflict, peace, and human rights, belongs to these institutions. However, it is important to mention that these programs were not necessarily created as part of a peacebuilding strategy from the military or the government, but to train the military in aspects regarding human rights and international law within the conflict. Part of the interest of the military in this topic came from a requirement by the United States government in order to continue supporting the "Plan Colombia" and "Plan Patriota", through which the United

States partially financed the war on narcotraffic and terrorism—and indirectly, the war against guerrilla groups (see: Tate, 2009).

It is difficult to know how relevant to peacebuilding some of the academic degree programs previously identified are. On one hand, some of the results from the keyword "conflicto" correspond to programs on alternative dispute resolution methods, which are not necessarily oriented to peacebuilding but to provide alternatives to the court system for the solution of disputes. On the other hand, programs that have a clear peacebuilding component, such as the program on Social Communication offered by the Universidad Santo Tomas, cannot be detected in this search because the name of the program does not include any keyword that shows such emphasis.

In addition to the programs that explicitly mention the words "conflicto," "paz," or "derechos humanos," there are also programs that without mentioning these or similar words, study elements of the conflict. These programs usually belong to the social sciences and their emphasis on the conflict or the quest for peace depends on the curricular design and the general orientation of the courses. An overview of these programs was beyond the scope of this study.

Two recurrent topics.

The problem of teaching history and the problem of teacher training are two topics recurrently mentioned in the literature of education and conflict. Despite the fact that these topics concern directly to some higher education programs and institutions,

particularly those dedicated to teacher training, they have hardly been studied and they are not part of a central debate in the country.

The problem of teaching history.

Like in many other conflicts, teaching history is a problematic, yet hardly mentioned, issue in the Colombian conflict. There are several cases in which school professors in remote locations have been threatened for teaching history and, sometimes, armed groups have forbidden its teaching in certain regions (El riesgo de ser maestro en Colombia.2011). There was no evidence in this study that HEIs were facing similar problems. However, many participants mentioned that violent extreme-right movements on campus frequently targeted students and professors from the social sciences.

Some authors have explored the challenges of teaching history regarding racial minorities in Colombia, which by Constitution is defined as a multi-ethnic country (Mena García, 2009) and very few have addressed specifically the problem of teaching history on the armed conflict in a higher education context. Márquez Quintero (2009) analyzed 487 academic degree programs including undergraduate and masters level programs, and found that there was not a course specifically dedicated to the analysis of the conflict; a problem that she attributed to the conceptual differences and polarized ideologies remaining in Colombian society and academia. She illustrated that in Colombian higher education, the study of contemporary conflict happens in courses such as "Politics, Civil Society, History of Colombia, History of Violence in Colombia, International Geopolitics, Violence and the Media, Human Rights, International Humanitarian Law,

Sociology of Violence"[40] (p. 214-5). She also found that there is not a program or a

course devoted to the study of how to teach the history of the current conflict but many

courses studied specific topics of the conflict, such as:

> Displaced people; human rights; the exercise teaching in conflict areas;
> indigenous communities and conflict; the effects of conflict on the ecosystem,
> flora and fauna; history of peace processes and negotiations; narco trafficking;
> history of the armed groups and the armed forces of the State; and media and
> violence[41] (p. 215).

Teacher training.

There are two types of teacher training programs at the formal education level in

Colombia: one provided by universities at a professional level corresponding to four year

programs, traditionally called "licenciaturas"; and the other one provided by *Escuelas*

Normales (Normal Schools), which are offered as an extension of the secondary level.

"Normalistas"—those who study in Normal Schools receive training as teachers during

their secondary education, and in addition they must complete an extra year (12th grade)

in a *normal superior* school. Normalistas are habilitated to teach only at pre-school and

basic education (grades 1-9), while "licenciados" (those who finish a *licenciatura*) can

teach at high school (grades 10-11) and higher education. Whether *escuelas normales*

superiores provide higher education is up for discussion. On February 1st, 2010, the

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[40] Actualidad, Sociedad Civil, Historia de Colombia, Historia de la Violencia en Colombia, Geopolítica Internacional, Violencia y Medios de Comunicación, Derechos Humanos, Derecho Internacional Humanitario, Sociología de la Violencia

[41] Los desplazados, los derechos humanos, el ejercicio del docente en las zonas de conflicto, las comunidades indígenas y el conflicto, su efecto en el ecosistema, la flora y la fauna, historia de los procesos de paz y de negociación, narcotráfico, historia de los grupos armados y de las fuerzas armadas del Estado, violencia y medios de comunicación.

Ministry created in CONACES—the governments' advisory commission for quality assurance on higher education—a special section dedicated to Normal Schools; however, these schools are not included in the SNIES, and for most purposes they are considered an extension of secondary education. Hence, in this chapter, Normal Schools will not be included.

A search in SNIES based on the academic degree programs' denomination, showed that there are very few *licenciatura* programs explicitly oriented toward peacebuilding, human rights teaching, or education and conflict. In this search, only two *licenciatura* programs containing "*paz*" as part of the program's denomination, were identified: one in "Social Sciences, Ethics, Development and Peace" offered by Unipaz, the other one, which is inactive, in "Philosophy and Culture for Peace" from the Universidad Santo Tomás. In addition to these programs, there is also a licenciatura on "Community Education with Emphasis on Human Rights" from the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional.

As mentioned before, the name is not enough to know the specific focus of a program. Even though there are very few programs with a denomination directly related to the conflict-related issues previously presented, it is possible that some programs particularly, but not exclusively, in the field of social sciences, deal with this issues. Among the 1,341 *licenciatura* programs registered in SNIES by July 2012, 61 were on social sciences and 31 in basic education with emphasis on social sciences. A curriculum analysis to understand how these programs are assuming the challenges of the conflict and a possible peacebuilding approach goes beyond the scope of this study.

The government has included teacher training as one of the strategies for peacebuilding in the country. In the Ten-year Educational Plan 2006-2010, there was specific mention to the importance of "special programs of pedagogy of reconciliation and preparation for postconflict."[42] However, four years later, an evaluation document included "[the] effective education for peace and the democratic coexistence through participatory, respectful and inclusive school environments, which means a great training program for all teachers"[43] among the key issues to consolidate. (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2010, p. 5)

In conflict, postconflict, and refugee situations, teacher training is usually oriented at improving the quality of teachers. The Ministry of Education has offered teacher training which sometimes includes issues related to the conflict or violence in the country. In 2005, "Al Tablero" a newsletter from the Ministry, illustrated the government's efforts to provide teachers with training for several situations, including education in violent contexts (Maestros entrenados…, 2005). According to this article, in 2004, Almost 4,500 teachers were trained in topics such as psycho-social care (1,473); the School and Displacement Program (1,633); pedagogical tools and development of competencies (1,633); and citizenship competencies for children and youth no longer involved in the conflict.

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[42] Programas especiales de pedagogía de la reconciliación y de preparación para situaciones de posconflicto.

[43] Efectiva educación para la paz y la convivencia democrática a través de ambientes escolares participativos, respetuosos e incluyentes, lo que implica un gran programa de formación de todos los docentes….

The role of HEIs in this type of training is not clear. Despite the abundance of schools of education in the country, consultants, NGOs, or mixed-nature (public-private) corporations were the main providers teacher training for the Ministry of Education. For example, the research and design of the School and Displacement Program was contracted to the Corporación para el Desarrollo Humano –Humanizar– (Restrepo Yusti, 1999), and a teacher training program on accelerated learning was hired to Corpoeducación, a mixed-nature nature corporation (Maestros entrenados…, 2005).

Non-formal education.

HEIs are at the top of the formal education system; however, as part of their outreach (extension) activities, they can also provide non-formal education. There are two main groups of non-formal education courses relevant to conflict and postconflict situations: those aimed at providing information on conflict related issues, including human rights training, and those aimed at providing relevant training to victims of the conflict and demobilized combatants.

Among the first group, the most frequent examples of non-formal education provided by HEIs are conferences, open seminars, short-duration courses, and certificate programs (diplomados). Unlike higher education, there is not a comprehensive registry that allows a general overview for non-formal education courses. Some interviewees mentioned how universities developed this type of programs to illustrate the activities that their institutions conducted in terms of peacebuilding. Many HEIs offer (or have offered) certificate degree programs in human rights or have hosted conferences,

seminaries, or symposiums on conflict related topics. These courses have a varied audience that includes students, professionals, displaced people, demobilized people, and community members in general. Below are a four of the many examples of this type of programs.

The Universidad Javeriana (a Jesuit institution), CINEP (a think tank from the Jesuit community), the Paulo Freire Institute (University of Berlin), and InWent, (Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung gGmbH), among other organizations, created a *Diplomado* on Peace Education to be offered using blended learning methodologies (a combination of virtual and traditional education). The program was made available to people from Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador (GIZ - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, 2010).

The UNAD (2011) had a certificate course (diplomado) on resilience, defined as the capacity of individuals and institutions to overcome the conflict. The purpose of the course was to create a space to articulate and strengthen initiatives and projects from the students and people interested in the topic. This certificate program was articulated with the Latin American Network on Resilience, the Observatory on Resilience, and the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative.

The Universidad Nacional (2012) had a certificate course on "Risk and Coexistence in Institutions of Elementary and Secondary Education" (Diplomado Educación, Riesgo y Convivencia en Instituciones de Educación Básica y Media). Among this course's objectives was to provide the participants with tools for prevention, protection, and conflict mediation as an institutional response.

The Politécnico Grancolombiano —a private HEI affiliated to Whitney International University System—in Alliance with CINEP, offered a virtual certificate course on "Studies on Peace: Conflict, Political Participation, and Peace Building in Colombia (*Diplomado en Estudios de Paz: Conflicto, Participación Política y Construcción de Paz en Colombia*) aimed at providing participants with "a more complex view of the relationship between conflict, development, political process, and peacebuilding in Colombia"[44] (Politécnico Grancolombiano & CINEP, 2012)

The second group of programs (those aimed at providing relevant training to victims of the conflict and demobilized combatants) finds its justification in the fact that most of the demobilized and displaced people do not have the credentials to access higher education. According to the law, the main requirements to get access to higher education are completing eleventh grade—exceptionally ninth grade could suffice—and taking the Saber11o Test. However, most of the demobilized combatants from either guerrilla or paramilitary groups, as well as displaced people, have hardly finished primary education and have been away of the education system for years. For some HEIs, it has meant that they simply cannot serve these students; others have created special non-formal education programs for them.

Balaguera, the Rector of the Universidad Santo Tomas, addressed this issue when he was asked if universities could play any role in absorbing demobilized combatants:

> Sure. Not only they can, they have to. If a person gets involved in the conflict because of ignorance, poverty, [or] lack of opportunity, the University is obligated to consider them as subjects of training capable of achievement, personal growth,

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[44] "una visión más compleja de la relación entre conflicto, desarrollo, proceso político y construcción de paz en Colombia."

change, and personal and social reconstruction. And the University has lots to offer. Otherwise, it has no social conscience.[45]

He agreed that HEIs would not be able to admit in their regular programs those people who do not have the credentials to get access to higher education. However, he believes that those institutions can create (non-formal education) programs suitable for them.

In a similar way Caicedo, the former rector of the Universidad de Magdalena, commented:

> The university has much to contribute to [the demobilization process, by] triangulating with the productive sector and the government, to create spaces for training, so that productive work is generated. Entrepreneurship is a good place from which the university can contribute through their business schools.[46]

Oftentimes, the government has asked universities to contribute in the demobilization process. Losada, the Rector of Universidad Antonio Nariño, illustrated this point:

> There have been calls for the government, but not the Ministry [of Education], to give certain training to demobilized combatants, and the University has participated. (...) I know "*Acción Social*" has been among the most involved; with

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[45] Claro que sí. No solamente puede sino que tiene que hacerlo. Si una persona participa del conflicto por ignorancia, pobreza, falta de oportunidades, es obligación de la U considerarlos como sujetos de formacion capaces de progreso, de crecimiento personal, de cambio, de reconstrucción social y personal, y la U tiene mucho que ayudar o no tiene conciencia social.

[46] La universidad tiene mucho que aportar en [el proceso de desmovilización], triangulando con el sector productivo, con el gobierno, para crear espacios de entrenamiento, de capacitación, para que se genere trabajo productivo. El emprendimiento es un buen espacio desde el que la universidad puede aportar con sus facultades de ciencias empresarial.

the limitation that the training they asked for focused on labor or technical skills, but not higher education in its real sense.[47]

Maya, UPC's rector, illustrated how the university had been ready to contribute with the government but he also addressed indirectly the problem of the qualification to get access to higher education:

> We have contributed on all issues for which we have been asked for help: with certificate programs, training, provision of logistics (venues), and we have accepted in our structure those who fill all the requirements. In the main campus we have many students, even people who were ringleaders of conflict processes.[48]

Despite isolated examples of universities providing this type of training, the SENA has been the most important provider of vocational training in different fields for demobilized people.

Based on a report by Universidad Nacional's ODDR (2009a) it is possible to identify three different periods of educational offering for demobilized combatants: the first one corresponds to the years before 2002, particularly the decade of the 1990s, in which some public HEIs created education programs for demobilized people. The Universidad Pedagógica Nacional (UPN), for example, developed an educational model that later became the *Programa Educativo para la Paz y la Reconciliación Nacional*

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[47] Ha habido convocatorias del gobierno, pero no del Ministerio, para dar ciertas capacitaciones a reinsertados, y la Universidad ha participado. (…) Sé que Acción Social ha sido de los que más se ha movido, con la limitante que ha sido capacitación en habilidades de pronto laborales o técnicas, pero no en el sentido real que uno llama educación superior.

[48] Nosotros hemos colaborado en todos los temas para los que nos han pedido ayuda, con diplomados, capacitación, facilitación de logística (escenarios), y en nuestra estructura hemos aceptado a quienes cumplen los requisitos. En la principal tenemos muchos estudiantes, incluso tenemos gente que fue cabecilla de procesos del conflicto.

(Educational Program for Peace and National Reconciliation), in which demobilized combatants of five guerrilla groups (including M-19 and EPL), had the opportunity to finish their secondary education (p. 8). In 1997, the government issued a decree by which the *Escuela Superior de Administración Pública* (National School of Public Administration, ESAP), a public non-university, should provide a full exemption of tuition costs to former guerrilla soldiers.

The second period corresponds to the existence of the Programa para la Reincorporación a la Vida Civil (Program for the Reincorporation into Civilian Life – PRVC) as the government's agency responsible for the reincorporation processes between 2003 and 2006. During this period emphasis was put in job education, the academic offer was centralized at the SENA, which was in charge of most of these programs and it offered approximately 37 different vocational education certificate programs for demobilized combatants. During this stage, there was a limit of 24 months in which PRVC would cover the education expenses of demobilized combatants who joined the program. The number of education providers expanded and some HEIs started to offer courses for demobilized people. In an OODR listing of education providers (p. 29-30), 4 HEIs were included: the Universidad Minuto de Dios, the Fundación de Educación Superior Esatec), the Escuela de Administración de Negocios (School of Business Administration, EAN), and the Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia (National University of Open and Distance Education, UNAD).

The third stage (2006 – 2011) corresponds to the life-spam of the *Alta Consejería para la Reintegración Social y Económica de Personas y Grupos Alzados en Armas*

(High Counselor for Social and Economic Reintegration of Persons and Armed Groups, ACR), which in November 2011, became the Colombian Agency for Reintegration and kept the acronym ACR. One of the changes introduced in this period was the elimination of the time limit for demobilized combatants to get financial support for education: instead of the 24 months limit, the continuance in the program could be extended according to a case-by-case evaluation of the progress and achievements of each former combatant. The educational offering was divided in two areas: education, which included basic, middle, and college-level education; and job training, with three options differentiated by the number of hours required to complete a program: training for semi-qualified jobs (300-740 hours of technical content and 100 hours of entrepreneurship and job skills), technical education (881 to 2,600 hours), and technological education (2,601 to 3,600 hours). According to ACR's statistics, by December 2008, 3,232 former combatants were enrolled in technical and technological education: 2,962 in technical programs, and 270 in technological ones (ODDR - Observatorio de Procesos de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración, 2009a).

Among the different providers of job-training in this period, the largest enrolment correspond to the Institución de Educación Abierta y a Distancia (Institute for Open and Distance Learning, IDEA), which is the open education school from the Universidad del Magdalena and had 851 former combatants enrolled, while the Universidad de Magdalena itself had 110 participants. Other HEIs providing this type of training were UNAD, with 97 participants; and the Fundación Escuela Colombiana de Mercadotécnia (Colombia School of Merchandising) with 59. Other institutions were not HEIs nor were

affiliated to one among them, Corporación Educativa CESCOR (174 participants), Ceproduent (122), and Colsutec (89) (ODDR - Observatorio de Procesos de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración, 2009a).

Job training has played a very important role in the demobilization process. The SENA, in its dual condition of non-formal and technical and technological education provider, has been the biggest government's ally in the educational strategy for former combatants but several HEIs have also participated actively in this effort.

Production of Knowledge

In terms of research and applied knowledge, HEIs can either produce knowledge applicable to the conflict or study the conflict itself. In the Colombian case, there are not many examples of universities producing knowledge purposefully applicable for the conflict. However, some universities have conducted research towards the creation of technology for de-mining and explosives detection. Other than this, most of the academic production on or regarding the conflict comes from the social sciences.

Research on de-mining.

Colombia is one of the most land-mine-affected countries in the world. Although the country is a signer of the Ottawa Convention—which prohibits the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of land-mines—, guerrilla groups still use them because of their low cost, the easiness of access to the components required for its production, and because they do not require special facilities for their fabrication (Fundación Seguridad

& Democracia, 2006 (?)). Former senator Piedad Córdoba and others believe that the Colombian regular forces also use this type of weapon.

Research on de-mining ranges from graduation thesis to the development of demining tools. An example of graduation theses is the work of Pino Jaramillo (2009), a student from the Universidad Nacional who evaluated the different techniques for the detection and removal of landmines, and the thesis by Díaz León (2012) in which he explored the challenges of the enforcement of the Ottawa convention in Colombia.

There are also several examples of applied research on de-mining technology. The Universidad de los Andes and Indumil—a government owned weapons manufacturer—developed a land-mines detector that integrates a metals detector and a ground-penetrating radar, (Dialogo, 2012). The Universidad Javeriana created Arcadio, a robot able to detect and remove landmines in high-risk terrain (Arcadio un invento a beneficio de colombia.2011). And INVESTUD, a research group from the Escuela de Estudios Superior de la Policia (National Police's Higher Studies School), which is a higher education institution, conducted studies on the use of rodents in land-mine detection (Méndez Pardo & Pérez-Acosta, 2011).

Social sciences.

There have been countless efforts to describe and understand the causes and effects of the conflict in Colombia; most of them come from teachers and researchers from universities but think tanks, NGOs, and other organizations also contributed to this effort. By 2007 Colciencias had identified 49 research groups dedicated to the study of

the resolution of social conflicts. These groups were affiliated to 26 different organizations, among which 21 were universities or university institutions. A recent search on Colciencias' database showed 70 research groups on peace, conflict, or human rights, as illustrated in the Table 9 below:

Table 9. Research Groups on Human Rights, Conflict, and Peace, Registered in Colciencias GrupLac

Keyword	# of Groups
Derechos Humanos (Human Rights)	20
Conflicto (Conflict)	19
Conflictos (Conflicts)	18
Paz (Peace)	13
Total	70

Source: (Colciencias, n.d.). Table by the author

To analyze the academic production on this topic in the technology watch report, Colciencias identified four major Colombian journals, three of which belonged to universities (see Table 10 below). The visibility of these articles in scientific databases, particularly Scopus and ISIS Web of Knowledge, was an important characteristic of this study.

Table 10. Colombian Journals Included in Colciencias' Technology Watch Report

Journal	Institution
Análisis Político	IEPRI – Universidad Nacional
Controversia	CINEP
Revista de Estudios Sociales	Universidad de los Andes
Estudios Políticos	Instituto de Estudios Políticos – Universidad de Antioquia

Source: Barrantes, Sánchez, Aguilera, Plata, & Medina, 2007, p. 15. Table by the author.

However, Barrantes and colleagues, warned that their focus was not the academic production in Colombia but in the rest of the world, and that the national production was larger (Barrantes, Sánchez, Aguilera, Plata, & Medina, 2007) A few years before, Bermudez (2004) had identified over 170 publications on violence and peace produced in the country since 1980; still she warned that her list did not include all the publications in the field. In addition to the many publications, there are also a large number of unpublished theses and dissertations. Unfortunately, as Bermúdez (2004) mentioned, there is not a unified repository for these works or a search tool that allows a comprehensive search.

The main research topics are: armed conflicts in other countries, child soldiers, conflict and gender, demobilization and reinsertion, economic costs of the conflict, forced displacement, history and causes of the contemporary conflict, human rights and international humanitarian law, the press and the conflict, and peace processes. This list is not extensive and other research topics might have been omitted. There is also research on topics that are not directly related to the conflict but that can be applied in a peacebuilding process. Examples of these topics are: alternative dispute resolution, Colombian history (studies on previous conflicts), and research on violence that is not directly associated with the armed conflict (e.g. domestic violence).

Grupo de Investigación en Política y Relaciones Internacionales. The program on International Affairs from the Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano has a research group on Policy and International Affairs, and among its research projects is one on the role of universities in peacebuilding processes; however, they are not focused in the Colombian

context but they are exploring international experiences. This group created a database to systematize the different peacebuilding activities conducted by HEIs in six countries: El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, and Philippines. In the initial sample, they included 27 universities (21 privates, 6 public) an a total of 219 initiatives (Delgado Barón, Vargas Pedraza, & Ramos Hendez, 2008)

Conducting research on the conflict is not always safe. This point was made clear by a professor who in an informal interview in 2009 mentioned that he was studying *La Violencia* period in Colombia and then added that he would not conduct any research on the current conflict because "one still hears things" (todavía se oyen cosas), in a reference to violence and threats against those who try to conduct such types of research. Some other interviewees mentioned the murder of professor Correa De Andreis as an example of the risks faced by those participate in similar projects, or even worse, those who get involved in some type of activism.

Conducting non-conflict-related research in conflict-affected territories is also risky. As can be illustrated with some cases that have made it to the headlines, such as the kidnapping by the ELN of 26 people among researchers and staff from the Universidad Nacional in 2000. The guerrilla group set them free after a few days and declared that they did not have anything against the University's crew, which had been retained as part of a procedure of security and control in the zone (Liberados ecologistas secuestrados por el ELN.2000). In, 2004, under similar conditions, three people participating in an ornithology study were kidnapped by the FARC en the Serranía del Perijá, in the border with Venezuela, and they were liberated days later (Malakoff, 2004)

Preservation of Knowledge

Inspired on the Recovery of Historical Memory movement in Spain, different groups and organizations in post-conflict countries have embarked in the task of recovering the memory of the victims of the conflict, an effort that is considered vital for the healing and peacebuilding processes. HEIs contribute to this purpose in many different ways, from research on conflict related topics, to transmission of that knowledge in the classroom, publications and even document circulation through its libraries and websites.

The Center of Historic Memory, a government organization, is the main referent for memory recovery in the country. Despite that it is not affiliated to any particular university, most of the Center's researchers are affiliated to the Universidad Nacional and the Universidad de los Andes, as well as to other universities such as El Rosario and Externado de Colombia (CNRR - Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación, n.d.) Based on the information provided by the Center's website, it was possible to identify two historic memory recovery projects created by universities, one from the Universidad Sergio Arboleda and one from the Universidad Eafit. The Universidad Sergio Arboleda created the foundation Víctimas Visibles (Visible Victims), which among its many purposes includes the reconstruction of historic memory and several activities in favor of the victims of the conflict (Fundación Víctimas Visibles, n.d.). A group of students of Social Communication from the Universidad Eafit created a website in which they displayed what they called a virtual altar to honor the peasants who have

been murdered because they reclaimed their land. The website contains the biographies of 12 community leaders killed because they led land-restitution claims (Students from EAFIT, 2011).

The Universidad Santo Tomas' Faculty of Social Communication for Peace had a similar project, a radio show called "La Palabra Tiene la Palabra" (The Word has the Word) which, in the words of Balaguera,

> [had] the ability of resurrecting people who have been victims of the conflict, not through their own word, because it is silent forever, but through the word of their relatives and friends, of those affected by their murders, and above all, of people who knew well their thoughts and were able to project and make visible the ideals and concerns of the deceased to not let the story die with the individual's death.[49]

Colciencias' GrupLAC also provides some information about historic memory recovery. At least one group, the Interdisciplinary Committee of Studies on Violence, Subjectivity and Culture (Comité Interdisciplinario de Estudios Sobre Violencia, Subjetividad y Cultura), from the Universidad de los Andes, includes "collective memory" and "conflict" in the description of its lines of research. But there are many other groups that also conduct activities reconstruction of the historic memory, which are more difficult to track, such as the research group on the political genocide against the Union Patriotica, from the Universidad Nacional, which has several publications on the recovery of the genocide's victims.

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[49] … resucitar a personas que han sido víctimas del conflicto, no por la palabra propia, porque ya se calló para siempre, sino a través de la palabra de sus deudos, de sus amigos, de aquellos que fueron afectados por su fallecimiento por su asesinato, y sobre todo, de personas que conocían bien su pensamiento y pueden proyectar y hacer visibles los ideales y las inquietudes de los fallecidos para no dear que la historia muera con la muerte del individuo.

The Universidad Nacional's *Observatorio de Procesos de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración* (Observatory of Processes of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration, ODDR) is not registered as a research group in Colciencias. It keeps track of the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) processes in Colombia and reconstructs those that took place before the observatory's creation. ODDR conducts media monitoring on printed press and press releases from government and non-government sources, official reports from different sources (e.g. Police, military forces, public prosecutor), and other sources such as TV news. It also keeps a database on DDR regulations and on the different forms of organization and association adopted by demobilized people in Colombia. ODDR publishes a series of short documents on education and reintegration in which it summarizes how demobilized combatants get access to different forms and levels of education, including higher education.

Conclusions

Knowledge is the main business of universities. By creating, transmitting, and preserving it, HEIs fulfill their core missions. In the Colombian case, even in the midst of the armed conflict, these functions remained at the center of the academic day-to-day life. In this chapter, an attempt to understand how HEIs produce, transmit, and preserve knowledge related to the armed conflict was made. An overview of the over 11,000 higher education programs registered at SNIES showed that 98, which is less than one percent, include in their denomination the words peace, conflict, post-conflict, or war. This number may appear insignificant but, in an international perspective, Colombia is

among the countries with more academic degree programs and research centers on conflict and peacebuilding.

One issue that was not evaluated in this chapter is how each academic degree program included the conflict and related topic in their curricula and contents. Some authors (Márquez Quintero, 2009) suggest that the conflict and the quest for peace are not yet studied integrally but approached partially from the perspective of different topics, such as displacement, gender and conflict, narco trafficking and conflict, and others. Experts have identified history teaching and teacher training as key issues in the transition from conflict to postconflict. Despite some works on the role of higher education in the study of history teaching in the country (Márquez Quintero, 2009) this topic appears to remain widely unexplored.

The contribution of higher education to the problem of teacher training in and for violent contexts is not very clear despite the abundance of schools and programs of education in the country. In contrast, human rights education, which is another topic considered critical in the literature of education and conflict, has received greater attention. While there are few higher education programs on this subject, many HEIs, sometimes alone and sometimes in alliance with other organizations, have offered non-formal education programs to diverse audiences, including demobilized combatants, displaced people, members of the regular armed forces, undergraduate and graduate students, and society in general.

Non-formal education has emerged as a promising alternative for the reincorporation of those former combatants and displaced people who do not qualify for

higher education. Some HEIs have created special non-formal education programs targeted at these populations. The success of accelerated primary and secondary programs is opening an opportunity for those who complete those levels to access higher education. However, this achievement is creating some pressure on the HEIs that admitted them, as it was illustrated by the OODR (2009b, p. 30).

Two main lines of research were identified: one oriented at producing knowledge applicable in the conflict, which focused in the development of technology for detection and removal of land-mines; and another one, much more prolific, focused in understanding the contexts, dynamics, and consequences of the Colombian conflict, mostly from the social sciences perspective. There is not a common repository for the knowledge produced under these research lines and the situation turns more complex when graduation theses and dissertations are included.

There are very interesting experiences of memory recovery from the victims and even the perpetrators of violence associated with the conflict. Some of them have been made visible through the government's Center of Historic Memory and many others have been conducted independently by HEIs, or even by their students. The Universidad Nacional's ODDR has developed important work by keeping track of the reincorporation trends as well as of the participation of HEIs in the demobilization process.

Chapter Fifteen: Development, Social Change, and Service

The three functions that will be explored in this chapter (development, social change, and service) are deeply interconnected, and some overlap among them is possible. For example, economic development and social change have elements of production of leadership or human capital, and economic development or a successful service strategy can affect social change. However, these functions have particular elements that justify studying each one independently.

This chapter is organized in three sections and conclusions. In the first section, the function of development will be explored, focusing mostly on economic development and addressing some elements of political development, including the introduction of students to the dynamics of politics, the improvement of students' knowledge of the political system, and the creation of leaders for society, whether it be for conflict or peace. For economic development, emphasis will be put on direct investment and employment generation by universities in their areas of influence, development of human capital, and research, innovation, and technology transfer. The section on social change focuses on social mobility, the role of universities as a space for social criticism, and the buffering function of higher education. The third section is dedicated to the service (or extension) function of higher education; it starts with a couple definitions of university extension in Colombia, followed by several examples of service activities that may have some impact on peacebuilding in the country.

Development

It was mentioned in the introduction to this work that the role of higher education in the development of countries has been positively revaluated in the last decade (Bloom, Canning, & Chan, 2006; Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000). In the Colombian case, there are very few studies on the impact of higher education on local and regional development. For example, Brunner and colleagues (2012) explored the contribution of higher education to the development of the Colombian department of Antioquia focusing on the following aspects: human capital and skills development; research, development and innovation; social, cultural, and environmental development; and capacity building for regional co-operation.

Chabbott and Ramírez (2000) identified three forms of development in which education may have a role to play: economic development, cultural development, and political development. This section focuses on the contribution of higher education to economic development but also includes some remarks on its contribution to political development. Cultural development has not been a relevant issue in the literature of education and conflict, and it was hardly mentioned during the interviews conducted for this study.

Political development.

Chabbott and Ramírez (2000, p. 168) identified several assumptions commonly held regarding schooling and political development, including the improvement of "the political knowledge, values and attitudes of individuals," and that, in democratic societies, "more schooling … led to more democratic outlooks and practices." Based on a

summary of studies, they concluded that optimism about the contribution of schooling to political development is exaggerated. In addition to the assumptions identified by these two authors, two more assumptions can be identified: first, that HEIs produce political leaders; second, that universities are places where the exchange of political ideas takes place. The first of these assumptions will be studied in this section and the latter, the role of universities as market places for the ideas, will be explored in the section on social change.

Improvement of political knowledge, values, and attitudes.

Colombian law in higher education encourages students' participation in the Superior Council and Academic Council, the highest authorities in public universities, as well as in the equivalent organizations in private universities, which can be interpreted as an initiation to democracy. It can also be argued that student activism is a form of student engagement in politics, and that, through these types of "extracurricular" activities, students gain knowledge about the dynamics of politics. Some anecdotal evidence from the interviews conducted for this study, seems to support this idea. For example, Carlos Caicedo's description of his political trajectory as a student leader illustrates the point:

> I studied law at the National University of Colombia. There, my first contact with the conflict was through the Human Rights Committee of the University. I was its president for some time. It was a human rights committee, bringing together students, basically from the last semester of law, working on legal issues related to the representation of students who got involved in legal trouble because of their participation in the Colombian student movement.[50]

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[50] Yo estudié derecho en la Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Ahí mi primera aproximación al conflicto fue a través del Comité de Derechos Humanos de la

However, it is not clear, nor it was the purpose of this research, to find out if the introduction to the dynamics of politics among activists happened during college or before. Caicedo mentioned that he was a student leader during high school at the Liceo Celedón. Along the same lines, Vergara, who had a history of student activism as well, also mentioned his engagement in student activism before college:

> I began when I was in high school. I was a member of the ELN. When I was in fifth grade of *bachillerato* [tenth grade], I was part of that organization, and I already acted. Where we studied, around the borders of Fatima, there was a whole conformation (sic) of people participating in processes of political struggle in the country.[51]

Still, the idea of universities as places where students get or improve their knowledge of politics (even of alternative ways to do politics) would require further research.

Production of political leaders.

The production of (political) leaders has been a traditional function of universities. Usually, this function is associated with the training of those who will take top positions in the government and society. Universities are proud to name those alumni who are in positions of national, departmental, or local power, including the three

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Universidad, yo fui su presidente durante algún tiempo. Era un comité de derechos humanos que reunía estudiantes, básicamente, de último semestre de derecho y hacía gestiones relacionadas con problemas judiciales en los que terminaban involucrados los estudiantes por su participación en el movimiento estudiantil colombiano.

[51] Cuando yo estaba en secundaria, yo empecé. Era miembro del ELN. Cuando estaba en quinto bachillerato yo hacía parte de esa organización, ya actuaba. Había toda una conformación en donde estudiábamos, por allá por los lados de Fátima, de gente que anda participando en procesos de lucha política en el país.

branches of government. Some of the interviews also mentioned that leaders from the combating parties (mostly the guerillas) belonged to their universities. It was illustrated in Colombia's overview in Chapter Nine that some guerrilla organizations have among their founders and leaders people with university backgrounds, and that some groups, particularly the FARC, have been actively trying to recruit university students, allegedly to renew their cadres (Adelantan plan de…, 2008). This trend was consistent with the finding in the international overview, summarized in Chapter Eight.

Based on some of the interviewees' statements as well as some news reports, it seems plausible that, to a certain point, paramilitary organizations also recruited middle level leadership among university students. In 1997, when the paramilitaries became notorious in the Universidad de Antioquia, Jaime Restrepo, who was the current rector, asked the combating parties to keep the conflict outside campus, to which the paramilitaries answered that they were not on campus to bring conflict but to train themselves for the challenges imposed by society (Gómez Giraldo, 1997).

Bernardo Rivera, a former rector of the Universidad de Caldas and the executive director of ASCUN (the Colombian Association of Universities), mentioned how both guerrillas and paramilitaries approach universities seeking to train or recruit their leadership:

> Certainly at the university we underwent the presence of armed groups that were looking for the opportunity to train their cadres. The presence of the University of Caldas and its proximity to the EPL's strongholds by Riosucio, Quinchia, all that sector, was very evident. From both groups: left and right. One was able to feel

[the presence of] the right because the presence of the University of Caldas in the Middle Magdalena.[52]

In contrast, the production of leaders for the postconflict is a challenge that is not frequently addressed by people in the government, the combating parties, or even the universities. Carlos Gómez, La Salle University's rector, was one of the few interviewees that mentioned this issue. One of the main characteristics of La Salle's Utopia project is that students are not trained just to be good professionals or good employees but to return to their farms and apply their knowledge to improve productivity, as well as to become more socially involved citizens and leaders.

Economic development.

Among the functions related to economic development traditionally attributed to higher education are: the production of human capital, the generation of applicable knowledge relevant to the geographical regions of influence of each university, the impact of HEIs direct investment and expenditure in those regions, and the generation of employment. There are few studies of the impact of Colombian universities on their regions of influence, and there are no studies on the impact of higher education

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[52] "Indudablemente que en la universidad se vivía la presencia de los grupos armados con el fin de mantener al interior de la universidad una posibilidad de formación de cuadros. Era muy evidente la presencia, la cercanía de la universidad de Caldas a los reductos del EPL por Riosucio, Quinchía, todo ese sector, era muy evidente. Tanto de los grupos de izquierda como de derecha. Lo que pasa es que la derecha uno la sentía a partir de la presencia de la Universidad de Caldas en el Magdalena Medio."

institutions on regions recovering from conflict, such as Barrancabermeja or Aguachica, to mention two examples that have been addressed in this study.

The impact of higher education in economic development has multiple manifestations, some of which have been addressed in previous pages (e.g. contributing to the construction of knowledge base, and to the diffusion and use of knowledge). But, as mentioned when the taxonomy of functions was presented, universities also perform other functions related to economic development, such as production of human capital, direct investment in the regions, and jobs creation.

Smith, Drabenstott, and Gibson (1987) introduced the idea of a "continuum from 'passive' to 'active'" in the functions performed by universities. Among those than can be placed closer to the passive end are the generation of employment—either direct or indirect—and the creation of economic stimuli in the region, through expenditure and investment. Among those closer to the active end are: the production of human capital relevant for the region's economy, the production of knowledge applicable in economic enterprises, the provision of technical assistance, and technology transfer activities. These topics will be explored below.

Direct investment and employment generation.

The creation and existence of HEIs in a given region has similar benefits to the creation and existence of any industry in a region; among other things, it brings direct investment and creates direct and indirect jobs. Even if the money comes from local sources, the fact that it remains in the region, instead of paying for goods or services in other places, generates a positive impact on the region's development.

HEIs create jobs directly and indirectly. Among direct jobs are the teaching positions (including full-time, part-time, and hourly based contracts), administrative staff, and ancillary services, such as housekeeping and security. Indirect jobs are generated through the provision of services such as transportation, recreation, food services, and many others required by the institution, its students, and its teachers and employees.

The cases of three public universities from the north of the country illustrate this situation. UPC has over 122 full-time teachers, 700 teachers with temporary contracts, and over 500 employees among administrative staff, security personnel, and other ancillary positions. According to former Rector Meza, these employment figures, combined with the number of students (13,200) and its general annual budget of roughly 45 billion pesos (approximately US$25 million) turn UPC, into one of the three main powers in the department of Cesar, after Valledupar's city hall and the department itself. Something similar happens with the Universidad de La Guajira that, with over 1,000 employees among full-time and part-time professors, staff, and supernumerary employees, according to its rector, is considered the third employer of the department, after El Cerrejón (one of the largest open-pit coal mines in the world, which is located in La Guajira), and the department itself. According to Caicedo, when he was the rector of the Universidad del Magdalena, this institution employed more people than the mayor's office or the department of Magdalena because both the city and the department were bankrupt.

From a different perspective, the case of the Universidad de la Sabana, a private university located in Chia, a town in Bogota's metropolitan area, illustrates the many

ways in which a university affects a region. Velásquez, its rector, explained how despite

its proximity to Bogotá, the University has aimed at contributing to Chia's development:

> The presence of the university [in Chia since] 25 years ago has allowed the town to include the university in its development plan as an educational advantage. (...) We created Chia's Association of Commerce, which today is the Association of Commerce of the Sabana Norte. As a general policy, [the university] buys in Chia if the product and the cost-benefit ratio are competitive with those we can get in Bogota. If that is not the case, I help them to be competitive. I hire people from the area, preferably. [The University] employs people from neighboring municipalities. More than 500 employees live in Chia, some because they were in Bogota and they moved and set up their homes. That's economic impact.[53]

Despite their impact on the regions' economic development, none of these

institutions considered it a contribution to peacebuilding. Universidad de la Salle's

Utopia project has a model in which the university's development is conceived as a

peacebuilding project purposefully articulated with the development of the region and the

country. The potential impact of Utopia on the economy of Yopal has not been studied

yet, but it is far from being insignificant, as it consists of an initial investment of

approximately 33 million dollars—from which 10 million dollars are for real estate

acquisition.

If the role of HEIs in regional development is hardly mentioned in Colombian

literature, the connection between their contribution to economic development and

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[53] La presencia de la universidad acá [desde] hace 25 años hace que el municipio la reconozca en su plan de desarrollo como un potencial educativo. (…) Nosotros creamos la Asociación de Empresarios de Chía, que hoy es de Empresarios de la Sabana Norte. Nosotros por política compramos en Chía si el producto y la relación costo beneficio es competitivo con Bogotá; si no lo es, yo le ayudo a que lo sea. Yo contrato de gente de la zona, con preferencia. [La Universidad] le da empleo a la gente de municipios aledaños. Más de 500 empleados viven en Chía; unos porque eran de Bogotá y se trasladaron y montaron su vivienda, eso es impacto económico.

peacebuilding is largely ignored. Even in the cases of Unipaz and the UPC's Aguachica campus, which were created or received public funding based on their potential contribution to the creation of peace, there is no follow-up on their impact on regional development (or peace, for that matter).

Unlike the government, paramilitaries had clarity about the strategic role of HEIs in the regions and, because of that, attempted to take-over several universities, as illustrated before. For them, it was clear that universities, in addition to the dissemination of knowledge or ideologies, were effective vehicles for the concentration of wealth and power.

Development of Human Capital.

Human capital refers to: "the skills, knowledge, and experience possessed by an individual or population, viewed in terms of their value or cost to an organization or country" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2010); "the technical skills and knowledge acquired by workers" (Schiller, 2008); or, in a broader sense, it can be considered synonymous with human resources. Economists agree that human capital and technology are two important drivers for economic development (Moreno-Brid & Ruiz Nápoles, 2009).

Most HEIs in Colombia are teaching oriented institutions; they provide specialized training for a growing body of professionals who will join the labor market or, in a much smaller proportion, create their own companies. HEIs, together with non-formal education institutions, are among the most important organizations dedicated to the development of human capital. In the previous chapter, the role of HEIs in the production, dissemination, and preservation of knowledge related to the conflict was

presented. In this section, emphasis will be put on the transmission of skills and knowledge applicable for economic development.

Several interviewees mentioned that alumni of their institutions were members of public corporations, senior level executives from private companies, and holders of other leadership positions. In zones with less access to higher education, the impact of HEIs in the region's leadership can be even more significant. Claudia Toro, a vice-rector of UNAD, described the impact of the university in one of those regions:

> Currently, you come to areas where 90 percent of those who are there are unadistas [graduates from UNAD]. For example, in Chiquinquirá, there are students who studied at the Javeriana or other universities elsewhere. But those who studied elsewhere left. Those who studied in UNAD Chiquinquirá remain. The UNAD is engine of development, willingly or not. The idea is to become a clearly intentional engine.[54]

Some private universities have been created with the specific mission of contributing to the creation and qualification of human capital in their regions. The Universidad del Norte, UTB, and Coruniversitaria are examples of private universities created by the initiative of industry and entrepreneurial organizations with the objective of providing relevant education and training of human capital. Many other HEIs can show some links with the productive sector. For example, Mesa, the rector of the Universidad del Atlántico (public), in Barranquilla, despite regretting that the university does not contribute to the development of the department of Atlántico in an intended

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[54] Actualmente, tú llegas a zonas donde el 90 por ciento de los que están ahí son unadistas. Por ejemplo, en Chiquinquirá, hay estudiantes que estudiaron en la Javeriana o en otras universidades de otras partes. Pero los que estudiaron en otras partes se fueron. Los que estudiaron en la UNAD de Chiquinquirá se quedan. La UNAD es motor de desarrollo; quiéralo o no. La idea es que sea un motor intencionado con claridad.

way, reported how big industries in the city relied on the university's alumni to fill many

positions:

> If one looks at it from the perspective of [the type of] professionals that the
> university forms, almost all those working at different companies, such as
> Monómeros [Monómeros Colombo Venezolanos S.A., a petrochemicals
> company] and Procpas, a pharmaceutical company, are from the university,
> mainly from the schools of engineering, pharmacy, and law.[55]

In a knowledge economy, a harmonious relationship between university and

industry/entrepreneurship is very important. In a postconflict setting this articulation

becomes vital to boost development. Some interviewees spoke of the need for linkage of

universities with other sectors of society, particularly industry. Leonidas López, the co-

rector of Uniminuto and former rector of Coruniversitaria, stressed the need for a fluid

articulation among university, government, state, and industry/entrepreneurs:

> There is one thing that must be taken into account in this process. For the
> construction of society during the post-conflict, we need to integrate the
> university with the business community. The entrepreneur is the engine of the
> helix. We, as a university, can reach a certain point in society, but if we integrate
> university, society, government and entrepreneurship, then we can begin to
> generate a process of further development.[56]

A purposeful approach to human capital development for peacebuilding or post-

conflict was more unusual. Martínez, UTB's rector stressed how this university, willing

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[55] Si uno lo mira desde los profesionales que entrega [la universidad] varias empresas
como Monomeros y Procpas, empresa de medicamentos, casi todos los profesionales
vienen de acá sobre todo de ingenierías, farmacia y derecho.

[56] Hay una cosa que hay que tener en cuenta en todo este proceso. Para la construcción
de sociedad, nos hace falta, en el postconflicto, integrar a la universidad con el mundo
empresarial. El empresario es el motor de la hélice. Nosotros, como universidad,
podemos llegar hasta un punto con la sociedad, pero si integramos [a] la universidad, la
sociedad, el estado y el empresariado, ahí podemos comenzar a generar un proceso de
mayor desarrollo.

to become "part of the solution," decided to offer technical level programs, in addition to its regular college-level programs, thus providing students with the opportunity to join the labor market in a swift way, and the market with a skilled labor force.   However, the admission process for these or any other programs offered by the university is blind to the origin of students, in terms of their current or previous involvement in the conflict whether as combatants or victims.

The Universidad de la Salle's Utopia project is unique in its peacebuilding approach. From a human capital point of view, the project is aimed at instilling in its students skills and competencies that would allow them to be successful in the productive world, not only as employees, but also as entrepreneurs and social leaders. Utopia selects its students from among victims of the conflict who come from peasant background families and are willing to stay in the countryside to apply their knowledge.

Human capital development is not an issue reserved for big companies as it can also benefit the geographic influence zone of HEIs. The case of UPC's Aguachica campus is very illustrative. According to the university's official data, by 2003 UPC Aguachica had 153 alumni (73 from the Administration program and 80 from the Accounting program) among whom an estimate of 80 percent stayed in the region (Aguilera Díaz, 2004) contributing to regional development. To date, the university has expanded its academic offering in Aguachica, including systems engineering, agroindustry engineering, and technology in agriculture. The number of alumni staying in the region has grown and the impact of the university should be more evident, but there are no studies to show it. Despite the fact that the Aguachica campus was partially

financed under the pretext of its contribution to peace, there are no studies analyzing the impact of the contingents of these graduates in peace or in the development of the region.

Relevance of the academic offering is a controversial topic. In some countries, the government influences or decides what academic programs are required; in others—the majority—institutions are relatively autonomous to decide the programs they want to create. Before 1992, when the current Colombian higher education law was issued, the government had more control on what HEIs were allowed to offer. Oswaldo Rios, a former Vice Rector from Unipaz, described how when this institution was created, the existing regulation (Decree 80 of 1980) did not allow the same academic degree program to be offered by two institutions in the same city or department:

> There were some academic programs that [Unipaz] wanted to create but were already offered by the UIS. So they had to make a market study looking for programs related to a development option different from that of the oil culture, i.e. agriculture and agroindustry.[57]

The initial restriction on offering programs related to the oil industry forced Unipaz to focus on agriculture, thus creating an important source of human capital for the development of agriculture in the region. Years later, Unipaz graduates were in different leadership positions in the region. Rios said:

> Today we send our graduates to work in Wilches Palm, in Sabana de Torres, working with palm and other crops, and in San Vicente de Chucurí. Unipaz graduates control the UMATA (Municipal Units Agropeacuaria Technical Assistance), where the municipalities provided technical assistance to small and

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[57] Había carreras que se quería abrir que ya las tenía la UIS. Así que se hace un estudio de Mercado con programas que tuvieran que ver con un desarrollo diferente a la cultura petrolera, es decir, la parte agropecuaria y agroindustrial.

medium producers. The first graduates from here are governing and have governed the UMATA for a long time.[58]

Research, innovation, and technology transfer.

There are many definitions of technology transfer. A simple but still complete definition states that it is "the process by which technology or knowledge developed in one place or for one purpose is applied and used in another" (Federal Laboratory Consortium for Technology Transfer, n.d.). In higher education literature, the transference of knowledge usually takes place from the university to industry. However, in this research, examples of technology transfer from HEIs to peasants were frequent and recurrent, but this transfer of technology was not considered a revenue source for the institution but part of its service to society.

UTB, for example, provided its knowledge in marketing to improve the distribution chain from the Montes de María, a conflict zone, to the Market of Basurto in Cartagena. The rector explained:

> The university can help the visualization of many forms of business organization and locally, better ways to sowing (...). Some good experience in various marketing issues, logistics, and transport of goods are transferable from the university. In fact, we did some work on the food supply chain in the Basurto Market with different products. There is a lot of knowledge that can help with improvement and efficiency in this type of work. The university can contribute very much. Students get involved with the professor in the region and help a lot.[59]

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[58] Hoy mandamos a trabajar a nuestros egresados a Wilches Palm, a Sabana de Torres, en palma y otros cultivos, en San Vicente de Chucurí. Los egresados de Unipaz manejan las UMATA (Unidades Municipales de Asistencia Técnica Agropeacuaria) en donde la asistencia técnica la prestan los municipios a los pequeños y medianos productores. Los primeros egresados de aquí son los que rigen y han regido esas UMATA durante mucho tiempo.

[59] La universidad puede ayudar a la visualización de muchos negocios y de formas de organización a nivel local, mejores formas de sembrar (…). Agunas de las buenas

La Salle's rector emphasized the importance of this type of technology transfer over academic publication:

> We are working hard on technology transfer processes to the small farmer, who is not interested at all in reading the papers that academics write and are usually only read by the journal's editor, but rather we focus on what can be transferred to the peasant who is not interested in theoretical support but in how to apply technology. We have worked on many projects and processes in vulnerable communities, such as the "*cruderos,*" the people who trade raw milk on the outskirts of Bogota. That is the type of work that we choose as research and intervention projects.[60]

The participation of graduates from Unipaz and other universities in the UMATAs is another example of transfer of knowledge. Students get technical training in college. After finishing their studies, some of them are hired by the UMATAs, which are government organizations, to provide technical advice to small farmers. However, this has happened because Unipaz produced a group of professionals that happened to be useful in terms of the needs of the region and, particularly, for the UMATA, but not

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experiencias en distintos temas mercadeo, logística, transporte de mercancía son transferibles desde la universidad. De hecho, hicimos algunos trabajos de la cadena de provision de alimentos en el Mercado de Basurto con distintos productos. Hay mucho conocimiento que puede ayudar en mejoramiento y eficacia, en ese tipo de trabajo la universidad puede servir muchísimo, los estudiantes se meten con el profesor en la región y ayudan muchísmo.

[60] Nosotros estamos trabajando mucho en procesos de transferencia de tecnología al pequeño campesino, que no le interesa en lo más mínimo leerse un paper de eso que escriben los profesores universitarios [y] que solo los leen los editores de las revistas; pero que eso se pueda transferir al pequeño campesino, que no le interesa el sustento teórico pero que le interesa poder aplicar la tecnología. Hemos trabajado en muchos proyectos y procesos de comunidades vulnerables, como el de los "cruderos" que son los que comercian la leche cruda en las goteras de Bogotá. Ese el es tipo de trabajos que nosostros privilegiamos como proyectos de investigación y proyectos de intervención.

because there was an articulated effort between Unipaz and the local government to train such human resources or to participate in a technology transfer model.

Finally, there are innumerable examples of research projects in which, usually as graduation requirements in baccalaureate programs, students develop projects to apply research to regional needs.

For most universities and for the government, these development activities are not considered part of a peacebuilding strategy. In the best case scenario, they are considered a not very relevant part of the national development strategy, as illustrated in a study for Unesco's Economic Commission for Latin America (Perry, n.d., p. 5), in which the author pointed out that the innovation processes for peasants were not specifically included in the National Development Plan.

Social Change

Different authors attribute different (and sometimes opposing) functions to higher education and while some believe that it contributes to social change, whether organized or abrupt, by stimulating social mobility through access to education, providing safe spaces for social criticism, and contributing to economic development; others believe that it does the opposite by reproducing the ideology of the dominant class. In this section, some of the activities identified as associated with the functions of promotion or avoidance of social change in the taxonomy presented on chapter XX will be explored, without attributing a positive or negative impact on social change. Other functions identified in the taxonomy, such as sorting talent, or the reproduction of the ideology of the dominant class will not be studied in this dissertation.

Social mobility.

The role of higher education in social mobility has been commented on elsewhere. According to UNESCO's World Conference on Higher Education (1998, p. 57) "Higher education is essential for any country to reach the necessary level of economic and social development and social mobility." In President Santos' government plan (Departamento Nacional de Planeación, 2011, p. 20) education is considered "perhaps the most effective tool to reduce inequity and to guarantee equality in conditions for the generation of income."[61]

If social inequality is one of the sources of conflict in Colombia, and if higher education can contribute to the reduction of inequality, providing access to larger numbers of students from under-favored backgrounds should contribute to peacebuilding. However, there is no unanimity about these two assumptions. Two questions need to be answered: The first one, does higher education contribute to social mobility and the reduction of inequality? The second one, does social mobility contribute to the achievement of peace?

Most policy makers and university administrators interviewed for this work agreed that higher education contributes to upward social mobility. The Rector of the Universidad de Cartagena, for example, illustrated how many of its graduates who came from low-income families climbed the social ladder thanks to the training and the diploma that they received from the university. He also mentioned how through different

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[61] "La educación, por su parte, es quizás la herramienta más efectiva para reducir la inequidad y garantizar la igualdad de condiciones para la generación de ingresos."

strategies, such as bringing the university to the *barrios* and participating in the CERES

program, the university is contributing to social mobility:

> This strategy of bringing the University to the neighborhoods, in the mid and long-term, will enable many youngsters to get education. If you live in in one of those neighborhoods and you get your degree, then you have the possibility of going to Venezuela, in other words, wherever you want! Because you already have the diploma under your arm "[62]

Gómez, had some apprehension about the alleged capacity of higher education to

contribute to social mobility; based on data provided by the Ministry of Education's

Observatorio del Mercado Laboral (Labor Market Observatory) he pointed out that

alumni for traditional, elite private universities still get better salaries than those from

prestigious public universities, such as Universidad Nacional or Universidad de

Antioquia. This is still a challenge for social mobility.

There are some efforts to understand whether social mobility contributes to the

achievement of peace. In the Colombian case, Nasi (2003) explored different potential

components for an agenda in a peace negotiation process, based on the analysis of the

role of poverty and social inequality in the reproduction of the Colombian conflict. He

found that "the Colombian war does not have clear-cut economic causes, or simple

economic solutions". He identified arguments both in favor and against the role of

poverty and inequality in the reproduction of the conflict but did not reach a final

conclusion; this debate is still open.

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[62] "Esta estrategia de llevar a la Universidad a los barrios populares, en el mediano y en el largo plazo, le va a permitir a muchos jóvenes formarse. Si tú ya eres una persona que vive en este barrio y tienes tu cartón, tú ya tienes las posibilidad de irte a Venezuela, por decir algo, ¡pa' donde tú quieras! Porq0ue ya tienes el cartón debajo del brazo"

In some cases, such mobility can generate social tension between the emerging class and the established elite. The Rector of UPC illustrated such situation:

> The University was founded 34 years ago and those who really needed to study in order to arise enrolled. A professional, not a social, class, generated by the University, was born. When this professional class graduated, they started to look for [better] social position. Some of them started to ask: why can't I live here if I am a professional? Why can't I be a member of the club? Why can't I be councilor? Why can't I be mayor? And that changed all the political and social traditions, therefore bringing another clash. There was a social clash because those new professionals needed economic support as well as a back up of force.[63]

Nonetheless, expanding access to education has been a priority for the Colombian government. Uribe's government expanded access to higher education using different strategies, including: the ACCES program of student credit, in which students from the lowest social strata got better rates and were preferred in the allocation of education credit; an expansion of public universities enrolment; a dramatic—and highly criticized—expansion of the higher education offering by the SENA; and the implementation of the CERES project. Santos' government continued these general strategies.

Several interviewees from private universities mentioned that through the ACCES program they had been able to expand their enrolment to low-income students. In many

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[63] La Universidad nace hace 34 años y empieza aquel que realmente necesita estudiar para poder surgir. Empieza a nacer una clase profesional, no digamos social, que la viene generando la Universidad. Cuando esta clase profesional sale, empieza a buscar una posición social. Porque algunos profesionales empiezan a medir: ya yo soy professional ¿por qué no puedo dormir aquí? ¿por qué no puedo ser socio del club? ¿por qué no puedo ser concejal? ¿Por qué no puedo ser alcalde? Y entonces le van cambiando toda la tradición política y social a los que venían. Ahí va otro choque. Entonces hay un choque social que también viene representando en ese choque del conflicto. Porque aquellos profesionales que empiezan a llegar, necesitan un respaldo económico y un respaldo de fuerza.

cases, ACCES was not enough for that purpose and several institutions, particularly elite highly competitive institutions, created their own student aid programs including scholarships and work-study to attract students from lower income backgrounds with outstanding academic records.

Public universities tend to enroll students from lower-income families. However, in very competitive institutions, such as the Universidad Nacional, it is possible to find students from higher income groups. Still, public university directives that participated in the interviews consistently characterized their students as coming from lower income segments of the population (stratum one, two, and three), and exceptionally from upper classes.

Daniel Bogoya, a former director of ICFES (Observatorio de la Universidad Colombiana, 2011) conducted an study based on the student's self-reported economic status during the SaberPro test, which is applied to students finishing undergraduate education. The study showed that the median socio-economic stratum of students taking the test in 2011 was 2.7, on a scale from 0 to 6. The fact that most of the students from public universities come from the lower socioeconomic strata, and that several private universities are trying to attract students the from lower socio economic strata, in conjunction with the different official policies to promote expansion of access to higher education, might suggest an important move toward the reduction of inequality. However, it is too soon to claim victory. Despite the growing number of students from less favored backgrounds, most of them are still excluded from higher education, as Ana Sofía Mesa, the rector of the Universidad del Atlántico, illustrated:

For the first half of 2011, there were 15,000 aspirants and we only admitted 3,000. When we see what we have achieved in including [students from] stratum one and two it is just a tiny fraction. Hence, although there has been some progress regarding people from stratum one and two, it is never comparable to those who remain without access to higher education. For this reason we can also be generating conflict, because they are high school graduates who are left in a limbo because a high school diploma is not enough to get a decent job, and they cannot get into college. The university helps a little in terms of this mobility but many people remain. Let's say that in the last 4 years we have left out 40,000 or 50,000 thousand students. Some private universities ask us to give them the lists of those who has not been admitted; [but] the story is more serious, we have tried to expand coverage but sometimes [the candidates] do not have the academic qualifications required.[64]

Providing a space for social criticism.

There are many questions that are hardly mentioned in the literature: Does reconciliation need social criticism? Should it not be easier if there were unanimity, a single shared truth? It is taken as a given that social criticism is an essential condition for a democratic society; yet, some of the examples presented in the international overview of this dissertation illustrate how is not uncommon in the postconflict period that those who won had attempted to impose their ideology (e.g. Spain, Cuba, Nicaragua) or even to

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[64] Para el primer semestre del 2011, se presentaron 15,000 mil y no aceptamos sino 3,000. Entonces vemos que lo que alcanzamos a cubrir de los estratos uno y dos es una ínfima parte. Entonces a pesar de que sí ha habido calificación en términos de las personas estratos uno y dos, nunca es comparable a la cantidad que se queda sin tener acceso. Entonces por eso también se puede estar generando conflicto, porque son bachilleres que se quedan en el aire porque aquí el bachillerato no sirve para tener trabajo digno y no pueden entrar a la universidad. Entonces la universidad ayuda un poco a esa movilidad pero se queda mucha gente. Digamos que en los últimos 4 años hemos podido dejar por fuera 40 o 50,000 mil estudiantes. La universidad privada nos dice que les demos las listas de los que no han pasado, [pero] el cuento es más grave, nosotros hemos tratado de ampliar la cobertura pero a veces [los aspirantes] no dan la exigencia academica.

create a new truth, such as the existence of only one race in Rwanda. In those cases, the exercise of dissent from the universities becomes, at very least, inconvenient. Nonetheless, the theory says that the critical role of universities needs to be included among the many conditions to build solid, democratic societies (see for example: Gutmann, 1987).

Are universities creating spaces to discuss the challenges and problems related to conflict and postconflict? Are they providing a space where the different ideologies can be expressed without fear? Interviewees from public and private HEIs and the government agreed that their institutions respect freedom of speech and all political views. However, some of them pointed out that sometimes threats against freedom of speech on campus came from other sources than the government or the university itself, such as infiltrated members of extremist groups, as mentioned in some of the previous chapters.

In general, universities in Colombia have been considered spaces for social criticism, and they provide opportunities for students and professors to discuss some of the most controversial topics in the country. Some interviewees described how their institutions are open to views from diverse tendencies by mentioning the names of representatives from opposing political views, including some characterized for being too radical, who had been invited as speakers to their campuses. Velázquez, the rector of the Universidad de la Sabana—which is a right-wing-oriented institution with ties to the Opus Dei—mentioned how the university has invited representatives from the extreme-left including Karina, a notorious demobilized commander from the FARC accused of

massacres, murder, and kidnapping, and Piedad Córdoba, a leftwing ex-senator who has been accused of belonging or at least sympathizing with the FARC. In a similar way, Serrano, the rector of UDES, mentioned that they invited people representing different political positions, including Álvaro Uribe and members of the higher courts, as well as Carlos Gaviria (a former Constitutional Court Justice) or Angelino Garzón (A former union leader who became the country's Vice President), who represented leftwing movements.

There have been some instances in which members from academia have been able to question senior members from the government directly on topics related to the essence of their government strategies. Velázquez mentioned that in 2005, President Uribe was invited to a debate organized by La Sabana and the Universidad National, and he was questioned about the nature of Colombia's internal conflict. Uribe defended the idea that there was not an armed conflict in Colombia, while the other three panelists supported the opposite idea. A similar situation happened in February 2010 when President Uribe was invited to a panel at the Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano in which all of the other participants, including the university's rector, were well-known critics of Uribe's policies. The event lasted more than four hours, in which one by one the panelists criticized Uribe's ideas and projects, while the President defended himself from the massive attack. The auditorium was full of university students who followed the debate in a very organized way. The next day, a columnist from El Tiempo, the biggest and most influential newspaper in the country, called the event as an ambush against Uribe (Rueda, 2010).

Student activism, involving students from private and public universities, has been instrumental in several recent events including the overthrowing of the dictator Rojas Pinilla (1957), the Seventh Ballot Movement (1990), and several marches for peace. Students and professors have protested different government decisions related to the political and economic management of the country, as well as different measures regarding educational policy and financing. Recently, the student movement forced the government to withdraw a bill containing an integral reform to higher education, which included, among several other topics, the authorization of for-profit education in the country.

In addition to public forums, professors also contribute to the critical role of universities through their publications. It is impossible to make a list of all the books and articles in which university professors and students criticize the government, society, or even the armed conflict or the parties involved. Most of this production comes from the field of humanities, which may explain why extreme right groups have considered them "military objectives" on several occasions.

Still, HEIs being a market place of ideas functions more in some universities than others. Mostly but not exclusively in public universities during certain periods, people have been afraid of openly expressing their opinions because they do not want to be labeled as belonging to the left or the right and thereby possibly jeopardize their security. As illustrated in previous chapters, violent groups had threatened and some times hurt and killed students and professors who thought and acted in ways they did not approve

(e.g. the threats in the Universidad de Antioquia, Universidad Distrital, or even Universidad Externado de Colombia, which is a private university).

In some public universities, there are groups of people that wear hoods and participate in different activities ranging from giving a speech or distributing fliers to getting engaged in riots against the police or even destroying university's property. Some argue that they use the hoods to protect their identities in a context where violent retaliation is always a possibility. Based on his experience as a former rector from the Universidad de Manizales, Rivera believes that not all of those who wear hoods belong to the guerrillas and not all of those who belong to the guerrillas wear a hood. Vice rector Vergara, from the Universidad Distrital explained why some people use hoods on campus but also illustrated levels of intolerance against those who do not necessarily agree with the ideas or methods of those in the opposition:

> We have had cases of student leaders who have been unjustly detained, others have disappeared. I say that the hood is not required, but it is justified to the extent that people have disappeared. Sometimes we limit the expression of those who talk differently (...). One would say that at the university, the debate is sometimes limited, and that such limitation is originated in both sectors' sectarianism. Sometimes people who have different positions than those commonly held in social protest state that they cannot express themselves because they are branded as belonging to the right, labeled as under-cover policemen (*tiras*), or stigmatized. That occurs frequently in the public university; especially when the conflict becomes radical, people who do not agree with the confrontation and protest are usually knocked down and pointed out. This must be said for the sake of truth.[65]

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[65] Aquí hemos tenido casos de estudiantes, de dirigentes, que han estado detenidos injustamente; otros que han desaparecido. Yo digo que la capucha no es necesaria pero se justifica en la medida en que han desaparecido gente. A veces coartamos la expresión de quienes se expresan diferente (…). Uno diría que en la Universidad, el debate a veces es limitado, y esa limitación se da por el sectarimos de uno y otro sector. A veces la gente que tiene posiciones diferentes a las que commúnmente se manejan en la protesta social, manifiesta que no pueden expresarse porque son señalados de derecha, o tildados

In contrast, apathy was considered a different type of challenge for the critical role of universities, particularly in private universities. While, according to some interviewees, both public and private universities try to provide opportunities for constructive debate, student engagement in most private universities was very low. Serrano, who had been a rector in both public and private universities, addressed this point directly:

> It is truly amazing to see the difference between the populations of public and private universities (...). [At UDES] we organized forums and the students got involved but not the way we would like; they are not motivated and are not as sensitive as the students of public universities.[66]

Losada, the rector of the Universidad Antonio Nariño (private), commented:

> At the university there is not a clear presence [of armed groups], or discussion; the student body does not manifest itself. I find them more like students with a legitimate interest in advancing their professional knowledge without having to take it to a political status.[67]

In some cases, universities provided an opportunity to discuss conflict and peacebuilding issues or to bring together victims and perpetrators, including demobilized combatants from different groups and displaced people. Examples of this are varied and

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de tira, o los macartisan, y eso se da con mucha frecuencia en la universidad pública. Sobre todo cuando el conflicto se radicaliza y gente no está de acuerdo con el enfrentamiento y la protesta, es señalada y atropellada. Eso hay que reconocerlo en aras de la verdad.

[66] Es verdaderamente asombroso ver la diferencia de la poblacion de las universidades publicas y de las privadas (…). Se han organizado foros y los muchachos participan pero no de la manera que nosotros quisiéramos; no están motivados y no son tan sensibles como los estudiantes de la universidad pública.

[67] En la universidad no hay una presencia clara [de grupo armados], ni discusión; el estudiantado no se manifiesta, yo les encuentro más como estudiantes con un interés legitimo de avanzar en su conocimiento profesional sin tener que llevarlo a un estatus político.

include some of the seminars and courses on human rights, forced displacement, and similar topics. Vergara illustrated how through extension courses on human rights, the Universidad Distrital created a space in which such issues were discussed:

> Then anyone was able to come, the local mayor, the aldermen, or social organizations. They said, 'We want to take a course on human rights.' Then we had 300 folks [studying] human rights there. The paramilitary, guerrilla, whoever wanted to be there (...) but the Faculty of Technology was a mediator in the conflict; it was a place of confluence, and there were never clashes. I had a motto then, 'Inside the Faculty, we discuss [our issues]; outside, we solve our problems, but this is a place where everyone is welcome' and indeed all sectors came.[68]

Buffer against unemployment.

By delaying the entrance of students to the job market, higher education alleviates some of the pressure on the market and reduces the levels of unemployment mostly among young adults. In fact, by definition, full-time students are considered among the economically inactive population (See, for example, OECD, n.d.).

National development plans and employment policies in Colombia have included education among the several elements able to affect development and employment. Usually, education is considered only in terms of its potential to develop human capital, which is expected to boost individual and national productivity. Studies on the impact of education on salaries and the possibility of getting a job have shown that in Colombia,

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[68] Entonces, llegaba cualquiera, el alcalde de la localidad, los ediles, o las organizaciones sociales. Decían "queremos hacer un curso de derechos humanos." Entonces tuvimos 300 tipos de derechos humanos ahí. Iba el paramilitar, el guerrillero, el que quisiera. (…) pero la facultad tecnológica fue mediadora en el conflicto, fue el sitio de confluencia y nunca hubo enfrentamientos. Yo tenía un criterio, y era: "adentro discutimos, afuera resolvemos los problemas, pero este es un sitio donde puede llegar todo el mundo" y efectivamente, llegaban todos los sectores.

higher education has better rates of return than primary and secondary education. People

with higher education get better salaries, and unemployment is lower among higher

education graduates than among other groups with lower education (López Castaño,

2008).

When Restrepo, an ex-rector of the Universidad de Antioquia and the former

director of Colciencias, the government's agency for research, was questioned about the

buffering function of higher education, he assumed a critical position:

> Certainly that must be happening. I do not think that it is an objective of the
> university, that the university is looking to dampen social problems by receiving
> people, but there is no doubt that increased enrollment decreases pressure on
> unemployment. So enrollment expansion by the government has a secondary gain,
> which is reducing unemployment. But I do not think that the university is looking
> for that; I think that the government is.[69]

In fact, at least in one opportunity, the government included the reduction of

unemployment among the many outcomes of the expansion of enrollment in higher

education. Juan Carlos Echeverry (2001), who was the head of the National Planning

Department, attributed both short and long-term effects in the government's employment

strategy to education. Echeverry anticipated that, as a long-term effect, better education

would improve students' employability and salary. He also believed that, the expansion

of access to education would produce the reduction of the labor offering, as an expected

short-term effect.

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[69] Indudablemente eso se debe dar. No creo que sea objeto de la Universidad, que la
universidad esté buscando amortiguar problemas sociales recibiendo gente, aunque es
indudable que el aumento de cobertura disminuye la presión sobre el desempleo.
Entonces, aumetar cobertura por parte del gobierno tiene una ganancia secundaria que es
la disminución del desempleo. Pero no creo que la Universidad esté buscando eso; creo
que el Estado sí.

There are no studies on the impact of higher education on unemployment in terms of the reducing the economically active population. However, an overview on some recent figures on employment in Colombia can help to give an idea. In June 2012, in Colombia there were 2.3 million unemployed people, which according to the DANE, the government's agency for statistics, corresponded to ten percent of the economically active population (Dicen que en un año, 1,2 millones encontraron empleo.2012). According to the Ministry of Education (SNIES, 2012), the number of students in higher education in 2011 was 1,743,907. The comparison of unemployment figures versus enrollment in higher education illustrates the importance of higher education in retaining potential workers and delaying their entrance into the labor market. Even though it cannot be assumed that all of those enrolled in higher education are full-time students, this comparison shows how important higher education is in keeping the economically active population low.

In a post-conflict setting, buffering unemployment becomes even more important for governments, which in addition to the normal rates of unemployment, needs to deal with the unemployment of former combatants from both unlawful organizations and regular armed forces, in the case of a reduction of manpower. As illustrated on Chapter 16 (below), higher education is not an option for most demobilized combatants or for most displaced people. Still, through non-formal education, HEIs can help many of these people along the transition from conflict to peace. While preventing these people from swelling the unemployment rates, they can help them in the transition from soldiers to civilians.

Is higher education contributing to the reproduction of conflict?

Most of the interviewees considered that higher education in Colombia is not contributing to the reproduction of the conflict. Most of them were optimistic about the role of higher education in general and their institutions in particular, toward the construction of peace. However, there were some critical voices on the role of higher education in Colombia.

Higher Education contributes to the reproduction of the economic and social system, which some consider unfair. A recurrent argument among those who believe that Colombian higher education system may contribute to the reproduction of conflict, is that it can potentially generate frustration, mostly among youngsters, which in turn can elicit their involvement with armed organizations. One of the reasons for frustration is that the higher education system is not capable of absorbing all the potential students who graduate from secondary education and want to get access to higher education. The levels of high school completion (11th grade) have been improving for decades while enrolment in higher education has also been growing but a much slower pace.

Exclusion from the system is not the only way in which higher education may contribute to the reproduction of violent conflict. Higher education can be also a frustration generator when the quality of the academic programs is poor, or when they are not relevant, or, in general, when higher education does not help students with their successful inclusion in the labor market. As a Colombian activist put it in an interview to

a Venezuelan news service: "lack of access to higher education and job insecurity are the two pillars that fuel the war option as a "source of work"[70] (Andrade, 2012).

Service / Extension

Service, outreach, or university extension, is one of the three elements of the classic triad of functions of the university, and it is an integral component of the universities' mission that in Latin America gained acceptance after the Cordoba Movement (1918) in Argentina. Extension is typically the least described, regulated, and studied of the three classic functions of university, and it has been each HEI that has defined the scope of its own extension and service. However, there have been some efforts to regulate this function. Two definitions of extension will be provided in this section, followed by a group of examples of universities' involvement in what either they explicitly define as peacebuilding activities, or what during the interviews, the interviewees considered as such.

Colombian higher education law states that "extension includes continuing education programs, courses, seminars and other programs for the dissemination of knowledge, exchange of experiences and service activities designed to ensure the general welfare of the community and meet the needs of society"[71] (Republic of Colombia, 1992, article 120).

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[70] La imposibilidad de acceder a la educación universitaria y la precarización del empleo son los dos pilares que alimentan la opción de la guerra como "fuente de trabajo"

[71] La extensión comprende los programas de educación permanente, cursos, seminarios y demás programas destinados a la difusión de los conocimientos, al intercambio de experiencias, así como las actividades de servicio tendientes a procurar el bienestar general de la comunidad y la satisfacción de las necesidades de la sociedad.

The Colombian Association of Universities (ASCUN) defined university extension as:

> a substantive part of the academic endeavor that aims to establish a continuous process of interaction and integration with national communities in order to contribute to solving their main problems, to participate in the design and construction of public policies, and to contribute to the transformation of society from a perspective of democratization and social, regional, political, and cultural equity[72] (Aponte, 2007, p. 37)

While the legal definition includes a teaching component ("continuing education programs, courses, seminars and other programs for the dissemination of knowledge") and a service component, Ascun's definition emphasized the service component. Because the teaching component was already analyzed in the chapter on knowledge, in this section, emphasis will be made on the service component of university extension.

Some universities explicitly include a peacebuilding component in their service/extension programs. Uniagraria, a private college level non-university, has a program called "*Sembrar Paz*" (Sow Peace) aimed at the creation of agro-entrepreneurs whose target audience is children from 8th to 11th grade from lower income and displaced families, who get training in topics related to agroindustry. Uniagraria's Vicerrector of Projects summarized the peacebuilding component of the project in an interview for a national television program (*Sembrar paz,* 2010):

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[72] Es parte sustantiva del quehacer académico y tiene por objeto establecer procesos continuos de interacción e integración con las comunidades nacionales en orden a aportar a la solución de sus principales problemas, a participar en la formulación y construcción de políticas públicas y a contribuir en la transformación de la sociedad en una perspectiva de democratización y equidad social, regional, política y cultural"

>We have to repopulate the countryside. And when the war ends, we expect to repopulate it with people who know [how to do] farming in a profitable way. People who see agriculture as a possible enterprise[73]

In contrast, when asked about what their institutions have done to contribute to peacebuilding, interviewees belonging to universities usually provided a list of extension activities including extension courses and service initiatives. For example, Losada mentioned that the Universidad Antonio Nariño's Health Faculty had conducted many health fairs (*jornadas de salud*) and explained that the university has several academic clinics for law and psychology. In a similar way, Serrano mentioned health brigades organized by UDES as examples of peacebuilding activities.

In 2006, the Ministry of Education proposed the creation of mandatory social service for higher education students, as an alternative to the military service and an opportunity for beneficiaries of ACCES credits to repay part of their debt with social work. Universities objected to the idea because they considered it would imply an extra burden on administrative and academic work, and, consequently, a violation of their autonomy. ASCUN proposed the creation of the Higher Education's Social Service Program (Programa de Servicio Social de la Educación Superior - PSSES), in which universities presented service projects to be co-financed by the Ministry.

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[73] El campo tenemos que repoblarlo. Y cuando pase la guerra esperamos que los repoblemos con gente que conozca de agricultura de manera rentable, que vea en la agricultura una posible empresa.

The Higher Education's Social Service Program.

This project, co-sponsored by ASCUN and the Ministry of Education, was oriented to stimulate students' involvement in social service, provided interesting output in terms of the number of projects related to peace and displaced people.

According to ASCUN, the project was based on the acknowledgement

that higher education cannot be indifferent to the inequality, poverty and violence in the country, and, therefore, should be involved in the transformation of situations of inequality and injustice, promoting through academia, new forms of action and generation of social processes[74] (p. 57).

The Ministry and ASCUN defined five thematic areas for the call for tenders. The table below displays the areas and the percentage of the 66 projects submitted between 2007 and 2010. The two areas with more selected projects were "citizenship and culture of peace" and "care and support of displaced people," combined they accounted for 67.2 percent of the projects, as illustrated on Table 11.

Table 11. Distribution of PSSES Projects by Thematic Areas (n=66)

Pre-defined areas	% of Projects
Citizenship skills and culture of peace	47.0%
Care and support to the displaced population	21.2%
Student retention and articulation with higher education	9.7%
Prevention and treatment of drug consumption	9.0%
Prevention and control of emergencies	3.0%

Source: Ascun, 2011. Table by author

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[74] Se reconoce que la educación superior no puede estar al margen de la situación de inequidad, pobreza y violencia del país y por lo tanto, debe involucrarse en la transformación de las situaciones de desigualdad e injusticia, promoviendo desde la academia nuevas formas de actuación y de generación de procesos sociales.

These 66 projects included in ASCUN's report are but a fraction of the many service activities conducted by HEIs. According to a recent study by ASCUN (PSSES - Programa de Servicio Social de la Educación Superior, 2011) 85 percent of the 97 universities surveyed had at least one policy or one official document addressing social projection or social practices. In addition to "service" and "extension," the concept of "university social responsibility" is also an umbrella term to describe a gamut of social service activities conducted by universities, modeled after the idea of corporate social responsibility imported by the international mining companies (Unimedios, 2010). This concept has gained popularity among Colombian universities, and a growing number of them started to include it in their mission, vision, and statements of purpose related to service and extension.

Academic clinics.

Having a legal clinic (*Consultorio Jurídico*) that offers free legal advice and pro-bono representation for people from low-income backgrounds is a legal requirement for law schools in Colombia. Law students, under the supervision of a group of professors, provide this service as part of their study program. ILSA, an NGO specialized in alternative justice services, and the Universidad de Cartagena created a legal clinic specialized in displaced people and which promoted the creation of the University Network on Law and Displacement (Red de Derecho y Desplazamiento - RDD) (Quintero Lyons & Carvajal Martínez, 2009) Thirteen other universities from the around the country joined the network, namely: Corporación Universitaria del Meta, Universidad

Autónoma de Bucaramanga, Universidad Cooperativa de Colombia, Universidad de Antioquia, Universidad de Ibagué, Universidad de Nariño, Universidad del Magdalena, Universidad del Norte, Universidad Libre, Universidad Simón Bolívar, and Universidad Tecnológica del Chocó. Participant universities created, within their legal practices, special programs aimed at providing integral attention for displaced people, to help them to achieve the full enjoyment of their rights (Universidad del Norte, 2009).

In addition to legal clinics, some universities have also clinics on psychology and other areas. For example, Universidad Antonio Nariño's rector illustrated that the university has psychology clinics in different parts of the country. One of the experts interviewed mentioned that when Paul Bromberg was Bogotá's mayor (1997), there was a project to create clinics in all the localities of the city, multi-discipline university clinics in which students and teachers helped the community to solve its problems.

Fighting poverty as a peacebuilding strategy.

Several universities have programs oriented towards fighting poverty, which some consider one of the possible causes of conflict. López remarked that in addition to the research on citizenship and peace, Uniminuto has schools of peace, and it was designated as the institution responsible for the implementation of the Red Juntos (Together Network) strategy in Bogotá. This network is a project designed by the government to reduce poverty in the country by providing families in extreme poverty, including displaced ones, the tools and knowledge for them to generate their own income in a sustainable manner (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, n.d.).

The Universidad Santo Tomás has a similar approach. Father Balaguera explained that this university has created "centers of human promotion" (centros de promoción humana) in different parts of the country, particularly in Bogota, in which multi-disciplinary research groups evaluate the general situation of a given community, and together with its members try to build a solution for them. Balaguera emphasizes that there is not a paternalistic approach but the creation of a culture of empowerment, in which instead of giving a fish, they are teaching how to fish.

UTB also developed a program oriented toward poverty reduction: the University Agenda Against Poverty, a program in association with the Spanish Agency for Cooperation in which they conduct research to identify the causes for structural poverty and explore intervention models to prevent the deterioration of the social fabric.

Conclusion

It has been illustrated in this chapter that HEIs contribute to political and economic development. Universities contribute to political development by fomenting students' participation in university government (as mandated by the Higher Education Law) but also through the students' activism and participation in politics. And HEIs also have produced political leaders for society. However, such political engagement, and leadership formation can also contribute to the perpetuation of conflict, as, for example, when unlawful organizations use student activism to screen potential members.

The contributions of higher education to economic development are many, including direct investment and employment generation in the institution's region of

influence, development of human capital (production of leaders and skilled labor for the industry), and production and transference of technology. The collaboration between university and industry in Colombia seems to be precarious, as in most developing countries. Nonetheless, several examples of technology transfer from the university to the peasant have been illustrated in this chapter. This type of technology transfer can contribute to empower the peasants, something that can be of great importance in the transition from conflict to postconflict in Colombia, a country that suffers with more intensity in the countryside than in the cities. These examples, although encouraging, are still scarce and are not part of a well-defined peacebuilding strategy.

The proportion of students from the lower socioeconomic strata in public and some private universities seems to indicate that higher education is contributing to social mobility in the country. Government strategies, such as the ACCES and CERES projects, appear to be instrumental in this regard. Yet, optimism should be moderated because despite those numbers, many people belonging to the least favored socioeconomic strata are still excluded from higher education.

Historically, Colombian universities have been considered places for social criticism. During the last few decades, some of them, particularly public ones, have been affected by the interference of radical armed groups on campus. But this is not the only threat to the critical function of higher education. Students' apathy, mostly in private universities also poses a challenge.

Under the name of university extension, service, or outreach, universities carry out a multiplicity of activities that can contribute to peacebuilding. Oftentimes, those

activities are not labeled as peacebuilding initiatives, but the interviewees, as well as the media, highlighted their contribution to the construction of peace.

The importance for the construction of peace of the functions presented in this chapter cannot be overemphasized. However, they are usually overlooked in the design of social policies and strategies for peacebuilding in the country and elsewhere. This group of functions reflects the complexity of higher education institutions and how they can be key allies in the construction of a successful peacebuilding strategy.

Chapter Sixteen. Protective Role and Reincorporation

The functions presented in the previous chapters are common to different types of HEIs, regardless if they are in a conflict or postconflict situation. The examples included in those chapters emphasized how Colombian HEIs adapted to the unconventional setting of (post)conflict while performing the same functions that universities carry out elsewhere.

This chapter introduces a set of functions that can only be observed in a conflict or post-conflict scenario because they are oriented toward populations typical from nations with internal armed conflict, mostly demobilized combatants and victims of forced displacement. This group of functions, which includes the protection of youngsters from forced recruitment, the re-integration of former combatants to society, and the re-incorporation of displaced people to society, has elements of several of the functions previously presented, such as buffering unemployment or producing human capital.

The first part of this chapter is devoted to explore whether HEIs play a protective role similar to that attributed to schools in the literature on education and conflict. This section will focus on how higher education protects students from being recruited by the combating parties, including the regular armed forces. Switching from a preventive to a remedial scope, the second part of this chapter focuses on the capacity of higher education to absorb former combatants. Unlike the first and the second parts of the chapter, which are dedicated to potential or former combatants, the third part of the

chapter is dedicated to forcedly displaced people, perhaps the most visible victims of the conflict.

Protective Role of Higher Education

Authors have identified as one of the positive sides of education in conflict, that schools can play a protective role for children in conflict situations by decreasing children's psychosocial stress and creating a sense of normalcy (Davies, 2004; Machel, 2001) or by preventing "recruitment, abduction and gender based violence" (NRC, Save the Children Norway, & UNHCR, 1999, as cited in Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003, p. 9). Not much has been written about such the protective role in higher education. This section explores whether higher education prevents recruitment of potential soldiers for the conflict in Colombia by either the regular armed forces or the guerrillas and paramilitaries.

Legal regulations in Colombia and elsewhere proscribe the recruitment of minors as soldiers. While Colombian regular armed forced are bound by these regulations, irregular groups purposefully ignore the national and international laws in that regard. This section provides a brief overview of the general recruitment policy of the Colombian armed forces and, based on the numbers of demobilizations, the general education profile of irregular groups (guerrilla, paramilitaries, and emerging gangs).

Regular armed forces.

According to law, every man of age in Colombia has the legal obligation of military service, and people under 18 years cannot be recruited in Colombia's regular

armed forces. Despite the legal obligation of military service, only a small proportion is actually recruited. There are four types of conscripts: regular soldiers, consisting of those who where not studying when they were enlisted and have not finished secondary education; peasant soldiers, who are allowed to serve from the region were they live; and *bachiller* soldiers and *bachiller* police auxiliaries, who have finished secondary education before joining the army. Bachiller soldiers and bachiller police auxiliaries receive preferential treatment. While the length of the military service for regular soldiers is from 18 to 24 months, and for peasant soldiers 18 months, for bachiller soldiers and police auxiliaries the length of service is only 12 months (Republic of Colombia, 1993). As far as the conflict permits, *bachilleres* are not supposed to be in the frontline and usually take administrative and other tasks that are not necessarily related to the conflict.

To join the armed forces as bachiller soldiers or police auxiliars, all eleventh grade male students must come forward to the recruitment office to define their military status. Those selected to enlist who have been admitted to a HEI, have the option of enrolling immediately—in which case the HEI must reserve their admission spot until they finish the military service—or postponing their enrollment until they finish the higher education program. Those who opt for the second option have even better benefits, such as a shorter period of service (six months instead of a year) and better conditions of service in social service activities, civil works, and scientific and/or technical tasks. In addition, the time of service could be used as a substitute for some academic requirements (Republic of Colombia, 1997; 2010).

While minors are excluded from military service, several human rights watchdog organizations have reported that the regular forces still use children for intelligence purposes. A very controversial episode took place in January 2010 when Uribe, who still was the president of the country, declared that, as a strategy to fight violence in Medellín, his government had decided to enroll one thousand university students as paid informants for the army (Uribe propone…, 2010). Each student informant would receive a monthly sum of COL$100,000 (approximately $50), which represented about 20 percent of the monthly minimum legal wage. Uribe's proposal generated an intense debate but most people considered his idea dangerous for students since it would imply involving students in the armed conflict and in the war against crime, at the price of jeopardizing their security. After the first reactions, the government clarified that they will only use students who were 18 years or older. However, criticisms continued and after some debate, the idea was never implemented (or at least not in an open way).

Irregular armed groups.

All the combating parties infiltrate universities, and paramilitaries and guerrillas may also recruit soldiers on campus (see: Presunto plan…, 2008; Verdad Abierta, 2011). However, the poor schooling level in guerrilla, paramilitaries, and emerging gangs, indicates that people with college experience are not the most frequent targets for their recruitment efforts. The motivations of these organizations to prefer youngsters with lower educational levels are not clear yet. Some possible explanations are: because recruitment takes place before they reach the age to enroll in higher education, because people in the areas of influence of these groups (mostly rural areas and marginalized

urban regions) typically do not have access to higher education, or because people with less education are easier to manipulate.

It is difficult to know the educational situation of current members of guerrilla and paramilitary organizations (now emerging gangs or "bacrims") but an overview of the composition of the population of demobilized soldiers from these groups can give an approximate idea. According to official data from CONPES, the National Council on Economic and Social Policy (2008) by 2008 there were almost 50,000 demobilized combatants from guerilla, paramilitaries, and emerging bands: 31,778 in collective demobilizations (those in which complete units of any of these groups demobilize), and 17,450 in individual demobilizations. Among them, 39 percent of those who participated in collective demobilizations and 28 percent of those who demobilized individually, had some level of secondary education at the moment of demobilizing and around one percent (1.06 in collective demobilizations and 0.62 in individual demobilizations) had some level of higher education.

Children under 18 years are considered a different category. Data from the National Council on Economic and Social Policy (CONPES, 2008) show that by 2008 there were 3,119 demobilized children from whom almost ten percent were illiterate and almost half (49 percent) had primary education between third and fifth grade. According to the government's diagnosis, most of those participating in the reintegration process deserted schools at a very early age, and in most cases they are considered functional illiterates.

Does Higher Education Take Away Soldiers from the Conflict?

The data previously presented suggest that people with some level of higher education are a small minority among active combatants in the Colombian armed conflict; hence it is valid to ask whether higher education takes away soldiers form the conflict. Many people believe it does. In a promotional video (Universidad de la Salle, 2011), brother Néstor Polanía, Utopia's current director, declared: "We are delighted to know that we are taking away soldiers from this conflict."[75] During the interview for this dissertation, La Salle's rector elaborated on the same idea, pointing out that many of Utopia's students had been marked to be enlisted by an illegal organization. He explained that those youngsters are very vulnerable, and for them belonging to an armed organization is a temptation because it is an easy way to get out of their situation.

Several interviewees believe that higher education is indeed taking soldiers away from the conflict. Some of the most recurrent arguments in that line of thought are that higher education:

- Provides an alternative for many youngsters who otherwise would not have better options than joining one of the combating parties or taking a low-skilled low-pay job;

- Gives students a purpose in life. When they start to think and act as professionals, it makes no sense to become a soldier for the guerrillas, the paramilitaries, or the emerging gangs;

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[75] "Nos alegra mucho saber que estamos quitándole soldados a este conflicto"

- Provides students with knowledge relevant for the labor market, something that primary and secondary education are not providing because they are too academically oriented;

- Contributes to the healing process of those students who have been affected by the conflict. It helps students change their focus from the past, which is full of resentment, to the future, where there is hope and vision.

Several interviewees considered that, particularly in small and mid-size cities, all the students that their universities were able to enroll could be counted as small victories of the university over the conflict. This can be an over-optimistic approach, and some other interviewees mentioned that such protective role is not absolute. They mentioned a permanent tension between the efforts of higher education institutions to "steal" soldiers from the conflict and the illegal armed organizations to recruit followers and soldiers on campus. Some mentioned a struggle between the university and the conflict in which the university is able to take away students from the conflict, but the conflict is constantly trying to take some students from the university. In the words of Maya:

> The conflict needs to have elements [people] within the university. What helps is that most of the elements from the conflict that enter the university are not aggressive. That helps. They come more as infiltrators, as informants, as messengers. But it does not turn them into dangerous actors; when I say dangerous I mean that they are not armed. We easily get 300 students [per semester] in Aguachica, say 500 a year. Those we steal from the conflict. But the conflict in its strategy, will steal us some of them as well.[76]

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[76] El conflicto necesita tener elementos dentro de la universidad. Lo que ayuda es que la mayoría de los elementos que entran del conflicto a la universidad no son agresivos. Eso ayuda. Entra más como infiltrado, como informante, como el que lleva una información, trae una información, pero no lo convierte en actor de peligrosidad; cuando yo digo peligrosidad, [quiero] decir que no está armado.

Based on her research experience, Toro provided an overview of the relationship
between education and conflict that summarizes this tension:

> When I studied the issue of displacement, the statistics were saying two things:
> not all people in the basic or higher institutions are outside the probability [of
> being recruited to the conflict] but most of those in the conflict are indeed outside
> of the education system. It is not a causal relationship, but there is an important
> correlation.[77]

Higher Education and Combatants' Reincorporation

Members of unlawful organizations

A paragraph from the CONPES document on reinsertion policy (2008, p. 21)
summarized many of the challenges that society must face when it embarks in a
demobilization process:

> The demobilized population, besides not having a regular source of income and
> being characterized by having mostly a low educational level, have not been
> trained for work, they do not know a profession in depth, and lack the skills and
> experience to perform a job." (…) "Demobilized people do not have skills such as
> money management, use of leisure time, monitoring standards and schedules, or
> the prioritization of their duties.[78]

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[77] Cuando yo estudié el tema de desplazamiento, las estadísticas decían dos cosas: no
todas las personas que están en las instituciones de básica o superior están fuera de la
posibilidad [de ser reclutados para el conflicto] pero la mayoría de los que están en el
conflicto sí están fuera del sistema educativo. No es una relación causal, pero sí hay una
correlación importante.

[78] La población desmovilizada, además de no contar con una fuente de ingresos
permanente y de caracterizarse por tener en su mayoría un nivel de escolaridad bajo, no
han sido capacitados para el trabajo, no conocen un oficio en profundidad, y no cuentan
con las habilidades y la experiencia para desempeñarse adecuadamente en un puesto de
trabajo.

Despite the pessimistic diagnosis, many of the former combatants from irregular forces who participated in demobilization programs were able to continue their education, improving the figures of schooling at all levels. Data from CONPES (2008) in which they compared the schooling level of demobilized combatants in two moments, when they demobilized and in July 2008, when the report was written, illustrated this point. The percentage of beneficiaries of the demobilization programs with secondary education grew from 39 percent of those who took part in collective demobilizations and 28 percent of those who demobilized individually to 53 and 47 percent respectively; and in higher education from 1.06 percent of those who participated collective negotiations and 0.62 percent of those who demobilized individually to 3.89 and 4.35 percent respectively.

These figures show two important things: first, that the number of demobilized soldiers with some level of higher education is still very low but is growing; second, that the number of demobilized combatants in secondary education is also growing, which will create some pressure on the higher education system.

College-level education has not been a part of the priorities in the government's plans to facilitate the transition from demobilized combatants. In 2003, the government issued the Decree 128, which among other topics regulated the benefits for demobilized combatants from guerrilla and paramilitary organizations including an "educational benefit" aimed at allowing demobilized combatants starting or continuing their studies in primary, secondary, and technical or technologic education. This norm did not include college level education. Two years later, the government issued a new regulation (Resolución 513/2005) in which some of the problems detected in the Decree 128 of

2003 were addressed, but access to higher education through this program, was still limited to the technical and technological level, a limitation that was justified arguing that college level education was more expensive because the programs were longer, and that getting credit from ICETEX was difficult (ODDR - Observatorio de Procesos de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración, 2009).

When the Office of the High Counselor for Reinsertion (Alta Consejería para la Reinserción, ACR) was created in 2006, it tried to expand the reach of the educational benefits to college-level education by signing two agreements: one with ICETEX, and the other one with the International Organization for Migrations (IOM). Under the agreement with ICETEX, the government would assume 75 percent of the tuition cost (50 percent paid by ACR and 25 percent by ICETEX), and the beneficiary would have to pay only 25 percent of the tuition cost, for which ICETEX would provide a soft credit payable in up to 17 years. For this credit, beneficiaries would require a cosigner. The project was intended to benefit approximately 4,500 reinserted combatants. Based on the estimate by the director of the Reinsertion Program, by 2006 there were approximately 2,500 reinserted combatants who were potential beneficiaries of the program because they had completed their secondary education, and they expected that by the end of 2006, another 2,000 would finish secondary (Presidencia República de Colombia, 2006).

Through the agreement with IOM, demobilized people would be eligible to a full tuition scholarship for the first three semesters of any higher education program chosen by the beneficiary (ODDR - Observatorio de Procesos de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración, 2009), additional support for room and board was possible through the

benefits package created by the government for demobilized combatants. A study by the Universidad Nacional's Observatory of Demobilization and Disarmament (ODDR) showed that between 2007 and 2008, 149 people had benefited from the alliance with IMO and 20 people had used the ACR-ICETEX agreement. These figures were below the expectations of the government.

In addition to the government's initiatives, some universities, mostly public ones, have created quotas for demobilized people and victims of forced displacement. These quotas provided preferential access to students from these two groups. Examples of public HEIs with special quotas for demobilized combatants are: the Escuela Superior de Administración Pública (Higher School of Public Administration, ESAP), Universidad del Valle, and Universidad Pedagógica, which created special quotas and programs for demobilized combatants during the demobilization processes of the 1990s, when M-19 and other guerrilla groups signed demobilization agreements with the government (ODDR - Observatorio de Procesos de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración, 2009)

The existence of these quotas in public universities was challenged because some people considered they violated the right to equality to access to higher education in public universities. When the Constitutional Court addressed this problem in the case of the Universidad de Cartagena, it said:

> The establishment of special quotas for reintegrated people is an appropriate vehicle for promoting the reintegration of demobilized guerrillas to society, to the extent that it provides them with the opportunity of [conducting] professional studies, and therefore to be well qualified for the job market. This measure

represents a contribution of the University to the purpose of peace adopted by the Constitution[79] (Corte Constitucional, 2008)

In addition to special quotas created by the universities, there are also private initiatives to provide demobilized combatants with higher education, such as the "Fundación Clásicos Ejecutivos El Colombiano" (ODDR - Observatorio de Procesos de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reintegración, 2009), and there are also demobilized combatants that financed their access to education with their own resources or bank loans.

Still, the number of demobilized combatants enrolling in higher education is not very high. According to ODDR's (2009) calculations, in 2008 there were 215 former combatants from unlawful organizations studying at higher education institutions. According to Alejandro Eder, the High Councilor for Reintegration, by May 2011, there were 6,583 demobilized combatants with a regular job (i.e. a job in which they pay taxes), and only 300 demobilized combatants attending higher education programs (Más desmovilizados empleados, que guerrilleros activos.2011).

Many interviewees were not very optimistic about the real capability of HEIs to take demobilized soldiers as students. The reason for this pessimism is because some of the experiences of HEIs' involvement in demobilization processes are not necessarily success stories. Vergara's reflection on Universidad Distrital's case show that allowing

[79] El establecimiento del cupo especial para los reinsertados constituye una fórmula apropiada para favorecer la reintegración a la sociedad de guerrilleros desmovilizados, en la medida en que les brinda la posibilidad de realizar estudios profesionales y, por consiguiente, de capacitarse para el mercado del trabajo. Esta medida representa un aporte de la Universidad para el propósito de paz que prohíja la Constitución.

former combatants to enroll in higher education programs is not a solution by itself and complementary efforts are required to make the experience successful. Vergara reported that during the 1990s, La Distrital enrolled 250 demobilized soldiers from different guerrilla groups. Among them only 20, that is less than ten percent, completed their studies. "We failed there and I have to accept responsibility. Because they were comrades who were 10 years without studying, no leveling processes were held, and they deserted [from college]."[80]

Vergara pointed out a very important issue in the demobilization processes: former combatants need special attention. Gómez, La Salle's rector, stressed the same point. He believes that demobilized combatants must have as many opportunities as possible, but they need support along the process. He also made a distinction between those who have been very close to the conflict but did not get directly involved and those who had been actual combatants: "The behavior of a person who has been a victimizer is something else. I'm not saying that they cannot recover, but they require a different process and very personalized accompaniment."[81] He illustrated the importance of support with the examples of army soldiers mutilated in combat who are now students at La Salle:

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[80] Ahí fracasamos y tengo que aceptar responsabilidad. Porque eran compañeros que estaban 10 años sin estudiar y no realizaron procesos de nivelación y desertaron.
[81] "El comportamiento de una persona que ha sido victimario es otra cosa. No digo que no se puedan recuperar, pero requieren de un proceso de acompañamiento diferente y muy personalizado"

In fact we have soldiers here who lost a leg. So far we have done well but because we know that the army has not abandoned them, they continue to be part of the army, we are a complement. I believe we are not able to do it alone.[82]

Some of the interviewees believed that there is not much that higher education can do for demobilized combatants because a great majority of them have not even finished high school. Nonetheless, some universities have created non-formal education programs oriented to demobilized soldiers and displaced people, as illustrated in the chapter on knowledge.

Interviewees also pointed out that former combatants would be at a disadvantage in a classroom full of young adults who just finished high school and have all their knowledge fresh and their learning skills sharp. While all of the interviewees acknowledged the importance of providing learning alternatives to demobilized soldiers, some express concerns about the limited resources of universities and the risk of wasting them in reinsertion projects. As one of them put it when addressing the question of whether universities should try to absorb some former combatants: "The university could be an opportunity for them, the only thing I oppose is to throw gunpowder in vultures."[83] "To throw gunpowder on vultures" is a Spanish idiomatic expression meaning that limited resources should not be wasted in worthless targets.

Despite all of these arguments, a recent report by ODDR (2009) showed that access to higher education by demobilized combatants is a growing phenomenon. The

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[82] De hecho nosotros aquí tenemos soldados que han perdido una pierna. Hasta ahora nos ha ido bien pero porque sabemos que el ejercito no los ha abandonado, ellos siguen haciendo parte del ejercito, somos un complemento, creo que no somos capaces solos.
[83] La universidad podría ser una oportunidad para ellos, a lo único que me opongo es a botar polvora en gallinazos.

report also illustrated the main challenges faced by these people: usually, former combatants have been separated from the formal education system for long periods; most of those who get access to higher education have low academic levels or have finished high school in accelerated remedial programs; they are scared of being easily recognized as former combatants and stigmatized, and many of them do not have urban habits. Many of the interviewees for this dissertation mentioned one or more of these challenges. ODDR's study also highlighted among the reasons why the success of these reintegration programs is important, that other ex-combatants are attentive to the output of these projects and its success would be a deterrent to return to the way of guns or to get involved in any other illegal activities.

Some interviewees believed that the government is trying to use education to buffer unemployment, an approach they criticize. Among them, Martinez mentioned:

> There is often the feeling that the government puts [demobilized combatants] to study just to keep them busy, but their studies are not generating new ways to access goods and services of civil life, and this [happens] because of a lack of coordination. (…) Ultimately education for education will not solve the problem. These packages of incentives and the coordination of efforts to create an effective route towards integration into the civilian life have not been successful.[84]

Because only a small proportion of demobilized people consider getting into higher education, the impact of higher education in the reduction of displaced people's

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[84] Muchas veces existe la sensación es que el gobierno los pone a estudiar como por tenerlos ocupados, pero estos estudios no les están generando ningunas nuevas formas de acceder a los bienes y servicios de la vida civil, y esto [pasa] por falta de coordinación. A unos les han prometido recursos de manutención, les han prometido un trabajo digno, y al final la educación por la educación no va a solucionar el problema. Estos paquetes de incentivos y coordinación de esfuerzos por crear una ruta efectiva hacia la inserción en la vida civil no se han logrado.

unemployment does not seem to be relevant. Nevertheless, the impact of the different strategies put in place by some universities to provide access to this group—such as special admission, CERES, distance education, and non-formal education—cannot be overlooked.

The buffering function of higher education gains even more relevance in a postconflict setting in which one of the major problems to resolve is what to do with large numbers of demobilized combatants, who after years or even decades of military training and combat experience are challenged with a new context in which the skills they gained in the conflict are not only useless in a peace setting, but sometimes they are also stigmatized.

Members of the Regular Armed Forces

Members of the regular armed forces are usually ignored in the literature and the policies on former combatants' demobilization. Two congress laws (Republic of Colombia, 1990; 2006) started to remediate this situation by creating a set of benefits for two groups of people, the "Reservists of Honor" and the relatives of the "Heroes of the Nation". "Reservists of Honor" are soldiers from the different forces (including the police) "wounded in combat or as a result of enemy action [who] have lost 25 percent or more of their psychophysical capacity" as well as those who have been honored with the most prestigious medals of the armed forces (Republic of Colombia, 1990, art. 1). "Heroes of the Nation" are soldiers, policemen and members from other units such as the National Institute of Prisons (INPEC) and the Technical Research Corps (CTI), killed in

action or in service related activities by irregular armed groups (Republic of Colombia, 2006, art. 2).

Article 4 of the Law 1081 of 2006 ordered that the relatives of the Heroes of the Nation who are considered their legal beneficiaries would have the right to free access to public education institutions, including universities and non-universities.   The same article said that private universities might reserve up to five percent of their annual enrolment for the beneficiaries of the Heroes of the Nation.   Those who want to use these benefit must belong to strata one, two, or three.   This law ordered the Ministry of Education and ICFES, to supervise the implementation of the law in what concerns to higher education.   However, there are several technical problems that make it difficult to evaluate such implementation.   Among them, the voluntary nature of the involvement of private HEIs and the lack of financial resources to make this plan applicable without affecting the budget of public universities, which is already precarious.

Despite the limitations of the Act, by 2011 several HEIs, public and private, had implemented their own version of benefits for this group.   According to a Ministry of Defense's Veterans Bulletin (Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, 2011), at least 18 HEIs (12 private and 6 public) offering approximately 280 programs, mostly of undergraduate level, had some type of benefit in place.   The most generous public universities (Magdalena, Cartagena, and Cauca) gave full tuition scholarship for an unlimited number of beneficiaries.   Other institutions offered full tuition scholarships for a limited number of beneficiaries (Universidad de Medellín and TECNAR), and other public universities created special quotas for them (Universidad de Antioquia, Universidad Militar).   At the

Universidad de Antioquia tuition can be free under certain circumstances, which are mostly associated with the student's financial condition. At the Universidad Militar, the special quotas were available for all programs except for Medicine and Law. A full list of institutions and benefits is available as Appendix J. In addition to these HEIs, SENA celebrated an agreement with the Ministry of Defense to provide training to handicapped personnel an ICETEX offered study loans with preferential rates (Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, 2011).

Displaced People and Access to Higher Education

Colombia is currently the country with more forcedly displaced people in the word. With almost four million displaced people, it overpasses countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Congo (VerdadAbierta.com, 2012). Only in 2011 over a quarter of a million people were displaced in the country (Codhes, 2012). Displaced people in Colombia are mostly youngsters: 70 percent are under 25, and 49 percent are between 5 and 17 years old. Even though about 70 percent of them get access to public education when they arrive to the receiving town or city, only 30 percent of those who start primary education are able to complete basic education (ninth grade), only five percent complete secondary education (eleventh grade) and only one percent try to get access to higher education (Rojas Rodríguez, 2007).

Although displaced people and demobilized combatants are two different groups of people, they present similar challenges to HEIs and society at large. In fact, some judges treat them as equals for the application of policies, something that ACR (n.d.)

considered wrong as they illustrated in a document explaining the differences between the two groups. In a legal decision about the viability of special admissions quota for displaced and demobilized people at the Universidad de Cartagena, the Constitutional Court (Corte Constitucional, 1997) marked a distinction between the motivations to give special treatment to each group. The Court considered that the benefits received by demobilized combatants are justified in the quest for peace while the benefits for displaced people are justified because they are a minority that deserves special protection.

Accordingly, most of the regulations and court decisions regarding displaced people in higher education have been based on their condition as a minority group. In 2008, the Administrative Tribunal of Cundinamarca (Tribunal Administrativo de Cundinamarca, 2008) issued a decision oriented to protect the fundamental rights of the displaced population, which included some issues related to higher education. Based on this decision, the Ministry of Education (2008) issued a directive in which HEIs were encouraged to create conditions to ensure access to, retention in, and completion of higher education by displaced people, as well as to evaluate the possibility of offering them pre-university or general courses that allowed them to draft a life project or that contribute to their personal development. The Administrative Tribunal's decision and the Ministry's directive motivated some universities to review their special quotas policy. Universidad del Valle, for example, created an "exceptional condition" regime, based on which it created special quotas for displaced people by reserving for them two percent of the slots in each academic program (Universidad del Valle, 2009). In a similar fashion,

the Universidad Colegio Mayor de Cundinamarca (2010) issued an internal regulation reserving one place in each academic program for displaced people.

Because they are considered a minority, displaced people can be beneficiaries of preferential treatment; however, merit is still the main criteria to define who is admitted to public universities, hence displaced people compete among themselves for the special places using the scores at the Saber 11o Test. If their scores are high enough, they can also compete for regular places with the rest of the population.

The government has taken additional measures to stimulate access of displaced people to higher education. In 2007, ICETEX together with the Presidential Agency for Social Action and International Cooperation (Acción Social), created a special fund for displaced people from the lower socioeconomic level, which provided them with credit to finance the tuition and a subsidy equivalent to 1.25 minimum monthly wage for room and board for six semesters (Centro Virtual de Noticias de Educación, 2007).

In many cases, particularly for people from rural regions, the level of schooling improves while they are displaced (Ibañez & Jaramillo, 2005; Rojas Rodríguez, 2007); however, these levels are still very low. Some believe that displaced people have the potential to positively affect the education level of their places of origin in case of a potential return in a postconflict scenario (Ibañez & Jaramillo, 2005). It is not very encouraging that, among displaced people, only five percent of those who started primary education finish secondary education and only one percent would even try to get access to higher education (Rojas Rodríguez, 2007). Nonetheless, the large numbers of

displaced people makes this small proportion relevant in terms of what they can offer to and demand from higher education.

Conclusion

Higher education has played a protective role in the Colombian conflict. The regular armed forces give special treatment to those who finish high school and the prerogatives for those who postpone the obligatory military service until they graduate from tertiary education are even better off. A point that was not addressed in this chapter is if these privileges are an extension of the privileges of the dominant class, because regular soldiers, who usually come from less-favored backgrounds must perform military service under more severe conditions.

Regular armed forces do not recruit minors as soldiers, but there have been accusations of efforts to recruit them as informants and for intelligence tasks. In contrast, data about demobilized soldiers from the guerrillas, the paramilitaries, and, more recently, the emerging gangs show that these groups extensively recruit minors.

Most combatants from unlawful organizations have not finished high school, and only a small minority has some higher education. Despite this, several interviewees agreed that higher education is stealing potential soldiers from the conflict by providing youngsters an alternative to joining the armed groups or being condemned to low-skilled low-paying jobs.

Soldiers from the regular armed forces are usually ignored when the problem of reincorporation is studied. There are some laws that create special conditions for them;

however, the application of these laws has not been strict and the lack of clarity in some parts does not contribute to a broader engagement of public and private universities in its execution.

Several public universities have been very active in providing both demobilized soldiers and displaced people the opportunity to get access to college. The judiciary has encouraged this type of actions, and there is a significant body of jurisprudence about this topic. However, a question that needs to be raised is if HEIs are able to provide these two groups, as well as veterans from the regular forces, with the special accompaniment that they may require and, if they are not, who will do it. Previous experiences with demobilized guerrilla have failed because they were treated as regular students, regardless of their complex background.

The existence of regulations and initiatives to bring demobilized combatants, veterans, and displaced people to higher education has created a situation in which they will have to co-exist in the same institution while they are students. This challenge is similar for the rest of society in a transition stage. However, some universities have a long and successful history or coexistence of very diverse groups.

Chapter Seventeen. Conclusions

On September 4, 2012 President Santos informed the country that, after two years of secret exploratory negotiations and preparatory meetings, the Colombian government and the FARC had reached a "General Agreement to End the Conflict." It was not a peace treaty, but a document that defined the main elements of yet another peace negotiation process. For many analysts, there are good reasons to believe that this peace process can be successful, and that it can be the prelude to the end of the armed conflict. Not surprisingly, there is also skepticism about the final output of the process.

In his speech, Santos was emphatic at stating that one of the conditions to embark in a new peace process was learning from past mistakes. Although he was talking about the mistakes on previous negotiation processes, this may be a good opportunity for the inclusion of higher education among the agents and resources for sustainable peace, something that previous government hardly promoted. There are many HEIs in Colombia that are able to contribute to the quest after sustainable peace, based on what they already know, what they have done, and what they can learn and do in the future. This study brings together many of those efforts.

This final chapter consists of three main parts. The first part is dedicated to general observations about the method and the use of the taxonomy functions of the higher education as a conceptual framework. In the second part an attempt is made to answer the three guiding questions that were presented in the introduction to this dissertation. The findings from the international overview will be used to answer the question, "what can we learn about the role of higher education in conflict and

postconflict from the experience of countries that have suffered internal conflicts in the last century?" The next two questions: "How are universities in Colombia affected by the ongoing armed conflict in the country?" and "how can Colombian higher education contribute to build sustainable peace in the country?" will be answered based on the findings from the chapters on Colombia. This chapter wraps up with recommendations and suggestions for further research.

On the Method

By providing multiple examples in the Colombian and international contexts, this dissertation contributed to filling the gap in knowledge of higher education and peacebuilding. Yet, at the same time, it pointed out many questions that remain unanswered in the Colombia case. As an exploratory study, this dissertation accomplished several purposes. First, it showed the importance of including higher education in the field of education and conflict. Second, the use of a taxonomy of the functions of higher education was tested as the conceptual framework to conduct a holistic analysis of peacebuilding in conflict and postconflict contexts. Third, it illustrated the great variety of ways in which Colombian HEIs are contributing to peacebuilding and the challenges that these institutions face.

To better understand the scope of this study it is important to be aware of its limitations and some of the advantages and challenges of the use of the taxonomy of the functions of higher education as an analytical tool. These topics will be discussed below.

The taxonomy of functions of higher education.

One of the objectives of this study was to provide a conceptual framework that allowed better analysis of the challenges inherent to the relationship between higher education and armed conflict. The use of the taxonomy of functions of higher education proved to be an effective analysis tool. Based on the functions of higher education identified by different authors, this taxonomy consisted of NN groups of functions of higher education: functions related to knowledge (production, transmission, and administration), functions related to development (including cultural, political, and economic development), functions related to social change (either to promote it or to prevent it), and functions related to service (also known as outreach or extension).

In previous studies on education and postconflict, researchers have tried to understand or evaluate the performance of higher education regarding one function or a limited set of functions. The taxonomy allowed a different approach in which the different functions of higher education were initially identified, and then it was explored whether those functions were relevant in a conflict and postconflict setting. It also contributed to make visible other potential functions of higher education, which can only be observed in conflict, post-conflict, or post emergency societies, such as the reincorporation of demobilized combatants and displaced people, or the protective role that education institutions can play.

Because it includes the most frequently mentioned functions of higher education and others that are less studied, the taxonomy can be used as an analytical tool not only in conflict and postconflict situations, but also in other studies that require a holistic

approach to higher education and its institutions. Flexibility is an additional advantage of the taxonomy as it allows the researcher to include or exclude functions based on the specific topic under study or a particular conceptual approach.

Because the taxonomy tries to harmonize different approaches and theories on higher education, some overlap in the identified functions is always possible. This is a strength of the method because it highlights that one specific action or concept can be validly observed under different lenses. Like a cubist painting, it simultaneously allows to observe one same object or phenomenon from different perspectives. Also, the taxonomy will be always incomplete as it is based on functions attributed to higher education and different authors may attribute or observe new functions of higher education. For some, it can be overloaded, as they may not considerer relevant one or many of the functions included in the taxonomy. However, as mentioned in the conceptual framework, the taxonomy is not aimed at describing all the functions but to provide a sound tool for the description and analysis of higher education.

What Can We Learn About the Role of Higher Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Countries?

The international overview allowed the identification of several common elements that can be of interest for any researcher on higher education and postconflict. Eight of them are summarized below.

The role, functions, and expectations of higher education change over time.

The definition of three different periods (total wars, Cold War, and post-Cold War) in this study contributed to illustrate that the functions and roles of higher education and its institutions in conflict and postconflict, as well as the expectations from the governments and society, have changed over time. However, this variation does not necessarily coincide with the periods defined for this study and other elements, such as the type of conflict, can also influence the functions played by higher education.

In the two world wars, the support to the war effort by higher education institutions, their students, and professoriate was evident, despite the different levels of engagement across countries and between wars. Authors usually attribute to universities three main contributions to the war effort in the two world wars: 1) providing students and professors as manpower (soldiers), 2) helping with the production and dissemination of the knowledge required to winning the wars, and, in some cases, 3) providing ideological support to the legitimization of the war.

In the two examples of Cold War conflicts (Cuba and Nicaragua), as well as in the Spanish Civil War, the support from universities to the government in the war effort was not as generous as during the two world wars, and students and faculty engagement in the conflict was not necessarily to support the government. There were moments when students exercised active opposition against the government (Spain before the Second Republic; Cuba and Nicaragua before the triumph of the revolutions), but there were also times when universities were taken over to advance the dissemination of the

government's ideology (Spain under Franco, Cuba and Nicaragua after the revolutions, Rwanda after the genocide).

Universities can be agents for social criticism but also for indoctrination

Literature on higher education tends to portray universities as capable of criticizing the societies in which they are immersed. Some authors attribute them even more complex functions, such as being able to protect society from "the threat of democratic tyranny" (Gutmann, 1987, p. 174). Sometimes, universities are expected to become fortresses for opposition, and student activism is frequently portrayed as a driving force for revolution and change.

In many of the conflicts included in this study, universities and students conformed to such expectations. Students and professors were instrumental in the establishment of the Spanish Second Republic in Spain. Cuban history and the University of Havana still honor students' participation in the revolution. In Nicaragua, university students were key in the triumph of the revolution as many of the revolution's leaders were students, and students' support to the dissemination of the revolution's ideals was crucial. Allegedly, Albanian separationist students started the protest that lead to the recognition of Kosovo as an autonomous province in former Yugoslavia.

In contrast, universities have also contributed to indoctrination and the dissemination of government's propaganda and ideology. When universities participated in (or were affected by) indoctrination, it occurred as part of a coordinated effort that included all the educational levels and other social institutions. In some cases, such ideology has fueled the conflict; in other cases it has contributed to the achievement of

peace. German students were a spearhead for the nationalistic offensive of the Third Reich. Just a few years latter, during the postwar of World War II, universities, as the rest of society, were subject to the "denazification" campaign led by the United States. After the Spanish Civil War, universities, and the rest of the educational system, were forced to support the Nationalist agenda. And in Kosovo and Rwanda universities were used to maintain the dominant position of the ruling group.

However, universities are not necessarily malleable institutions. The case of UCA, in Nicaragua, showed that even when universities are created with the purpose (or the expectation) of counteracting the influence of an ideology opposed to the government, they are able to create, defend, and promote their own ideas, and that such ideas can influence society.

Different types of governments (such as Germany during the Third Reich, Franco's Spain, or post revolutionary Cuba and Nicaragua) did use HEIs, to extend their control over society. In Germany, professors legitimized the empire's participation in the war by presenting it as a defensive movement; and some believe that during the Third Reich, universities contributed to the construction of the idea of Aryan superiority.

In Franco's Spain, and Castro's Cuba, education contributed to the establishment of peace by contributing to indoctrination and the imposition of an official truth. In Cuba and Nicaragua education in general was instrumental to the task of creating the New Socialist Man. In Rwanda, education was initially used to perpetuate the marginalization of a group, but after the genocide, education in general, but particularly the Ingandos,

became a valuable tool for the instillation of the race-less country ideology and, according to some critics, pro RPF ideology.

The idea of peace imposed through indoctrination and domination can be reproachable for many theorists and practitioners of peacebuilding (in this context the question of what type of peace is desired gains relevance), but for those countries it was a valid and effective strategy to achieve peace and social cohesion.

Universities are not monolithic organizations

This study has been an effort to understand the role that higher education has played in recent conflicts and their postconflict stages; however, all the facts and the different narratives here presented illustrated that the concept of "university" is a complex one. Like many other organizations, universities have been defined as "loosely coupled systems" (Weick, 1976) and "organized anarchies" (Turner, 1977). Diversity of thinking and action in universities has been stimulated through academic freedom, tenure, and university autonomy. It is not surprising that universities tried to retain those characteristics during and after armed conflicts and that frequently, but not always, universities have been critical of official ideologies.

In all the examples here studied, despite of the existence of dominant ideologies on campus, either pro or against the government, there were always dissident positions as well. Oftentimes, students or faculty were characterized as loyal to one particular ideology or group but tensions within those who were loyal to the dominant ideology and those who opposed it were frequent, even during the World Wars where unanimity seemed to be easier to reach. Sometimes, the countries' and universities' sagas talk about

"the students" as one big and homogenous group, romanticize their ideals and sacrifices, and consider their sacrifice a contribution of the university to the cause (whatever the cause is). This view is an oversimplification of the tensions experienced within each university.

HEIs are vulnerable to conflict

There are at least two elements that turn HEIs into strategic resources during internal conflicts: first they gather young people: a coveted asset in any war. Second, HEIs, particularly universities, are usually considered places were ideas are tested and debated. University autonomy, which in some cases can include extraterritoriality, or the prohibition of the regular armed forces to enter campuses, can be considered a third element, particularly in Latin American institutions, were this concept has been further developed.

Oftentimes, in conflict-affected societies, universities were not peaceful havens. The fight for the loyalty of students and ideological control of the institutions translated in repeated aggressions against the universities and their communities. Professors, staff members, and students usually paid the price for these struggles for loyalty and control, as many of them were killed, forced to quit, or pushed to exile. Student and faculty purges were almost a constant in the different conflicts included in this study. And many times, universities, mostly public ones, were closed for extended periods to prevent students' engagement in antigovernment activities.

HEIs are resilient and adaptable institutions

Despite their vulnerability, HEIs have demonstrated their capacity to recover and adjust after crises. After a short period of closure, Spanish universities reopened during the transition from the Second Republic to the Nationalist Government, yet, the new regime imposed dramatic changes in the institutional ideology and even the role of professors. In Cuba and Nicaragua, after the triumph of the revolution, universities adapted to the new role imposed by the government and embarked in the creation of the New Socialist Man and the implementation of the new economic and societal model. The metamorphosis of the National University or Rwanda is a dramatic example of the universities' ability to adjust to the swings of power: after being recognized as the headquarters for the genocide, the university was able to redefine itself and its position in society becoming an advocate for peace and reconciliation.

Quasi-universities emerged as a strategy to serve people traditionally excluded from higher education

There are several examples of institutions or initiatives named "university" or "faculty" which were not real higher education institutions, in the sense that they were not created to admit students who had completed secondary education but people who had been excluded from higher education and some times for education in general. Some of these institutions were created as an effort to bring culture to the masses. Others acted as remedial institutions where people excluded from the traditional educational system were able to level up and continue to higher education. Others were part of a larger

strategy to insert the population into a new production model. Most of them were created by the governments after the end of armed conflicts, some of them were created by students and professors.

After World War I, Russia created workers' universities (*Rabfaki*) to prepare workers to enter higher education. In Spain, during the Second Republic the University Workers Studies (*Estudios Universitarios Obreros*) and the Popular Universities (*Universidades Populares*) were created with the purpose of educate the masses. Decades later, by 1959, Franco's government created the so called Labor Universities (*Universidades Laborales*) which more than universities were technical colleges that initially aimed at providing the workers' children with knowledge and competences to become the skilled labor required by industry. In Cuba, the Worker Peasant Faculties (*Facultades Obreras Campesinas*) provided remedial education for adults and youngsters excluded from the pre-revolutionary education system. In Nicaragua, the Sandinista government created pre-college schools called *Facultades Preparatorias* in the National Universities of Managua and León, in an effort to provide access to higher education to low-income students coming from remote parts of the country (Arríen, Castilla Urbina, & Lucio Gil, 1998)

Non-formal education provided by or with the form or the name of higher education, has been an alternative for those who have been excluded from the formal education system. The creation of the quasi HEIs illustrates two important issues: 1) higher education is not enough to provide relevant training for all of those who need it in a postconflict situation; 2) In many of the internal conflicts here studied, higher education

was not accessible for former combatants or other populations because those with the credentials to get access to higher education were a small minority.

Because of the design of this study and the sample of countries, it is not possible to determine if this type of quasi-universities were exclusive of postconflict societies or if they were also created in countries that had not suffer recently an armed conflict. What is relevant for this dissertation, is that those institutions served some of the functions here studied, such as promoting social mobility, buffering unemployment, and production of human capital.

Clandestine and underground universities did emerge in some countries

A small number of clandestine, underground, or parallel universities—and, sometimes, whole education systems—emerged in some oppressed societies. Examples of these institutions are: The Flying (or Floating) University (*Uniwersytet Latający*) that functioned in Poland between 1885 and 1905 and which re-emerged during World War II to preserve the Polish Culture from the Nazis and to train leaders to reconstruct Poland. The Parallel Albanian-language University in Kosovo, created to counteract the systematic exclusion from Albanians in Serbian-dominated Kosovo, and the Serbian parallel education system, created by Serbians in Kosovo after the NATO offensive, which was the basis for the creation of the university in Pristina.

In addition to the transmission of knowledge, these institutions have served multiple functions: they contributed to preserve the culture of the subjugated people, prepared their leadership for an eventual emancipation, and served as symbols of the resistance of dominated peoples.

Peacebuilding: a new role for higher education?

The idea of universities as potential allies in the peacebuilding effort is relatively new. There is not much said about higher education's peacebuilding role during the two postwar eras. The main explanation for this is that peacebuilding, as a concept, only appeared until the 1970s. In addition, because these were international conflicts, their end was easily observed and was marked by the signature of an armistice, a peace treaty, a surrender document or a similar act. Instead of building peace, the main priority after the two world wars was the reconstruction of the nations, their economies, and, in some cases, their universities. The existence of students' anti-war and pacifist movements in the first half of the twentieth century was more a political position than a set of activities oriented to the reconciliation or the achievement of peace.

However, in the postwar stage of the two world wars, higher education performed some functions that today could be considered peacebuilding activities, as they contributed to soldiers' demobilization, and social and economic reconstruction. For example, the role that the G.I. Bill played in the stabilization of the United States by absorbing large numbers of World War II veterans and providing them with relevant training to reincorporate into society has been extensively documented. In the German case, after World War I, universities also absorbed large numbers of former combatants, but the peacebuilding scope of this massive enrolment is questionable, as some consider that it was part of the strategy to bypass the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Versailles.

Among the selected countries for this study, Nicaragua, after the Contra War, was the first one in which higher education institutions took actions purposely oriented to build reconciliation. Professors from the UNAN elaborated a document with recommendations for reaching consensus between the armed parties; however, the government apparently ignored the document. Nicaraguan universities partnered with international organizations such as the OAS and the PNUD to carry out different peacebuilding activities. Rwanda is the first one to explicitly attribute education the role of becoming an instrument of peace and reconciliation and contributing to economic development. On the contrary, higher education does not seem to contribute to peace in Kosovo, were the separate existence of the universities of Pristina and Mitrovica is considered a failure in terms of integrating the two major ethnic groups.

How are Universities in Colombia Affected by the Ongoing Conflict?

After almost five decades of low intensity conflict, Colombia has internalized the conflict and it has become part of the day-to-day life. HEIs are no exception. As one of the interviewees pointed out, people just act as if the conflict does not exist, until it affects them directly, and then it is very late. Unlike other internal armed conflicts presented in this study, higher education in Colombia has not experienced substantial reductions in enrolment directly attributed to the conflict. On the contrary, during the almost five decades of the armed conflict, higher education has been growing in a sustained way. Unlike other countries affected by internal conflict, in Colombia's recent history, the government has not closed any university for extended periods for reasons

related to the conflict, yet short-term university closures are relatively frequent in some public universities as a decision of each university's authorities to prevent riots and other disruptions. Still, this does not mean the conflict has not affected Colombian higher education and its institutions.

In some cases, HEIs do not feel the direct effects of the conflict, as it happened with several private universities. In other cases, the direct impact of the conflict is surprisingly forgotten, as in the case of the rector who did not recall that approximately fifty people among the university's students and professors had been kidnapped by the guerrillas in one single incident; or as in the case of Father Balaguera, who almost forgot to mention that a guerrilla group had kidnapped him several years ago. Oftentimes it was as if the conflict was just an abstract concept of study, or something that happened in a remote place, perhaps in another country. But for many public universities, the conflict is part of the day-to-day life. Combat has never taken place on campus, but sometimes, struggles for the political and economic control of campuses have been bloody and claimed several victims.

Several interviewees pointed out that universities, particularly public ones, are a reflection of society and they reproduce the conflict that takes place in the outside world. All the parties involved in the conflict (government, guerrillas and paramilitaries) have infiltrated public universities to achieve ideological or economic control, or to gather intelligence. After extended and almost unquestioned ideological prevalence of the leftwing ideology on campuses, the extreme right decided to take over some public universities, particularly in the north of the country (Córdoba, Atlántico, Bolívar, etc.).

Professors and students have been killed, tortured and disappeared. In many universities, there is still fear to mention these events or to conduct research about them. The intensity of these takeover campaigns varied from case to case. At the Universidad de Cordoba, the takeover included most aspects of ordinary life and included the university rector and several other positions. At Universidad de Antioquia in addition to guerrillas and paramilitaries, criminal gangs have also infiltrated the institution, despite of the efforts by the university authorities and the government to control them. At the Universidad de la Guajira, the effects of the conflict are not so evident, and the rector expressed more concern for other forms of crime.

Private universities have been less exposed to the conflict than public ones; yet, they have also suffered its effects: some of their professors have been killed, students have been threatened and kidnaped, and their facilities have been vandalized. Still, most private universities have not suffered directly the effects of the armed conflict.

While the public budget dedicated to the war has been growing constantly, the budget for higher education has experienced ups and downs. Since 2009, the national budget for defense surpasses the total budget for education. With an enrolment rate of 40 percent of the relevant age group, there is still considerable room for growth. To make such growth viable, fresh resources for higher education institutions are required. While many believe that after the eventual end of the armed conflict some of the resources currently dedicated to defense could be reallocated to social investment, Cecilia Vélez, the former minister of education, does not consider this a realistic scenario because there

are still important deficits in the defense sector that should be addressed even in a hypothetic peace scenario.

One of the many surprises from this study was the high level of engagement in peacebuilding activities observed in most of the studied institutions. Yet, what universities and other HEIs have done to contribute to peacebuilding remains ignored to most of the population. Usually, HEIs do not make an effort to show these projects. Sometimes, peacebuilding activities originate at the professor or student level, as individual initiatives from which senior management is not aware of or simply does not consider them a priority. There are those who believe that HEIs purposely keep a low profile in these activities to prevent retaliation from any of the armed groups.

How Can Colombian Higher Education Contribute to Build Sustainable Peace in the Country?

Given that most of the HEIs included in this study have been conducting activities that can contribute to peacebuilding in the country, this section is not about what universities can potentially do, but about what they have already done in the context of the Colombian conflict.

Production, transmission, and preservation of knowledge.

Colombian HEIs have created numerous programs addressing the armed conflict, conflict resolution strategies, peace and human rights. A search in SNIES, the government-run database on the academic offering in the country, revealed that at least 98 academic programs (including active and inactive) included any of the words "peace,"

"conflict," "postconflict," or "human rights" in their names. This number of programs represent less than one percent of the total academic programs offered in the country. However, it illustrates the interest of HEIs and their students in these topics. Also, in an international comparison, Colombia is one of the countries with the most academic programs in this field. In addition to these programs, are others that do not include any of the mentioned keywords but still focus in the conflict or in peacebuilding (e.g. USTA's academic program on Social Communication, which is offered through the Faculty of Social Communication for Peace). There are also some courses related to the Colombian conflict (its history, combating parties, and effects); however, the identification, description, or evaluation of those courses was beyond the scope of this study. Yet, it is a topic that deserves further attention.

History teaching and teachers' training are two topics that constantly emerge when studying the issue of education and conflict. Surprisingly, there is not much written about these issues in Colombian literature. Even though the Ministry of Education has conducted several teacher-training programs on education in a conflict environment, the role of HEIs, particularly the schools of education, is not clear or well documented. In the same line, the teaching of the history of the conflict in the country is still a largely unexplored issue.

Non-formal education, whether delivered by HEIs or by other providers, was frequently used to provide training on subjects such as human rights and international humanitarian law. These courses benefited a very diverse population including higher education students, displaced people, demobilized soldiers, and members of the regular

armed forces, among others. Some universities provided non-formal education to displaced people and demobilized soldiers as part of their contribution to peacebuilding, oftentimes as part of an agreement with international organizations such as the World Bank, the European Fund, or the Norwegian Refugee Council. The content of those courses is very diverse but it is usually oriented at providing students with the tools to live in (an urban) society and to teach them a craft that will enable them to make a living.

Many interviewees considered that contributing to the understanding of the root causes of the conflict was a responsibility for the universities, which usually have the human capital to undertake this mission. Social sciences have produced abundant research on the history of the conflict, the combating parties, and the effects of the conflict. There are countless publications addressing these topics and, as one of the interviewees pointed out, almost every university in the country has created at least one research group or a center dedicated to those topics. The number of theses and dissertations addressing the same topics is also overwhelming, but there is not a centralized receptacle for all of this academic production or a database that makes these works more visible. Most of the time, these research products are not published. There is not much research on technology applicable to the conflict, yet there are interesting examples on the use of technology for the detection and removal of landmines, a problem that Colombia shares with other countries affected by internal conflict.

In terms of knowledge recovery and preservation, some universities conducted programs oriented to preserve the memory of the victims or to keep records and statistics about the conflict. In the first group are the Visible Victims Foundation, created by the

Universidad Sergio Arboleda; the radio show *"La Palabra tiene la Palabra"*, created by the USTA, and the website to honor the memory of those who have been killed because of their activism toward land recovery, created by students of EAFIT. In the second group, the Universidad Nacional's ODDR deserve mention. ODDR keeps track of the disarmament, demobilization, and reincorporation process, and produces publicly available data on these issues.

Development.

Authors have identified different types of development (cultural, political, economic) and, as illustrated on Chapter Fourteen, universities can contribute to those forms of development in different ways. In terms of political development, universities have historically produced or trained part of society's elite. HEIs in Colombia have contributed to the production of an illustrated elite including local and national political leaders. Evidence also suggests that universities have trained guerrilla leaders (particularly from the ELN and the M-19), and some paramilitary leaders as well. Some universities are trying to produce leaders for the construction of peace by creating academic programs with this purpose (Universidad Santo Tomás, Universidad de la Salle). Universities contribute to the diffusion of democratic values and practices; the Colombian law on higher education compels HEIs to promote active participation of students in the different governing boards of each institution, and it also created spaces for students' participation in some national level organism, such as CESU.

Through the interviews and newspapers articles, it was clear that there is vibrant student activism, prompted by academic and non-academic issues. Students have been

active in the quest for peace by, for example, marching for the approval of the constitutional reform that opened the doors for a successful peace negotiation with the M-19 and other groups or marching for peace together with thousands of citizens. They have also participated in anti-government protests and (very few of them) in riots and clashes against the police. For many students, universities are the place where they have direct contact with the political tensions and discussions that are debated in other forums. Most Colombian universities are indeed market places of ideas, even though the freedom to express one's ideas can be limited by fear in many cases. Students' activism, their participation in many collegiate bodies from the universities, and their direct contact with current political topics are all elements that contribute to the political development of the country.

In addition to the production of political leadership, HEIs produce leaders and skilled labor for industry. Although economic development is a recurrent topic in the literature of higher education, there are very few studies analyzing the role of Colombian universities in the development of their regions and the country. A topic that has received even less attention is how Colombian HEIs contribute to national development by creating jobs and through direct investment in their regions of influence. This dissertation provided some anecdotal evidence in that regard, but deeper analysis is required. In many Colombian departments, universities are among the largest employers and have larger budgets than most local-level government organizations. While this situation may appear encouraging for higher education, it entails the disadvantage of

turning public universities into a coveted booty for corrupt politicians, paramilitaries, and others.

Technological innovation is not a priority for higher education institutions in the country as most of them are teaching oriented institutions. However, some examples of technology transfer efforts by some universities to peasants were evident through the data collection process for this study. This type of innovation can be relevant in a postconflict scenario in the economic reactivation or development of the countryside.

Service / extension.

Service is the least defined and studied of the traditional functions of higher education. Through the different conflicts studied in this dissertation it became evident that activities carried out under the term of service (or extension, in the Colombian case) are varied and through time can be even contradictory. For example, during World Wars I and II, contributing to the war effort was considered part of the service mission of universities. In contemporary societies, it is the contribution to peace, among many other activities, what is usually considered service. The dramatic difference in the definition of service corresponds to the difference of the context in which the service function is described.

In Colombia, most of the extension activities are not regulated and, unlike the offering of academic programs, there is not a centralized place or database in which service/extension activities are systematized. In recent years, the concept of university social responsibility (apparently derived from the corporate social responsibility term) has gained popularity among university leaders. In essence, this concept refers to the

idea of maintaining an active relationship with society and contributing to the solution of its problems.

There have been some government-led efforts to stimulate the development of service activities in specific fields by providing financial incentives delivered through open competition. One of those efforts was the *Programa de Servicio Social de la Educación Superior* (Higher Education's Social Service Program – PSSES), created by the Ministry of Education and ASCUN as a joint effort to fight inequality and injustice in the country. Of the five areas predefined for the proposition of tenders in the program, two of them related with peacebuilding and displaced population ("citizenship skills and culture of peace" and "care and support to the displaced population") accounted for 67 percent of the total number of tenders, which illustrates the interest of HEIs in contributing to peacebuilding.

Some universities explicitly include among their extension activities, the contribution to peacebuilding (e.g. Universidad Agraria's Sembrar Paz program). Sometimes, activities that are legal requirements for higher education institutions that offer specific academic programs—such as the legal clinics (*consultorios jurídicos*) that every law faculty must have in the country—are partially oriented to benefit victims of the conflict, particularly, displaced people.

Frequently, activities that are not labeled as "peacebuilding activities" by the universities can indirectly contribute to peacebuilding or to fight what some believe are the causes of conflict; for example, the multiple efforts to contribute to the reduction of poverty in the country, such as the UTB's University Agenda against Poverty.

The identification of service/extension activities as contribution to peacebuilding was not an easy task. The lack of a common repository of service/extension initiatives, the lack of clarity of the concept service/extension, and even the lack of clarity of the concept peacebuilding, made this task very difficult. The opinion of the interviewees was a main criterion in the identification of specific activities as contributing to peacebuilding. For other sources, such as newspapers articles, the inclusion of conflict related populations (such as former combatants, demobilized people, and other victims) and the identification of the activity as a contribution to peace were the main criteria to define what to include in the study.

The most common beneficiaries of the service activities described by the interviewees or identified in other sources, were: displaced people, demobilized combatants, and low-income people. In some cases, other groups, such as ethnic minorities or single mothers were also mentioned.

Social mobility.

For some authors social inequality is one of the main drivers of violent conflict. If this is true, any contribution to reduce the gap between rich and poor is potentially a peacebuilding activity. The Colombian government, mostly through the ACCES program administered by ICETEX, has been trying to contribute to the reduction of social inequality by expanding access to higher education to people from low-income backgrounds, usually referred to as belonging to strata zero, one, and two. Interviewees from public universities pointed out that most of their students belonged to the lower strata; interviewees from most private universities declared that their institutions were

actively trying to attract students from lower-income backgrounds by using the program ACCES, using their own resources to provide scholarships, or using financial resources provided by donors. However, there is still inequality in access to higher education.

According to the statistics from the government and HEIs, the proportion of people from lower income sectors who get access to higher education has been growing constantly. However, despite the government efforts through the program ACCES (which some consider another step toward privatization of higher education), and the HEIs efforts to expand enrolment of people from low-income backgrounds, the figures for social inequality in the country (for example, through the GINI coefficient) are not improving. Part of the problem is that the number of poor people in the country is very large and the impact of those few who were able to make it through higher education is limited.

The critical function of higher education.

There are many examples of students' participation in social protests in Colombian history. Some of them led to the overthrow of dictators, others were just to express dissatisfaction with government policies that they considered unfair, and some of them were marches clamoring for peace. This is just one of the possible ways in which universities perform their the critical function in the country. The classroom is another space were social criticism can take place, not to mention the different types of publications in which university professors criticize the government, the combating parties, or the university itself. In addition to students and professors, some university

senior managers have openly criticized the government, as illustrated with the example of the academic debate with former president Uribe at the Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano.

While most of the interviewees agreed that academic freedom was respected in their institutions, many of them admitted that there had been occasions in which people had been forced out of campus because of their ideology, their opinions, or their affiliation to groups considered undesirable by extremist armed groups. None of the interviewees attributed to the university, its management, or the professoriate, this type of threats. In sum, the interviewees and the other sources consulted, coincided at illustrating that Colombian universities are places where social critique can take place; however, mostly at public universities, assuming a critical position that extremist violent groups considerer undesirable can lead to threats and other forms of repression.

Several interviewees voiced that universities, particularly public universities, reflect the internal conflict suffered by the country. In most public universities it is possible to find people affiliated to each one of the combating parties, either as infiltrated or simply as sympathizer who study or work at the university. Given the composition of public universities, most of the tensions that take place in society are represented as well on campus.

Buffer against unemployment.

In almost any contemporary country, higher education contributes to reducing unemployment by subtracting large numbers of unqualified young people from the market, and providing them with (hopefully) relevant training. An overview of some

figures of enrolment in higher education and employment gives a general idea of such impact in Colombia. By definition, students who are not working or not looking for a job are not considered an economically active population, hence there are not counted for unemployment calculations. The number of higher education students in Colombia in 2010 was estimated over 1.5 million (Ministerio de Educacion Nacional (Colombia), 2012), while the total economically active population for the same year was estimated over 21 million people (DANE – Presidencia). It cannot be argued that all of those who are attending higher education institutions would necessarily get a job or start looking for one if they were not enrolled in a higher education program, but still, it gives an idea of the unintended contribution of higher education to keep unemployment low.

Many of the interviewees considered that contributing to reduce unemployment was not a mission of higher education (some also rejected the idea of buffering unemployment as a function), and most interviewees believe that the use of higher education to purposefully keep the unemployment rates low was a distortion of higher education's social role. The international experience suggests that the use of higher education as an instrument to fight unemployment can be successful if accompanied by other measures to assure that those who enter higher education will find a job after completing their studies. Otherwise, it only defers the problem and in many cases it will add frustration for those who entered college as a strategy to avoid unemployment.

Demobilization and reincorporation.

In a country transitioning from conflict to postconflict, and hopefully from postconflict to peace, one of the main challenges is to reincorporate to society thousands

of former combatants and victims of forced displacement. The United States' GI Bill showed that the use of higher education to reincorporate large numbers of veterans to society can be a sound policy capable of impacting positively the life of those people and the economy of the country. Even though education was not initially considered the main component of the GI Bill, it soon demonstrated to be its most valued component.

There are many differences between contemporary Colombia and the post-World-War-II United States. While the United States was exiting an international conflict abroad, Colombia is suffering, and hopefully exiting, and internal conflict. A good number of the United States' veterans had the credentials to get access to higher education, and for those who did not, there was a wide offering of certificate level courses. Most of Colombian combatants have not finished secondary education, do not have the credentials to get access to higher education, and have been away of the educational system for years. Also, the United States did not have to deal with the problem of having former enemies in the same classroom. Despite of those differences, higher education in Colombia can contribute to reincorporation and resocialization of former combatants.

There are two main groups of people who deserve special attention in terms of providing them with the means for a successful reintegration to society: demobilized combatants and displaced people. It was illustrated in the preceding chapters that most of these populations do not have the credentials to get access to higher education. But ODDR's figures illustrate that the number of demobilized combatants who opted for

continuing their studies to pursue a college degree is growing, partly because the education strategy at the lower levels has been relatively successful.

Some universities (Distrital, Pedagógica, del Valle) have enrolled relatively large numbers of former combatants, mostly from the guerrillas, within specific demobilization processes. Many others are accepting certain veterans from the regular forces or even members of their families. Some institutions have special quotas for forcedly displaced people, and many others have created special non-formal education programs for this same population. This situation creates new pressures for the universities and the government, who have to find ways to compensate for the many disadvantages of these people compared to those who have been continuously within the educational system.

One of the lessons derived from the cases of the universities that have enrolled former combatants is that usually they cannot be treated as regular students and they require special coaching and support. The experience of the Universidad Distrital with demobilized members of the M-19 showed that when coaching and support are not provided, the chances of failure are very high.

Protective role of HEIs.

For some authors, schools can protect children by providing them with a sense of normalcy, decreasing their stress or even protecting them from recruitment or abduction. Whether universities can play a similar role has not been studied yet.

In the Colombian case it is necessary to distinguish between regular armed forces and irregular armed forces (guerrillas, paramilitaries, emerging gangs). There are several laws regulating the enrolment and service of soldiers in the regular armed forces.

According to the law, those who finish secondary education (*bachilleres*) receive special treatment that includes shorter term of service and lower exposure to the armed conflict. *Bachiller* soldiers who opt for postponing their time of service until getting their higher education degree get even more favorable treatment.

Irregular armed groups (guerrillas, paramilitaries, and emerging gangs) do not offer these perks and are usually accused of forcedly recruiting underage soldiers. Both guerrillas and paramilitaries have been accused of attempts to recruit soldiers and sympathizers on campus, but there is no data illustrating how successful these efforts have been. However, based on the statistics gathered through the demobilization processes, it is plausible to assume that only a small portion of these groups' combatants and leaders have some level of higher education.

Based on their own experience, most interviewees agreed that in conflict affected regions, particularly small cities and marginalized regions, higher education can potentially take students away from the conflict. However, some of them mentioned an ongoing tension between HEIs and the armed parties in which HEIs try to keep students away from the conflict while guerrillas and paramilitaries try to enroll students as soldiers or members of their militias. In sum, higher education institutions play a protective role of their students, but this role is not absolute, partly because HEIs themselves are affected by the conflict.

Autonomy, Organized Anarchy, and Lack of Articulation: Challenges of

Colombian HEIs in the Midst of the Conflict

Remaining neutral and autonomous is a challenge for many universities, particularly some public ones. Paradoxically, the same autonomy that is expected to protect universities from the interference of the government makes them more attractive to outlaw groups. In addition to the guerrillas and the paramilitaries, the emerging gangs created after the demobilization of the paramilitaries, and corrupt politicians have attempted (and sometimes have been able) to gain administrative and political control of these institutions. The examples of Universidad de Córdoba and Universidad de Antioquia, among others, illustrated that universities are vulnerable to the interference of those groups in their day-to-day life.

Universities have been described as "organized anarchies" and "loosely couple systems." These characteristics allow universities and their communities, particularly professors and researchers, more freedom to perform their scholar contributions. Students' and professors' initiative is usually expected or stimulated in research, service, and publishing. The downside is that internal articulation is poor and the continuity of projects created by the initiative of one professor is very low after the professor leaves the university or for some reason decides not to continue with the project. Many of the examples of peacebuilding activities presented in this study were the product of professors' and students' initiative, and in general these projects had a short lifespan.

In the chapters dedicated to Colombia, it emerged that universities in the country are doing more for peacebuilding than what most people in the country—including the

HEIs—would believe. However, the lack of articulation among universities was almost a constant in the different activities explored in this study, even though there were some examples of HEIs cooperating in specific projects. In general, single universities, not organized groups of them, carried out most of the activities performed by HEIs described in the chapters on Colombia. Some interviewees provided examples of initiatives in which more than one HEI participated; many of those examples corresponded to larger projects conducted by international or non-government organizations to which universities were invited.

In general, most HEIs did not know what other HEIs were doing to contribute to peacebuilding. Some of the interviewees attributed this to the fact that institutions may have adopted a low-profile approach in their activities as a precaution to protect their personnel and the potential beneficiaries of the projects. Others considered that better organization was required to optimize the results of this type of activities.

The lack of articulation within and among HEIs entails several negative consequences: the efficiency of uncoordinated efforts tends to be higher; the chances of learning from others are lower; and there is always the chance of overlapping in terms of beneficiaries, geographic regions, or type of activities performed by each institution. In a context of limited resources and enormous needs, efficiency is a must. HEIs need to find a balance between autonomy and academic freedom, on one hand, and efficiency and coordination, on the other hand.

Most of the interviewees agreed that the government should exercise some leadership at contributing to organize these activities. While some feared that the

government would try to impose its policies and priorities on universities, others believed that the Ministry of Education could perform that coordination by financing projects considered relevant for the peace enterprise. As an example of this type of interventions, some cited the PSSES financed by the Ministry of Education and developed in cooperation with ASCUN.

Some HEIs Have Used the Conflict for their Own Benefit

The creation of UPC's Aguachica campus and the Instituto Universitaria de la Paz – Unipaz, was striking for two main reasons. First: They were created under the pretext of contributing to peacebuilding in their regions. The creation of higher education institutions with the purpose of contributing to peacebuilding is an exceptional phenomenon among the different conflicts included in this study. However, there was a third example in Colombia: the creation of Universidad de la Salle's Utopia. Second, and most important, interviewees from each one of these institutions coincided at stating that the quest for peace was not the main driver for the creation of each institutions but just an excuse. The two interviewees pointed out that those who created the institutions just said what the government wanted to hear to get the financial support required for each project. Such statements were confirmed after reviewing each institution's mission and vision and their academic offering.

Despite of this apparent lack of interest in peacebuilding, and the instrumental use of the conflict and the quest for peace to achieve the goal of creating an institution, the two institutions contributed to peace in their regions by providing relevant training, preparing leaders for the region, and keeping their students away from the conflict. A

question to be asked is how different the result would have been if a purposeful peacebuilding strategy—such as the one that Universidad de la Salle is implementing in Utopia—had been performed by either of the two institutions.

Suggestions for Further Research

How different would the findings have been from the countries included in the international overview if they were conducted using the taxonomy of functions of higher education applied to interviews and other primary sources instead of relying on secondary sources? A deeper observation of higher education using the taxonomy of functions, and additional sources, including interviews and documental archives, can shade light on issues that still remain obscure. How did universities adapt during the conflict? What was their contribution to peace or to the conflict? What was their impact in the transition to peace? These are just some of those issues that deserve further study.

Even though most of the attention in this research was devoted to Colombia, further research on some of the Colombian institutions here studied and many others that were just mentioned or not mentioned at all, would be useful to understand higher education's contribution to peacebuilding, as well as to test some of the conclusions and general observations. The Universidad de Córdoba, Universidad de Antioquia or Universidad Nacional, just to mention three of the most conflict-affected public universities, are examples of institutions that were not studied in depth in this dissertation but well deserve a closer look.

By design, this research focused on senior leadership from both the government and the universities. Institution-specific studies can include other interviewees, such as

students, professors, and staff, among others. Including a more diverse sample can provide better information about the challenges and contributions of higher education to peacebuilding.

There are many questions that still need to be answered: Will Colombia need to redefine how history is taught in schools and universities? If so, what role should academia have in the definition of the contents and curricula? How can HEIs contribute to teacher training? How different is the role and involvement of HEIs in countries where the higher education system is not as developed as the Colombian one? How are those involvement and role in countries with more mature education systems? Is that role very different in non-democratic societies? And, more important, how can these findings contribute to an effective peacebuilding-participation of HEIs in Colombia and elsewhere?

Given that most of the demobilized combatants, displaced people, and other victims of the conflict do not have the credential to access higher education, there is a bias toward non-formal education. This trend is consistent with what has been observed in other countries. Still, HEIs have demonstrated that they can provide this type of education when it is required. One of the challenges for HEIs is how to get engaged in this and other types of activities without losing their essence and without diverting from their mission.

HEIs have demonstrated that they can contribute to peace without the government's guidance or approval. There have been cases in which government agencies have turned to universities for specific services. However, the extended lack of

coordination among HEIs and between them and the government, can impact the effectiveness of their efforts. The creation of a database or a general repository of peacebuilding initiatives and documents produced by HEIs and perhaps other stakeholders, may contribute to improve the effectiveness and visibility of those efforts.

Recommendations

The main conclusion of this research is that HEIs in Colombia have been playing a very active yet discreet role in peacebuilding in the country. The new round of negotiations with the FARC (and hopefully the ELN, too) brings optimism and a new opportunity for a clearly defined approach to peace. It is time for the government to be aware of HEIs' involvement in peacebuilding and to use it as part of an organized peacebuilding strategy. However, universities are fierce defenders of their autonomy and any governmental effort to include HEIs in its peacebuilding strategy needs to be respectful of such autonomy and coordinated with the institutions.

Recommendations for the universities and other HEIs.

Those HEIs that decide to take a more active role in the construction of peace in the country need to take a strategic approach, identifying their strengths and the major needs of their zone of influence. While autonomy should be protected, better coordination among higher education institutions, NGOs, and the government (among many other potential stakeholders) is key for an effective peacebuilding strategy.

HEIs need to continue analyzing the armed conflict, trying to identify its causes, and proposing viable solutions.

The creation of a repository or a database where the academic production related to peace, conflict, and postconflict is stored and can be retrieved, would be a powerful tool to make such products visible, and reduce duplicating of efforts.

Low levels of education among demobilized and displaced people prevent higher education from playing a more important role in their reincorporation into society. Some HEIs might consider expanding their academic offering with vocational and non-formal education programs. However, some people consider that getting too involded in this type of education can jeopardize their nature as "higher education" institutions. The challenge for these institutions would be to find the right balance between the service provided and the importance of preserving their focus on higher education.

Recommendations for the government.

Colombian HEIs have demonstrated that they can be successful in the implementation of peacebuilding strategies, either by themselves or in cooperation with other organizations such as international development agencies, NGOs, and government agencies. HEIs are reluctant to accept any government interference with their autonomy; nonetheless, many interviewees from HEIs believed that the government should play an active role in the coordination of the peacebuilding activities conducted by universities and other organizations. By using promotion strategies such as the PSESS developed with ASCUN (in which the government provided some money and together with ASCUN defined a set of priorities or lines of action), the government can create a strong and permanent alliance with those HEIs interested in contributing to peacebuilding.

In some of the areas most affected by the conflict, the government should consider the creation of higher education institutions which, in addition to bringing education to those locations, contribute to their economic, political, and human development. However, previous experiences, such as the creation of Unipaz or UPC Aguachica, have demonstrated that the creation of these institutions would take more than a mere allocation of money; it would require the support of a multidisciplinary team for the establishment of the institution, the definition of its academic offering, and the definition of its institutional plan.

One Final Question

Higher education has been present in Colombia long before this conflict started. Most of the government leaders have been trained at Colombian universities. Perhaps, it is valid to ask whether higher education has failed the country in its effort to contribute to peacebuilding? The answer to this question is full of subjectivity. First, for many HEIs, perhaps the majority, peacebuilding is not a purpose of higher education and HEIs are not actively looking to contribute to this goal. As mentioned before, in most cases, the peacebuilding impetus comes from students, faculty, and staff, but not necessarily as an officially defined mission for each university or institution. Second, regardless of how involved in peacebuilding HEIs are, they lack the capacity to bring the conflict to an end. Universities and their communities are mostly victims of the conflict while the government is ultimately responsible for the negotiation of peace.

Appendices

Appendix A. List of Interviewees

	Name	Last Name	Position[85]
1.	Identity Anonymized		Higher Education Expert
2.	José Antonio	Balaguera	Rector, Universidad Santo Tomás
3.	Camilo	Bernal	Rector, Universidad Minuto de Dios
4.	Carlos	Caicedo	Former Rector, Universidad del Magdalena
5.	Carlos	Gómez	Rector, Universidad de la Salle
6.	Leonidas	López Herrán	Adjunct Rector, Universidad Minuto de Dios
7.	Martha	Lozada	Rector, Universidad Antonio Nariño
8.	Rafael	Martínez	Social Service Coordinator, ASCUN
9.	Patricia del Pilar	Martínez Barrios	Rector, Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar
10.	Raúl E.	Maya Pabón	Rector, Universidad Popular del Cesar
11.	Ana Sofía	Mesa	Rector Universidad del Atlántico
12.	Dario	Montoya Mejía	Former director SENA
13.	Jaime	Restrepo Cuartas	Director Colciencias. Former rector Universidad de Antioquia
14.	Oswaldo	Rios Carrascal	Former Vice Rector Institución Universitaria Minuto de Dios
15.	Bernardo	Rivera	Executive Director – ASCUN. Former rector University of Caldas
16.	Alberto	Roa Varelo	Academic Vice Rector Universidad del Norte
17.	Carlos Arturo	Roble Julio	Rector Universidad de la Guajira
18.	Rafael	Serrano	Rector, Universidad de Santander. Former Rector, Universidad Industrial de Santander
19.	Germán	Sierra Amaya	Rector, Universidad de Cartagena
20.	Claudia Patricia	Toro Ramírez	Academic Vice Rector, Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia
21.	Obdulio	Velázques P.	Rector, Universidad de la Salle

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[85] The position listed in this table is the one that the interviewees held when the interviews were conducted. Some of them have already changed.

| 22. | Cecilia María | Velez White | Former Minister of Education |
| 23. | Roberto | Vergara Portela | Acting Rector Universidad Distrital |

Appendix B. Interview Guide (English)

Background Information

B1. Please tell me about your trajectory in education in general and in higher education in particular?

Probe: How long have you been in your current position? Have you worked in other positions in this organization? In other organizations? Where did you get your bachelor's degree? And your graduate degree(s) (if any)?

Conflict

C1. Do you think that Colombia's armed conflict has affected higher education? If so, how?

Probe: Can you give me some examples?

C2. Do you believe that the armed conflict has affected your institution?

Probe: Have students, faculty, or staff from your university been involved or affected by the conflict? Can you give me some examples?

Probe: The press has exposed some examples of both guerrilla and paramilitaries infiltrating campuses.   Has your institution experienced any direct contact with parties to the conflict? Do you think this affects the way HEIs carry out their activities?

Probe: How would you describe the presence of the combating parties on campus (if any)? If that is the case what evidences that presence? How is their relationship with the larger university community? Can they openly voice their opinions?

C3. Can you mention some activities or programs conducted by your institution (or any other HEI) with the purpose of facilitating the transition to peace in the country?

Probe: In this regard, do you think there is something that HEIs should do that they are not doing today?

Probe: What factors do you think determine how effective initiatives by universities might be?

Universities are often considered be a marketplace of ideas. Do you think that universities in Colombia fulfill this mission?

Probe: Do you know about cases of intimidations or any other sort of aggression against students, faculty or staff, in your institution or in any other institution, related to their opinions, political views, or activism?

Probe: In your opinion, how open is the debate on the national problems or sensitive issues within your university?

Post-Conflict

P1. Let's imagine a post-conflict scenario for Colombia. In your opinion, what should the role of higher education be in this context?

Probe: How different would this role be compared to the role of higher education during the conflict, or in a peace scenario?

Probe: How would you describe the responsibility and involvement that students, faculty, and staff might have in the peacebuilding efforts?

Probe: In terms of the traditional functions of the university (teaching, research, extension) how would you describe the role of higher education in a post-conflict setting? What should be taught? Should the curriculum be modified? Should universities modify their lines and topics of research in some extent? How do you imagine the extension function (service) in this context?

P2. Do you think that the type of institution (*Institución técnico profesional, institución tecnológica, escuela tecnológica, institución universitaria, universidad*) or its nature (public - private) affect the role HEIs should play in a conflict or post-conflict scenario? Why or why not?

P3. One of the main problems in a post-conflict situation is the number of former combatants—many of them still children—that would be unemployed and excluded from the education system. Do you think that HEIs have a role in this regard?

Probe: Some authors believe that universities fulfill a buffering function against unemployment. Do you think this potential role could be applicable in the case of former combatants and victims of the conflict?

P4. Do you think that the government has any expectations of HEIs regarding the conflict?

Probe: Has the government suggested (explicitly or tacitly) an institutional response regarding these potential roles?

Probe: What do you think the government should expect from higher education institutions in a post-conflict situation?

P5. International organizations like UNESCO and the World Bank have acknowledged that higher education plays an important role in the nations' economic development. It has also been acknowledged that economic development is a necessary condition in the transition from conflict to peace. Do you believe that HEIs can contribute in this regard? If so, how? If not, why?

P6. If you were asked to develop a strategy to improve the university's contribution to building sustainable peace in Colombia, what would it look like?

P7. In your opinion, does the government play any role in steering or coordinating the efforts that higher education institutions carry out for peace building? Should the government play that role? Why or why not?

P8. In several countries, after the conflict ended, an educational reform took place. Do you think that would be Colombia's case? If so, do you think higher education would be affected by this reform? How?

Is there anything else you would like to add to this interview?

Can I contact you with further question regarding this topic?

Appendix C. Interview Guide (Spanish)

<div align="center">Contexto</div>

B1. Por favor cuénteme acerca de su trayectoria en la educación en general y en la

educación superior en particular? Tiene alguna experiencia en gestión de paz,

tratamiento de posconflicto, DDR, o similar?

Profundizar: ¿Cuánto tiempo ha estado en su posición actual? ¿Ha trabajado en otras

posiciones en esta organización? En otras organizaciones? ¿Dónde obtuvo su título de

pregrado? Y su título de posgrado (s) (si los hay)?

B2. Como describiría su institución. ¿Cómo es el estudiante promedio? ¿En qué

ciudades tiene actividades? Etc.

<div align="center">Conflicto</div>

C1. ¿Cree que el conflicto armado en Colombia ha afectado a la educación superior? Si

es así, ¿cómo?

Profundizar: ¿Puede darme algunos ejemplos?

C2. ¿Cree usted que el conflicto armado ha afectado a su institución?

Profundizar: Cree que alumnos, profesores o personal de la universidad de han estado involucrados o han sido afectados por el conflicto? ¿Puede darme algunos ejemplos?

Profundizar: La prensa ha puesto de manifiesto algunos ejemplos de la guerrilla y los paramilitares infiltrando universidades. Su institución ha tenido contacto con las partes en el conflicto? ¿Crees que esto afecta a las IES manera llevar a cabo sus actividades?

Profundizar: ¿Cómo describiría la presencia de los grupos combatientes en el campus (si los hay)? Si ese es el caso, qué evidencia dicha la presencia? ¿Cómo es la relación de estos grupos con la comunidad universitaria? ¿Pueden abiertamente expresar sus opiniones?

C3. ¿Puede mencionar algunas de las actividades o programas realizados por su institución (o cualquier otra IES) con el fin de facilitar la transición a la paz en el país?

Profundizar: En este sentido, ¿cree que hay algo que las IES deberían hacer que no están haciendo hoy?

Profundizar: ¿Qué factores cree que determinan la eficacia de iniciativas emprendidas por las universidades?

Las universidades son a menudo consideradas como un "mercado de ideas". ¿Cree que las universidades en Colombia pueden cumplir con esta misión?

Profundizar: ¿Conoce casos de intimidaciones o cualquier otro tipo de agresión contra los estudiantes, profesores o personal, en su institución o en cualquier otra institución, en relación con sus opiniones, puntos de vista políticos, o activismo?

Profundizar: En su opinión, el grado de apertura es el debate sobre los problemas nacionales o de temas sensibles dentro de su universidad?

Posconflicto

P1. Imaginemos un escenario de post-conflicto en Colombia. En su opinión, ¿cuál debe ser el papel de la educación superior en este contexto?

Profundizar: ¿Este rol sería diferente del papel de la educación superior durante el conflicto, o en un escenario de paz?

Profundizar: ¿Cómo describiría usted la responsabilidad y la participación que los estudiantes, profesores y personal pueda tener en los esfuerzos de consolidación de la paz?

Profundizar: En términos de las funciones tradicionales de la universidad (docencia, investigación, extensión) ¿Cómo describiría el papel de la educación superior en un entorno post-conflicto? ¿Qué se debe enseñar? Se debe modificar el plan de estudios? Deberían las de universidades modificar sus líneas y temas de investigación en alguna

medida? ¿Cómo se imagina la función de extensión (servicio) en este contexto?

P2. ¿Cree usted que el tipo de institución (Institución técnica profesional, Institución Tecnológica, Escuela Tecnológica, Institución Universitaria de la Universidad) o su carácter (público - privado) afectan la función que IES deben (pueden) desempeñar durante el conflicto armado el post-conflicto? ¿Por qué o por qué no?

P3. Uno de los principales problemas en una situación post-conflicto es el número de ex combatientes (muchos de ellos niños) que estarían desempleados y excluidos del sistema educativo. ¿Cree usted que las IES tienen un papel en este sentido?
Profundizar: Algunos autores creen que las universidades cumplan una función de amortiguamiento contra el desempleo. ¿Cree que este papel potencial podría ser aplicable en el caso de los ex combatientes y las víctimas del conflicto?

P4. ¿Cree usted que el gobierno tiene expectativas de las IES en el contexto del conflicto y el posconflicto?
Profundizar: ¿El gobierno ha sugerido (explícita o tácitamente) una respuesta institucional con respecto a estas posibles funciones?
Profundizar: ¿Qué cree usted que el gobierno debe esperar de las IES en un escenario de post-conflicto?

P5. Organizaciones internacionales como la UNESCO y el Banco Mundial han reconocido que la educación superior juega un papel importante en el desarrollo económico de las naciones. También se ha reconocido que el desarrollo económico es una condición necesaria en la transición del conflicto a la paz. ¿Cree usted que las IES pueden contribuir a este respecto? Si es así, ¿cómo? Si no, ¿por qué?

P6. Si se le pidiera que desarrollara una estrategia para mejorar la contribución de la universidad a la construcción de una paz sostenible en Colombia, ¿qué acciones sugeriría?

P7. En su opinión, ¿el gobierno juega algún papel en la dirección o coordinación de los esfuerzos que las IES llevan a cabo para la construcción de la paz? ¿Debe el gobierno de desempeñar ese papel? ¿Por qué o por qué no?

P8. En varios países, después de terminado el conflicto, una reforma educativa se llevó a cabo. ¿Cree usted que sería el caso de Colombia? Si es así, ¿cree que la educación superior se vería afectada por esta reforma? ¿Cómo?

¿Hay algo más que quiera agregar a esta entrevista?

¿Puedo contactarle con alguna pregunta puntual sobre este tema?

Appendix D. Consent Form (English)

Human Subject Consent Form

Higher Education and Peacebuilding in Colombia: A Case Study

You are invited to participate in a research study about the functions of higher education in conflict and post-conflict societies. In this study, which will be the basis for my doctoral dissertation, I plan to explore how higher education institutions can contribute to peace in countries that are suffering or have suffered an internal violent conflict.

You were selected to participate in this study because of your current position or your trajectory in higher education in Colombia. **Please, read this form and make sure ask any questions you have before agreeing to be part of the study.**

If you agree to be part of it, I would ask you to:
1. Participate in an interview of approximately 60 to 90 minutes to take place during November 2010. The interview will be semi-structured and will cover your experiences and perceptions about the role of higher education in conflict and post-conflict societies.
2. I may also ask you to review a draft of the research findings, by February or March 2011 to see whether I have adequately presented, in your estimation, a full, careful, and accurate analysis.

Confidentiality

I wish to record the interviews in order to guarantee the integrity of the data. I will be the only person that will have access and will listen to these tapes.

All the information collected in this interview will be treated confidentially and your name will be replaced by a pseudonym in the transcripts. You need to do nothing if you prefer to preserve your anonymity. We would, however, like to use your identity as a source of information and quotes. If you agree to having your identity used, please check the appropriate box above your signature on this form.

All interviews will be numbered, no names will be attached to the tapes and no quotes will be identified with anyone interviewed without their permission.

While I am in Colombia, I will keep the research notes in a secured place. When I return to the United States, I will keep the research notes and tapes in a secured file. I will also keep a copy in a virtual disk service provided by Boston College.

Contacts and Questions

Should you have any question about this research project, feel free to contact me directly (ivan.pacheco@bc.edu). If any concern arises about this project, you can communicate directly with my advisor, Dr. Philip Altbach (altbach@bc.edu). Also, if you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact:

> The Director, Office for Research Protections
> Boston College, 140 Commonwealth Avenue,
> Chestnut Hill, MA 02467, USA
> Telephone (+1)(617)552-4778; Email: irb@bc.edu

Risks and Benefits

I foresee minimum if any risk to you from participating in the study. Aside from participating in a conversation on higher education and conflict, there are no direct benefits for you in this study.

Voluntary Nature of the Study

Your participation is entirely voluntary; you can withdraw from the study at any time. You have complete freedom to refuse to answer any question and/or terminate the interview at any moment. In addition, you are free to express any doubt or ask any questions during the interview period.

Thank you for your participation,

Ivan F. Pacheco
ivan.pacheco@bc.edu

Statement of Consent

I have read the above information. I understand my role in this research and I am in agreement with the conditions. I participate in this research freely and willingly,

Name: _____

I have been given a copy of this form for my personal records: Yes _____ No _____

I give my permission to have my name used as a source in this study: Yes ____ No ____

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix E. Consent Form (Spanish)

Educación Superior y Construcción de Paz en Colombia: Un estudio de caso

Usted ha sido invitado(a) a participar en un estudio sobre las funciones de la educación superior en sociedades en etapa de conflicto y post-conflicto. En este estudio planeo explorar cómo la educación superior puede contribuir a la paz en países que están sufriendo o han sufrido un conflicto armado interno.

Usted fue seleccionado(a) debido la posición que actualmente ocupa y a su experiencia en la educación superior en Colombia. **Por favor, lea este documento y siéntase en libertad de hacer cualquier pregunta antes de acceder a participar en el estudio.**

Si usted decide hacer parte del estudio, le solicitaré lo siguiente:

1. Participar en una entrevista de entre 60 y 90 minutos que tendrá lugar durante el mes de noviembre de 2010. Será una entrevista semi-estructurada que abarcará, principalmente, su experiencia y percepciones sobre el papel de la universidad en sociedades en conflicto y posconflicto.
2. Posiblemente también le solicitaré revisar un borrador de los resultados de mi investigación, aproximadamente durante febrero o marzo de 2011, para determinar si, en su opinión, el análisis allí contenido presenta una visión completa, cuidadosa, y ajustada a la realidad.

Confidencialidad

Deseo grabar nuestra entrevista con el propósito de garantizar la integridad de los datos. Yo seré la única persona que tendrá acceso y escuchará esas grabaciones.

La información recolectada en esta entrevista será tratada como confidencial y su nombre será reemplazado con un seudónimo en las transcripciones. Si usted desea mantenerse como fuente anónima, no debe hacer nada adicional. Sin embargo, me gustaría poder utilizar su identidad como fuente de información y, eventualmente, para efectos de citas textuales. Si usted está de acuerdo con que yo utilice su nombre para tal efecto, por favor marque la casilla correspondiente sobre el espacio para su firma en este formato.

Todas las entrevistas serán numeradas, las grabaciones no se identificarán con nombres y ninguna cita se asociará con ninguno de los entrevistados a menos que se cuente con su autorización. Mientras esté en Colombia, mantendré mis notas de investigación bajo llave. Cuando regrese a los Estados Unidos, las notas y material de la investigación serán mantenidos en archivos seguros. Adicionalmente, mantendré una copia de los archivos en un servicio de disco virtual proporcionado por Boston College.

En caso de tener alguna duda con respecto a mi investigación, siéntase en libertad de contactarme (ivan.pacheco@bc.edu). Si surge alguna inquietud sobre este proyecto, también puede contactar a mi director de tesis, el Dr. Philip Altbach (altbach@bc.edu).

Contacto y Preguntas
Si tiene alguna pregunta relacionada con sus derechos como sujeto de investigación, usted puede dirigirlas a:

> The Director, Office for Research Protections
> Boston College, 140 Commonwealth Avenue,
> Chestnut Hill, MA 02467, USA
> Telephone (+1)(617)552-4778; Email: irb@bc.edu

Riesgos y Beneficios
Considero que el riesgo para usted en esta investigación es nulo o muy bajo.
No hay previsto ningún beneficio adicional para usted, distinto a participar en una conversación sobre educación superior y conflicto.

Naturaleza Voluntaria del Estudio
Su participación en este estudio es totalmente voluntaria; usted se puede retirar del estudio en cualquier momento. Usted tiene plena libertad para negarse a contestar cualquier pregunta o dar por terminada la entrevista en cualquier momento. Adicionalmente, usted está en libertad de expresar sus dudas o de hacer cualquier pregunta relacionada con el estudio durante el tiempo de la entrevista.

Muchas gracias por su participación,

Ivan F. Pacheco
ivan.pacheco@bc.edu

Manifestación de Consentimiento

He leído la anterior información. Entiendo mi papel en esta investigación y estoy de acuerdo con las condiciones expuestas. Participo en este estudio de manera libre y voluntaria,
Nombre: _____

He recibido una copia de este documento para mis archivos personales. Si ___ No ___

Autorizo que mi nombre se utilice como una fuente en este estudio   Si ___ No ___

Firma _____ Fecha _____

Appendix F. CERES in which UTB Participates

MUNICIPALITY-CERES	No. of students	No. of Programs[86]
Cartagena-CERES Bayunca	20	1
Cartagena-CERES Isla de Tierra Bomba Bocachica	14	1
Cartagena-CERES José de los Campanos	93	10
Cartagena-CERES Nelson Mandela	618	12
Cartagena-CERES Pasacaballo	88	7
Cartagena-CERES Pozón	304	14
Cartagena-CERES UNALDE Country - Bosque	235	11
Cartagena-CERES UNALDE de la Virgen y Turística – Olaya	530	14
Cartagena-CERES UNALDE Industrial y de la Bahía - El Milagro	321	15
Cartagena-CERES UNALDE Santa Rita – Lemaitre	230	9
Simití	77	2
Talaigua Nuevo	52	2
Turbaco	1051	11
Mompox	26	1
TOTAL	**3659**	**110**

Source: Ministry of Education

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[86] The same academic program can be offered in several CERES.

Appendix G. Academic Degree Programs Containing the Words Peace, Conflict, or Human Rights in Their Names

Keyword	Total	Status		Type of HEI		Program Level				
		Active	Inactive	Public	Private	Técnico Prof.	Licenciatura	Profesional	Especialización	Magister
Paz (Peace)	**12**	9	3	4	8	0	2	0	6	4
Conflicto (Conflict)	**39**	26	13	14	25	1	0	1	32	5
Derechos Humanos (Human Rigths)	**53**	26	27	21	32	1	1	0	43	8
Total	**104**	**61**	**43**	**39**	**65**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**81**	**17**

Source: SNIES Jul 11, 2012. Table by the author.

Appendix H: Programs on peace, conflict, or human rights offered by HEIs

affiliated to the military

Name (Spanish)	Translation (English)	Institution
Especialización en Derechos Humanos y Derecho Internacional Humanitario Aplicado a los Conflictos Armados	Specialization in Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law Applied to Armed Conflicts	Centro de Educación Militar CEMIL
Tecnología en Derechos Humanos y Derecho Internacional Aplicable a los Conflictos Armados	Technology in Human Rights and International Law Applicable to Armed Conflicts	Escuela Militar de Suboficiales Sargento Inocencio Chinca
Especialización en Derecho Internacional Aplicable a los Conflictos Armados	Specialization in International Law Applicable to Armed Conflicts	Escuela Militar de Cadetes General Jose María Córdova
Maestría en Derechos Humanos y Derecho Internacional de los Conflictos Armados	Masters in Human Rights and International Law of Armed Conflict	Escuela Superior de Guerra
Especialización en Defensa Nacional Análisis y Solución de Conflictos (inactivo)	Specialization in Defense Analysis and Solution of Conflicts (inactive)	Universidad Militar Nueva Granada
Especialización en Derechos Humanos y Defensa ante Sistemas Internacionales de Protección	Specialization in Human Rights and Defense in International Advocacy Systems	Universidad Militar Nueva Granada

Source: SNIES, July 11, 2012. Table by the author.

Appendix I. Benefits for Heroes of the Nation and Reservists of Honor by HEIs

(Sorted alphabetically by institution)

Institution	Nature	Scholarship / Discount	Limitations	# Programs
Corporación Universitaria Autónoma del Cauca	Private	50%	40 by academic period	10
Corporación Universitaria del Meta	Private	70%	10 scholarships per academic program	17
Corporación Universitaria IDEAS de Colombia	Private	75	Only for Honor Reservist	8
Corporación Universitaria Remingtn	Private	30%	Unlimited	7
Corporación Universitaria Republicana*	Private	50% Undergrad 40% Graduate		15
Fundación Autónoma de Santander	Private	50%	10 scholarships per academic period	6
Fundación de Educación Superior San José	Private	62%	Unlimited	11
Fundación Tecnológica Antonio de Arévalo	Private	100%	2 scholarships per academic period	7
Institución Universitaria Tecnológica Comfacauca	Private	Special price		8
Universidad de Antioquia	Public	Special quotas		17
Universidad de Cartagena	Public	100%	Unlimited	19
Universidad de Medellín	Private	100%	2 scholarships per year	11
Universidad del Cauca	Public	100%	Unlimited	44
Universidad del Magdalena	Public	100%	Unlimited	6
Universidad Incca de Colombia	Private	20%	1 scholarship per academic program	15
Universidad Militar Nueva Granada	Public	Special quotas	Excludes law and medicine	16
Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia UNAD**	Public	15%	Unlimited	47
Universidad Sergio Arboleda	Private	70%	Only for Honor Reservist	15

* Extensive to relatives up to the third level of consanguinity
** Includes postgraduate programs

Total HEIs	18
Privates	12
Public	6
Total academic programs	279

Source: Ministry of Defense, 2011. Table by the author

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