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HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM IN BRAZIL:
SOME VOICES OF THE ACADEMIA

JOAO FERNANDO CHRISTOFOLETTI

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Declaration and word count.

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the rationale underlying the recent changes concerned with the expansion, organisation, social commitment and public sponsorship of non-research-intensive Brazilian universities, which represent the biggest (though not much investigated) segment of the Brazilian higher education system. Unlike the approach adopted by a significant part of the Brazilian research conducted in this area – which is based on the assumption that the changes are largely the outcome of the national educational policies of the mid 1990s – this study focuses on the role played by the academics themselves. A qualitative research strategy was employed that drew on the findings of semi-structured interviews with 40 lecturers from different departments of a non-research-intensive Brazilian university. The findings revealed that the complex situation partially resulting from the new educational policies had led to two distinct reactions within the university. The first was characterized by a movement of resistance against such policies, which were regarded as harmful to the university's practices and the academic work. The other attitude was characterised by a willingness to engage in commercial practices and establish closer links with private companies, mainly through the provision of services in outreach programmes. The significance of this entrepreneurial involvement was shown in its effect on the concept of outreach – traditionally a form of social service provided by the universities. The research also obtained evidence that the financial resources derived from these commercial practices have allowed the university to improve its facilities and the quality of its activities. This contradicts the assertions of several Brazilian authors who claim that these practices have had an adverse effect on the university's autonomy and social role. However, further research is needed to understand the full implications of the benefits and drawbacks of these commercial practices.

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1. What this research is about: exploring changes in the Brazilian higher education system

This chapter provides an account of what this research is concerned with. It provides a brief overview of the Brazilian higher education. My aims and research questions are set out, as well as the reasons that led me to carry out this research. Finally, there is a brief explanation of the contents of the chapters that follow.

1.1 Introducing the subject of investigation: the Brazilian higher education system

During the last forty years, the Brazilian higher education system – in both the public and private spheres – has been affected by several government policies, which have led to changes in several areas. These include its institutional organization and management as well as its practices, social role, size, and academic culture (Schwartzman, 1991; 2002). In short, during this period, the still young Brazilian university system has undergone a series of changes that have considerably altered most of its features. These changes have been influenced by several factors including the following: industrial development; population growth in urban centres; government projects for national, economic and social development; financial constraints resulting from a serious economic situation; the development of new information technologies; the increasing social and economic importance of science and technology; and the expansion of the global economy and international trade (Cunha, 1985; 1988; 1989; Brasil, 1995; 2004b).

Although the changes in Brazilian higher education can be regarded as a continuous process that started during the 1960s (see Chapter Two for a fuller analysis of this), this research focuses on reforms that have been implemented in Brazilian universities since the mid 1990s. The reason for this is that this period can be regarded as being a climax of this evolving process. In 1995, when Fernando Henrique Cardoso (who advocated the adoption of neo-liberal policies) became President, changes in higher education grew in

intensity and accelerated more rapidly than in previous years – as is clear from the statistical data gathered by the National Institute of Educational Research between 1998 and 2006 (Brasil, 1998a; 1998b; 1999b; 2000; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004a; 2005; 2006). For instance, during Cardoso's government (1995-2002), a new national educational law was enacted (towards the end of 1996) which affected the organization and functions of higher education institutions (Brasil, 1996). In addition, the first national program for assessing the standards of institutions and courses was implemented. The whole higher education system doubled in size, largely as the result of the growth of the private higher education sector. Moreover there were drastic cuts in public funding for public higher education institutions, especially the federal universities, which were widely encouraged by the government so that the institutions would forge links with companies and the marketplace (Silva Junior and Sguissardi, 2001: 26).

The policies implemented by the federal government from the mid 1990s onwards, aimed to modernize the whole state structure and, hence, all public services and institutions, which included the public higher education system (Brasil, 1995; Silva Junior and Sguissardi, 2001: 28-46). Thus, the university reforms in Brazil have not only been introduced to address educational concerns, but as a response to economic and political interests as well. In short, educational policies have become intertwined with economic policies.

Although a leftist party took power in January 2003, when Luis Inácio Lula da Silva became the Brazilian president, the policies of higher education did not change very significantly. An example that illustrates the continuity of these policies is the fact that Cristovam Buarque – who tended to be more 'left-wing' in his views on education than his colleagues – did not survive much more than a year as Brazilian Minister of Education. During his short tenure as Minister, Buarque appointed new lecturers for the federal university system (the first time anyone had been employed in these positions since 1995); modified the assessment program of courses and institutions set up in 1995/96; and held an open debate about university reforms which involved

academics, higher education institutions, companies, NGOs and other social organizations (Buarque, 2004: 37-41; Brasil, 2004a).

A further point that should be highlighted was the introduction of a scheme to reserve a quota of places in public higher education institutions for underprivileged socio-economic and ethnic groups (particularly blacks and members of indigenous communities). This debate gathered momentum during Lula's government, which is currently drawing up new legislation that will compel all public universities to reserve a quota of their places for students that come from underprivileged socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. Moreover, the present government has also set up a new program called "University for All", which basically entails providing a huge number of grants to students from low income groups through the "purchase" of vacant places in private institutions (Brasil, 2004f). In fact, with regard to its higher education policies, it can be claimed that the main priority of the current Brazilian federal government is to encourage social inclusion in the higher education system.

1.2 Changes in universities are global

Significant changes in higher education are not restricted to Brazil but are taking place in many countries. Although each higher education system faces its own challenges because of differences in its economic, political, social and historical environment, similar trends can be found in a number of different places (see Chapter Three for a fuller discussion of this). Currently, many the higher education systems are experiencing a growth in student numbers and a diversification of their institutions and programmes of study in a process that leads many of them towards a situation of mass higher education (Scott, 1995).

Moreover, the relevant literature describes how governments of industrialized, developing and transition countries have embarked on new forms of interventionism. This is borne out by the fact that they are reducing – in most of the cases in relative terms – state funds for higher education (Steier, 2003), acting less as providers and more as regulators by adopting

quality assurance or assessment practices, and insisting that institutions should be publicly accountable (Morley, 2003). This interventionism has been accompanied by another trend which involves attempting to improve the links between higher education institutions and society and the marketplace. This has led some institutions to find alternative sources of funds and forms of provision in the productive sector (Kogan et al, 2000), and, to some extent, has resulted in the introduction of values and practices derived from the marketplace, such as profitability and entrepreneurialism, in the academic world, which may be regarded unusual or even pernicious to it (Barnett, 2003: 20-24).

Moreover, similar influences can be found in the patterns of change found in different parts of the world. The main factors mentioned by the literature that have a significant effect on higher education institutions can be summarized as follows: the process of economic globalization (Held et al, 1999; Marginson, 2000), the implementation of neo-liberal policies by governments (Codd et al, 1992; Ball et al, 2003), and the development of information technology and new ways of increasing knowledge that influence both the marketplace and everyday life (Gibbons et al, 1994; Stehr, 1994; Castells, 1996).

None of these factors affects the institutions in isolation since they are all interrelated. For instance, the development of new information technologies, which are of increasing significance in both the labour market and everyday life, affects the way knowledge is acquired and has an impact on economic production and the struggle for control of the markets (Stehr, 1994; Held et al, 1999; Delanty, 2001). Castells (1996) even suggests that new forms of information technology are a key factor in the global economy since they are of crucial importance in the production and movement of capital throughout international markets. These factors have a considerable effect on the core of higher education institutions insofar as they play a relevant role in the production, development and transmission of knowledge. For this reason, governments can be expected to take action to adapt higher education systems to the requirements of the current social climate, and ensure that they make a greater contribution to the production of knowledge

and professional training. As Codd and co-workers (1992) argue, there is a tendency for governments of different countries to implement policies that aim at making higher education participate more fully in economic and social development.

In most of the examples provided by the literature – for instance Clark (2004), Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz (2001), and Slaughter and Leslie (1997) – the economic contribution made by the universities chiefly consisted of researches carried out on behalf of the companies and organizations that can afford to pay for it, and thus are able to sponsor the institutions. However, in the case of Brazil, the ties between universities and companies are largely confined to a few universities that have a suitable structure for carrying out research by themselves – especially in science and technology. Only 5.2% of Brazilian universities conduct 70% of all the research undertaken in higher education institutions (Brasil, 1999b; Papesp, 2005). These institutions are referred to in this research as "elite universities" This adjective is not employed because of the public they cater for but because they are given the largest amounts of public funding, enjoy a high social and academic prestige, and are respected centres of research.

In contrast, the remaining 94.8% of Brazilian universities are usually smaller and younger, and correspond to what is called in this research the "peripheral universities" since they only occupy a marginal position in the production of knowledge. The research that the academics of these institutions carry out is mainly concerned with subject-areas that can be investigated at a low cost (such as those found in the social sciences and humanities), which do not depend on expensive laboratories and equipment. Despite this, some departments in these institutions are given public or private financial support to undertake research into subject-areas of special importance to their particular region. For instance, an institution located in an important agricultural area might be sponsored to conduct research on agriculture or farming. However, most of the peripheral universities only have a few departments that undertake a significant amount of research (see Chapter Five for a fuller discussion of this).

The limited opportunities to carry out research naturally make it harder for peripheral universities to establish partnerships with private companies based on research practices. As a result, questions are raised about how they can cope when they are constrained in this way. What means can they employ to increase their budgets? If they seek to set up links with private companies to obtain alternative resources, how and in what way should they attempt to do it? Are these institutions able to change their main practices – teaching and professional training – so that they can become profitable and tradable commodities? If so, are they doing this at the moment?

However, some of the Brazilian academic community does not think that establishing or improving partnerships with private companies – whether through research or other academic services – is something that can benefit the academics or the university itself. A very significant number of authors in the Brazilian literature – for instance Gentili (2001), Sguissardi (2004) and Trindade (2001) – have heavily criticized current trends in the universities. They argue that forging stronger links with private organizations can lead to "privatization"[1] and that this will seriously reduce their academic freedom, institutional autonomy, and political and social role. In fact, they are strongly opposed to these associations. Thus, the question may not be just about how institutions can change and adapt to the current context but whether or not it is worth doing so!

1.3 Changes in universities: are they for better or worse?

Different groups of academics have distinct and even conflicting perceptions and understandings about the effects of changes on the institutions. Some authors – especially non-Brazilians such as Clark (2004), Etzkowitz (2001) and Jarvis (2001) – regard these changes as being beneficial. For instance, they believe the changes help to improve academic

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[1] The term privatization, as used by the Brazilian authors, does not mean a transformation of a public university into a private one but a situation in which it works as such by charging some of its services as a form to improve its revenue. This is significant since Brazilian public universities are tuition-free, and do not charge most of their services. Additionally, most Brazilian authors believe that profit-making practices may make public universities too dependent on the private capital, and reduce their unprofitable social practices.

practices by increasing the degree of entrepreneurialism, productivity and competitiveness within the academic world. They may also help to strengthen the institutional structures and improve the institutional managerialism of the universities. What is more, the process of change can improve the social status of higher education institutions by enabling them to make a more direct contribution to social and economic development. As well as this, it can result in a process of democratisation in higher education by providing mass higher education while also bringing about social equity, through offering people greater access to education and thus increasing their employment prospects (Scott, 1995; Steier, 2003).

At the same time, some authors have expressed some concern about these changes. For instance, Cowen (1996) argues that the collaboration between universities and companies might lead to an erosion of academic freedom and institutional autonomy because it means that universities can become increasingly dependent on private capital, and controlled by external agendas. With regard to this, Gumport (2000) argues that higher education is currently acting as an industry rather than a social institution.

Other authors, such as Barnett (1990; 2003), Readings (1996) and Delanty (2001), are concerned that these kinds of partnerships could threaten the university's political and social roles. This is because they believe universities should play a part in thinking about and criticizing the role of knowledge in society and are social institutions which play an important role in setting out a set of critical ideologies – for instance, ecological, feminist, humanist and so forth – which may be opposed to market values.

In Brazil, there is not even a consensus about whether or not the expansion of the higher education system is a means towards greater democratisation and social inclusion. While Pereira (1995; 1996) regards this expansion in a positive light, Catani and Oliveira (2000) suggest that it can widen the gap between different social groups. These authors argue that as a result of the way that the expansion is occurring, the Brazilian higher education system will be split into two – that is, between an elite and a mass form of higher education where there are highly differentiated patterns of education and standards that serve different social groups.

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From an international perspective, Taylor (1999) and Martin (1999) state that many academics in the UK and Australia feel a sense of insecurity and even loss with regard to the situation facing them, since it requires making adjustments to new factors within the academic world such as the growth of an entrepreneurial ideology. In this particular example, perhaps these feelings of uncertainty can be attributed to the fact that most academics have to find new ways of obtaining financial support for their activities and that whether or not they succeed depends on what might be attractive to the market (Jones, 2003). To some extent, the unease felt by some academics is due to the fact that familiar activities are being replaced with new features that are still unknown within the academic world. It is a period of transition, from one institutional model – still being deconstructed – towards another that has not yet been properly established (Scott, 2000).

Among some academics in both Brazil and other countries, this has caused great pessimism about the various changes that higher education is currently undergoing. For instance, Readings (1996) and some Brazilian authors such as Trindade (1999) and Chaui (1999) foresee a bleak future for the universities. By coincidence, they use the same metaphor – "the university in ruins" – to describe the present condition of higher education institutions. Perhaps, there is a certain degree of nostalgia that prompts the suggestion that the university institution is already – or is going to be – "in ruins" since it is no longer works just as a community of academics. Its members are gradually acquiring characteristics that can be associated with the private sector, and it is increasingly becoming committed to the production and trading of profit-motivated knowledge.

In the case of Brazil, many authors such as Moraes (1998), Menezes (2000) and Sguissardi (2001) also warn that the current changes and reforms will be harmful to education. For instance, Gentili (2001) states that despite the government's claims that their educational policies are designed to improve the relationships between universities, the productive sector and society, this period of change is regarded by the Brazilian academic world as being mainly a means of privatising the public universities. In the opinion of Catani and Oliveira (1999a; 1999b), Castanho (2000), and Amaral (1999),

this situation is also affecting the governance of Brazilian universities, since they are being forced to become more market-oriented. These attitudes are based on a belief that private sponsors use public university services for private purposes while the basic infrastructure remains public. This is in conflict with the proper social role of the institutions insofar as they should be serving the whole society rather than particular organizations.

This situation has been regarded as perhaps resulting from the neo-liberal policies of Cardoso's government. Schugurensky (2003) and Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001: 16) state that since the mid 1990s, neo-liberal policies have undermined public universities in Brazil and other Latin American countries, especially on account of the reduction of public funds for universities. Sguissard (2000) and Gentili (2001) claim that the Brazilian universities are already becoming like scrap-heap to be sold off to the private sector. Their description suggests that there is a consensus among academics that the current educational policies can lead to deterioration in the working conditions and standards of universities. They also suggest that academics should take a firm stand against these policies. In fact, during the last ten years, there have been many strikes and demonstrations against the Brazilian educational policies that aimed to stimulate academics entrepreneurial practices and in support of better working conditions in the universities (ANDES-SN, 2003; Buarque, 2004: 33).

Although the authors' appraisal of the current trends in the Brazilian higher education system is on the whole supported by the analysis of documents which outline recent national educational policies and guidelines, most of them fail to take account of empirical data from academics working in higher education institutions. Thus, they only offer a partial analysis of the phenomenon, since their view is just one of the possible interpretations that can be made of university reform in Brazil.

Moreover, the academic world is not homogeneous. In fact, Becher and Trowler (2001) claim that it comprises several distinct "tribes". These "tribes" can have very different characteristics in terms of ideology, beliefs and practices, and they are influenced by and evolve in their own particular culture. As well as the particular characteristics of different academic

backgrounds, issues of gender, ethnicity and social class can also contribute to the organization and formation of academic "tribes". In addition, these differences can have an influence on the reputation that subjects and groups have both within and outside of the academic world, and on the conceptions that academics have about the social and economic role of the institution (Bourdieu, 1988). Thus, different academic groups can have distinct perceptions and understandings about the same changes and their outcomes. In other words, while some of them might interpret the changes as forms of exploitation, others think of them as offering new opportunities to their academic lives. Hence they are likely to support different point of views about the way that the institution should operate, and adopt procedures that support these views and beliefs.

For this reason, it is reasonable to raise questions about the general tendencies followed by Brazilian academics, as well as the universities. For example, does the Brazilian academic community generally oppose the changes brought about by the educational policies, and as a result, struggle to obtain an increase in the amount of public funds received from the government (as claimed by a significant number of authors in the national literature)? Or conversely, are the academics willing to adapt to the current context by trading some of their academic services and setting up partnerships with private organizations? What is the rationale that underpins each one of these positions? Do entrepreneurial practices really lead to harmful outcomes, or can they also result in benefits to society or the academic world?

It is these and various other queries that have prompted this research. This study can be regarded as a personal attempt to arrive at a better understanding of some particular features of the Brazilian higher education system, as well as the ways in which academics are facing the challenges raised by the current political, social and economic situation. Clearly, these questions are too numerous and wide-ranging to be reasonably answered in this study. Before a feasible investigation of them can be carried out, they must be organized in more specific and comprehensive terms and an attempt to do this will be undertaken in the following section of this chapter.

1.4 What this research seeks to find out

As briefly mentioned in the previous sections, the current social, economic and political environment has brought about new challenges to the Brazilian higher education system. However, the questions remain unanswered regarding the best ways to respond to the new requirements, the reasons for opting for any particular pattern of procedures, and the consequences of these choices. For this reason, this research explores how public Brazilian universities are responding to the current changes in the economy that affect their modus operandi. It is an investigation of the actions – and reactions – of Brazilian academics to the university reforms introduced by Brazilian governments, especially since 1995. It examines the way that some Brazilian academics in an ordinary university – the institution where they work – are coping with this process and adapting to the Brazilian higher education system within the current economic, political and social climate. Furthermore, as explained at the beginning of this Chapter, the decision to investigate this process from the mid 1990s onwards is due to fact that the national policies implemented at that time have had a very significant effect on higher education institutions, and led them to introduce hasty and radical changes.

The changes in higher education are examined with regard to the question of government interventionism and regulations, university autonomy and management, and the social role played by the universities. In addition, this research seeks to analyse the reasons and motivating factors that induce academics to undertake practices in the particular way they do so that they can meet the needs and requirements of current reforms. In other words, as well as being an analysis of Brazilian educational policies, this research also discusses the way these academics understand topics emerging from the changing process and its possible effects on academic and institutional life.

Furthermore, it should be made clear that although I discuss the changing policies of higher education from a wide perspective by examining its effects on Brazil within an international context, the analysis of the views

of academics is conducted from the specific circumstances of a Brazilian perspective insofar as I draw on empirical data collected from interviews with academics who work at a particular multi-campus university in the southwest of the country. The reasons for choosing this particular institution are explained in the following sections of this Chapter. However, it is worth mentioning that it is a non research-intensive university, which is chiefly devoted to professional training, and only has a regional influence. In this respect, it is similar to more than 90 percent of the Brazilian universities that only occupy a peripheral position within the Brazilian higher education system.

As will be shown in the next Chapters, in spite of the differences that can be found in the various higher education systems, some of the Brazilian and international literature finds some similarities between them when it examines the main causes of the changes. In fact, the views and reactions of some academics have a great deal in common. However, such changes may have a different effect, and, thus, lead each higher education system to different outcomes, in view of the fact that each system has to deal with the nature of a particular socio-economic context and adapt to the historical circumstances of each place. In other words, although the Brazilian higher education system is undergoing similar changes to those of other systems, it faces its own specific challenges and has to respond to them in a particular way. For this reason, my aim is to investigate the peculiarities of the process of change that the Brazilian higher education system is undergoing by answering the three following questions:

a) Does the viewpoint that can be found in the Brazilian literature really reflect a general consensus within the academic world, or are there groups that are in favour of developing an academic entrepreneurial culture and carrying out profit-making practices?

b) If there are academic groups of this second type, what is it that drives them to carry out a form of academic entrepreneurialism, and how does this

take place in an ordinary Brazilian university that does not conduct a significant amount of research?

c) Finally, are the effects of entrepreneurial practices necessarily harmful to academic freedom and the social role of the university?

One must answer these questions because there is a lack of information, in the Brazilian literature, regarding the attitudes and reactions of Brazilian academics to the current changing educational policies. As already mentioned, although many authors have discussed the educational policies in progress, they have failed to examine the views of the academics themselves. Rather than doing this, they have tended to focus on the conceptual and ideological aspects of the policies. As a result, although it is possible to have an idea of the main effects of the educational policies on the university, there is no information about the actual way that they are operating, or about the needs and expectations of academics or the way that they are dealing with the changes and pressures arising from this environment.

Moreover, despite the absence of reliable empirical data on the current experiences undergone by actual institutions and members of the academic world (which could more convincingly provide support for their interpretations and claims), most of the literature speaks in very negative terms about any type of entrepreneurial practice carried out in the academic world. In other words, although many authors provide very coherent and well argued interpretations about the current changes in the institutions, they tend to support their explanations by referring to potential rather than factual experiences. This is because they are somewhat detached from the kind of everyday procedures employed by the institutions when dealing with the current climate. This particularly applies to the less prestigious institutions that make up the bulk of the national higher education system. Their arguments are grounded on sound arguments, and in some circumstances are probably right. However, they may be mistaken in other situations since, although the entrepreneurial practices, may be potentially harmful to some

university principles, they are also capable of bringing about significant benefits to local society, the academic world and, the institution itself.

Furthermore, while much of the literature regards the current changes being undertaken by the academic world as the outcome of the pressure and requirements of external factors, it tends to neglect the possible existence of the internal factors that govern the process. In other words, although the new educational policies may have stimulated some of the practices, especially entrepreneurial activities, the reasons for carrying them out may lie within the institution. Some of the particular practices may not necessarily be responses to the lack of public funds available to the institution, but represent actions that they wish to carry out in a context where some academic groups can benefit from them. If the diversity of interests, ideologies and special features of the various academic groups that work within the university are all taken into account, it is quite possible that the same situations that are regarded as oppressive, by some of them, will be regarded by others as providing new opportunities.

Thus, the significance of this investigation lies in its attempt to confront consistent and elaborate interpretations in the Brazilian literature with the reality of an ordinary Brazilian higher education institution. By doing so, the aim of this research is to identify and analyse the practices carried out by academics in the current climate, as well as the reasons that form the basis of their activities and the consequences of these for both the academic world and the institutions. In short, it is hoped that this investigation can lead, at least partially, to a better understanding of the complexity of the Brazilian higher education system.

1.5 Giving a voice to the Brazilian academics

I decided that the best way to carry out this study and address the research question I had outlined was to draw on two different sources of information about Brazilian higher education. One of these, (as suggested above), is found in the remarks of some Brazilian academics. My aim is to provide an account of the *what*, *how* and *why* with regard to the current

changes in higher education, by analysing the insights, perceptions, and views of the academics, who are the agents involved in the process. The comments of the academics provided a direct account of the ways that they and their institutions are acting with regard to the current policies.

At the same time, the different identities of some academic groups were helpful in accounting for possible factors that motivated their comments and practices. This enabled me to carry out an analysis of the contradictions and conflicting viewpoints encountered in the comments and procedures of the different academic groups that had experienced the changes. It should be mentioned here that all the academics who had agreed to be volunteers in this research came from an ordinary public multi-campus university — which is fully described in Chapter Four. Being a peripheral university in a rural area, this institution is a representative example of a Brazilian higher education institution. In addition, its multi-campus characteristics meant that it could provide a meaningful range of information about the phenomenon being investigated from different perspectives.

The other source of information was a wide range of documents about Brazilian educational policies and guidelines, (as well as institutional documents) at the university being investigated. These written sources were drawn on to build up a comprehensive general picture of the Brazilian higher education system, as well as the particular institution in focus. It was a helpful means of identifying aspects of the university structure and its policies, and providing a framework for the data collection.

Examined together, these two sources allowed me to move between two different levels of the phenomenon investigated. The documents enabled me to outline the general structure of the Brazilian higher education system at a macro level, which was concerned with the implementation, and organization of its policies. The comments of the academics made it possible to examine, the current changes in a real-life context and at the level of practice. Thus, it was possible to analyse how these two levels of the system are interrelated, to compare both sides of the phenomenon and then be in a position to offer new descriptions and interpretations. The two kinds of data are discussed in the following chapters, together with some of the main

issues on public higher education in the Brazilian literature, such as: state interventionism, university autonomy, academic freedom, and the university's social role. As the data is drawn from two different spheres in the structure of higher education, these issues are also examined on the basis of two different approaches which are as follows: the influence of educational policies and the inner power relationships of the academic world.

The use of the comments made by the academics as research data is of great significance because – as mentioned earlier – it is not a usual practice in research studies that investigate Brazilian higher education. There are not many studies on this issue that draw on this type of empirical data. Thus, it is hoped that this research can make a contribution to understanding current trends in Brazilian universities by employing a new perspective. Furthermore, as the setting for the data collection was a peripheral university, this research has been able to introduce a sector that is not usually examined in the debate about the Brazilian higher education system. This is because the few research studies that have investigated a real context, have usually focused on elite institutions.

Inasmuch as peripheral institutions represent a significant part of the Brazilian system, it can be argued that the university studied here is part of a very significant category of institutions that make up the Brazilian higher education system, and it is worth conducting an investigation of them. Thus, this research seeks to broaden an understanding of the Brazilian higher education by employing a perspective that is designed to examine a significant part of the academic world from inside.

By means of this research design, I was able to gather valuable data, which showed that the current changes undergone by Brazilian universities are not only driven or influenced by external factors such as educational and economic policies, and the pressures of the labour market. Rather, these changes have resulted from a combination of internal and external factors. Contrary to what a part of the Brazilian literature suggests, I believe that some members of the academic world welcome the current changes in progress. Some of them are indeed responsible for a part of this process, insofar as some of their practices are encouraging the institutions to make

adjustments so that they can comply with the requirements of current policies and market pressures. Added to this, I also argue that some of the enthusiasm for these changes is bound up with the idea that market-oriented ideology within the university can strengthen some particular sectors of the institution by increasing its income, improving its reputation and extending its influence.

On the other hand, some procedures can be understood as just being activities that are designed to meet the requirements of the educational and economic policies of the country. In other words, although some academic groups are enthusiastic about increasing their involvement with the marketplace, others just do so because they believe it is the only feasible way to cope with the problem of the financial constraints of the institution, and the deteriorating working conditions. With regard to this question, I support the arguments that can be found in the Brazilian literature that these academics are not enthusiastic about having the opportunity to carry out entrepreneurial practices; they are just responding to the external pressures and demands of society. Moreover, I argue that although they are involved in building up an incipient entrepreneurial culture within the academic world, they are inclined to regard it as a "natural" reaction of the Brazilian universities to the current world environment.

This line of reasoning is grounded on Bourdieu's (1989) concepts of symbolic violence, which are more fully explored in the last three Chapters. Bourdieu (1988) argues that within universities there are different categories of power struggle whose purpose is to reproduce and extend the subjective and objective conditions that support them. These power relations result from the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate, or "natural". Hence, although these practices are the outcome of influences and impositions, they are, to some extent, "naturalized", or legitimized in a way that obscures the power relationships that exist between the institutions and government, as well as between academic groups, allowing this process to be successful (Bourdieu 1988; 1989).

In addition, I also seek to identify a movement of resistance, on the part of the academic community, to the educational policies and the rise of an entrepreneurial culture, (which is discussed in the literature). I argue that the decision to resist is not due to a feeling of nostalgia for a particular university model that is being deconstructed. It is mainly concerned with the risk of losing some basic university principles, such as institutional autonomy and academic freedom, as well as the threat that the institution's ability to fulfil its responsibilities to society might be impaired.

It is evident that within the academic world, there is a wide range of conflicting perspectives about the educational polices, as well as their effects on the institution and the academic work. I suggest that these different views are coloured by the particular ideologies and characteristics of the various academic groups of the institution. Furthermore, they reflect the particular practices and procedures that are carried out by these groups. I then argue that the kind of organization that the university is running is the outcome of the tensions and conflicts that these diverse views bring about.

The arguments put forward in this study were grounded on considerable reflection on the analysis of the literature selected and the findings of the empirical data collected. Furthermore, in the course of conducting this research, while working as an academic in a Brazilian peripheral university, I suddenly found myself in a peculiar position, since I was adopting a perspective from inside rather than outside of the subject investigated. I am well aware that although I have struggled to suppress any personal views and conduct an impartial critical analysis within strict parameters, any interpretation risks being distorted by the context in which it is undertaken, as well as by the idiosyncrasies of the researcher involved. The interpretations that I offer correspond to a particular viewpoint that is subject to constant review and reinterpretation. However, rather than being a sign of weakness, this characteristic can enable the researcher to contribute to the evolution of the analysis, and thus lead to a better understanding of the complexity of the higher education institutions.

Furthermore, as already mentioned, this research originated from a feeling of uncertainty about the current context of the Brazilian universities. In

fact, it was initially triggered off by a feeling of unease caused by an undefined sense that "something was going on at the university". The vagueness of this first awareness of the process of change in Brazilian universities meant that this research had to begin by seeking answers to some very broad questions. These included the effects of the current changing Brazilian educational policies on academic work, how Brazilian academics were responding to them, and the nature of the motivating factors that determined the responses of the academic staff to the changes. However, during the research process, these issues have been explored in more focused and precise terms (as discussed in the fourth section of this Chapter). Thus, in the following chapters, it should be possible to discern a process of transition and expansion of the discourses, analysis and interpretations carried out by this researcher. This will be reflected in a movement from general to more specific discussions about the changes of the institutions, and in an attempt to hold a balanced discussion about the different views – both for and against – the educational policies and their potential effects. This will also be reflected in the mode that the various theories used to analyse and discuss the empirical data are presented to the reader along the thesis. Most precisely, although the Chapter three introduces an initial theoretical framework mainly concerned with issues about universities' features and changes, globalization, and academic capitalism, it is complemented in the last three chapters with the presentation of the concept of entrepreneurial university based on Clark's (2004) ideas, Bourdieu's theory of practice and symbolic violence, and the concept of outreach in Brazilian universities. In this way, these various theoretical accounts that form a theory of university change to this study are presented in the specific sections that they are most significant for the analysis and discussion of the particular issues addressed at that moment. By distributing the theoretical framework through the thesis – rather than presenting it at once in a specific literature review chapter – it is hoped that the reader can have a better comprehension of the issues discussed in each section.

1.6 Chapter overview

The next chapters will discuss more fully the ideas briefly touched on here. Chapter Two provides an account of the Brazilian higher education system and focuses on the recent changing process that it has been undergoing. I also analyse the perspective of this process provided in the Brazilian literature and the main conflicting issues in Brazilian universities. In Chapter Three, I explore current changes in higher education systems worldwide. I outline similar trends involving changes, as well as the factors that influence them in different places, and attempt to make some links and comparisons with the particular case of Brazil. In the fourth Chapter, I give an account of the research design and the reasons for adopting the particular methodology used. I also provide an outline of the setting investigated and describe the sample of academics who agreed to take part in this investigation. This was done through semi-structured interviews, which showed their opinions and attitudes to their university.

In the final three chapters, I discuss the issues outlined here in the light of the empirical data collected in the university investigated. While the first chapters analyse the literature and the official documents regarding Brazilian educational policies, the later ones move towards the level of practice and discuss the relationships between the university and the marketplace, the government's influence on institutions, and the attitudes of the academics to them. In particular, in the fifth Chapter, I discuss the academics' thoughts about the current changes their university is undergoing. I also examine the benefits and drawbacks of institutional growth, as well as some of the idiosyncrasies of the different academic groups, and the two main kinds of reaction that they displayed. In Chapter Six, I focus on one of these reactions: the resistance to entrepreneurial practices. I discuss the main reasons for this resistance, and the extent to which it is grounded on left-wing ideologies. Finally, in Chapter Seven, I focus on the other reaction, which concerns the movement of academics into the marketplace. I examine the particular features of this process, in this peripheral university, and the way it mainly takes place through outreach

practices. I also discuss how this is affecting the outreach practices, which are changing from a type of social practice within the university to a means of obtaining financial resources for the institutions and academics.

2. An overview of the Brazilian higher education system

This chapter provides an account of the Brazilian higher education system. I discuss how it came into being and its main characteristics. Particularly, I focus on its recent changes concerning with its expansion, organizational structure, social commitment, and public sponsorship. I also highlight the main issues of the university reform program, which is being carried out by the current federal government. These aspects are examined from the perspective of a body of Brazilian literature on the subject, which adopts a critical stance and is opposed to some of its current tendencies.

2.1 Brazilian higher education system: its beginning and first reform

Brazil's first higher education institutions date from the early 19th Century (Schwartzman, 2002). Higher education courses of engineering, law and medicine, as well as training courses for other professions were set up during the last years of the colonial period, thanks to the presence of the Portuguese court in Brazil (Cunha, 1985). The first official Brazilian university was founded in 1912 at Curitiba, the capital of the southern state of Paraná, but it did not last much more than three years because of changes in educational legislation. Thus, the first proper universities in Brazil were established in the 1930s in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, which were two of the most important states in the country in terms of economic and political power. According to Schwartzman (2002: 63), these institutions were no more "than collections of professional schools, to which it was added a 'faculty of philosophy', which doubled as a teacher-training school and a faculty of sciences and arts". Nevertheless, these universities were of great significance, since they formed the basis of the current Brazilian higher education model. This particularly applies to the "Universidade de São Paulo" (USP), which invited several groups of lecturers and professors from abroad – mainly France, but also Germany, Italy and Portugal. As a result, the newly created Brazilian universities were deeply influenced by French and German

ideas, and the "Universidade de São Paulo" became the leading academic institution in the country (Schwartzman, 1991; Cunha, 1985)

Brazilian universities were born as public institutions free from religious influence but with close ties to the state. They aimed at providing a public service of professional training, and forming the basis for institutional research (Cunha, 1985). In fact, most contemporary scientific achievements in Brazil have their roots in the scientific traditions of the universities founded in the 1930s. Although some subjects such as the biological sciences – mainly related to issues of healthcare and agronomy – had formerly sprung up in applied research institutes, most of others subjects, such as modern Physics and Sociology, started at the "Universidade de São Paulo" (Schwartzman, 1991).

Moreover, it was believed that Brazilian universities should also be active and militant social units, by spreading their intellectual and educational influences and activities to their social surroundings. This feature has given rise to the establishment of outreach activities as one of the main functions of Brazilian universities, especially those that actively participate in the social and economic life of the local community where they are located, or those that do not have significant scientific activities (Silva, 2002).

This social function has been a significant factor in establishing a political setting in Brazilian universities, where a critical stance can be adopted in relation to social reality and government plans and actions. This is a characteristic that has caused conflict between the universities and the state on several occasions. For instance, in the 1930s, during the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas, which was supported by conservative sectors of society, the Catholic church, and military leaders, the "Universidade do Distrito Federal", in Rio de Janeiro, was closed down because it did not conform to the ideology of the government, which was clearly against a university system based on autonomously organized scientific communities (Cunha, 1989; Schwartzman, 1991). Although the scientific and political roles of the Brazilian universities were originally regarded as providing a remarkable degree of institutional autonomy, which has been regarded as an essential feature for the universities to achieve their goals, this has never been

properly established (Belloni and Obino Neto, 2000; Favero, 2000). In fact, the state has always exerted a great influence and control over the universities, which is still one of the main issues discussed in the university reforms currently carried out in Brazil (Brasil, 2004b; 2004e).

Until the 1960s, very few universities were set up in Brazil. They were chiefly located in the most economically and politically influential state capitals of the country, and were basically concerned with scholarly research and an elite teaching (Ribeiro, 1991; Schwartzman, 1991). The first signs of a significant expansion and changes in the Brazilian higher education system took place in the 1960s and 1970s, during the military dictatorship. This process was related to deep structural changes in the social context of Brazil (see Table 1). From the 1950s to the 1980s, there was a rapid increase in the population in large urban centres as a result of agriculture being replaced by a newly extended industrial economy and a rise in the general level of education (Cunha, 1988).

Table 1 - Structural changes in Brazilian society, 1950-1980

	c. 1950	c. 1980
Population in cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants	21.0%	46.0%
Employment in the primary sector	60.0%	30.0%
Technical, administrative, and related occupations	10.0%	19.0%
Industrial employees	13.0%	21.0%
Coffee as a percentage of total exports	60.0%	13.0%
Industrialized products as a percentage of total exports	-	57.0%
Literacy of the people	43.0%	74.5%
People with 8 or more years of education	1.9% (1940)	22.8%
Enrolments in higher education institutions as a percentage of age-band	0.9%	10.0%

Source: Schwartzman (1991: 183)

The relationship of the conservative military government with the scientific community and universities was full of conflicts. In the early 1970s, hundreds of scientists and professors were dismissed from their jobs, and many of them were exiled (Cunha, 1988; Schwartzman, 1991). The most extreme period of political repression took place when a military junta

assumed complete power in late 1968. It was a time marked by censorship, torture, murders and disappearances. It was also a time of many movements of protest and demonstrations against the government's conservative policies. During this period, the Brazilian university provided one of the most significant settings for political resistance against the military regime. Many academics exposed and denounced the abuses of the government; moreover, they organized and participated in demonstrations against censorship, torture and violations of civil and human rights. Many of them lost their jobs and were charged, arrested, tortured or exiled as a result of their actions and intellectual opposition to the military dictatorship (Cunha, 1988; Chaui, 2001).

In the late 1960s, the military government implemented a higher education reform programme that introduced significant innovations. These aimed at improving the structural conditions, and adapting higher education to industrial needs. A part of these reforms was strongly influenced by the American model of higher education (Cunha, 1988). The main outcomes of this programme were: the creation of a public federal university system throughout the whole country (especially in the state capitals); the creation of the "National Post-Graduation Plan" designed to stimulate research and increase scientific and technological output; the establishment of a university model which sought to bring about a unified practice of research and teaching; the formation of departments within the institutions; and a frustrated attempt to create an undergraduate two-year cycle of "basic studies" as a prelude to professional education (Schwartzman, 1991; 2001).

The reforms carried out during the military governments also aimed at increasing the power of the state on the institutions by means of controlling and even repressing academic activities (Schwartzman, 1988). This took place by forbidding the academy to elect its own rectors and directors, which were chosen by the government instead; students' unions were banned; academic writing had to be submitted to censorship boards; and some compulsory subjects with a moral and disciplinary character were set up (Cunha, 1988).

During this period, it was also started a process of increasing the number of higher education institutions that would carry on over the next 30 years. The growth of the higher education system was more significant in the private sector, which created many institutions during the 1970s, and even increased, in a remarkable rate, at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of 2000s. Most precisely, in a period of eight years (between 1995 and 2003) more institutions were set up and places for students created than at any time during the whole history of higher education in Brazil (see Tables 2 and 3). The expansion was supported by government grants and incentive schemes, which were linked to public and private agencies that funded science and technology. This situation brought about an unprecedented expansion of higher education and research institutions during the late 1960s (Schwartzman, 1991; Cunha, 1988). However, the policies during the military dictatorship were contradictory. Although the policies have helped to increase and develop the higher education system, there were also repressive actions on the part of the government at the same time.

At the beginning of this expansion in the late 1960s, Brazil had about 278,000 students in higher education institutions. This number comprised less than 5 percent of the Brazilian population between the ages of 20 and 24. Of these students, 55 percent were enrolled in public tuition-free institutions that were mostly universities. The remaining 45 percent were in private institutions, most of which were independent schools without university status (Schwartzman, 1991). Furthermore, the private sector supplied basic courses related to the humanities, social sciences, business studies and law, while almost all the courses of medicine, engineering and sciences – that required a more expensive structure – were located in public institutions (Schwartzman, 1991; Cunha, 1988). During the next twelve years, from 1968 to 1980, the number of enrolments in higher education grew almost five times, mainly in the private sector. In 1980, Brazil had 1,377,286 students enrolled in higher education; 35.7 percent in public institutions, and 64.3 percent in private ones (Brasil, 1999b).

The growth of higher education during this period was part of the military government's strategy for achieving national development, which

included the participation of academics in several governmental projects. The ambitious list of projects, which were embarked on included: a nuclear program, large hydroelectric power plants, several ambitious road and railroad construction projects and the expansion of the frontier into the Amazon (Schwartzman, 1991). The consequences of these actions, both positive and negative, are still being evaluated. Some positive aspects were the modernization of the country's industrial base and the considerable growth of national income. On the negative side, were the fact that excessive levels of income were concentrated within a few social groups, environmental damage, the depopulation of the countryside and deterioration of urban areas, the growth of state bureaucracy, the squandering of resources on unfinished or over-ambitious projects, and the accumulation of international debts that led to the economic crisis of the 1980s (Cunha, 1988). To conclude, all these outcomes reflect the fact that the uneven distribution of wealth still continues to be a major challenge in Brazil today.

2.2 The military dictatorship's legacy to the Brazilian higher education

The transition from a military to a civilian government was a slow and gradual process carried out by some less conservative sectors of the Brazilian military elite. Some Brazilian social scientists regard it as a kind of "strategic retreat". By 1985, when the dictatorship came to an end, higher education had drifted away from the unified university research model recommended by the 1968 reforms (Schwartzman, 1988). It had become an extensive, complex, and highly differentiated system, whose main characteristics had been established during the military dictatorship. The main aspects of the Brazilian higher educational context were slightly changed between 1985 and 1995, when a new set of university reforms were introduced as a part of state reforms (Sguissardi, 2000). The main changes have occurred from the mid 1990s, mainly because of a new Brazilian educational law endorsed at 1996, and by the policies derived from it such as the "National Plan for Education" (Brasil, 1996; Brasil 1998a). In addition, the increasing importance of education as a criterion of employability in the

labour market, and the small size of the public higher educational sector have led to the upsurge of a profitable educational market in Brazil. As a result, there has been a remarkable growth in the number of higher education institutions in the private sector, which accounted for 70.8 percent of the student enrolments in the country, at 2003 (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2 - Higher education enrolment

		1980	1985	1990	1995	2003
Brazil	Total	1,377,286	1,367,609	1,540,080	1,759,703	3,887,771
	Public	492,232	556,680	578,625	700,540	1,137,119
	Private	885,054	810,929	961,455	1,059,163	2,750,652
University	Total	652,200	671,977	824,627	1,127,932	2,276,281
	Public	403,841	433,957	454,382	598,579	985,465
	Private	248,359	238,020	370,245	529,353	1,290,816
University Centres / Colleges	Total	725,086	695,632	715,453	631,771	1,611,490
	Public	88,391	122,723	124,243	101,961	151,654
	Private	636,695	572,909	591,210	529,810	1,459,836

Source: Brazil (1999b; 2004a)

Table 3 - Higher education institutions

		1980	1985	1990	1995	2003
Brazil	Total	882	859	918	894	1,859
	Public	200	233	222	210	207
	Private	682	626	696	684	1,652
University	Total	65	68	95	135	163
	Public	45	48	55	72	79
	Private	20	20	40	63	84
University Centres / Colleges	Total	817	791	823	759	1,696
	Public	155	185	167	138	128
	Private	662	606	656	621	1,568

Source: Brazil (1999b; 2004a)

The decline in the number of higher education institutions that occurred at certain periods, particularly between 1980 and 1985, and 1990 and 1995, does not necessarily mean that these institutions were closed down. Such a reduction is usually related to the fact that some independent

colleges were merged to form just one institution. Apart from the period between 1980 and 1985, when the enrolments in private institutions decreased – mainly because of the reduction of public investment in the private sector – the number of students kept growing regardless the decrease of number of institutions. The reason for the massive upsurge of private university centres and colleges after 1995 is related to the new Brazilian education law enacted in 1996, which made simpler to set up these kinds of institution than universities, which require more investment in research and qualified professionals.

Table 4
Higher education enrolments in relation to the location: capital/countryside

	1990		2003	
Region	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Brazil	1,540,080	100.0	3,887,771	100.0
Capital	776,145	50.4	1,775,357	46.7
Countryside	763,935	49.6	2,112,414	53.3
North	44,388	100.0	230,277	100.0
Capital	40,332	90.9	155,047	67.3
Countryside	4,056	9.1	75,180	32.7
Northeast	247,198	100.0	625,441	100.0
Capital	168,639	68.2	399,941	64.0
Countryside	78,559	31.8	225,500	36.0
Southeast	869,478	100.0	1,918,033	100.0
Capital	402,596	46.3	791,849	41.3
Countryside	466,882	53.7	1,126,184	58.7
South	286,350	100.0	745,164	100.0
Capital	94,048	32.8	188,879	25.3
Countryside	192,302	67.2	556,285	74.7
Centre-West	92,666	100.0	368,906	100.0
Capital	70,530	76.1	239,641	65.0
Countryside	22,136	23.9	129,265	35.0

Source: Brazil (1999b; 2004a)

Between 1980 and 2003, there was a growth of 182.3% in the number of enrolments in Higher Education. During this period, enrolments in the private sector grew by 210.8%, while public higher education increased by 131%. The most significant increase within this period occurred between 1995 and 2003, when enrolments grew by 121%. Moreover, higher education – both private and public – spread to the countryside, where there was a lack of institutions (see Table 4). Part of this process is due the pursuit of new markets and customers by the private sector. Additionally, it is also related to the attempts of local governments and politicians that seek to improve the skills of the local workforce and the status of the towns where the institutions were set up.

Furthermore, there is a remarkable regional inequality between the southern states – especially the state of São Paulo – and the rest of the country. The southern states are where the dual nature of Brazilian higher education (research and teaching) has been most fully developed. Universities in those states have better structure and facilities such as laboratories and libraries, and also a more qualified academic staff than the rest of the country (Schwartzman, 1991; Brasil, 2004a). Hence, similar subjects and courses have different standards and procedures in different institutions.

In Brazil, higher education institutions comprise universities, university centres and independent colleges. Tuition is free in the public institutions, which may be funded by municipal, state or federal governments, while private institutions can be funded by profit or non-profit making organizations. Universities are supposed to be free from ministerial supervision, and they must have a scientific production, outreach programs and a qualified academic staff – at least, one-third must have a Master's or doctoral degree (Brasil, 1996). Degrees have the same legal status whether they are awarded by universities or other type of higher education institution. Both are considered "university degrees", although degrees obtained at universities still seem to have a higher status in terms of social recognition. The number of academics required to have masters or doctoral degrees was stipulated by the current Brazilian educational law enacted in 1996. This fact has led to an

increase in the number of better-qualified academics in the whole Brazilian higher education system. In 1990, only 36.2 percent of Brazilian lecturers had a master's or doctoral degree. This rate has now improved to 56.8 percent (Brasil, 2004a). Although the private sector has traditionally provided courses related to the social sciences and business studies, recently it has become the main provider of higher education courses in most subjects, even those commonly taught in the public sector because of their high costs (Schwartzman, 2001; Brasil, 2004a).

During the short history of the Brazilian universities, the state has been their most significant sponsor until recently. However, although the number of public and private universities is currently similar, the private higher education sector as a whole has almost eight times more institutions and twice more students than the public sector. Nevertheless, public institutions, even being in small number than private ones, still play a key role in Brazilian higher education. While most of the lecturers in public universities (77.2%) work full-time, the largest part of the lecturers in private universities (81.5%) work part-time. Furthermore, public universities have 61.7 percent of all doctors employed in higher education in the country, while the private ones have only 20 percent. As a result of this situation, practically all the MA and PhD programmes are undertaken by the public universities, especially those in the Southeast and South. Additionally, the public universities are responsible for a large amount of the scientific research developed in the country – about 80 percent (Fapesp, 2002).

Morevover, according to the "National Exam of Courses", the public sector has, on average, better courses, in all subjects, than the private sector (Brasil, 1998b, 1999c, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003). Demo (1996) suggests that the better quality of public higher education courses cannot be attributed only to the fact that public institutions have more qualified academics with master's and doctoral degrees, but also because students are involved in research activities carried out in those institutions. Moreover, the public sector is also responsible for most of the outreach carried out by higher education institutions in the country (Sguissard, 2000; Silva, 2002). Outreach is a key social function of the Brazilian higher education institutions insofar as

they play a significant role in contributing to the social and economic development of their regions.

In short, private institutions represent the biggest part of the Brazilian higher education system. However, they only make a minor contribution to the output of knowledge since they are basically concerned with teaching and training[2]. On the other hand, although the public sector also has an important commitment to teaching and training, it acts with a sense of social responsibility through its research and outreach practices. Despite all this, Brazilian public universities are currently undergoing a period of economic constraints that has driven them to significant changes.

2.3 The "impossible mission" of the university

Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2000) argue that the current educational policies have led the Brazilian university system to economic constraints and an institutional crisis in which the structural system of its organization, bureaucracy and physical conditions has become obsolete. This has challenged the university's epistemological claims to be a social institution concerned with the production and distribution of knowledge. Furthermore, this condition might be preventing institutions from performing its functions properly and achieving its social mission in a satisfactory way. For instance, the Brazilian Confederation of Industry (CNI) claims that universities are currently unable to make an adequate contribution to the present model of society, which constantly needs updated knowledge and information for its development (CNI, 2004). The extent of the university crisis is apparent from the large number of demonstrations and strikes for better salaries and work conditions that have taken place during the last twenty years (Silva Junior and Sguissard, 2001; Buarque, 2004).

The academic world points to the shortage of public funds for higher education as the main reason for this crisis. However, the failure of Brazilian universities to meet current expectations seems to be also related to their

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[2] It is relevant to mention that the Pontifícia Universidade Católica, which has campuses in many cities throughout the country, is the main exception among private institutions in terms of research, insofar as it carries out a significant amount of post-graduate programs.

attempt to undertake too many different functions, some of which are even contradictory. In the recommendations for higher education outlined by UNESCO (1998) and the World Bank (1999), the main mission of the university is to serve mankind through its functions of research, courses of study and training, cooperative activities and formation of partnerships with several social sectors. According to Rodríguez-Gómez and Alcántara (2001: 516),

> higher education is called to make a key contribution to opening up and illuminating new paths towards a better future for society and the individual and to give direction and orientation to that future. [It has] to actively participate solving the main global, regional and local problems (such as poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, social exclusion, exacerbation of inequities between nations and individuals, widening of the gap in science and technology between industrialized and developing countries, and environmental protection), and to work intensely on the generation of proposals and recommendations that promote sustainable human development, the extension of knowledge, universal respect for human rights, equality of opportunities between men and women, justice and understanding between nations and ethic groups, religions, cultures and other groups, in favour of a culture of peace and non-violence and in the construction of intellectual and moral solidarity.

Furthermore, the university also has to be able to create, acquire and apply knowledge through its investigation activities; to educate responsible and active citizens, prepare national leaders, train highly qualified specialists and the workforce, and contribute to the implementation of lifelong learning for everyone; to preserve, foster and affirm cultural identity and diversity, participating in the development of intercultural understanding. Besides that, the university has to work to increase social mobility, and improve local, regional and national economy; to perform services to local community; to collaborate in establishing paradigms for national policies; and to participate in the certification of professionals for highly specialized functions (UNESCO, 1998; World Bank, 1999).

Consequently, it is not surprising that with such a wide range of responsibilities, at times, some of those different functions can be in conflict. For instance, the research role may be in conflict with the task of teaching

because the production of knowledge requires economic, human and institutional resources that cannot always be adapted to the its transmission. In fact, Ortega y Gasset (1992) discussed the probable incompatibility between teaching and research half century ago. In addition, the scientific interest of some researchers may occasionally be directed at not useful areas for the improvement of the economy, especially in the short term.

Moreover, general educational aims cannot always be adapted to professional and specialized training (Santos, 2001). Also, the means of gaining access to higher education – such as entrance exams – can make difficult the social mobility of groups who are economically disadvantaged. In fact, students from the lower socio-economic class often have difficulty in carrying on with their studies because they have to quit their jobs or reduce their working hours (Brasil, 1998b; 2004b).

Even the current social and market needs and demands for more information, knowledge and a better-qualified workforce can contribute for stressing conflicting positions within the academic world. In other words, the society, governments and the productive sectors expect universities to be more open and responsive to current social and market needs, and to make a more significant contribution to the social and economic development of the nation (Barnett, 1990; 2000). This situation can enable values and procedures that have usually been more significant outside the institutions and confined to the productive sector and the marketplace to be introduced into the universities (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Clark, 2004). As a result, this has helped to increase and enhance some qualities that do not correspond with certain traditional aspects of university culture (Barnett, 2003). For instance, external success and the efficiency for productivity are becoming to some extent principles to test the value of the knowledge produced and taught within the academic world. Moreover, universities consist of a multitude of subjects and departments that uphold particular values, ideologies and expectations that can be inconsistent with each other (Becher and Trowler, 2001). Each academic group seems to be mainly concerned with a limited number of these university goals, and thus less involved and attentive to the significance of practices carried out by their

peers. In fact, the university seems to be a jig-saw puzzle whose pieces do not fit with each other.

Although such contradictions seem to be inherent to the own nature of the university, by striving to achieve the range of goals mentioned above, they appear to be currently more evident than in the past insofar as the institutions are being subject to serious state intervention and scrutiny. Quality assurance and quality assessment programs carried out by governments have served to highlight the conflicts of power relations between different ideologies that exist within the institutions (Morley, 2003: 164-171).

The influence exercised by external groups through quality assessment programs, as well as social, political and economic pressures is bringing about changes in power relations in terms of the significance of certain institutional. For instance, Graham (2002) suggests that, currently, several departments and subjects – mainly in the fields of the humanities and social sciences – are being tempted to measure their degree of success in terms of how well they are able to add to the wealth production of the society. As a result, different academic groups, supported by varied ideologies and principles, dispute the dominance of their rationale as the most meaningful or valuable within the institution (Bourdieu, 1988).

2.4 Becoming an entrepreneurial institution?

During the 1980s, a significant decline in state financial support for Brazilian public universities began to take place. Although there was not yet a sharp or remarkable reduction of state funding, a lack of investment set in motion a process of deterioration in public higher education. This caused several difficulties for the maintenance of the institutional structure and activities of the universities, a fact which had an impact on their institutional reputation (Trindade, 1999). In fact, it became usual to say, in daily conversations and even academic articles – such as in Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2000) and Gentili (2001) – that such a process was making the university become "scrappy". In other words, it became "fashionable" to use

such a term to describe public higher education institutions because their organization and structure had deteriorated due to a lack of funds. Inside, they still keep libraries and laboratories, though in poor circumstances, and the lecturers carry on their work in bad conditions with deteriorated earnings. Outside, the dilapidated state of the buildings is apparent as a result of a lack of appropriate maintenance.

Along with the serious problems that several institutions had to cope with in order to carry on working properly, the reduction of public funds has driven the Brazilian academics to react in two different ways. One of them is related to attempts of recovering public financial support through a series of strikes and demonstrations against the government's educational policies. However, the gains obtained through such a strategy were quite small (ANDES, 2003; Buarque, 2004). The other reaction on the part of the academics was to favour a growing and intensifying relationship between universities and the productive sectors through research, counselling and services (Sguissardi, 2004).

Although the links between public universities and private companies aim, in principle, to augment the institutional budget, some Brazilian authors, such as Lander (2001), Cunha (1999), Gentili (2001) and Dias (2003), suggest that this kind of relationship can make universities become more dependent on private funding, and more influenced by the private sector. This external influence may be exerted by means of company control, which determines the types and goals of the research carried out, and even interferes with the curricular structure of some courses through the creation and/or inclusion of optional disciplines designed to meet the companies' needs and specifications. This influence might also be manifested in the academic practice of incorporating market-based characteristics and values, and becoming more entrepreneurial, competitive and aggressive, in seeking external funds to carry out the activities of the universities (Silva Junior and Sguissard, 2001: 269-271). Although there is a lack of empirical data to support the arguments of these Brazilian authors, the tendency to create an entrepreneurial culture within the academic world, and improve links with the marketplace and productive sectors is an international phenomena which is

widely discussed in the literature on higher education (Deem, 2001; Tasker and Packham, 1993; Clark, 2004; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997).

This state of affairs has been regarded by some academics as part of a process of privatisation of the public universities, which can turn them into an instrument of use by the private sector (Trindade, 1999; ANDES-SN, 2003). These perceptions were intensified – and this situation aggravated – in the 1990s, especially during the governments of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Silva Junior and Sguissard, 2001; Gentili, 2001). In 1995, when he became the Brazilian President, a series of measures related to the program of state reform were introduced. These followed the main trends of the previous ten years insofar as they were characterised by a shortage of public funds for universities and provided incentives for the establishment of links with the private sector (Brasil, 1995; 1996; 1998a). However, these policies led to further radical changes and exposed the government's intention to decrease the role of the state as the main provider and sponsor of higher education and scientific research. In addition, these policies also aimed at reformulating the universities' role and procedures by making them more responsive to the needs of the post-industrial labour market and the global economy (Brasil, 1995; Pereira and Spink, 1998).

A part of the argument for imposing restrictions on the process of public financial support is the concern that it is impossible for the state to fund the whole higher education system. It is claimed that it has become too huge and expensive to be sponsored, particularly because of the current economic and fiscal crisis (Brasil, 1995; Silva Junior and Sguissard, 2001: 25-26). Hence, state resources should be re-directed and concentrated on other public priorities. In fact, Carnoy (1999) argues that the state, especially the case in developing countries, does not have enough resources to provide a basic education of a high standard if it also supports higher education. For this reason, the state should concentrate its resources on basic education since public university funds can be replaced by private investments from the productive sectors that have become more dependent on new knowledge and technology, and require a qualified workforce. In fact, such a strategy is

in accordance with World Bank policies (Rodríguez-Gómez and Alcántara, 2001).

In addition, Bresser Pereira (who was Minister of Administration and the State Reform from 1995 to 2002, during Fernando Henrique Cardoso's governments) argues in his document on state reform that most of the public services and organizations – including public universities – should operate in accordance with the free-market's principles. Pereira (Brasil, 1995: 9-13) claims the state should transfer, at least partially, to the private sector the activities that can be controlled by the marketplace in order to liberate the state to concentrate its funds and work on others specific priorities. By orienting public organizations to the marketplace, it could be possible to stimulate an inner competition that would enhance their services' quality, and create the right conditions to face external competition that could lead to an economic improvement and a financial autonomy.

Particularly in the case of the Brazilian universities, competitiveness is to some extent prevented or reduced by means of the public financial support. In other words, Brazilian public universities are not yet subject to the "rules" of the marketplace. It can be argued that constant public support has given too much freedom to academics and institutions to undertake teaching, research and outreach practices whose social significance is questionable, and without being accountable to any kind of assessment that could verify or certify their quality. Demo (1997: 81-82) sharply criticises the "professional protection" demanded by the academics that regard themselves as a "special" category of civil servants, and cannot tolerate being evaluated in terms of their professional performance. This author points out that this characteristic in the Brazilian universities has caused the quality and reputation of the institutions to fall into a state of decay.

With regard to this issue, Pereira (1995) argues that the current constraints of public funds could lead Brazilian universities to acquire market-based features, and increase considerably the internal and external institutional competitiveness. Thus this would lead to an improvement of the quality of the university's services (education, outreach and research). In addition, according to Pereira (Brasil, 1995), such a process would enable

Brazilian universities to achieve real institutional autonomy insofar as it would allow them to manage their property, employees and academic practices properly so as to be more competitive. In his view, autonomy implies in the institutional independence to carry out activities in order to be more competitive in the marketplace (Pereira and Spink, 1998). In other words, autonomy means possessing the managerial freedom to establish effective strategies, which can help to create an enterprising and entrepreneurial culture within universities, and increase the productivity of academics and institutions in accordance with marketplace codes of practice.

However, many Brazilian academics argue that this is a concept that clashes with the traditional idea of autonomy. The National Lecturers' Union (ANDES, 2003) states that university autonomy is a condition that is essential for the institution to produce innovative and critical knowledge, and transmit it through teaching and outreach practices. From this perspective, it is social interests and the inner rationale of the scientific investigation that should drive the production of knowledge. Thus, the value of knowledge and education should be separate from its potential for generating wealth. For this reason, university autonomy should be assured by means of government financial support since the institution may not always be profitable. Furthermore, a change in the concept of university autonomy would also change the character of the university itself, as it would move from being an institution with social responsibility to an institution oriented towards economic production.

Nevertheless, as demonstrated by Velloso (1991: 194-201) and Corbucci (2004: 688-693), a sharp reduction of public funds has been one of the main characteristics of the national policies for higher education during the mid 1990s. This has led to changes in the relationship between the state and the universities.

2.5 Reforming the state and the university

In the 1990s, the educational policies that were designed to reform the Brazilian higher education system were linked to the program of state reform.

Thus, in order to understand the university changes during the last few years, it is necessary to examine the state reforms that were carried out in the same period.

In the "Administrative Plan for the State Reform" (Brasil, 1995), it is declared that the Brazilian state is undergoing a period of fiscal crisis, which involves the whole state structure. According to this document, the rationale that has guided the state's policies has increased government's expenditure, which is the first factor in an economic crisis. In other words, the crisis has arisen because the state model has become overloaded with the responsibility of providing the means for social welfare (such as health and education), and financial backing for capitalist expansion (such as improved transport and communication systems, subsidized energy resources, and research programmes). The combination of these increases has led to problems of fiscal management and placed a burden on budgetary expenditure. In addition, the state has created a heavy bureaucratic structure, which has resulted in administrative inefficiency and further expense.

Such a kind of state crisis is brought about by changes from a rigid to a flexible mode of capital accumulation (Codd et al., 1992). According to Harvey (1992), the flexible accumulation is concerned with more dynamic and changeable markets, consumption patterns, and modes of production within a world context where "time-space is compressed" because of advances in communication and transport. Moreover, Codd and his collaborators (1992) argue that fiscal crises tend to coincide with a crisis in the "legitimacy of the state", since there is a reduction of political popular support for public institutions.

From the mid 1990s, the Brazilian state has been subject to structural and fiscal reforms, which have also affected the public higher education system. The main recommendations of the state reform were the following ones: to remove the state's powers to regulate or interfere with the internal market; to restore the state fiscal balances through a reduction of state expenditure; to facilitate external capital investments by opening up trade opportunities; to encourage the privatisation of some public companies and

services; and to decentralize some federal state services, passing on the responsibility for them to local governments or the private sector – and this included educational services (Brasil, 1995). In short, these practices sought to revitalize the state and the economy by following the rules of the free market.

One of the main guiding principles of the state reforms was to reduce state influence over areas characterized as "non-exclusive state services", which comprise education, research programs, culture, health and social security (Brasil, 1995). It was understood that the state should no longer be the main provider, sponsor and regulator of these services, but act as a kind of supervisor instead. In this way, the state would be able to recover its financial autonomy and capacity to implement public policies, which should be its real function (Pereira, 1996). In other words, the state reforms were heavily committed to a process of privatising state services and institutions, and this could lead to a public reaction against it. To avoid such a possibility, the state's strategy was to convert state institutions responsible for "non-exclusive state services" – such as universities, hospitals, museums, research centres, and the social security system – into a new institutional category called "social organizations" (Silva Junior and Sguissardi, 2001: 31-32).

Social organizations are something totally new in the state structure. They are:

> non-state public organizations, which can be defined more precisely as foundations that have a private legal status, that is, the legal authorization to sign management contracts with the executive power of the state. This means they can, (through the appropriate executive sector), participate in the federal, state or municipal budget (Brasil, 1995: 13) (my translation).

In other words, social organizations can be a hybrid form of institution, having a public and private character at the same time.

In this perspective, universities, as "social organizations", can be free from the shackles of a burdensome state bureaucracy, but under the control and responsibility of their managers and "citizen-customers". Thus, they are

flexible enough to adapt to the competitive rules of the marketplace. Furthermore, this flexibility can enable them to make agreements with the private sector to obtain resources, although the basic financial support is guaranteed by the state. Therefore, they can acquire the real and necessary autonomy to perform their functions, and fulfil their social role. In other words, this process should stimulate the development of enterprising and competitive entrepreneurial cultures within universities. It could also bring about an adjustment in the relationship between universities and the productive sector. Thus, universities can play a more significant role in the economic recovery of the state, and national development. Moreover, this process should affect higher education in the areas of management, curriculum structures and types of courses, social inclusion, and external assessment procedures of standards.

In addition, it should be borne in mind that universities cannot be converted into "social organizations" without their agreement. They should accept the changes willingly. To some extent, this might partly explain the sharp reduction of public funds that occurred during the 1990s. The shortage of money should encourage institutions to accept these changes insofar as a 'social organization', the university is in a better legal position to obtain resources from the private sector. However, a part of the Brazilian academic world was very resistant to this process since they felt it might adversely affect the character of higher education as a public good and a citizen's right, reduce academic freedom, and interfere with its social responsibilities.

2.6 Some voices from the academic world: resistance?

While the government claims that there is a need for a new kind of relationship between universities and the state (which entails reducing public funds and increasing private investment to improve the quality of higher educational services), some Brazilian academics regard it as part of a privatisation process that will lead to the deterioration of the public university. This academic view is expressed by the National Lecturers' Union (ANDES,

2003: 17), which states that the current decline in the condition of public universities

> is the outcome of the official policy of budgetary planning for the public sector. [...] This policy also threatens the development of research, post-graduation programs and the number of sponsorships being offered. [...] The absence of a policy for adequate salaries and working conditions makes a lecturer's career prospects non-existent within public and private higher education institutions. What is more, the current ban on the recruitment of lecturers within the public sector seriously impairs academic performance (my translation).

In other words, the Brazilian Lecturers' Union does not view the government's educational policies carried out during the last years – such as changing universities into "social organizations" – as a contribution to the development of higher education. On the contrary, the Union blames the state for the deterioration of the universities' structure and the lowering of standards in higher education.

As the National Lecturers' Union, a great deal of relevant Brazilian literature also asserts that the government's actions carried out during the last ten years have played an important role in worsening the conditions for academic work because it has resulted in low salaries together with an increase in the lecturer's areas of responsibility, a reduction of investment for research and institutional infrastructure and an increase in the government's powers to intervene and exercise control over the institutions through quality assessment programs, and so on. This has induced higher education institutions to forge links with the private sector, and adopt marketplace procedures and values. For instance, in a research carried out on national policy documents and guidelines for higher education, Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001: 268) claim that "the public sector will change significantly, and thus cause remarkable modifications to the identity of federal higher education institutions, which will become similar to the identity of companies that sell services within the marketplace" (my translation). Although their research focuses mainly on federal institutions, they argue that all Brazilian higher education institutions are geared to become market oriented. Federal institutions will be the first to change because they are directly dependent on

the federal government. Later on, state institutions will change too since they come under the same national educational law.

Other authors also follow a similar line of thought. Trindade (1999) argues that the restriction of public funds impairs the general structure and organization of institutions further. It makes them more market-oriented and strengthens their ties with the private sector since this is the main way they can supplement their institutional budgets. He also claims that this trend also affects the reputation of the institution, and may explain the growth of public incentives and investment in private higher education. Menezes (2000) maintains that these educational policies only serve to reduce the autonomy of the universities – making them dependent on the private sector – rather than establishing a new mode of autonomy as was argued by the government. Chaui (2001) and Moraes (1998) argue that the possible reduction of autonomy can adversely affect the universities' role in fulfilling their social responsibilities since dependence on the private sector can force institutions to achieve outcomes that conform to the expectations of companies and the market rather than to social needs. These authors also claim that the government's recommendations for autonomy will restrict the university's political role by imposing constraints on its critical and intellectual output. Castanho (2000) and Chaui (1999) suggest that higher education may become essentially restricted to professional training, and lose its character of being educationally wide-ranging and a means of training citizens and professionals to act in a critical way to bring about a change in social reality. In their view, the reason for this might be that higher education is strongly governed by utilitarian considerations that give priority to what is useful for wealth creation or can be strictly used as a commodity within the marketplace.

A further point is made by Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001) and Gentili (2001) when they suggest that market-based institutions tend to change the character of education as a public right so that it becomes a private commodity that can be bartered. More precisely, these authors argue that the influence of the marketplace can affect more than institutional practices and academic behaviour. It can affect the whole culture and

organization of higher education, leading public institutions to be and act more as companies and less as educational institutions. This can make the institutions subject to a process of "commodification" and "marketization", which turns education into a "private good". These authors also suggest that these aspects jeopardize educational quality standards. Thus, socio-economic differences can be accentuated, insofar as high-income social groups will be able to afford to study at the better institutions, while unprivileged groups will "consume" mass higher education, which can be, in such a situation, a second-class mode.

In short, these authors basically claim that the state has been 'selling' the public university to private capital as part of the neo-liberal program of the last two federal governments. Indeed, part of the Brazilian literature about higher education takes the form of political manifestos that attempt to defend an (perhaps romantic) idea of higher education as something threatened by "external enemies" – the marketplace, government, and international agencies. In other words, these authors claim that the current educational policies are threatening the traditional concept of the Brazilian higher education system. This concept characterizes institutions as being part of the public heritage, which entails social responsibilities and a concern for cultural and scientific output. These institutions are also responsible for making widespread social, cultural and economic improvements to both the region and the country. In these authors' opinion, the concept of higher education is being threatened by the increasing influence of market values – such as efficiency, performance and entrepreneurial spirit – within the institutions.

This pessimistic overview of the current tendencies in Brazilian universities has led to a series of protests by academics against the national educational policies and guidelines. The documents of the National Lecturers' Union and the Brazilian literature, which have been briefly discussed, here are part of the academic response against the current educational policies. In addition, many strikes have been held against the educational policies for higher education during the last ten years. Buarque (2004: 33), referring to the strikes at the federal universities during the last

twenty years, claims "without these strikes the federal universities might have already closed down or been abandoned."

Although it is clear from the literature – for instance: Deem, 2001; Clark, 2004; Slaugter and Leslie, 1997; Gellert, 1993a – that the reduction of public funds and spread of entrepreneurialism are global phenomena in higher education, there is no mention of a similar kind of manifestation – such as strikes – by the academic world anywhere, except in some Latin American countries such as Mexico. Even authors such as Readings (1996), who gives a gloomy interpretation of this phenomenon, or others like Taylor (1999) and Martin (1999), who describe the uneasiness of academics with regard to this process of change, confine themselves to discussing the process of "academic adaptation" to the entrepreneurial culture, rather than the "academic reaction" against it. This could lead us to believe that it is a particular phenomenon in Latin American – or perhaps other developing – countries.

However, Brazilian literature scarcely mentions how the academic world is adapting itself to this new reality, which is not only influenced by the reduction of public funds, but also by new global trends in the marketplace such as the greater internationalisation of trade and the flexibility of labour (Held, 1998). Nor does it dwell on the social significance of these trends and the way they affect the production of knowledge (Castells, 1996; Gibbons, 1994). In contrast with their international counterparts, Brazilian authors confine their comments to discussing the degradation of institutions. They think that reacting against the 'external enemies' of the university is the most effective means of revitalizing higher education.

Two aspects of the Brazilian literature need to be underlined to understand its silence about this "process of adaptation". Firstly, almost all the authors come from public or private-religious universities located at São Paulo or Rio de Janeiro States, which are some of the best institutions in Brazil (Brasil, 2003), and represent models of higher education for the rest of the country (Schwartzman, 1991). As well as this, these institutions played a significant role as political sites of resistance during the period of military dictatorship (Chaui, 2001; Cunha, 1988). Thus, the academics of these

institutions have traditionally been regarded as a vanguard of social and political movements in defence of progressive and revolutionary ideas. In short, the political positions of academics from these universities have had an influence on the rest of the institutions the country, insofar as they are, sometimes, regarded as an academic elite in a model university. Hence, the expectations and needs, hopes and fears, limitations and potentialities of peripheral institutions are assumed to be the same as those of the central institutions.

Secondly, most of their interpretations and conclusions about recent university changes are, in essence, supported by the findings of analyses of documents of the legislation and national policy for higher education. Some of these authors have also reached their conclusions and 'predictions' on the basis of the outcomes of earlier higher education reforms in other Latin American countries such as Argentina, Chile and Mexico. However, there is a lack of empirical data to back up the views of the lecturers, students and/or employees who are the main actors in this process. There are no voices from the academics themselves to supply information about how the academic world regards the current changes, which have resulted from recent educational policies. These interpretations represent ways that particular academic groups have understood Brazilian university changes from a particular institutional context – although a significant one for the rest of the country. Their point of view is based on particular ideologies, which stand for a particular concept of higher education. Their attitudes are not necessarily the same as those, which can be found in other parts of the higher education system, whose voices have not been included or expressed in the literature analysed.

2.7 Conflicting ideas about the Brazilian university: arenas of power struggle

Although the educational policies implemented during the late 1990s faced resistance from some academic sectors, there is currently a general assumption that the Brazilian higher education system needs to be reformed

and modernized. The current federal government – which came into power in 2003 – has the same issues in its programme for higher education as its predecessor. These include: autonomy and funding; quality assessment; institutional management; improved access and social equity; and the diversification of curriculum and courses (Brasil, 2004b).

However, unlike the two previous governments, it has opted to open up a debate about university reform. During 2003 and 2004, a series of meetings were held between the government, academic sectors and civil and private organizations to discuss and examine suggestions for the development of the current program of university reforms. As a result, the federal government may have reduced academic resistance to the changes since the academic world has had a significant involvement in drawing up the educational policies. Different academic groups and civil and private organizations have different understandings and expectations about both the reforms and higher education itself. Yet, the government is also subject to economic constraints, which prevent it from putting some of the proposals and procedures into effect. Thus, it has become a demanding task to cope with the conflicting features of the university reform.

For instance, although there is a general assumption by the government (Brasil, 2004b), the academic world (Favero, 2000; Leher, 2001) and organizations (ANDES, 2003; CNI, 2004) that institutional autonomy is a necessary condition to make universities able to achieve their scientific, educational and political goals, there is no consensus about what exactly autonomy consists of and what conditions are necessary to ensure that it prevails. Although current Brazilian educational legislation stipulates that university autonomy implies a significant degree of freedom for institutions to manage and carry out their practices (Brasil, 1996), the limited amount of public funds available imposes restraints on these practices. Thus, while some groups regard autonomy as a legal matter and demand greater public investment to assure it, other sectors point out the need to lay down limits and parameters to determine the extent to which universities enhance their quality and make a real contribution to social improvement (Leher, 2001; Chaui, 2001).

Even the idea about what, in fact, constitutes a contribution to social improvement is controversial. Although it seems that all university functions – teaching, research and outreach – are regarded as relevant, there is disagreement about the question of social contribution. This lies in what should be the priority for each institution. In other words, there is no consensus about how much should be invested in different kinds of university services insofar as there is a diversity of institutions, located in places with particular realities and needs. Should some particular institution devote more of its resources on outreach or research? What kind of research or outreach?

In addition, the origin of the funds to assure autonomy and carry out these services is also a matter of conflict. As discussed in a previous section of this Chapter, some academic groups are very concerned about the question of private resources in public institutions insofar as the public institutions could become dependent and dominated by the external agendas of the productive sectors. However, the data collected for this research – which is discussed in following chapters – demonstrates that some academic groups, in contrast to their peers, see partnership with productive sectors as a means to enhance their opportunities and improve the quality of their practices.

To some extent, the conflict about autonomy issues is also related to power struggles for the establishment of a particular concept about university autonomy – as well as, a particular model of higher and university education – which can become dominant or hegemonic in relation to others. Bourdieu (1988) points out disputes within the academic world of universities are concerned with strategies to increase the dominance and/or significance of the symbolic capital of a particular group. In other words, such power disputes aim to validate and enhance the prestige of a particular point of view about a subject, not only to make it the 'winning idea', but also to make it a model that can be reproduced by other social actors. Thus, there is a dispute about how to impose a particular group's definitions of reality (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). In this particular case, it is the idea of university autonomy, as well as, the reality of the Brazilian higher education system. Other conflicting issues arising from university reforms can also illustrate this.

For instance, the model for a quality assessment program – set up by the previous government, and put into effect from 1996 to 2003 – also established power conflicts between institutions and sectors within them. The main instrument of this program was the "National Exam of Courses", which was an exam set to students in the last years of their respective courses (Nunes et al, 2001). The "National Exam of Courses" was designed to be a method to find out the reality of Brazilian higher education and recommend creative strategies for its improvement. However, as it had a comparative character, this led to the formation of a hierarchy of institutions. The institutions that achieved better marks were not only regarded as good institutions but as representatives of a suitable – or ideal – institutional model for higher education (Nunes et al., 2001). Furthermore, the marks obtained in the exam became an instrument to enhance its institutional reputation and started being used as a form of advertising – especially by the private institutions – in order to attract more students and resources from the private sectors. Indeed, as the idea of quality became a universalising metanarrative within the academy and governments, quality programs led to the formation of contexts of power (Morley, 2003).

In the case of Brazil, they laid down standards of competence and efficiency that must be achieved in order to reach or maintain a high reputation, and obtain the benefits that such a status can confer. Although, in the current debates, there is no consensus about how to undertake these kinds of programs, there is a tendency to move from quality assessment to quality assurance (Brasil, 2004b). However, this sort of change in the program might not bring about changes in the power struggles since each side will keep asserting which they believe is the most suitable institutional model for Brazilian higher education.

A further point in the current university reform program is the question of access to higher education and the diversification of the curriculum and courses. These two topics are treated as complementary issues of the same subject (Brasil, 2004b). Three courses of action related to this topic have been undertaken during the last years. Firstly, the curriculum was modified to give more flexibility to institutions to organize their own courses (Brasil,

1998a). Secondly, some institutions have reserved a number of places in their courses for minority groups – such as blacks and indigenous people – from the disadvantaged social stratum – and students from public secondary schools. Finally, a new category of short-time higher education courses was set up which were called "sequential courses" (Brasil, 1996).

These measures aimed at promoting social equity and expanding the opportunities for higher education. For instance, the reserve of places for minority groups has contributes for increasing the number of black students in higher education institutions, although they still comprised only 14 percent of the total of enrolments at 2003 while they represent 45 percent of the whole population of the country (Moehlecke, 2004: 757). However, such a policy of social inclusion is quite controversial and promoted a debate that entails issues concerned with racial justice and higher education quality. In other words, although it is consensual that it is necessary to promote means of access to that part of the population that is still somewhat excluded from higher education, some civil and academic groups are concern about possible damages to the educational standards insofar as the institutions would be receiving students not fully prepared or qualified.

Similarly, the "sequential courses" have been severely criticised insofar as they do not correspond to the traditional view of higher education, which involved unified activities of teaching, research and outreach. The plan to introduce "sequential courses" was designed to offer vocational short-time courses as a sort of lifelong learning to improve the qualifications and skills of the workforce. Segenreich (2000) claims that this course model impairs the quality of higher education since it only provides a professional or technical training and is unrelated to an academic education, which should be main feature of a proper higher education. Moreover, while the public higher education sector was concerned about the possible danger of falling standards, which such courses might entail, the private sector only saw them as a new "educational product" and a chance to swell the number of students in their institutions, and thus boost their incomes. This is noticeable in the fact that at 2003, 87.4 percent of the enrolments in "sequential courses" were in private higher education institutions (Brasil, 2004a).

Hence, the process of university reform runs parallel with a process of dispute between different concepts and perspectives of higher education and university. It is a power struggle that is influenced by aspects of the current social, economic and political context in Brazil and in the world. Financial constraints on the state, the importance of information technology and knowledge in society, the globalization of the economy and culture, and the economic and political relevance of the marketplace and productive sectors all play a significant role in this process. In fact, in this context, there is a dispute between competing rationales about what should be the main ideology that will mould a higher education system wherever it is reproduced.

3. The wider global context of higher education

In this Chapter, I explore current changes in the higher education system in Brazil as a process that has similar tendencies in different places despite of their particular economic, political and cultural contexts. I suggest that the changes are being driven by a complex set of internal and external factors. In addition, a comparison is made with similar changes analysed in the international literature as a way of highlighting the special features of the situation in Brazil.

3.1 Universities in the world at large: patterns of change

Several studies have revealed that radical changes in higher education are taking place throughout the world and not just in Brazil. For instance, Clark (2004) points out that in some European countries, universities have been implementing new management policies based on entrepreneurial practices in the private economy. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) examine similar tendencies in the United States, Canada, UK and Australia, especially with regard to their research practices, which are geared towards the production of outcomes with possible commercial uses within profit-making sectors. Teixeira and Amaral (2001) discuss the significant growth of private higher education in Latin America, Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe, with regard to the diversification of institutions, programmes of study and provision of services. Steier (2003) examines changes in the relationships universities have with the government, society and the marketplace, in several countries. In short, the process of radical changes in several aspects of the universities is a global phenomenon.

Although it is hazardous to generalise about educational systems with different traditions and socio-economic backgrounds, it is possible to outline some common trends that are useful for understanding the current changing process. The main changes discussed by the literature are as follows: a remarkable growth in student numbers, perhaps caused by a shift from an elite model towards a system of mass higher education usually associated

with increasingly diverse institutional objectives and programmes of study (Scott, 1995; Teixeira and Amaral, 2001; Rothblatt, 2000); the decline of state funding for higher education systems and the need for alternative means of financial provision (Woodhall, 1990; Steier, 2003; Taylor, 2003); the establishment of new patterns of intervention by governments, which are now playing a largely regulatory role through quality assurance and assessment practices and require greater public accountability on the part of the institutions (Morley, 2003; Tapper, 2003; Ranson, 2003); the collapse of institutional boundaries and the forging of new links between higher education institutions and society and the marketplace (Jacoby, 1997; Waterhouse, 2000; Barnett, 2000); and the rise, within institutions and among academics, of values and practices derived from the marketplace, which is related to the entrepreneurial behaviour of academics and new institutional managerial practices (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Clark, 2004; Kogan et al., 2000).

These changes are not occurring in isolation but are intertwined with a complex process of change. A particular higher education system is not only expanding or only forging close links with the marketplace. The growth in the number of higher education enrolments generally accompanies the development of utilitarian characteristics within courses and research, which is manifested in the contribution they make to the labour market and the productive sector (Scott, 1995; Jarvis, 2000). In other words, changes in any particular feature of a higher education system both affect and are affected by alterations in others areas of the system (Kogan et al., 2000; King, 2004). However, this does not mean that changes in one sphere immediately trigger off other changes, in a pattern of "cause and effect". Changes related to different features of higher education occur in a reciprocal way which involves a simultaneous form of mutual support.

According to the literature, this process of change is mainly influenced by economic factors and the uses of knowledge and technology in the current social, economic and political climate. Markets break down national boundaries and establish business on a global scale, and this interferes with the culture and policies of local economies (Held et al, 1999; Deem, 2001;

Williams, 2003). These markets rely on technological developments at universities and this affects both the means of production and the value and uses of knowledge in society and the marketplace (Gibbons et al, 1994; Castells, 1996). Moreover, the rise of neo-liberalism as a significant political ideology in the global economy has strengthened market trends (such as competitiveness, entrepreneurialism, performance productivity, utilitarianism and self-regulation), and encouraged their introduction into higher education institutions (Fischman et al., 2003). In short, those changes are largely influenced by aspects of globalization, neo-liberalism, the marketplace, technology and knowledge, which will be more fully analysed in subsequent sections of this Chapter.

Despite the general tendencies outlined above, the policies that share common goals – for instance, increasing enrolment figures or setting up procedures to evaluate the quality of institutions – can result in different outcomes within different higher education systems owing to their diversity of starting-points and economic, political and cultural contexts. For instance, in Sweden, centralised regulation of courses and programmes of study has given way to a policy of placing the responsibility for quality on the institutions themselves, while in the UK, self-regulation has been superseded by regulatory practices that have been implemented by first the funding agencies and subsequently, the Quality Assurance Agency (Kogan et al, 2000). In short, changes can occur through different means and in different areas of higher education.

However, the literature shows that common outcomes have emerged from this changing process and that some traditional principles and practices in higher education, such as academic freedom, institutional autonomy, and the need to play a critical role have been eroded. They have been replaced by new (and anti-traditional) patterns with regard to the exercise of social responsibility and the production of knowledge (Tasker and Packham, 1993; Fischman et al., 2003). Thus, this process does not just involve small changes that have no major effects. As Barnett (1990: 10-12) argues it is affecting the epistemological and ontological assumptions that underpin the

inner rationale of higher education systems, and leading to a system that is entirely new. Scott (2000:1) defines the process as follows out:

> higher education faces radical, even disruptive, change. The university of tomorrow will not simply be an extension of the university of today [...]. Instead the university will be a transgressive institution penetrating, and penetrated by, other knowledge organizations in a new kind of society.

In other words, this process affects and transforms the very aims, mission, procedures, values and culture of higher education. As a result, it can provide us with a new understanding of the "identity" of a higher education institution.

3.2 The expansion of higher education: tensions between quantity and quality

The sharp increase in student enrolment figures is one of the most striking examples of the current changes in higher education systems. In fact, they are growing in most countries. According to a report issued by the World Bank (2002), the rate of young people in the 18-24 ages who are enrolled in higher education institutions globally almost doubled (from around 9 to 18%) in the period 1970-1997. However, the pattern of growth varied in different regions. While countries in Latin America and the Caribbean increased – on average – their rates from 6 to 15% between 1970 and 1997, countries in Southern Asia increased from 5 to 6% during the same period (World Bank, 2002). Moreover, while in OECD countries this rise in enrolment figures occurred in the public sector, in the case of developing and transitional countries it took place in private higher education institutions (Steier, 2003).

The main reasons for this increase are as follows: the foundation of new institutions, the creation of more places for students, the growth and spread of academic programmes, the increase in the number of part-time students, and the development of distance-learning programs (Gellert, 1993a; Scott, 1995; Teixeira and Amaral, 2001). Furthermore, this expansion is usually associated with the rise of mass higher education, especially regarding the extension of the higher education "franchise", changes in the

careers of graduates, the rapid development of information technology, the utilitarian nature of vocational education, and the symbolic value attached to higher education when it is linked to issues of employment.

The rise of mass higher education can be understood as a response to various challenges faced by society, such as unemployment, social equity, and economic development. Official documents of UNESCO (1998) state that it is essential for national development and modernisation, especially in developing countries. It is an attempt to meet the current demands and needs of the labour market which are increasingly dependent on new technology and a well qualified workforce. In other words, mass higher education is associated with the task of preparing the workforce for the requirements of the modern economy. Wilson (2000: 30) states that although higher education institutions have always offered vocational and academic courses, in an elite system, the vocational role is taken on by "higher" professions such as law and medicine, while in a mass system, a much larger percentage of the workforce is being educated at universities. Thus, it is a move towards more utilitarian kinds of education that emphasise employability, and market-orientated forms of organization and regulation.

In addition, mass higher education can be thought of as a way to allow underprivileged social groups further access to higher education, in a process of social equity. This is reflected in the striking heterogeneity of the students with regard to background, age, goals, and commitment (Manicas, 2000). Moreover, mass higher education also favours a greater range of institutions and courses than those of traditional universities (Scott, 1995). Thus, there are democratic and economic driving-forces for expansion.

Thus, mass higher education is not only related to quantitative changes but also implies qualitative modifications of structural aspects of the systems such as the diversification of courses and differentiation of institutional functions and goals, the use of different technologies and methodologies for teaching, and so on. It also represents a rupture with more traditional academic values and traits such as the cultural training of citizens – or the national elite – and an institutional autonomy that is relatively free from external regulations and market or social pressures. On this question,

King (2004: 94) argues that "the rise of mass higher education – critical although it may be for the development of human capital – makes the activities of many universities not that special anymore. Other providers have entered the secret garden and made it less hallowed". Hence, the remarkable expansion of higher education – combined with other changes, such as the creation of stronger links with the marketplace – is the causes of radical changes that affect university procedures and its conceptual foundations.

The expansion of higher education in Brazil has largely arisen from the remarkable growth of the private sector – as was shown in Chapter Two. Although the enrolment figures in the whole higher education system have increased by 182.3% during the last 25 years, the number of places in the private sector has increased by 210.8% during this same period (Brasil, 2004a), only 25.7% of which were created in public institutions. However, despite this, the Brazilian system cannot be characterised as mass higher education since, prior to 2000, only 8% of those in the appropriate age range – or 13.7% in gross terms – were enrolled in higher education courses (Schwartzman, 2002: 74).

However, Brazilian authors, such as Sguissard (2000) and Demo (1996), as well as Rothblatt (2000) and Jallade and co-workers (1993), manifested concern about the quality of this quantitative growth, which is a central issue in expanding higher education, in Brazil and other countries. These authors argue that the growth of higher education raises issues concerning the criteria required to assess the quality of institutions, courses and lecturers. For instance, Sguissard (2000) claims that, in Brazil, the growth of the number of higher education institutions and student enrolment figures is not accompanied by a comparable increase in qualified lecturers, or a suitable physical environment for providing education of an acceptable standard. Evidence for this can be found in the very low marks achieved in the National Examination of Courses, especially in the private sector (Brasil, 1998b; (Brasil, 1998b; 2000, 2001; 2002; 2003). Perhaps in Brazil, the "other providers" referred to by King (2004) are the private organizations that are making a high investment in higher education.

Moreover, current Brazilian educational legislation encourages institutional and functional differentiation (Brasil, 1996).This has severed the traditional link between higher education teaching and research, which has broken down, with responsibilities being parcelled out to different institutions (Demo, 1996; 1997). As a result, each institution takes on a particular role in higher education, with emphasis being laid on research or teaching which includes more specialist activities such as professional training. As Aguiar (2000) points out, this differentiation illustrates that the social role of the institutions has become fragmented, and concentrated on particular tasks in specialised areas. Moreover, differentiation can also favour hierarchical divisions, which can be reflected in the informal social status of the institution and are expressed in terms of the influence that an institution has on the allocation of funds within a particular higher education system (Jallade et al., 1993; Kogan, 1993; Wilson, 2000).

In the opinion of some Brazilian authors, such as Catani and Oliveira (2000) and Gentili (2001), these factors also reproduce market-oriented values, since they intensify divisions in the labour-force and encourage specialization aimed at meeting immediate needs through specialised training rather than providing a broad education. As a result, this division of different categories of higher education institutions may accentuate social divisions instead of creating social equity inasmuch as different kinds of higher education have different educational and social aims, and serve different socio-economic groups, while reinforcing and maintaining their social and economic differences.

In the 1990s, these issues encouraged the National Lecturers' Union to introduce a scheme of a "single standard of quality" to the Brazilian higher education system in an attempt to avoid procedures for assessing quality that are based on multiple and perhaps contradictory principles (ANDES, 2003). Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001: 149-151) point out that this scheme does not aim to inhibit or harm regional characteristics, but to lay down standards that prevent higher education programs of a low standard from being run. On the other hand, quality assessment and assurance procedures can foster hierarchical divisions and cause distress to academics. For

instance, Morley (2003: 78-87) points out that quality assurance in the UK has been a source of anxiety to academics, since the commitments and responsibilities they entail impose new tasks and an excessive workload on the teaching staff. At the same time, the nature of their activities and even their profession is being changed. Similarly, in Brazil, the recent practices of quality assessment have also led to policies of overloading that change the nature of the profession, and cause frustration within academia (Belloni, 2000).

Additionally, quality criteria have also become significant in making decisions about the allocation of resources within the higher education system. Hence, quality assessment and assurance play an important role in exercising power both internally (among sectors within institutions) and externally (between the institutions and the state) (Morley, 2003). In Brazil, the internal power relations of academia are significant in adapting practices undertaken by the academics or in settling conflicts. What is more, in Brazil, the results of quality assessment are drawn on by advertisers to attract students to the increasingly competitive "higher education market", particularly in private institutions (Segenreich, 2000). Thus, quality assessment may be proving more useful for institutional publicity than institutional improvement. Finally, it is more than a way of making higher education institutions publicly accountable, or ensuring high standards. It is a key factor that affects policy-making with regard to the structure, organization and responsibilites of institutions, and thus takes part in the current changes that are creating a new idea of university, which reflects in its identity, mission and practices.

3.3 Universities and the marketplace: tensions between public and private ideals

As discussed earlier, the current expansion of higher education can be partly attributed to the labour market's increasing need for a better qualified workforce – although issues about social equity and economic development also have a bearing on this growth. To some extent, it is one of academia's

attempts to meet the expectations that society and the productive sector have on the higher education system. Moreover, this expansion has also helped establish links between higher education institutions and companies, and enabled them to exchange knowledge, working-methods and values. As a result, this has affected the university's practices so that they are more suited to the needs of the productive sector.

One of the evident outcomes of this relationship is the "corporate universities" (Jarvis, 2001), although they may not be described as universities in a strict sense since they may not possess some of the qualities that, according to Barnett (2000), have traditionally characterized universities, such as a critical interdisciplinarity, collective self-scrutiny, and communicative tolerance. Despite lacking these features, "corporate universities" are a good example of the increasing influence that universities and the productive sector are currently exerting on each other. More precisely, some academic practices have shifted towards private organizations while there is also a reciprocal movement of values and procedures from the companies and marketplace to universities. For instance, Tasker and Packham (1993) stress the presence of market-oriented procedures and values such as entrepreneurialism, competitiveness, usefulness and performance within academia. Such values and procedures – which are related to what Barnett (2003) calls "pernicious ideologies" – might be helping to undermine and replace the traditional epistemological, ontological and communicative assumptions that caused universities to be regarded as valuable social institutions. In short, higher education is becoming more market-oriented.

Furthermore, the change is accompanied by a reduction in public funding, which has made higher education institutions more vulnerable to the economic power structures of society, with the private sector partially replacing the state as the main sponsor of some university activities, particularly research (Jarvis, 2001), since the productive sector is increasingly dependent on technology, information and knowledge. Etzkowitz (2001: 147-150) argues that although companies are increasing their participation and sponsoring a certain amount of university research, the

state still plays a significant role in funding many university activities and also supporting their institutional structures. Thus, in some cases, companies can even benefit from the use of expensive facilities, such as laboratories, which are not completely maintained by them. In other words, the former bilateral relations between universities and the state and, more recently, between universities and companies seem to be moving towards a triple set of links, which Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz (2001) call the "triple helix".

Nevertheless, the influence of the marketplace on higher education institutions is not confined to their research functions. It also affects teaching, outreach, and management procedures, as well as the academic culture (Tasker and Packham, 1993; Barnett, 2000). It is not entirely surprising that higher education is becoming more market-oriented since the institutions have always played a kind of functional role for their sponsors throughout their history. In other words, this process of increasing private sponsorship to higher education can intensify the power and control of private companies over the institutions. It tends to make them more utilitarian in their practices.

In Brazil, this can be seen, for instance, in the move by the state towards decentralization and privatisation of public companies and services, as was planned – and partially carried out – by former Brazilian governments (see Chapter Two). It is also witnessed in the development of vocational courses (sometimes combining traditional disciplines with applied areas), which are increasingly geared towards the immediate needs of the market and employment requirements. For instance, some institutions have lately set up first degree courses such as "Biomedicine and Information Technology", "Culinary", "Hotel Management", and "Chiropractics" (Universia, 2007).

In addition, the current Brazilian educational law, endorsed in 1996, allowed a type of short-time course to be set up, called "sequential courses" which were designed to cater for the most immediate needs of the market. They have two main aims. First, they should act as lifelong learning courses that would update and complement the education of people who had already finished their higher education studies (Brasil, 1996). Secondly, they offered a new kind of higher education degree that, although of a lower academic status, could be accepted by the labour market (Brasil, 1999d). In this way,

they were a rapid means of training a workforce to meet immediate market needs. These short-time courses were a significant innovation in improving the Brazilian higher education system.

However, public institutions have been resistant to setting up "sequential courses", since they are regarded as an incomplete form of higher education and, thus inappropriate (Segenreich, 2000). Another reason is that these courses are not state-funded but must be paid for by the students themselves. Although "sequential courses" can become an alternative source of income for public institutions, they are regarded with suspicion since there is a concern that this "alternative financial resource" might end up becoming a "necessary financial resource" to complement the already insufficient public funds (Segenreich, 2000). In other words, they are viewed by academics as a device to hasten the process of privatising the Brazilian public higher education system, which lead to the "commodification" of education.

Moreover, according to Segenreich (2000), many private institutions have been exploiting the law and set up a large number of cheap short-time courses of dubious quality to cater for a large number of people who are "desperate" for access to any kind of higher education. This wish for a higher education degree is mainly due to its importance as a means of obtaining employment. Added to this, financial constraints make it hard for most people to afford the tuition of regular courses in private institutions. This fact, as well as the short supply of places in tuition-free public institutions and their very competitive entrance examinations, makes very difficult for most of the population to study at all. Thus, these short-time courses became an attractive alternative for many people to have a chance to improve their knowledge and skills and thus have a better chance to improve their job prospects.

The Brazilian private higher education sector has taken advantage of this large number of "consumers" eager for higher education and are providing this "much-desired commodity" – by 2003, 87.4% of these "sequential courses" were being run in private institutions (Brasil, 2004a). The competition for students among the private institutions has helped higher

education to become a very profitable business, that is operating more and more in accordance with market procedures and values, within a competitive "educational market" (Trindade, 1999; 2001).

In Brazil, the links with the marketplace also affect outreach activities, and can shift the university's priorities away from the needs of the communities towards the interests of the private sector, which regard them as a chance to boost their income (Silva, 2002). Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001: 166-168) argue that Brazilian academics have been incorporating market-based characteristics, and becoming increasingly entrepreneurial and competitive, in seeking external funds to carry out their activities. According to these authors, this would be happening mainly through service contracts and partnerships with private and state companies, and commercially worth researches.

The increasing links between Brazilian universities and the marketplace can be understood as partly resulted from the current Brazilian educational policies. As discussed in Chapter Two, the "Administrative Plan for the State Reform" (Brasil, 1995) stipulates that there should be a reduction of state resources for public universities and the money re-allocated to other public priorities. The universities should take on new managerial responsibilities similar to those of private organizations and be subject to "market regulations". Although this policy has failed to transform Brazilian public universities because of resistance within the institutions, the decline in public funding has had a significant effect on both institutions and lecturers, as has been shown throughout this chapter.

The resistance to the changes set out in the educational policies is based on a belief that they may lead to a process of institutional privatisation within the public universities of Brazil. Although the policies have the declared aim of improving improving universities' competitiveness and autonomy, and thus enhancing their activities, some Brazilian authors, such as Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001) and Gentili (2001), claim that since the mid 1990s, national educational policies together with their economic guidelines, have sought to induce lecturers and universities to become more involved in the market. As discussed in Chapter Two, a significant part of the

Brazilian literature suggests that the influence of the marketplace on higher education can have very harmful effects on the practices, organization, and social responsibility of the institutions, since it encourages them to be more responsive to profit-making market expectations than to social needs. Hence, market influences can also affect the social mission of higher education institutions.

3.4 For and against changes: inner tensions

The process of change has led to different expectations and reactions among academics. Some of them regard it as a chance to improve their professional practices or the social status of institutions, since it means they can play a more significant role in social and economic development (Pereira and Spink 1998; (Clark, 2004). For instance, the expansion of higher education systems can be understood as a process of democratizing higher education since it facilitates access to education and, thus improves the employment prospects of ordinary people (Scott, 1995).

On the other hand, the current changes have led other academics to have a pessimistic view of the future of universities. Some of them are concerned that closer alliances between universities and companies will bring about the erosion of academic freedom and institutional autonomy, since as Cowen (1996, 2001) maintains, this kind of association can make institutions increasingly controlled by external agendas and thus they devote less time to their own priorities.

These relations may also affect the degree of support for some types of basic research, since it is not immediately apparent that it will result in the creation of commodities and wealth production (Tasker and Packham, 1993). In fact, Slaughter and Leslie (1997: 116-119) have perceived a limited amount of funds for basic natural sciences, social sciences and humanities research. In other words, research funds can tend to be concentrated in areas that can be utilised for strategic national goals and economic development. Additionally, some Brazilian authors, such as Chaui (1999; 2001), Catani and Oliveira (1999b), and Belloni and Obino Neto (2000),

manifest their concern about the possibility of a decrease of the intellectual output that is non-profit making, which can sometimes be attributed to criticism of the current social context and political decisions.

These different views about the changes in the higher education system reflect the diversity of the academic world insofar as it consists of several groups with particular characteristics, ideologies, and practices (Becher and Trowler, 2001). Furthermore, the idiosyncrasies of each group – which tend to be reproduced within particular academic sets (Bourdieu, 1977; 1988) – also influence their understanding of what a higher education institution is, what its priorities should be, and how it should attempt to achieve them. Thus, it is not surprising that different academic groups have different attitudes to the current changes.

In Brazil, the concern about the possible adverse effects of the current higher education reforms is perceptible in some of the metaphors employed to describe the way they harm the higher education institutions. For instance, Menezes (2000) says the "university is besieged", Gentili (2001) states the "university is in darkness", and Chaui (1999) and Trindade (1999) claim the "university is in ruins" – which echoes the title of a book by Readings (1996). These metaphors suggest that apart from causing unease and uncertainty, the reforms make some academics feel certain nostalgia for a "golden age" of the university – which somewhat was made up of a community of scholars – rather than being the preserve of entrepreneurial academics concerned with producing knowledge which is "profitable". Other Brazilian authors, such as Cunha (1999) and Sguissardi (2000; 2004), express a concern that goes beyond disillusionment with an idealistic view of university. They feel that the links being forged with external social groups may be restricted to particular economic groups to the detriment of society as a whole, and that this will make the universities less committed to social issues.

However, despite this concern, there is not enough information about how institutions are coping with the external pressures brought about by the changes. Basically, this literature states that the neo-liberal educational policies of the last fifteen years have attempted to introduce changes that were detrimental to the Brazilian higher education system. This view is

largely due to some kinds of pressure on higher education institutions, such as the reduction of state funding – described by Afonso (2001) – that would compel them to accept a partial privatization of public institutions (Silva Junior and Sguissardi, 2001: 45). For this reason, some Brazilian authors argue that academics should take a firm stand against those policies. In fact, there have been reactions against the current changing process – such as the strikes at public universities in Brazil mentioned by Buarque (2004: 33) and Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001: 136). However, it is clear from the literature that current changes are moving higher education systems as a whole towards a market model of governance with an emphasis on utilitarian research and training.

Although many Brazilian authors describes a pessimistic scenario as the result of the current educational policies and request an attitude of resistance against them, the empirical data of my research – which is analysed in the last chapters – bears testimony to the fact that a part of Brazilian academia is keener on some of the changes advocated in these policies than the literature seems to suggest. Some academics, despite their misgivings about the process, take advantage of the opportunities the policies provide. They are already involved in some entrepreneurial practices that are in part responsible for some of the institutional changes. This suggests that changes in higher education are not only the outcome of external pressures. Rather, they result from complex relations between internal (academic) and external (social, governmental and market-framed) influences, which also includes the sometimes conflicting demands and needs of different kinds of stakeholders – students, employers, research sponsors, and so on. In other words, there are internal forces that welcome the changes, a fact that is ignored by most of the authors who basically think the situation as produced by "attacks" from outside, by both the government and economically powerful corporations.

Despite the presence of some market-like practices carried out by some academics, it is not possible to say that universities as a whole are becoming more entrepreneurial as is presented by Clark (2004). Usually, Brazilian institutions do not have official policies or guidelines that incentive

such mode of practices. They take place because of the interests of particular academic groups that already have entrepreneurial characteristics. In fact, institutions seem to have their staff divided into two sets of academics, each reacting in an opposite way to the current polices. One seeks to resist the policies and force the state to increase public funding for universities. The other attempts to exploit the situation and engage in market-like practices, which resemble the academic capitalism mode described by Slaughter and Leslie (1997) (both modes of reactions will be more fully examined in the last three chapters).

3.5 Higher education institutions as companies?

Particularly concerned with the effects of the marketplace's influences on Brazilian peripheral universities, Slaughter and Leslie's (1997) ideas of academic capitalism make a significant contribution to our understanding about the current process of changes that Brazilian higher education institutions are subject to. Although the Brazilian authors mentioned above do not relate their discussions to this concept, their analysis suggests that part of the public Brazilian higher education system shares features of this concept.

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) define academic capitalism as a condition in which academics of universities perform their work – mainly research and consultancy – within a very competitive environment, aiming to obtain external funds to undertake their activities. More precisely, academic capitalism is the "institutional and professional market or market-like efforts to secure external funds" (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997: 209). Additionally, university employees that are involved in such a context – pursuing private sector funding and adopting market-like behaviour – tend to be "academics who act as capitalists from within the public sector; they are state-subsidized entrepreneurs" (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997: 9). Thus, although these academics are employed by the public sector, they tend to become increasingly autonomous from governmental and even institutional dependence as they strengthen their links with companies that can become

the main sponsors of their activities – mostly research. In other words, the concept of academic capitalism describes the academic procedures that take place within a system formed by the relations among higher education institutions, state and companies, which is nothing more than the triple helix relationship described by Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz (2001).

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) developed their arguments about academic capitalism by carrying out investigations into the changing context of the academic work of research-intensive universities in four industrial countries: the United States, Australia, the UK and Canada. They explored academic capitalism by examining their national policies on higher education, the decline of financial funding from the state and the extent to which academics engage in the market.

These authors provide explanations of why the academic work and the organisational characteristics of universities are currently changing as the result of political and economic changes related to globalisation. According to Slaughter and Leslie (1997), in the current economic and political climate, the state plays a minor role as a regulator of the national economy while strengthening the self-regulation of market forces to increase productivity and improve the national economy. As well as this, it emphasises the growing importance of science and technology which are closely linked to the marketplace, in production and innovation. In other words, the intellectual property for the development of science and technology are strategic for the wealth production of companies and nations. Moreover, Slaughter and Leslie (1997: 15-16) claim the public resources devoted to higher education institutions has been declining. Although not in terms of absolute values, there has been a perceptible reduction of public funds when the amount needed to match the increasing number of enrolled students is taken into account, as well as the resources required for the maintenance and improvement of institutional structures to carry out the increased number of activities.

As a result, Slaughter and Leslie (1997: 208-214) conclude that such a scenario influences higher education systems in such a way to bring academic practices in line with the importance of knowledge for the economic

development. Academics are pressed to forge closer links with the marketplace and the sphere of profit so that they can maintain or increase the resources of their institutions. Thus, the institutions, and their research and education practices are led to adopt procedures that are similar to those of private organizations and their commercial approaches. This means that, the financial constraints on public income can be a significant factor in providing an incentive for academics to act as enterprising and competitive entrepreneurs.

Nevertheless, although Slaughter and Leslie's (1997) arguments are very persuasive, they do not seem to have substantial empirical evidences to strongly support their claims. Despite their work on the policy documentation and information regarding the public and private universities of the four countries chosen, they only gathered empirical data through interviewing 47 scientists and administrators from one of the four countries they set out to investigate and compare. Unfortunately, the data obtained from the interviews was the one that actually fully addressed many of the research questions they intend to answer.

In addition, although, in addressing the question of external resources, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) drew attention to other forms of academic practices – such as service contracts, consultancies to industry and government, and the recruitment of more and higher fee-paying students – their main focus was on market-related research and the market-like practices of entrepreneurial academics involved in the marketplace. These authors aimed to test their assumptions by choosing a best-case scenario, in such a way that a no involvement of research academics that works at potentially highly favourable conditions could imply that academics of less advantageous places would likely not be engaged in the market. Therefore, there is not a parallel investigation of the work of academics from other higher education models, which could lead to further questions and conclusions about the effects of the tendencies of globalization on higher education. In other words, their investigation does not provide enough support to suggest that institutions with a less favourable research structure would have similar answers to constrictions of public funds.

The importance of this is apparent when the empirical data of this research is taken into account, since it provides evidence to suggest that in contexts where the research practices are not well established – such as the case of the Brazilian peripheral universities – academics become involved in the market through other types of activities than research, such as outreach. For instance, although the public peripheral universities in Brazil – like the one investigated in this research – are still in an initial phase with regard to research practices, the academics from these institutions can be increasingly involved in the marketplace through services which they can sell to private and public organizations as a way to increasing the financial resources of the institution. These services mainly consist of consultancy, direct professional work – for instance, the provision of language classes, facilities for sports practices and chemical analyses of water and soil – and even paid post-graduation courses[3]. The services – even the post-graduate courses – are sold directly to companies, public organizations and other customers and are usually included within the category of the university's outreach practices.

Additionally, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) basically relies upon the funds constriction as the factor that works for making academics to develop entrepreneurial practices. However, the findings of this research suggest that academics' personal interests also play a relevant role for moving them into the marketplace, such as the improvement of personal and institutional prestige, the development of the professional career, and the possibility of using the resources and the expertise acquired in such practices to develop new teaching and further outreach and research activities. Although Slaughter and Leslie (1997: 121-137) mention such aspects, they are considered as outcomes from academic capitalist practices rather than factors that can reinforce the wish of becoming more proactive.

In spite of the reservations outlined above, the ideas of academic capitalism are worth examining to understand the current changes of the Brazilian peripheral universities insofar as they focus largely on changes in

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[3] It should be remembered that first-degree courses in public Brazilian universities are tuition-free. Public universities can charge some post-graduation courses – mainly specialization courses, which are explained in Chapter Four – because of "gaps" in the Brazilian legislation. Although most universities usually charge this kind of course, many people regard this as illegal or, at least, unethical.

academic procedures rather than on providing a reconfiguration of institutional policies and management. This is compatible with the Brazilian case since some lecturers are engaged – or keen to engage – in market-like practices even though their public universities carry on operating in a traditional mode since they have opposed to the managerial changes proposed in the "Administrative Plan for the State Reform" (Brasil, 1995), which would facilitate the public universities to work in an entrepreneurial mode.

Although Slaughter and Leslie (1997: 151-159) also present the incorporation of entrepreneurial practices by academics as the result of managerial decisions taken by institutional administrative unities, the presence of the academic capitalism does not necessarily imply the transformation of the whole university into an entrepreneurial institution. In other words, academic capitalism is not a university mode. It is a market-like academic behaviour that can exist even within non entrepreneurial institutions. Therefore, academic capitalism can be understood as both the mode of action of some groups working within a traditional academic university and the modus operandi of an entrepreneurial university as those described by Clark (2004).

Clark (2004: 77-90) identified five features in universities that support entrepreneurialism. First, they have a "diversified funding base", which obviously means a range of financial resources. As well as the usual state funds, universities can increase their budgets by conducting research and selling different types of services to clients that may come from private or public organizations. The second feature is a "strengthened steering core", which implies adopting managerial practices that enhance the authority and responsibility of the academic departments. This implies making departments and faculties more autonomous, and giving scope to their entrepreneurial endeavours by establishing more direct partnerships with public and private organizations that are interested in buying their services and research findings.

Another element pointed out by Clark (2004: 77-90) is an "elaborated developmental periphery", which involves establishing administrative sectors

aimed at increasing the number of partnerships so that institutions can extend and go beyond their borders. It also comprises academic unities very attentive and responsive, in terms of research and training, to the external needs and expectations. The fourth feature is "stimulated heartland academic departments". Since the potentiality for developing enterprising actions is unevenly among the many university's fields, there will be sectors that engage in entrepreneurial activities faster than others. For instance, Clark (2004: 88) suggests that departments of sciences and technology have better chances to become entrepreneurial than humanities and social sciences. Therefore, it is necessary internal policies that motivate those less proactive departments to engage in market-like practices by creating their specific tradable services in order to increase their budget.

The final aspect of entrepreneurial universities is an "integrated entrepreneurial culture", which is related to the last feature mentioned. This is about spreading the principles – such as competitiveness, usefulness, profitability and effectiveness – that provide support and guidance for entrepreneurial behaviour and practices throughout the institution. Despite the particularities and autonomy of each university unity, the active participation of the whole institution is necessary to make it work properly and achieve financial self-reliance. Clark (2004: 176-177) states that becoming an entrepreneurial university depends less on the decisions of central administrative bodies, than on the effective involvement of the academic staff. In short, academics in general should embrace the ideas of entrepreneurialism and make it a common academic characteristic within the institution.

An entrepreneurial university is thus an institution that pursues financial autonomy by trading the services of its departments. This is made possible by the presence of an entrepreneurial culture that is spread throughout its departments and which stimulates its academic staff to carry out business-like practices so that they can compete for markets with profitable academic commodities (research projects, consultancies, training and so on). In addition, these market-like procedures (when supported by this kind of entrepreneurial culture) can be understood as embodying the

academic capitalism outlined above. Although an entrepreneurial university should possess academic capitalist – or entrepreneurial – practices as an intrinsic characteristic in order to work properly, academic capitalism can also be found in localized sectors within institutions that operate in traditional modes.

In fact, the empirical data of this research suggest that entrepreneurial practices occur within particular sectors of universities that deliberated opted not to be entrepreneurial ones. Such a decision is related to the refusal to become "social organizations" as proposed by the "Administrative Plan for the State Reform" (Brasil, 1995) (see Chapter Two). For this reason, Brazilian public universities cannot become entrepreneurial, as presented by Clark (2004), inasmuch as they face legal restrictions. In fact, the bureaucracy and laws make the relations between public universities and companies somewhat unfeasible. Contracts between them are made possible by the involvement of intermediate commission agencies called University Foundations, which can legally set up commercial links with public and private organizations (Leher, 2004: 885). Although University Foundations are independent agencies, they are partly linked to universities since they are created by such institutions, and ruled by the academic staff in order to legally allow and manage the trade of university services with external customers. It can even be said that the establishment of such agencies is a way that universities have found to "get round" the legal restrictions and allow relationships to be established with private organizations.

Besides legal barriers, public universities also face an ideological resistance to become entrepreneurial. Some Brazilian authors, such as Gentili (2001) and Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001), suggest the pursuit of external funds can shift the institutional focus away from society to particular groups that can afford the academic services, and thus affect negatively the universities' social responsibility. Moreover, although academic entrepreneurialism can bring greater financial autonomy to the university, it can also constrain academic freedom if academics devote their energy to profit-making and commercially feasible activities rather than to those that will

serve their own interest, or have a social relevance unrelated to making a profit.

Unlike the academics opposed to forming relationships with private companies, others are keen to establish these ties because they do not think their academic freedom is threatened by the companies' interests. They believe that private investments could offset the shortage of public resources that restrict their professional activities. Moreover, the research and services that they are already carrying out can be of value to the companies. In other words, private organizations would not prevent them from undertaking their practices since their interests correspond with the companies' needs. Thus, far from being a restriction to the commercially-minded academics, these links can act as a stimulus.

Thus, academic capitalism is a controversial practice within Brazilian public universities since different academic groups have contradictory points of view about it. Although academic capitalism is still an incipient practice in Brazil, its presence can be thought as dividing the academia into two main groups that support conflicting opinions about the mode that universities should operate, and their institutional roles. Still, such a division set up a tacit tension between academics that bear different views, and plays a relevant role in the changes that are modelling the contemporary university. However, most of the literature interprets academic capitalism as a phenomenon that has been forced on the university by external agents (the government and the marketplace), and neglect the inner appeal of entrepreneurialism, which is related to those academics that are keen to work – or already act – entrepreneurially because of their professional interests, and the nature of their academic practices.

3.6 External sources of change: globalization, neo-liberalism, and the marketplace

According to most of the literature, globalization is generally regarded as partly responsible for the current changes in higher education systems. For instance, Deem (2001; 2003) and Shattock (2005) point out that the

expansion of the global economy, together with social and cultural advances are often mentioned as significant factors in new forms of institutional managerialism and academic entrepreneurialism in higher education systems. Delanty (2001) states that globalization affects the university's production of knowledge, which is becoming more closely tied to the marketplace. Scott (1995) stresses that global markets have helped to establish mass higher education systems, which are economically important for training a more qualified workforce.

However, globalization is a very controversial concept. It can mean different, even opposing, processes and ideological discourses. It can be understood as a process of homogenisation that focuses on similarities. In contrast, it can highlight local aspects that tend to resist external influences. It can also be seen as a means of increasing social inclusion and extending human rights. At the same time, it is also regarded as being responsible for causing inequity and social exclusion because of a lack of technological resources and human capital in some places. While it is suggested that globalization affects nation states by decreasing their role in the economy, it is also claimed that states keep their power by playing new roles (Beck, 2000; Held et al, 1999). Nevertheless, despite these different perceptions, there is a general consensus that globalization refers to the organization of rapid flows of capital, information, values, culture, people and networks across the world largely as a result of current informational technology.

Economically, globalization usually refers to the development of global markets that are controlled by international corporations with states acting less as service-providers and more as regulators of competing interests between different social groups. This means that states have to deal with the power struggles between local economic and political actors and trans-national companies. Thus, states operate internationally to regulate their internal markets in accordance with the requirements of the worldwide economy (Held et al, 1999: 177-184). Moreover, states play a significant role in addressing contemporary worldwide issues such as sustainable development and human rights (Fischman et al, 2003).

Culturally, globalization is often thought as the increasingly invasive influence of western "consumer culture" through means such as television, pop music, cinema, tourism, the internet and so on. This tendency towards "cultural domination" is usually regarded as a process of Americanisation (Held et al, 1999: 370-374). Beck (2000: 148-149) suggests this tendency can result in two contrasting outcomes. It can lead to the formation of homogeneous cultural and social patterns, or alternatively, it can revitalize local cultural features, and thus bring about cultural diversity.

These effects are associated with the current technological context insofar as a part of this process has become possible on account of new technology – especially that related to information, communication and transport. To a significant extent, these new technologies have stimulated new modes of learning and cultural behaviour, as well as supplying the current professional skills required by the labour market (Castells, 1996; Jarvis, 2001).

Globalization challenges and affects different aspects of higher education systems, including academic culture and work, as well as the identity, practices and roles of universities (Marginson, 2000). More precisely, three aspects of globalisation have had a significant impact on higher education. First, the development of new information technologies has helped to create new modes of production and uses of knowledge both in everyday life and in the marketplace (Castells, 1996; Gibbons et al., 1994). It is not only the production of goods and the selling of services that need professionals who can master more complex types of knowledge, but also consumers need them so that they can make use of these products and services. In other words, handling more complex types of knowledge is currently becoming a part of the general routine of ordinary people, and also an important criterion for entering employment since the present nature of knowledge is engendering new trends and practices in the marketplace (Stehr, 1994).

Castells (1996) points out that the means of production and movement of capital throughout the world are assisted by the uses and management of communications systems and new forms of technology that require a skilled

workforce able to master complex forms of knowledge. This kind of workforce is what Jarvis (2001) calls "knowledge workers". They are the creators and manipulators of the information and knowledge that have stimulated the growth of the post-industrial and post-service global economy. For this reason, many universities are inclined to give priority to teaching and research activities that involve more practical, and hence, useful and profitable, knowledge in the marketplace (Jarvis, 2000).

Additionally, the labour market's requirements for more well-trained workers have also influenced the debate about making higher education more accessible (Scott, 1995). In short, the production of knowledge and professional training are increasingly becoming linked to information technology. The new information technology also plays a significant role in the current changing process of the higher education institutions since it is a valuable aid to the production of knowledge and teaching organizations. organizations.

In addition, the chance to share information, data and the results of investigations (along with the increasing commercial interests of the lecturers) have altered the procedures of research activities within higher education institutions. Currently, knowledge production can be characterized as having a transdisciplinary nature, significant speed in achieving new outcomes, and an immediate usefulness in tackling problems (Gibbons et al., 1994). Moreover, this context also allows research practices to be undertaken in a collaborative manner, which involves more than the lecturers of a department and includes dynamic global networks.

At the same time, Barnett (2003: 12-13) suggests that the competitiveness caused by the struggle for resources is isolating working groups and even academics in their research practices. Nonetheless, research is definitely becoming more closely allied with the needs of the marketplace. This has led to an increase in the amount of applied – and profitable – research practices within universities because this kind of investigation can obtain more financial resources from profit-making sectors. Moreover, knowledge is becoming less a public and more a private matter because of the increased amount of research in private places. Thus the

researchers have had their academic activities extended to embrace a more entrepreneurial function, which sometimes also aims to acquire resources.

The second aspect of globalization, which has a significant effect on higher education institutions, is the formation of global markets. This does not mean international economic relationships between countries, which Beck (2000) calls "internationalisation", but economic systems that operate across borders without a particular location, and cause extra-national effects. This aspect is closely linked to the former insofar as it is sustained by a rapid transfer of data across the world. Deem (2001) suggests that the policies of nation states in such a context affect education and also other public services in two ways. First, there is a decrease of public funding for public services, including higher education, which can influence them to change both their organisational forms and cultures, and their management practices. Secondly, public institutions are becoming a part of the marketplace (by going into or creating their own markets), and adopting its practices and values.

Hence, higher education can become a significant business within local and even global markets, since it is rapidly increasing the number of universities that award franchises – as any other kind of company – to foreign institutions to offer their own degrees and qualifications (Blight et al., 2000). Thus, the rules of the marketplace become the regulatory code that governs the life of higher education institutions. It leads university management to acquire characteristics, which are similar to those of business corporations, behave in an entrepreneurial manner and struggle for places within markets. For instance, academics can start seeking new ways of raising funds from the private sector through consultancies and applied research.

While this may be beneficial, since it means institutions can play a more effective role in social and economic development, it can also have an adverse effect on universities. For instance, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) claim that the marketization of higher education, as well as new modes of academic managerialism, can lead academics and institutions to devote less time and funds to education and more to research or other more profitable activities to obtain funds from outside.

Another point is the character of the students, who can thus be seen as clients (Scott, 1999). In such a situation, it is generally assumed that students who pay, will be more demanding about the quality of their education, since the customers is "always right". Some academics, particularly in Brazil, are somewhat concerned about the logic of this slogan, since it can make lecturers – and even institutions – become a kind of "hostage" of the students-clients and oblige them to fulfil the expectations of their "customers" (Demo, 1996). The "marketization" of higher education may not necessarily improve the standards of teaching since education is not like other ordinary types of services (Laval, 2003). On the other hand, Scott (1999) points out that good service provision does not necessarily mean doing everything that the customer wants. In short, although a part of academia regards entrepreneurial practices as benefiting their professional development, and the interaction with the marketplace is a useful means of obtaining funds for their institution, this can also have an adverse effect on the educational process.

The third aspect of globalization with regard to higher education relates to the neo-liberal discourse, which has become the main political and economic ideology in global markets (Ball et al., 2003). Neo-liberal values currently underlie the main mechanisms of economic regulation. Neo-liberal principles entail replacing the welfare state with free market competitiveness. The power of state authority is declining or being reorganized to become responsible for providing and ensuring economic liberalization, which is envisaged as forming the basis for human progress and development (Torres, 2002). A higher education policy based on neo-liberal ideals aims to establish ways to replace free collective services with market exchange dealings. In this perspective, universities are thought of – and managed – as business centres rather than institutions devoted to research and education for the benefit of the whole society.

The significance of neo-liberalism is that, apart from supporting the concept of the student as a consumer, it may lead to the marketization of higher education, and gives priority to privatisation, deregulation and competitiveness. As well as this, the educational policies emanating from

neo-liberalism seek to reduce the participation of the state as the main provider and sponsor of higher education, preferring it to be funded by other means, which have a bearing on its role in the market and economic development. development.

Thus, globalization has a profound effect on the procedures, social role and organization of higher education institutions as well as on the academic work and education itself. Basically, globalization allows higher education institutions to contribute more effectively to the economic and social development of the region and nation through professional training, research and outreach. Indeed, higher education is of great national significance because the production and transmission of knowledge is a major factor in the production of wealth. This means that if higher education institutions are going to achieve their goals, they must adopt new priorities and practices with entrepreneurial characteristics, and provide more facilities and accessible learning opportunities. However, this process can interfere with the ethos of the institutions, and undermine their traditional epistemological and sociological basis.

3.7 Internal sources of change: the ideologies of the academics

Much of the literature tends to analyse changes in higher education institutions as outcomes resulting from external pressures (economic, social, cultural, technological, and political). They are not regarded as resulting from actions taken within the system.

Of course, there are some authors that include academics as active agents in this process of change as is apparent from the following quotation:

> our conceptualisation allows for treating change as a product of public policy and at the same time as the outcome of the actions and values of the prime actors, the academics, at the base of the system, as well as resulting from deeper structural changes affecting the university system (Kogan et al., 2000: 199-200).

However, they are exceptions. Academic influences are usually described as either actions taken to adapt to a system that is committed to the external

requirements of the marketplace, governments and society or else reactions against them. However, academics participate in the universities' changes, directly or indirectly, by creating the conditions – new technology and knowledge production – that have helped to create the contemporary context where a new type of university is required (Barnett, 2000; Delanty, 2001).

Although some Brazilian authors, such as Goergen (2000) and Buarque (1994), discuss in detail the role played by the information technologies, the new modes of knowledge production, and the current relevance of this knowledge to society and the marketplace, much of the literature focuses on changes in economic and political conditions which it is believed are the major – if not the only – forces that influence changes in the Brazilian higher education system. system. In fact, Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001), Gentili (2001) and Trindade (1999; 2001) blame the neo-liberal ideology of previous Brazilian governments, while other authors, such as Moraes (1998), Castanho (2000) and Chaui (1999; 2001), draw attention to the current conditions of the labour market and globalisation – especially as a form of economic foreign domination – as external factors that impose changes against the wishes of the academics. It follows that inner factors within the academic world, such as the expectations and values of the academics themselves, and the upsurge of a wide range of new subjects, are not considered to be influential factors.

However, the empirical data of this research provides evidence that within Brazilian academia, some academics are very enthusiastic about the kind of changes that higher education institutions are currently undergoing. This is perceptible in the following remarks made by an interviewed lecturer in Business Studies:

> It is important that our course maintains strong links with the labour market and with the real world because it is the only way to keep us aware of the innovations that are occurring in our profession. [...] Furthermore, it is a means of finding out ways to establish partnerships with companies, offices, and so on. We can sell our services and train their employees. This means we can invest in our course and can, for example, buy better computers. [...] You know, the government is not giving enough resources to us, and it will not do so. The public universities are becoming scrappy. They are already!

However, we can make them better... (Lecturer in Business Studies 2).

Similar points of view to this are not easily found in the Brazilian literature. Most of the Brazilian authors seems to promote a sort of campaign against entrepreneurialism within universities – both as institutional and individual practices – by stressing the possible pernicious consequences that academic capitalism can cause, such as a decline in academic freedom and institutional autonomy, the change of the institution's social roles, and the loss of the public character of the institution (this is more fully discussed in Chapter Five).

Many academics are concerned that universities may become dependent on private capital and subject to a process of privatization, as has taken place in several public companies during the last fifteen years. Owing to this concern, and the preponderance of academics opposed to entrepreneurialism within public universities, the denial of any mode of academic capitalism is extended throughout institutions, and it seems to assume the status of an official academic discourse. Thus it is more difficult for academics to undertake entrepreneurial ventures since this might be regarded as a kind of betrayal of the ideological principles held in Brazilian public universities.

However, despite this movement against academic entrepreneurialism, there are academics who feel at ease with the closer relationship of universities with private sponsors, and already have direct links with the marketplace – such as that quoted above. This suggests that there is already a form of academic capitalism within educational institutions. For instance, many outreach programs have already become services sold by some universities as a means of boosting their incomes (Silva, 2002) (this is more fully discussed in Chapters Six and Seven).

Moreover, the presence of entrepreneurial practices within institutions – though confined to certain departments – has led to a countermovement against those who oppose to entrepreneurialism. In the view of these academics, the social role of the university is utilitarian and this is in the

interests of local economic development, as this interviewed lecturer observes:

> The role of this university is regional development. If we do not help to bring about regional development, we are not serving a useful purpose for society... If we cannot help our students to "add value" to the things we teach here, we do not have a reason to exist (Lecturer in Business Studies 8).

Although academic capitalism is still incipient within Brazilian universities, it can be regarded as an internal factor that encourages academics and institutions to enter the market, and can result in changes in the organizational structure of the universities. Hence, although the current changes are a response to new social and economic requirements and new forms of knowledge production, they are also influenced by the internal needs of academics and institutions.

The practices and beliefs of these different academic groups do not stem from the same ideology; nor do they have the same aims regarding the best way to maximise their institutional potential. Furthermore, the social, economic or government requirements are not automatically met by the institutions (as in a kind of cause-effect system). Their response is mediated by the internal system and its actors, which might respond differently to the same issue. As a result, the process of institutional change is also a process of an internal power dispute. As Bourdieu (1988: 84) points out, knowledge producers are power producers too. Thus, although the social actors within the academic world are influenced by the current context, different internal groups supporting different views and ideologies are struggling to control decision-making so that they can operate and alter the institution in the light of their perspectives. Hence, the internal struggle for power is also responsible for defining the structure of higher education institutions, and their social role. In short, this dispute is a struggle for hegemony and power.

4. Shifting the research basis: from educational guidelines to academic viewpoints

This Chapter provides an account of the research design and strategies that I used to do this research. I describe the reasons for the particular choices that I made with regard to the setting investigated, the sample selected, and the methods that were employed in the collection and analysis of the data. It also includes a description of the characteristics of the institution investigated as a case studied in this research, and the participants that I have interviewed.

4.1 On the research strategy: a qualitative design

As explained in the first Chapter, this research seeks to answer questions about how Brazilian academics are responding to the demands of the current political and economic context. It also explores why academics have chosen some particular strategies and practices to handle these demands, and what the implications are of their decisions with regard to issues of academic freedom and social commitment. In addition, this research examines questions arising from the development – as well as the rejection – of an entrepreneurial culture within the academic community. Hence, this investigation needed to be carried out in the "real academic world".

According to Robson (2002: 4), "one of the challenges inherent in carrying out investigations in the 'real world' lies in seeking to say something sensible about a complex, relatively poorly controlled and generally 'messy' situation". For this reason, in answering these questions, I have opted for a qualitative research design. This choice was influenced by Mason's (1996) statement that qualitative research is an unrivalled chance to form a general picture of the phenomenon investigated, and to provide significant arguments about how things work in a particular context through in-depth analyses of groups engaged in practices in their real environment. Thus, this design seems to be ideally suited for improving our understanding about how the

Brazilian higher education system operates since it allows an investigation to be carried out by examining the academics' practices in their institution as well as their personal experiences and perceptions of the current situation they are undergoing.

In my view, given the complexity of the Brazilian higher education system, depth rather than breath is required in the collection of data. According to Cohen and his associates (2000), this is best achieved by using a single case of study. For this reason, I opted for a case study strategy that focuses on a single unit of the phenomenon investigated rather than a broad field. In the opinion of Robson (2002: 178), a case study is "a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence". The choice of a case study was also determined by the nature of the research questions, which are both exploratory and explanatory. Yin (1994: 9) suggests that "when a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control" a case study, as a research strategy, has a distinct advantage in being able to provide significant data.

Robson (2002: 177) defines a case as "the situation, individual, group organization or whatever it is what we are interested in". Cohen and his collaborators (2000: 181) broaden this definition by pointing out that a case is a bounded system, which "provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles." As the focus of this research is on the current changes undergone by the Brazilian higher education system, the case chosen to be investigated is a specific public multi-campus university located in the south-west of the country. The university in question is called Unioeste (State University of the West of Parana), which can be regarded as a typical unity of the Brazilian higher education system, and a reliable source of reach and in-depth data for improving our understanding of the subject investigated.

Obviously, any setting chosen from the entire system will have different advantages and disadvantages for this kind of investigation. In other

words, any institution may be 'a bit' biased if it is made to stand as a significant and representative example of the whole system because of its diversity. Although the Brazilian educational policy and guidelines lay down the basis for common standards and ensure that some degree of uniformity exists between the institutions with regard to organization and functions, the nature of its history and location, as well as the peculiarities of the academic staff, affect the characteristics of each institution. Additionally, issues about the representative aspect of a particular case or sample depend on the degree of generalizations that it allows to do. In other words, a case can be regarded as being a representative section of a well-defined phenomenon if it allows the researcher to make inferences about the whole (Cohen et al., 2000). However, generalization is the main issue in the criticism of case study strategy (Silverman, 2000).

Although this type of research model entails a detailed and intensive analysis of the phenomenon focused on, the knowledge obtained when employing such a strategy is largely derived from a specific and particular single case. Thus, the specific characteristics of this kind of research design prevent the knowledge and conclusions from being directly extended to other settings. However, Mason (1996) states that qualitative research should not be confined to the process of giving explanations that are only applicable to the limited empirical setting of the investigation. In her view, "qualitative research should produce explanations which are generalizable in some way, or which have a wider resonance" (Mason, 1996: 6).

On this issue, Robson (2002: 176) makes a distinction between "internal" and "external" generalizability. The former refers to the generalizability of conclusions within the setting studied, while the latter is about generalizability that goes beyond the setting. This author adds that qualitative strategies are significant when making internal generalisations. However, he also suggests that generalisations can exceed the setting being studied, provided that they accompany the development of a theory, which can be helpful in understanding other cases.

In order to select a meaningful setting within the Brazilian higher education system, I adopted Mason's (1996) recommendations. This author

suggests that the case chosen must be able to provide a meaningful range of information about the phenomenon under investigation. Hence, a case should be selected on the on the basis of its relevance to the research questions or a theoretical position, and on its significance to the explanations or account given of the phenomenon investigated. Therefore, in qualitative research cases should be selected in the light of theoretical, rather than statistical logic.

In my view, the university chosen for this research (Unioeste) is a very appropriate setting because it has undergone similar experiences to most other Brazilian universities and could thus provide valuable data for this research. For instance, one of the features of the changing financial situation of higher education in Brazil is the sharp reduction of public funds to the institutions (Velloso, 1991; 1994)[4]. Like other universities, Unioeste has been severely affected by these cuts in public funding. According to its official documents, between 1999 and 2000 its financial assets were insufficient to pay for the lecturers' salaries and cover its maintenance costs (see Table 5).

Table 5 (Values shown in millions of Reais [5])

	State public funding	Other resources	Total of resources	Expenditure on lecturers' salaries and maintenance costs	Structural costs	Total expenditure	Resources less expenses
1999	22,727			26,205	0,030	26,235	
2000	28,009			32,702	1,239	33,942	
2001	29,700			32,307	0,518	32,825	
2002[6]	55,459			45,829	1,565	47,395	
2003[7]	52,522	8,245,	60,767	54,378	0,834	55,212	-2,689
2004	55,228	6,670	61,899	60,381	2,713	63,094	-1,195
2005	67,267	11,725	78,993	74,153	1,349	75,503	3,490

Source: Unioeste (2001a; 2003c; 2004c; 2005c; 2006b; 2007c)

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[4] There is not usually a reduction of funds in real terms. However, the public funding is not pegged to inflation and does not correspond to the new needs of the institution arising from its growth in terms of student numbers and courses that require extra investment in laboratories, libraries and so on. Thus, the public funding is unrealistic.

[5] The Brazilian currency.

[6] The sudden increase of resources and expenses from 2002 onwards is due to the incorporation of the local public hospital to the Unioeste as a department of the School of Health Sciences (Unioeste, 2005b).

[7] Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain access to the complete data of Unioeste's accounts before 2003.

Apart from financial constraints, another feature of current university changes is a requirement to be significantly more involved with social and economic issues. In fact, the role of the universities in local, social and economic development is one of the factors highlighted in the federal government's schemes for a university reform (Brasil, 2004d; 2004e). Unioeste can also provide relevant information about this aspect because of its close ties with its local community and region. Some institutional records (Unioeste, 2005b) and state documents (Paraná, 1994) describing the history and long-term goals of Unioeste reveal that it has had a 'vocation' for regional development. Most of its contributions have been made through outreach practices and training courses for professionals in its locality (these points are more fully discussed in Chapters 5 and 7). Thus, an institution of this kind is of considerable value in providing meaningful data for this research.

A further point is that Unioeste is a peripheral Brazilian university – which, as described below (section 4.3), is the most common type of institution in the country. Although it has its own idiosyncrasies, it also has important similarities to other institutions, such as the way it was founded, its relationship to the local community and the types of courses it offers, all of which make it a typical or average Brazilian university. Thus, this particular setting can to some extent represent the general tendencies of the Brazilian higher education system.

A further advantage of Unioeste is that a multi-campus university, it can provide information about current changes in the Brazilian higher education institutions from different perspectives because each campus has its own particularities in terms of types of courses, procedures and style of management. Although the university has a central administration and all campuses are governed by the same regulations, they have a relative degree of autonomy since they have their own directors and management board, and can structure their policies to adapt to the particular features of the campus and its location.

Unioeste has campuses in the following towns: Cascavel, Marechal C. Rondon, Foz do Iguaçu, Toledo and Francisco Beltrao. The distance between them can vary from 60 to 350 kilometres. Some of the local regions differ considerably, both economically and culturally, and this affects the campuses located there (Souza, 2002). These characteristics allowed me to obtain a wide range of information from multiple perspectives, and this has enhanced both the value and range of my data.

Furthermore, Walford (2001) stresses that is necessary to be realistic about the scope of a research project and discuss the nature of the practical aspects that makes it feasible, such as the prospects of gaining access to the institution's records, and the management of available time and resources. Mason (1996: 32) also raises issues about the practical aspects of research and advises that it is very important to strike a balance between the pragmatic and theoretical elements. For this reason, the choice of this university was also determined by some practical considerations, such as time constraints, cost-cutting, and the fact that it imposed no barriers to obtaining access to its documents or to conducting interviews.

It is relevant to mention that the consent to carry out this research in that institution was to some extent facilitated by the fact that I have already worked there. However, about two years after doing the data collection, I returned working at that university. This naturally rises some issues concerned with reflexivity inasmuch as I then became part of the academic staff of the institution that I was investigating. As an attempt to avoid potential interferences that my professional life could have on my interpretation of the data, as well as on the research process as a whole, I tried, as much as I could, to isolate myself from the social and academic life of the institution. For instance, I deliberately avoid the participation in non obligatory events and committees inasmuch as this could have some influence on the mode I was carrying out the data analyses and the final writing of this thesis. I am aware that it is not possible to be completely "outside of" one's subject matter while conducting research, mainly in a situation such as the one I was. However, by acting in the way I just described, I believe that I managed to

rely (at least intentionally) only on the specific data used in this research to present my arguments and conclusions about the subject investigated.

4.2 The case: a public multi-campus university in Brazil

Unioeste is a public multi-campus university located in the south-west of Brazil; its main economic activities are agriculture and tourism, although the industrial sector – especially in the area of processed food – has been rapidly expanding in recent years (Souza, 2002). As a public university, Unioeste has made very significant contributions to the economic and social development of the region, mainly by training a qualified workforce, which was scarce in several professional fields until the late 1980s (Souza, 2002). It has also benefited the region through several of its outreach projects – particularly, those concerned with education, health and agriculture. In addition, the presence of a public university has added to the "status" of the area, which since the late 1980s has been regarded as a promising region to invest in (Souza, 2002). Examples of this are the growth of the processed food sector, commerce, the entertainment industry, and the private higher education sector. In the period 1990-2003, 21 new private higher education institutions were set up in the main towns of the region (Brasil, 2004a). Souza (2002) points out that the reason the private higher education sector is becoming a significant part of the local economy is that it is currently regarded as a very profitable business.

Another regional feature is that the area has only been settled comparatively recently. The first families moved there at the beginning of the 20th century, and very few towns are more than 40 years old. This fact, together with the poor transport and communications systems (until the mid 1960s), isolated the region from the main economic and political centres, where the leading higher education institutions of the country were situated (Souza, 2002). To some extent, this also accounted for the lack of a qualified workforce. These factors gave rise to a need and desire for local public institutions of higher education and professional training. This feeling was so strong that it led to an upsurge of social movements aimed at creating a local

public university, which finally came into being in the early 1970s (Unioeste, 2005b). Thus, Unioeste is a very young university even when compared with other Brazilian universities. universities.

As already mentioned, Unioeste is divided into five campuses located in five different towns of the south-west of the country. Cascavel and Foz Campuses[8] are situated in the biggest towns in the region – each having about 300.000 inhabitants. The other three are located in small towns of less than 100.000 inhabitants (Unioeste, 2005b). In 2004, the population of the whole region was about 900.000 inhabitants, and Unioeste accounted for about 1.1 percent of this population, with 11.212 students in their first degree and postgraduate courses. There were 10.020 students doing first-degree courses, and 1.192 in postgraduate courses – 129 in master courses and 1.063 doing a type of postgraduate course called 'specialization', which has a lower status than the Master's courses. Specialization courses usually have two aims: to prepare students who want to apply for a place in a Master's course and thus act as a stage between a first degree and a Master's degree; and to keep professionals abreast with recent studies, by being given a kind of 'lifelong learning'.

The Cascavel Campus is the largest campus in number of students, lecturers and courses. It is also the site of the central administration of the university. The University Hospital is located there too and it is where most of the biological and health science courses are run – such as medicine, nursing, and dentistry. These factors make it the most important campus of the university. In addition, the university provides several services to the local community (mostly free of charge) – especially those for disadvantaged social groups – and this helps to raise the prestige of this campus in particular, and the university as a whole.

All the campuses provide courses in the areas of applied social sciences – such as business studies and accountancy – and education and teaching training in several subjects such as history, chemistry, physical education, languages and so on. Apart from Rondon and Beltrao, the

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[8] Each campus is called by the name of the town – or part of it, when it is too long – where it is located. They consist of the following: Cascavel Campus, Rondon Campus, Foz Campus, Toledo Campus and Beltrao Campus.

campuses offer courses in the area of physical sciences and engineering and technology such as electrical engineering, information technology. Courses in the agrarian sciences – such as agronomy – are mainly located in Rondon Campus.

In 2004, Unioeste had 71 first-degree and 44 postgraduate courses operating in its campuses. Only four of these 44 postgraduate courses were Master's courses; the other forty were postgraduate courses called 'specialization' (the Table 6 provides information about the number of courses, students and lecturers, together with their respective qualifications in 2004).

Table 6

	Rondon Campus	Beltrao Campus	Cascavel Campus	Foz Campus	Toledo Campus	Unioeste
First degree students	1.873 (18.7%)	1.301 (13.0%)	3.377 (33.7%)	1.966 (19.6%)	1.503 (15.0%)	**10.020**
Specialist students	128	25	570	151	189	**1.063**
MA Students	30	-	84	-	15	**129**
Lecturers with PhD	62	11	97	12	60	**242**
Lecturers with MA	64	49	233	63	70	**479**
Lecturers with specialization	24	21	138	69	22	**274**
Lecturers with first degree	9	8	51	28	7	**103**
First degree courses	16	8	21	15	11	**71**
Postgraduate courses – specialization	4	1	22	6	7	**40**
Postgraduate courses - MA	1	-	2	-	1	**4**

Source: Unioeste (2005a; 2005b)

According to the aims set out in the documents when the courses were first started, most of the first-degree courses laid emphasis on professional training (Unioeste, 2002). As well as this, about 90 percent of its

students have come from the state where this university is located.[9] To a certain extent, this data reflects the commitment that this university has to meet the needs of its region. Indeed, the organization of Unioeste's courses attaches considerable importance to its "vocational" role in improving regional development, which is mentioned several times in its official documents. In short, the university which has been chosen as a case for this research is very rooted in its region, like many other peripheral universities in Brazil. It has a peculiar relationship with the local community, which can be characterised as one of mutual influence. However, it should be pointed out that this strong regional character is regarded by some of the academics interviewed as a "provincial characteristic", which may alienate the university from other important national issues.

Each of Unioeste's campuses started working as an independent faculty at different times during the 1970s and in 1980[10] Initially, they were partly sponsored by their local I governments and partly by their students through tuition fees. These independent faculties were later merged into campuses of a single university, sponsored by the State government, in 1987, (Beltrao Campus was incorporated in 1998). Although Unioeste was formed in this way in the mid 1980s – through the combination of four independent institutions – it only obtained definitive official recognition as a public state university seven years later (Unioeste, 2005b). In fact, the process of establishing a university by merging independent faculties that already exist in the same region, under a common administrative structure has been the usual way that most of the Brazilian universities have been formed (Schwartzman, 2002).

Initially, the courses of these independent faculties were largely concerned with professional training rather than providing an academic education (Unioeste, 2005b). Courses like accountancy, management, teaching training in Portuguese and history were chosen because the requirements to set them up were simple. They did not need expensive

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[9] Unfortunately, there is no specific data available about the students from the particular region where the university is located.
[10] The Cascavel Campus in 1972, Beltrao Campus in 1974, Foz Campus in 1977, Rondon Campus and Toledo Campus in 1980.

facilities or laboratories. There were no recruitment problems as lecturers only needed to have a first degree, and were not required to have an MA or a PhD degree. Thus, it was possible to appoint professionals from local job centres or primary and secondary schools, where they had their jobs. With regard to the students, these courses had a popular appeal since they could help them with their employment prospects, especially as there was a lack of qualified professionals in the local labour market.

The focus on vocational education also reflects the social interests and expectations of the local community in establishing higher education institutions in the region. The initial social role of these independent faculties was to support the local development by training a qualified workforce and providing services to the local community (Unioeste, 1994). The early signs of a social involvement help to explain why little research was carried out by the institutions, as well as the great importance they attached to outreach projects. This aspect is worth noting because it shows the close ties Unioeste has with its local community. To some extent, this has raised the prestige of the institution within that region.

When these independent faculties were turned into a university, it had an effect on their organization. The faculties lost a part of their independence when they become campuses insofar as they started to be run by a central administration and governed by standard regulations and institutional policies. However, owing to the regional differences of the academic organization and the political interests that each campus had, they managed to keep their individuality and a part of their independence. The wish to keep some degree of independence in the campus was tied up with a desire to retain some form of internal political power and control by groups of academics.

Furthermore, the central administration was able to reduce the local influence of some academics that had links with local politicians, who used this influence to exchange some advantages for the institutions – or even to themselves – by means of political support (Unioeste, 2005b). The following comment made by the Lecturer in Technology 1 can illustrate this point:

Well, everybody here knows that this institution was only recognised as a state university because it was convenient to the state government at that time... The government could use the fact that they had created a university here as a way of obtaining more local votes. By the way, there are many lecturers here that have more interests outside the institution than inside. [...] Maybe you don't know, but the Mayor of Rondon [where Rondon Campus is located] is a lecturer of that campus.

As well as the former faculties, the current university seems to have usually played a significant role during the elections for local mayors and members of the state and federal parliaments.

The new university status improved the reputation of the campuses, and helped them to obtain more investment from the government and other public and private organizations. This also affected to some extent the social role of the former faculties. While they had previously been involved in outreach practices, the new university had to improve the quantity and quality of its research activities. Replacing outreach with research as a priority of the university met some resistance from some academics, especially those who had already been working at the faculties before they turned into a university. This reaction is apparent in the data provided by the "Program of Institutional Assessment". According to this document, around 54% of the academics do not regard research as being the most important activity of the institution (Unioeste, 2005b: 63).

The reasons for this resistance can be partly ascribed to the small number of doctorate professors in the institution during its first years. In 1999, this university had only 58 people with doctorate degrees and 250 with a master degree, which made up about 9% and 40% of the entire academic staff respectively (see Table 7)[11]. The number of people with doctorate and master degrees at the institution increased 177.6% and 72.4% respectively between 1999 and 2002, and this helped to raise the number of research projects by 83% during the same period (Unioeste, 2005b). In fact, the university carried out 634 research projects in 2002, which was more than

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[11] There is a shortage of doctorates in Brazil. Thus, lecturers with a Master's degree are responsible for a significant amount of the research carried out in some fields that do not have a long academic tradition such as accountancy or sport.

double the number of outreach activities (303 projects) carried out in the same year.

Table 7

	Number of students	Number of lecturers	Lecturers with MA degree (%)	Lecturers with PhD degree (%)	Number of students per lecturer
1999	7,037	626	39.94	09.27	11.24
2000	8,285	758	41.16	11.48	10.93
2001	8,349	895	41.34	12.51	9.33
2002	8,470	981	43.93	16.41	8.63
2003	10,645	1,100	44.18	19.09	9.68
2004	11,212	1,098	45.17	21.86	10,21
2005	11,556	1,143	44.62	24.32	10.11

Source: Unioeste (2005a; 2006a)

Despite this growth of research practices, outreach plays a very significant role in the institution insofar as it is perceived by great part of the academics as means more relevant than research for the social and economic regional development. This point is bound up with the issues of political interests mentioned earlier. In fact, outreach powerfully illustrates the social value of the university to the region, by setting up links with the community, and exerting influence over it at a subjective level. However, although there might be a political interest hidden in some of the outreach actions, as Silva (2002) points out, the university services which operate through outreach projects do have a great importance in improving the quality of life of the local communities – especially for underprivileged social groups. To some extent, it can be argued that the main goals of the former institutions did not change that much when they obtained university status.

In fact, although the academics have become more involved with the production of knowledge, since their faculties became a state university, many of them are still mainly concerned with regional issues. Many academics prefer to work in the area of local development either through outreach projects as a form of direct action within the community, or through the professional training provided by the university courses. This just reflects

the fact that the most significant amount of research in Brazil is confined to a small number of elite universities, while the majority of the institutions – which is called here "peripheral universities" – plays a role as 'consumers' of the knowledge produced by their elite counterparts.

4.3 On peripheral universities

As already mentioned, in most of the investigations of the national higher education system in Brazil the opinions of academics are seldom taken into account; especially those from less prestigious institutions that usually undertake little research, and are the majority within the system. The main sources that most Brazilian authors draw on to understand how the Brazilian higher education system is adapting to current changes are as follows: analyses of the national guidelines, the characteristics and history of the higher education institutions and the political, economic and social context of the country. Although analysis of such data can be very helpful to understand the current patterns of higher education, the lack of information from the academics themselves – who are responding to the changes in their everyday practices – prevents researchers from having a more accurate idea of the ways that institutions and academics are understanding and responding to the pressures for change.

Perhaps, the failure to investigate small or relatively new institutions is related to a somewhat assumed idea that they would automatically follow the path of the more well-known institutions of the country. In fact, the elite universities are generally regarded by academia as a kind of "ideal model" for the rest of the Brazilian higher education system (Schwartzman, 1991). Added to this, most of the well-known Brazilian researchers are working in elite universities, where much of the production of knowledge is carried out in the country (Brasil, 2004a). Thus, elite universities can indeed have an influence on what should be the main basis of research and how other academic practices should be conducted. To some extent, Bourdieu (1988) corroborate the notion that elite institutions pave the way for others to follow. This author suggests that culture and the means of cultural production

usually possessed by the renowned institutions are valuable resources in the struggle for economic and political hierarchy and domination. Thus, institutions that are dominant in the cultural order can influence the establishment of a rational basis that will inspire the production – or reproduction – of knowledge by others (Bourdieu, 1988).

Moreover, as most Brazilian researchers that investigate our higher education system also works in elite institutions, the lack of empirical data from academics of the peripheral institutions might prevent them from having a complete idea about their daily academic lives, and the way they differ from the elite groups. In addition, there is an idea that the peripheral institutions are a kind of "micro reproduction" of the elite universities. This view can be attributed to the fact that the elites run most of the MA and PhD courses (Brasil, 2004a; Capes, 2006) and are the main suppliers of lecturers for the peripheral institutions. Thus the lecturers that come from elite institutions can be expected to reproduce – or at least try to reproduce – the university model that they are familiar with. For instance, at the institution investigated for this research, 50% of the lecturers come from universities in São Paulo, which is the state that has the most renowned universities in the country. Another 10% of the lecturers come from universities in Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul and Minas Gerais, which also have some of the best-known universities and research centres in the country (Unioeste, 2003d; 2005a).

The term peripheral university does not refer here to institutions located in remote parts of the country – although many of them are far away from the main urban centres. It refers to institutions that are on the periphery of the higher education system, which, while enjoying a local reputation, exert little influence on other institutions. In contrast, the elite universities occupy a of the higher education system, which, while enjoying a local reputation, exert little influence on other institutions. In contrast, the elite universities occupy a central position in the higher education system, and are widely recognised as a national authority on account of the importance of their knowledge production. Surveys have been carried out by Sampaio and her co-workers, which provide evidence to corroborate this description of the peripheral universities. They usually have a smaller number of lecturers with PhD

degrees, and lesser financial provision for research activities – especially in science and technology – than the elite institutions (Sampaio et al., 1998; Sampaio et al., 2000; Durham, 2003). As a result, these kinds of institutions are mainly concerned with professional training and outreach practices. The limited amount of research being carried out within the smaller universities yields a much smaller output of knowledge compared with the elite institutions, which have a larger number of doctorate professors, a better structure and considerable financial investment in research (Brasil, 2004a; Capes, 2006). Moreover, peripheral universities tend to focus on local issues and attempt to solve regional problems, rather than tackle global questions, which are usually undertaken by the more well-known institutions (Frantz and da Silva, 2002).

The elite group of Brazilian universities consists of a dozen institutions, which make up about 10% of all universities in the country (Brasil, 2004b; Fapesp, 2005), and have markedly different characteristics from the other institutions. For instance, on the basis of data issued by the National Institute of Educational Research (INEP) and the Brazilian Federal Agency for Support and Evaluation of Postgraduate Education (CAPES) around 72% of all doctorate professors in the country are located in these elite higher education institutions, which run about 70% of all MA and PhD courses, and more than 75% of all research projects (Brasil, 2004a; Fapesp, 2005, Capes, 2006). Hence, the remaining institutions have a smaller participation in the production of knowledge.

The academics at the peripheral institutions tend to play a role as "consumers" rather than producers of knowledge. This view is apparent in the following comments made by lecturers of the peripheral institution investigated in this research:

> The main researchers, intellectuals and academics in the country are there [at universities in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro]. Although we borrow many ideas and theories that come from outside [the country], they are responsible for the main ideas formed in Brazil. Like many other small universities, we are trying to adapt their ideas to our own reality. [...] We do not have the same structure that they have because we are still a small university. We are still very young, and I don't

believe that we will ever be like them because the investment isn't enough... (Lecturer in Human Sciences 7).

Large universities like USP [University of São Paulo], for example, are more engaged in the investigation of theories of literature, linguistics and so on. Here, we are more concerned with training the professional who is the Portuguese teacher. From the beginning of the course, the students are prepared to go into the classroom. Even the curriculum here is different; it is more "practical"... The lectures are different. I mean they are more concerned with professional training... I think we have a different role here. [...] Almost everybody here is running an outreach project. In the USP, they are more involved with research (Lecturer in Human Sciences 8).

The views of these academics throw light on the current Brazilian higher education system, which has been expanding significantly since the late 1980s. This expansion has increased the number of peripheral universities, which have now become the most common type of higher education institution in Brazil. Thus, although they are small institutions, they form a significant part of the Brazilian higher education system because of their size with respect to the entire system as well as because of their inherent characteristics. They do not operate in the same way as the elite group – which is closer to the thinking of the policy-makers – and as a result, they do not necessarily respond to changes in the same ways. There are differences in both the models and objectives of the universities, the peculiarities of their inner power relationships, and the degree to which they have forged links with their local communities. In view of this, it is possible to analyse the idea of a Brazilian university model from a different – even a new – perspective.

If one wishes to understand how the Brazilian public universities are responding to the changing political and economic conditions of higher education, one must heed what is happening in the peripheral universities. For this reason, I attempt to add to the debate about the current process of change in the Brazilian higher education system, by addressing the issue of how they are perceived and understood by some academics in a peripheral multi-campus institution. In effect, studying a university of this kind is a way of analysing a microcosm of the whole national system. However, if we wish to

have a more global understanding of what the Brazilian higher education system consists of and how it operates in the light of current changes, it is necessary to investigate the neglected institutions. This research seeks to fill this gap.

4.4 The participants: some of Unioeste's lecturers

One of my intensions in this research is to give voice to the people who are involved in the process of "constructing" the university during this time of radical change. To achieve this, I have sought to understand the changing process of the institution from the perspective of those who participate in its life. This process may also be understood as a way of empowering those who are involved in it. Thus, they should not be merely considered as sources of information but also regarded as both agents in the current process of change at the university and collaborators in this research project.

Griffiths (1998: 111) maintains that the role of educational research is "always to work in specific circumstances *with* rather than *on* or even *for* the people who inhabit them". This author advocates a principle of collaboration within educational research, which redefines the usual perspective concerning the relationship that is established between researcher and subject. Griffiths (1998) suggests that the researcher and other participants in the research process should work collaboratively as part of a community in order to carry out the investigation. In this way, significant outcomes can be achieved for the researcher with regard to knowledge and also for the people involved in the investigated context. In other words, this perspective envisages a relationship that goes beyond someone just giving information to someone else. This means the researcher should be open to the wider community and receptive to the points of view of different people concerned with the subject being investigated.

Griffiths (1998) claims that this approach also means taking into account the question of identity with regard to the individual characteristics of the participants such as race, ethnicity, gender, class and sexual orientation.

In this research, other characteristics were taken into account as they seemed to be of greater value than the factors mentioned above. These included the academic background of the participants, and the time spent at the university investigated, which enabled me to classify them either as "locals" or "outsiders" in that institution. This helped me contextualise the comments of the participants with regard to their particular situation within the educational structure of the institution. The attempt to link the views of the participants with their identities was helpful in gaining a better understanding of some of the contradictions that emerged in the discourse about different academic groups.

By academic background I mean the academic field that the academics are concerned with. Becher and Trowler (2001) state that this is important in constructing the identities of individuals and groups, since each academic field has its own special traditions, practices, culture and organization. By the terms "local" or "outsider" I mean the type of relationship that the academics have with the institution and the region, which is related to the time they have spent there. The "local" academic feels at ease with the structure, policies and priorities of the university as well as with the cultural patterns of the region. In contrast, the "outsider" academic feels like a foreigner in both the institution and the region. Locals feel they belong to the traditions of the institution while in the case of outsiders, something is "missing" in the institution and its practices. For instance, while locals regard the institutional policies concerned with local development through outreach practices as being appropriate, outsiders consider that the university would fulfil its role more satisfactorily if there was an increase in funding for research.

This contrast is illustrated by the following extracts from the interviews with the lecturers. The first is from a "local" lecturer, who started working there in the early 1980s, when the campus was still an independent faculty:

> You can see these people that come with their PhDs. They did their first-degree, then they did their master's and then their PhD... All they have done in their lives is studying. Then, they come here as if they know everything, even though they have never worked... They do not even know how to teach. The only thing they know is to criticize the

institution. They complain about working conditions, and about us because some of us do not have a PhD yet. However, we, the old ones, do teach our students how to work, how to cater for our clients' needs...

This second extract comes from another "local", who even studied at Unioeste:

> We have a commitment to society. They built this university. So, we have a duty to fulfil their expectations but these people [outsiders] do not care about that. They just want to do their "amazing" research which will later be put inside a drawer and locked up. What is the point of it? What contribution have they made?

The third extract is from an "outsider", who obtained a master's degree from a Brazilian elite university, and has been working at Unioeste for just five years:

> Most of the people here are doing outreach but I do not understand very well what they mean by that. I mean we have to do something to justify our salaries, and it has to either be research or outreach. However, most of the lecturers here do not do research. So they do outreach because outreach can be anything you want to call outreach. Sometimes, I cannot believe this is a real university.

These comments show the extent to which the two academic groups have different views about the university and its role. It is necessary to ask how these identities are manifested within the educational and administrative structure since the different views of the lecturers are important to understand the way they regard the university and its current process of change. Although it is not a strict rule, locals tend to be either inhabitants of the region or people who have been working at the university for many years – at least more than ten years. Moreover, they are often the oldest lecturers of the institution (usually more than 45 years old); the few who have a Master's or a PhD degree have usually obtained them very recently. Conversely, outsiders are usually younger than the locals (between 30 and 39 years old). Most of them have not been at the institution for more than ten years. They are often from other states, and have usually studied at elite

universities, where they have obtained their Master's or PhD degrees (see Table 8).

Table 8

	First-degree	MA	PhD	Total
Locals	6	11	0	16
Outsiders	3	10	10	24

Source: Unioeste (2004b)

Moreover, there is a tendency for a larger number of locals to be in departments of the oldest courses, which were set up during the period of the separate faculties. The reason for this tendency is explained by the fact that some courses – especially those in the areas of health and agrarian sciences – were created very recently, in the mid 1990s. Thus, most of the lecturers in these young departments are new to the university. However, as already mentioned, this is not a strict rule because some lecturers have moved from their previous departments to the new ones; moreover, many of the new lecturers who were recruited for these new courses, particularly those related to health sciences, come from the local region.

Although it is not possible to be precise about the proportions of these groups within the institution, the data shows that until 2002 about 40% of all lecturers are from the state where the university is located, and 77% of them have been employed since 1990 (Unioeste, 2003d). As the university started appointing a large number of lecturers in the mid 1990s, these percentages suggest that the number of local lecturers is becoming smaller compared with that of outsiders. This reduction in the number of locals may also be reducing their influence on the decision-making processes that affect the university's policies and priorities. Evidence for this is provided by some of the interviews which reveal the existence of a tension, amounting to a power struggle, between these two kinds of academics for control of the institution's management. The following comment by the Lecturer in Business Studies 7 illustrates this:

These people who are coming to the region don't know our history and how hard we've fought to create this university. I get very worried when some of them become directors or even heads of departments because they want to change the university according to their will. They want to force Unioeste to be a kind of "branch" of the USP or some federal university because they are the best universities [of Brazil]. We cannot be like USP. We're different. They don't realize we're different. In their minds, we're just worse [than those elite universities].

According to the lecturers interviewed, this tension is borne out in the competition for administrative posts and hence the administrative and political control of the institution. At present, local lecturers occupy most of these posts. Apart from the new departments, most of the heads of departments, directors of campus and schools, as well as the rector and chancellors are locals.

4.5 Selecting the participants

For selecting a meaningful sample from the 1,100 lecturers that were working at the Unioeste during the time of the data collection, I opted for a stratified random sampling. This is described by Robson (2002: 262) as a strategy in which the population is divided into groups, whose members share a particular feature. The members are then selected by chance in a quantity that reflects the relative proportion of each group within the whole population.

The characteristic chosen as the criterion for dividing the lecturers into groups was the academic fields to which they belonged. The subjects were assembled in six large categories arranged in a way that corresponded to the classification of subjects in the Brazilian Federal Agency for Support and Evaluation of Postgraduate Education (Capes, 2006). More precisely, subjects related to healthcare such as medicine and physiotherapy were assembled into the group of "Health Sciences", with 248 lecturers; mathematics and the fields of natural sciences, such as biology and chemistry, were put together in the group of "Sciences" (137 lecturers); subjects related to technology, and the several engineering fields formed the

"Technology" group (110 lecturers); social sciences and humanities were combined in the group of "Human Sciences" (303 lecturers); accountancy, management and allied fields made up the "Business Studies" group (219 lecturers); and agronomy, farming and related subjects were combined in the "Agricultural Sciences" (83 lecturers).

Initially, I intended to take account of two other features of the academics' identity in the sampling process that could assist in interpreting their comments about the theme of this research. One of these features was the subjects' professional position within the institution regarding their involvement in decision-making processes as in the case of directors, heads of departments, or members of the university council. The other factor was the time they had spent in the institution, which defined them as either locals or outsiders.

However, for practical reasons, I decided to use the academic field as the basic criterion for choosing the sample of participants. This decision was made following a pilot study that I undertook with six lecturers from another Brazilian peripheral university in the same State, in April 2003. This exercise was useful to define the questions more sharply, design the interview schedules and select the participants. Although whether the participants were locals or outsiders was not taken into account, the time they had spent at the institution was a significant factor. Since this research examines the perceptions and views of the academics about the recent changes that have taken place in the university, I only selected the lecturers that have been working there for at least five years, which I took to be a reasonable period to provide reliable and meaningful information for this investigation.

It is recommended that in qualitative research designs, the process of data collection through interviews be carried out until a stable pattern of answers begins to emerge (Robson, 2002: 199). Although this was considered, I decided to set an initial target of 40 interviews, which could be increased if necessary. This number was based on Robson's (2002: 199) suggestion that between thirty and sixty participants may be adequate for providing reasonable information through semi-structured interviews. Moreover, by having a projected – though flexible – number of interviews, I

could ensure that in carrying out the random selection of the lecturers the number would be proportional to the members of each group in the university. Although it was possible to discern similarities in the comments of the lecturers before completing the 40 interviews that were scheduled, I carried on with the interviews until this limit so that the proportion of lecturers in the sample vis-à-vis subjects and campuses was maintained.

In the interests of consistency, I also took into account the proportion of the members of each group with regard to each of the five campuses of Unioeste. In other words, when selecting the lecturers of a group from different campuses, I ensured that the sample was in a similar ratio to that of each campus. In this way, I managed to select a sample whose characteristics were proportionally similar to the whole academic staff of the institution. In particular, I selected 9 lecturers from the Health Sciences, 5 from the Sciences, 4 from Technology, 11 from the Human Sciences, 10 from Business Studies, and 3 from the Agricultural Sciences (see Table 9 for the general characteristics of the participants).

Table 9

Lecturers	Health Sciences	Sciences	Technology	Human Sciences	Business Studies	Agricultural Sciences	Total
PhD	1	2	2	3	0	2	10
MA	6	3	0	6	4	1	20
Specialization	2	0	0	1	3	0	06
First-degree	0	0	2	1	1	0	04
Female	5	3	1	8	2	1	20
Male	4	2	3	3	6	2	20
Locals	3	1	1	4	6	0	16
Outsiders	6	4	3	7	2	3	24
Average time at Unioeste in years	7.6	7	6.5	6.6	10.3	5.0	
Average age in years	38.8	31.6	38.3	36.4	35.3	33.7	

4.6 On the data collection

Both Robson (2002) and Mason (1996) agree that the most commonly used research methods are analyses of documents and records, interviewing and observation. In view of the scope of this research and the constraints on time and resources, the two first methods seemed to be the most suitable options.

The data collection of this study was carried out through two different methods, which covered different sets of sources. One of the methods was to conduct an analysis of institutional documents and records, which provided information about the structure and the educational policies of the institution. By means of this data, it was possible to identify the aims, purposes, priorities and practices of the university investigated as well as to understand the mode that the institution was coping with the changing economic and political context.

The second method consisted of interviews that enabled me to interact with the lecturers in their context. This procedure generated data that provided a range of opinions about the way that the university operates within its local context. Moreover, these views challenged some important assumptions which are generally made by a significant part of the Brazilian literature on higher education. Thus, the interviews were more than a source of evidence that lent empirical support to possible explanations. They were a way to identify views and interpretations that had a bearing on the process of change in the universities

4.6.1 Documents

A variety of written sources were analysed with the aim of forming a comprehensive picture of the institution in focus. They allowed me to identify the university's structure and its policies, and to supplement the data collected through the interviews. The documents analysed consisted of the following: Brazilian educational policies, guidelines for university reform,

national educational statistic data about higher education, the pedagogical project of the university investigated, and its written official assessment.

As it was not possible to keep the originals, I selected and made copies of them with the permission of the university authorities.

4.6.2 Interviews

I decided to use interviews as a mode of data collection because they are particularly valuable to study questions in which people's views, experiences and interactions are meaningful aspects of the social reality in focus (Mason, 1996). In this research, the interviews allowed me to obtain different perspectives about the current structural and political changes of the Brazilian higher education system from those directly involved in this process. An advantage of interviews is that they allow one to modify the line of inquiry and explore different meanings and new topics raised by the participants (Robson, 2002). This was of particular value to this investigation since the research questions were mostly exploratory. In short, this method enabled me to witness the dynamics of what is occurring.

I used semi-structured interviews made up of open-ended questions. The use of this type of interview presupposes that a set of questions is prepared beforehand. However, it is possible to change the order or even the questions whenever this is considered appropriate to the research focus (Kvale, 1996) (the interview schedule is outlined in Appendix 1). This type of interview was also suited to this study because it allowed me to explore topics that were not initially considered to be important; it also allowed the participants to come up with unexpected answers or thoughts about the issues investigated. In fact, the variety of comments is in itself an important element in the research process. This is particularly the case because the interviews were carried out to explore different perspectives on the current period being experienced by the academics, and to map out the power relations within the university.

By means of these interviews, I was able to obtain a wide range of viewpoints from different members of the institution. This was of great value

for three reasons. Firstly, it allowed me to reveal the existence of different groups with different perspectives on what the university is or should be. It also supplied information about the modes that each academic group operates in relation to the current context, their reasons for deciding on such modes, and their interpretation about the effects of their practices. Finally, it also enabled me to identify how these perspectives relate to each other – either by complementing or conflicting with them. This helped me to understand the Brazilian university from very different perspectives.

The interviews were held between July and November 2003, which was the time of academic activities. They were carried out in rooms at the university which such as the lecturer's offices, laboratories, or empty classrooms, which could ensure privacy for the interviewee. They were recorded on audiotapes with the knowledge and consent of the participants. Later, the tapes were transcribed and indexed. Further notes included a description about when and where the data was collected, and any non-verbal behaviour. This approach was useful in enabling me to recall situations in more detail.

It should be stressed that all the participants were fully informed about the aims of this research and their role as informants when I first contacted and invited them to participate. I also informed the lecturers about the type of questions that I would ask, and the reasons behind them. Thus, all the interviews were conducted with the entire consent of the participants. Obviously, their identities as well as the contents of the interviews have been kept confidential to protect them, since some of the information provided could be a cause of concern. In this thesis, they are identified by their academic field and a number, for instance: Lecturer in Sciences 1, Lecturer in Technology 3, etc.

4.7 Data analysis

Schostak (2002) points out that the purpose of data analysis in qualitative research is to examine information which has been collected in its real context, and to identify and interpret its meanings, rather than to identify

or probe the number of occurrences of a particular phenomenon or fact. As far as these procedures are concerned, Kvale (1996) states that the process of data analysis has to do with organising and condensing texts, and working out implicit meanings of what was said. By following these recommendations, the data analysis of my interviews aimed to provide a description of the themes in the living world of the participants, and offer interpretations and explanations. Thus, this process implies the construction of meaning through a continual codifying and re-codifying of what was heard. By adopting this approach, an interview analysis can be carried out during an investigation as there is a reciprocal dialogue between the opinions of the interviewees and the reflections of the researcher (Kvale, 1996).

In conducting the codifying process, I initially attempted to use the computer assisted data analyses program Nvivo, which could be helpful to identify emerging themes from the transcription of the tapes, and set up a coding frame for the interviews. In the first stage of data analysis, I only made marginal comments that aimed to refer to general themes (for instance: academic freedom, commercial outreach, social commitment of the university, and so on) to be taken into account in the work of interpretation carried out afterwards (for a more complete list of these initial themes and their relations to the categories mention bellow, see Appendix 2).

I n the next step of the data analysis I continued the process of coding. However, due to my lack of skills to use the Nvivo properly, I was not able to use it in order to move from the initial general themes to more specific and workable ones that could be organized in categories to be related to the theoretical framework discussed in the thesis. For that reason, I then opted to carry on the process of coding manually. Basically, I have continued underlining the interviews' meaningful passages that really answered the questions asked. However, at this time, I made more reflective remarks and some additional themes related to the subject began to emerge. On the other hand, some themes were abandoned or combined with others since they were repetitious or too vague. In this process, the themes were sorted out into separate sections of the text and compared for similarities or differences. The purpose of this was to order and describe relationships between them

and thus locate or create categories and subcategories that could allow me to provide descriptions and interpretations of the particular phenomenon investigated.

I was particularly searching for relationships that lie not only at the textual but also at the conceptual level of the data. To achieve this, I arranged the codes into six key interrelated categories to form an overall picture of the subject. Each category was divided into two subcategories (which in turn are made up of the themes identified) which both oppose and are complementary to each other. These categories can be listed as follows: university's changes (growth/development and decline); factors for changing (external and internal factors); academics' priorities (locals' and outsiders' priorities); university's mission (locals' and outsiders' view); academics' reactions (resistance and adaptation/entrepreneurialism); institutional prospects (negative and positive prospects).

These categories could then be related to a formalized body of knowledge concerned with key concepts of educational policies, academic capitalism, power relations, academic freedom, and the institutional nature of the university. In other words, these concepts comprise a referential framework which can be employed to interpret the categories that summarize the academics' practices and views, which are regarded here as socially developed and located within a particular institutional context. The aim of these interpretations was to recognize the principles and values that underlie the academics' actions and views, and explain their reasons for supporting or challenging the particular organizational structure and social role of their institution. Such principles and values are not an individual's constructs, but socially and culturally produced by and through the academics' relations with each other. Furthermore, they are not fixed factors that orient academics practices and views since they are interpreted and modified by the academics themselves through the process of dealing with other academics and their institutional reality. Thus, this analysis relies on an interpretative theoretical perspective, which according to Crotty (2003: 67-71) looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of social life.

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Naturally, since the interpretations emerge from a particular perspective based on the concepts and categories mentioned above, it is just one among several possibilities. Crotty (2003: 47-48) argues that interpretations are not identified because they are not just "there", waiting to be noticed. They are produced by individuals who view the facts and events through the light of particular concepts. Thus, there is not a "true" interpretation but truthful and fulfilling ones. For this reason, I have worked on the issues arising from this investigation to make reliable and meaningful interpretations that, I believe, can be of use to understand the current dynamics of the Brazilian peripheral universities.

In the next three chapters, there will be a discussion of these interpretations of the academics' procedures, motivations, and perceptions of their particular economic, political and institutional context. The points in the discussion will be supported by evidence of comments in the interviews, which were drawn on to define the categories and make interpretations. This will make possible to understand both the diversity and similarity of the academics' views and perceptions. Moreover, when the passages are carefully contextualised, they can be regarded not just as simple examples but as meaningful information for the ideas discussed.

5. Blaming the state for "university obesity"

In this Chapter, there is an examination and discussion of the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of the empirical data collected through interviews with academics of a Brazilian peripheral university. It provides an account of their general attitudes to both the beneficial and adverse changes that took place in their institution before 2003. It is apparent from their remarks that the recent changes have led to an institutional growth involving a decline in standards particularly with regard to working conditions and institutional outcomes. This situation is examined as part of an institutional crisis, which is generally considered by the lecturers as resulting from the current educational policies. In addressing this crisis, the academics have generally adopted two opposing modes of procedure, which are based on conflicting ideas about the concept of a public university. One stance consists of attempting to adapt to an incipient form of academic capitalism. The other intends to resist the educational policies, which are regarded as strategies for privatizing the public universities.

5.1 Some academic perceptions: becoming bigger and worse

As has been discussed in previous chapters, the Brazilian public higher education system – like other higher education systems elsewhere in the world – has been undergoing unprecedented changes in university procedures and academic activities. One of the accompanying factors of this ongoing process of change is the decline of state funding to higher education. Amaral (1999), Corbucci (2004) and Velloso and Marques (2005) point out that in the particular case of Brazil, there has even been a decline in the total expenditure for the higher education system. Amaral (1999: 194-198) concluded that there had been a reduction of 1.2% per year of the percentage of Gross National Product (GNP) devoted to post-secondary education in the period 1995-9. In absolute values, this reduction is about 17% as shown in Table 10.

Table 10 (Values displayed in millions of Reais)

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Resources	6,627	5,950	5,897	5,877	5,478
Percentage of GNP	0.79%	0.69%	0.66%	0.64%	0.61%[12]

Souve: Amaral (1999: 197)

This decline only ceased in 2003 when a left-wing party won the federal elections (Corbucci, 2004). However, while the allocation of public funds remained unchanged, most of the higher education institutions kept expanding as is apparent from the National Educational Census (Brasil, 2004a; 2005; 2006). Hence, in real terms there was still a reduction of public funds when one takes into account the increased expenditure required for the larger number of enrolled students.

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) and Marginson (2000: 27) point out that the reduction of public funds for higher education has led institutions in several countries to seek alternative sources of financial provision, especially in the private sector. The diversification of sources of funding to higher education has also had the effect of increasing the links between higher education institutions and society and the marketplace. This has resulted in a greater prevalence of the values and practices derived from the marketplace within the academic world – such as entrepreneurialism, competitiveness and performativity (Williams, 1998; Barnett, 2003). As was discussed in Chapter Two, it was expected that Brazilian universities would be subject to similar changes and that they would acquire a more entrepreneurial style of working.

Sguissard (2000), Corbucci (2004) and Leher (2004) point out that, in the case of Brazil, these policies have led to the deterioration of the public higher education system rather than stimulating an entrepreneurial mode of operation. In particular, the reduction of financial support has had an adverse effect on the development of research and provision of services at the universities, the acquisition of equipment, the maintenance of property, and the salaries of the lecturers. Some of these authors even complain that the

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[12] The value of 1999 was calculated on the basis of the estimated value of the Gross National Product for that year.

scarcity of public resources is turning the universities into a "scrap-heap". In fact, the Portuguese equivalent of this particular expression has become commonly used by academics to describe anything faulty or run-down in the institution.

When one shifts the perspective from that of the literature to that of the academics interviewed for this research, two opinions about the institution and their current working conditions can be discerned. Despite the decline of public funding, one of them stresses that there has been a significant growth of the university and improvements in some of its features during the last five years. The following extracts from the interviews, which only represent a fraction of the various answers on this topic, illustrate this view:

> Some people say this is part of a government plot to turn the public university into a scrap-heap and then sell it off to the private sector. To tell the truth, I don't think it is that. We haven't stopped growing during the last 12 years. We have more students and more first-degree courses. A few years ago, we didn't have a single master's course, but now we have four. So how are we becoming a scrap-heap? Of course we have a lot of problems, but it's our job to deal with them (Lecturer in Business Studies 4);

> I think the creation of the masters' course has given us some good things, in every sense, [...] because it keeps the lecturers motivated and forces them to update their knowledge; it encourages the lecturers to carry out new research projects and increase the number of their published articles (Lecturer in Agricultural Sciences 1);

> I think that one of the most important things that have changed during the last few years has been the increase in qualifications of our lecturers. I was the first doctor of my department. Today, nearly all of us are doctors or at least masters. I think this has also raised the standard of our courses and improved the behaviour of our students. [...] I think it has helped to create a proper academic environment, which is really positive (Lecturer in Sciences 5).

In general terms, the lecturers interviewed pointed out that there had been a marked increase in both the number of students and courses of study. In particular, 16 new first-degree courses and 3 master's degree courses were run during the period 1999 - 2003, and the number of students in first-degree courses almost doubled. During the same period, 81 specialist

postgraduate courses were offered by the institution. This was a remarkable rise, since as recently as 1999, Unioeste offered only 22 of these courses, while the largest number of such courses offered in previous years had been just 11, in 1997 (Unioeste, 2003b: 16).[13] Further points that had helped to improve the institution were also mentioned. These included the following: the recruitment of a large number of new lecturers, mostly with a MA or PhD degree; the acquisition of new equipment such as computers, books, and laboratory facilities; the incorporation of a new campus – Beltrao Campus; and the construction of new buildings to be used as classrooms, laboratories, sporting facilities and so on (Unioeste, 2001a; 2002b; 2003a; 2004b; 2005a).

Although this account of the university's conditions contradicts the underlying assumptions of the literature – that current educational policies are leading to a deterioration of the public higher education system – it is offset by another set of academic opinions which describe a very different picture. When the academics were asked to give their views about the financial support of the state, they often referred to the shortage of public funds to the university, and usually complained – very emphatically – that the resources were not enough to cover the maintenance costs of the institution or to keep all the activities running properly. Despite the growth and improvements mentioned by some of the lecturers, there is also a common view among lecturers of different subjects that the lack of state funding is causing a decline in standards at the institution. This is evident from the following extracts:

> There isn't a proper structure for our courses. We don't have enough computers for our students. What we have are so old that we cannot install the programmes that we need to carry out our work. [...] The university is becoming worse every day because our equipment's getting old and out of date, and there aren't enough resources to buy new machines to replace this old stuff (Lecturer in Business Studies 2);

> I usually say the "house is falling down". It is falling down piece by piece, so slowly that we don't notice its collapse. We used to have some stuff for our classes and if we needed something else we used

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[13] The number of these courses still seems to be increasing since there were 40 specialization courses operating at the university in 2004 (Unioeste, 2005a).

> to find a way to get it. So... one day I brought my DVD player from home; another day I brought my tools and repaired the windows... The "house is falling down" gradually and I didn't notice it. Nowadays, if I want to teach well I can still do so but I can't expect anything from the university (Lecturer in Healthy Sciences 6);

> During the last year [2002], we weren't given enough money even to buy soap to wash our hands after attending the patients. [...] Together with the students we had to start collecting money to buy some basic stuff so we could carry on the work. If we hadn't done that, we would have had to close the university clinic[14] (Lecturer in Healthy Sciences 8).

These snapshots of the academics' views about the outcomes derived from the recent Brazilian educational policies bear out the pessimistic accounts and predictions of the Brazilian Lecturers' Union (ANDES, 2003) and the opinions of many of the Brazilian authors mentioned in previous chapters – such as Catani and Oliveira (1999b), Castanho (2000), Menezes (2000) and Leher (2004) among others. These authors foresaw that there would be a deterioration of working conditions and standards in higher education.

Clearly, these two sets of extracts from the interviews express views that contrast with each other. These contradictory views about the changes can be interpreted as an awareness of an institutional growth that is taking place without the necessary backup to allow academics a range of teaching, research and outreach activities. To illustrate this phenomenon, the Lecturer in Health Science 9 applied a striking metaphor:

> This university isn't growing; it's getting "fat". Maybe you can have some doubts about whether it's getting better but certainly you can say it is getting bigger. All the time I hear someone saying there is a new first-degree course at the university. However, in my opinion, it's becoming bigger rather than better. It's only swelling. Becoming bigger doesn't mean getting better, does it?

By means of this peculiar metaphor, this lecturer is making a comparison between the obesity of the human body – that is an excessive, unhealthy growth in size – with the expansion of the university. The metaphor suggests

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[14] The university clinic mentioned is one of the several university health sectors that provide services to the community. It has not been named to protect the interviewee's privacy.

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that the growth of the university, like the obesity of the body, is taking place in a harmful way.

This metaphor encapsulates the recurring opinion – or complaint – expressed in much of the criticism found in the comments of many of the interviewed lecturers. In more precise terms, the institution is becoming bigger but this does not necessarily help the staff to carry out their main activities (teaching, research and outreach). Moreover, the growth has resulted in an actual reduction of the funds invested in different sectors of the university since the departments and schools are increasing in number and size while the resources remain the same. In short, the public funds are not increasing at the same rate as the institutional growth.

In addition, the expansion of the institutions – mainly caused by the remarkable number of new first-degree courses and new classes set up during the period 1999/2003 – is creating an imbalance between the time that the lecturers have to devote to their teaching and their opportunities for research or outreach. This means that some aspects of this growth – such as the large number of new first-degree courses – that were initially regarded as a means of improving the quality of the academic work, and the social and academic reputation of the institution, can end up by aggravating some of the difficulties and problems that the academics have to deal with. In fact, the lecturers often complained they had become overloaded with teaching and administrative commitments. Thus, they become less involved in research and outreach practices.

This problem of "academic obesity", due to an overload of teaching activities, can to some extent be regarded as a side effect stemming from its "natural" process of development because traditionally the universities have been basically devoted to professional training. As teaching constitutes the essential work of the institution, it could be expected that a rapid and disorganized growth chiefly brought about by the expansion of the number of students and courses of study would lead to this kind of "obesity" inasmuch as the institution is subject to structural constraints, such as an insufficient number of lecturers.

At the same time, the overload of work may also be due to the growth of research and outreach activities, and this is in line with the desire of some academics who wish to take on other university responsibilities. As will be fully discussed in later sections of this Chapter, the research activities increased significantly between 1999 and 2003 despite the customary lack of official incentives and investment from the main administrative sectors of this university (Unioeste, 2002a; 2003b; 2005b). Moreover, the empirical data that emerged from the interviews also suggest that this increase is largely due to the particular interests and activities of "outside lecturers" (a point mentioned in Chapter Four).

In other words, although it is not a strict rule, while the "locals" struggle to obtain more first-degree courses, the "outsiders" give their priority to research and MA and PhD courses. In fact, it could be argued that the "local lecturers" understand their social role at university as being basically professional training, while the "outside lecturers" regard it as being in the area of research. For instance, although the state guidelines of 1994 (Paraná, 1994: 9) and the institutional planners who sought to introduce new courses in 1996 (Unioeste, 1996: 8) did not include first-degree courses of Geography and Sociology, at least until 2001, both courses were set up earlier than that, (in 1997 and 1998 respectively). This took place within two of the original faculties of this university, mainly as the result of internal pressure from the academics responsible for these subjects – that is, the "local lecturers" – who worked in departments and courses that were different from their particular field of study. Although the new courses are intended to cater for the needs of the local community, they are also designed to meet the internal requirements of some of the lecturers.

At the same time, the Schools founded in the mid 1990s – such as the School of Health Sciences, the School of Agronomy and Animal Husbandry, and the School of Engineering of Toledo – which mainly consist of academics that have graduated from some of the most important universities in the country – that is, "outsiders"[15] – have become the most important research

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[15] According to the data regarding the lecturers of Unioeste (provided by the Office of Human Resources, 2003), the academics that can be classified as "outsiders" correspond to 85%, 94% and 97% respectively in each of the three Schools mentioned.

centres of this university. According to some institutional reports, these three Schools had the highest scientific and academic output of any faculty in the institution between 1999 and 2003 (Unioeste, 2001a; 2002a; 2003a; 2003b). The same reports stated that only two of the older Schools – the School of Economics of Toledo and the School of Engineering of Cascavel – have ever matched the rate of research undertaken by some of the three younger ones. As a result, the second MA programme set up in the university, in 2000 (Unioeste, 2003b: 24), was the outcome of the new School of Agronomy and Animal Husbandry, which started working in 1995 (Unioeste, 2001a) (these Schools began their second MA program in 2005). Similarly, the equally young School of Engineering of Toledo, which also started its activities in 1995, launched its MA programme of Chemical Engineering in 2005 (Unioeste, 2001a; 2003a; 2007a).

Thus, a part of the institutional growth took place when several of the university's activities were expanded through the efforts of internal groups that were seeking to pursue their own different interests. However, most of these activities were launched by academics without a proper structure or even adequate financial resources to run them. Although there has been a significant improvement in the public funding of the university since 2002 (Unioeste, 2003c; 2004c; 2005c; 2006b), the new budget is still insufficient to allow all the new activities to be carried out in a satisfactory way. This is partly because a large part of it has to be used to pay for the university hospital, which was incorporated into the institution in the same year (Unioeste, 2003a). In other words, some measures that have led to the expansion of this university have been taken to meet the immediate needs or interests of "internal agents" without taking account of the requirements of institutional planning or strategies – as was the case with the two first-degree courses discussed above. These are just examples of a trend since other first-degree courses could be also mentioned to illustrate this process. For instance, the first-degree courses in Tourism/Hotel Management, Chemistry (and its two divisions), and Law (and its two divisions) were set up by movements inside the university despite not being mentioned in the institutional planning for expansion (Paraná, 1994; Unioeste, 1996; 2000).

Thus, "university obesity" is not simply an outcome of inadequate state funding. It can also be attributed to a disorderly process of expansion in which the resources are not spent in ways that support the strategies and clear goals established by the university's policymakers. Furthermore, the decision-making is complicated by a conflict of interests and priorities between different academic groups that, by hastily attempting to increase several different departments at the same time, have caused difficulties in allocating the limited public resources.

Furthermore, the different interests of these groups also reflect differences of opinion about the main social role of this university. This, in turn, also affects one's concept of what a university is, or what its priorities should be. In other words, the context described above is not just about groups of academics that devote themselves to different activities, or have distinct priorities within the university. It raises the question of how to define different concepts of a university. In view of this, apart from being affected by constraints on public funding, the phenomenon of "university obesity" is also caused by a tension – albeit not apparent – between two perspectives regarding the concept and objectives of a university, and the struggle by academics to adopt them within the institution. Moreover, these perspectives are tending to be reproduced by a growing number of academics as a way of perpetuating a particular institutional modus operandi and its corresponding practices and rationale.

5.2 "Outsiders" and "locals": different priorities within an "obese" university

As the institution investigated has traditionally been chiefly devoted to professional training, it might be thought that a large number of the lecturers would not be too affected by the restrictions imposed on research activities. This might be acceptable to those lecturers whose concept of a university is of a social institution that basically contributes to regional development by training a workforce for the local marketplace. In this view, the social role of the university is largely confined to the professional training it provides. This

attitude stems from the perspective of the "local lecturers" (again, this is not a strict rule although it can be regarded as a general pattern). Most of the "locals" have an idea about this university that still corresponds to that of its founding fathers. Their highest aim is to provide professional training for the local population and in this way assist the economic and social development of the region.

This general attitude was evident in the answers that the "locals" gave to the question about what the priorities of their university should be. All the "locals" started their answers by stating that professional training was its main goal. Following this, they mentioned outreach and sometimes research, as very important university activities. However, despite pointing out the relevance of outreach to the university, only half of this group of lecturers ranked research as a necessary institutional priority. In fact, 8 of the 16 lecturers classified as "locals", did not make any reference to research as a significant part of university life, at least when they answered this question. The following extracts from "local" interviewees show just the first part of their answers to the question:

> I think it's principally to prepare professionals for their different professional fields. In this way, these skills can contribute to the region and to this country (Lecturer in Human Sciences 1);

> Well, I think the main social role is one of the hardest to carry out... We have to train people to enable them to survive in the current labour market (Lecturer in Business Studies 8);

> Well, the priority should be to provide people with a good professional training. This, I think, is the first thing (Lecturer in Sciences 3);

> I believe the real role of the university should be professional training... It is essential to offer students a high standard of professional training because this is socially important for the community (Lecturer in Healthy Sciences 3).

Although these "local lecturers" regard teaching as the main social role of the university, some of them also state that research is important too, though at a lower level. A good example of this is the Lecturer in Sciences 3.

His attitude to research is an exception among the "locals". Despite stating that teaching was his main priority, he attached great importance to research practices in his comments. He was the only "local lecturer" who expressed a concern about the fact that too much emphasis is being laid on teaching, and that this can have a detrimental effect to research, both in terms of investment as well as creating a suitable academic environment for it.

In contrast, the "outsiders" usually attach much more importance to research as a key social responsibility of the university than the "locals". They also state that teaching is a very important university practice. However, 10 of the 24 lecturers classified as "outsiders" link teaching with research as two aspects of a single university function. For instance, the Lecturers of Sciences 2, Agricultural Sciences 1, and Technology 4 made very similar remarks about this issue:

> Perhaps, the first thing is professional training because it is the main expectation of the local community. However, you also have to carry out research as well as you can, because this forms the basis for really good professional training within the university (Lecturer in Technology 4).

Other "outsiders" also paid more attention to research than the "locals", although with a slight difference, as shown in the following extracts from the interviews:

> I still believe the main role of a university is to produce science, and to prepare the professionals for the labour market too. The research here is very complicated. There is no incentive and sometimes you just feel like giving up [...] I think I am suited to being a researcher (Lecturer in Healthy Sciences 8);

> The priority of the university... The reason why the university exists is our need to produce science, and knowledge, and to spread this knowledge (Lecturer in Human Sciences 2);

> The priority should be to increase investment in research because the public universities are the main institutions responsible for scientific production in Brazil (Lecturer in Human Sciences 5).

As well as teaching, both groups underline the importance of outreach as a key feature of the university. As will be more fully discussed in Chapter Seven, its importance lies in the help it can give to unprivileged social groups, as well as the chance of earning an income through particular services rendered to private or public companies and organizations. Outreach can be linked to teaching or research practices, as well as being a service with similar characteristics to alternative services provided by other agencies.

The contrast between the perspectives of "locals" and '"outsiders" regarding the social responsibility of the university throws light on the difficulty an institution has in making decisions regarding its investment policies and practices. The attitudes of the "locals" to teaching/professional training can to some extent be traced back to the original vocational character of the university when it was founded in the mid 1980s. A report written by a state assessment board in 1994 about the structure and activities of the university at that time underlined its vocational character in the guidelines which it drew up: "the activities of Unioeste will be primarily aimed at professional training" (Paraná, 1994: 7). In fact, the interviews with the "local lecturers" suggest this group still subscribes to this principle.

The importance the "locals" attached to teaching and their indifference to research can probably be attributed to two factors. First, the independent faculties that became integrated with Unioeste's campuses in the mid 1980s were founded with the aim of providing professional training rather than carrying out scientific research. In short, these faculties were designed to meet the local need for a better qualified workforce.

Even after they had become accepted by the university, the research area remained relatively insignificant until the end of the 1990s, as is clear from the internal records of Unioeste (Unioeste, 2001a; 2002a). As priority was given to professional training when the university was first founded, the research practices have been given little support or investment by either the administrative departments or the state government. During this period, research was largely confined to the post-graduate work carried out by a few enthusiastic "locals" that took the risk of running an MA program in an elite

university, and a few "outsiders" who tried to keep doing what they have been trained for in their former institutions, that is, to produce knowledge.

In addition to the lack of support and investment for research, there was also restricted access to more specific training which would allow academics to undertake research through MA and PhD courses. This is linked to the second factor that influences the institutional relationship with research. Many lecturers at this university, especially the "locals" who did not have effective contacts with universities that ran post-graduate courses, faced serious difficulties in obtaining an MA or a PhD degree before the mid and late 1990s. This partly explains why there are few "locals" – particularly among the senior staff – with a PhD degree. In fact, it is only recently that there has been a reasonable prospect of gaining access to MA and PhD programs in Brazil. Until the mid 1980s, there were a very limited number of post-graduation courses in the country, especially in subjects that do not have a long academic tradition, such as accountancy, tourism, sport and nursing, which were some of the first courses set up in the early faculties of Unioeste (Cunha, 1988: 28; FAPESP, 2002: 1-5).

As research was not regarded as an institutional priority when this university was founded, and given the limited opportunities to undertake a post-graduate course, it is not surprising that only half of the entire academic staff had an MA or PhD degree before 1999 (Unioeste, 2001a). In fact, during the interviews, some local lecturers – especially those that have been working at this university for more than a decade – mentioned how difficult it had been to move to a larger centre to obtain a higher degree.

Thus, it is likely that a combination of these factors have led the "locals" of this peripheral university to regard research as relatively insignificant. Furthermore, this attitude is not restricted just to the importance of research; it has also influenced the concept of research itself within the institution since until recently, they were the members of staff in key decision-making positions.

The theoretical model for social practices outlined by Bourdieu (1977; 1998) forms the basis of a better understanding of the effect of this kind of imbalance between research and teaching on these activities. It also helps

one understand the reactions of the academics to this situation and their ability to adapt to current changes in the Brazilian higher education system. This author argues that, although the actions that people undertake in their daily lives – that is, their practices – are usually taken for granted, they are connected with, or even guided by the wider patterns of their social lives (in this case the academic world). These academic patterns belong to Bourdieu's category, "habitus", which can be understood as a set of subjective principles learned and produced by the social actors within a particular field – in this case the academic arena (Bourdieu, 1977: 94). The habitus can be defined as a collective phenomenon comprising a set of principles produced and adjusted for and by a particular social group. It should be stressed that this set of principles is internalized – or embodied – in the social actors, and this leads to a process of "naturalization" in both the habitus and practices (Bourdieu, 1977: 93).

As a result of this process, the tendencies (defined by Bourdieu in his concept of dispositions) that are found in the habitus, are somehow beyond consciousness (Bourdieu, 1977: 79). Finally, the habitus (which is not wholly conscious) is what produces the practices that, in turn, exist within and through the habitus. In other words, practices and habitus are interwoven in a way that allows them to sustain and reinforce each other. Furthermore, the practices are neither completely decided by the individual nor entirely determined by collective structures. They result in and act through combinations of an individual freedom, or improvisation, arising from certain personal dispositions of the social agents. The constraints imposed by a subjective system of principles resulting from objective experiences among the members and other factors that make up its environment, comprise its field (Bourdieu, 1977: 93). In the light of this, the academic habitus found at this peripheral university determines the particular academics' practices regarding research and teaching that, in turn and at the same time, produce the academics' concepts about research and teaching. In other words, practices and their concepts are generated by each other in a somewhat reciprocal dialectical process.

In addition, "naturalization", the characteristic of the categories mentioned earlier, also plays a role in the process of symbolic violence discussed by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977: xiii). Symbolic violence is not a wholly conscious process and occurs when the existing power relations of a particular field reproduce and perpetuate the habitus and practices of the dominant social agents, as well as the field – or social arena – itself, where they are produced, learned and reproduced. As well as being the context where the practices are carried out, the field is a structured system of social positions with regard to domination, equivalence and subordination. The struggles and manoeuvres that take place within a particular field depend on the different types of capitals – symbolic, cultural, social and economic – possessed by each member that takes part in the process (Bourdieu, 1990: 88).

Fields are inhabited by individuals or institutions that structure them in the light of the objective existing relations between their positions. It should be remembered that these relations are basically power struggles for the hegemony or replacement of some habitus and practices, as well as the field itself where they are manifested and nurtured. This means that the fields correspond to a social arena whose nature can be objectively defined in terms of the power struggles that govern and are dialectically governed by the habitus and practices of the social actors that seek to reproduce and perpetuate their particular ideologies or rationale. Thus, symbolic violence entails a process whereby order and social restraint are produced and reproduced by social – in this case, academic – groups through indirect means, rather than by direct coercive factors of social control (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 45-47). To summarize, the habitus provides cognitive and motivational dispositions that somehow form the basis for objective practices within the fields where the symbolic violence plays its role and employs particular models to perpetuate the status quo.

With regard to the peripheral university investigated, rather than just establishing the importance of teaching and research to academic groups, the practices and habitus conceptualize these activities and construct the academics' understandings of them, as well as the idea of university where

they take place. Hence, the particular understanding that people have of these practices is associated with the institutional context and the local expectations that a university gives rise to. This understanding has also been responsible for establishing its main academic features and its institutional policies and guidelines. In other words, this university – and probably many other peripheral universities in Brazil – was initially created to act as a kind of professional training centre; as a result, the emphasis on professional training practices has strengthened the habitus of an inner "vocational logic" of the institution; it follows that this "vocational logic", in turn, reinforces the priority given to practices and structures associated with the vocational character of the institution in a kind of vicious circle that perpetuates this particular kind of institution. Thus, by reproducing the practices and the habitus that support the dominance of teaching/professional training within the university, this activity was strengthened and became dominant within the institution so that it tended to be reproduced, rather than changed. At the same time, the concept of research, as well as the particular institutional attitude to it, was undermined. As a result, the notion that is held about this university, and its institutional role, is that its purpose is basically to provide professional training to the students from the local community, and, after that, outreach.

As stated earlier, although teaching is a very important function of the university, its main tendency – which can partly be ascribed to the main concept of a university held by the "locals" – has been to impose constraints on the development of research. As a result, this university operates in a peripheral position within the Brazilian higher education system. In other words, over a period of time, this university has become a consumer of knowledge rather than a producer of knowledge. Thus, its activities involve spreading – or consuming – the knowledge produced by other institutions. However, it has recently improved its potential for carrying out research of significance, partly because of the "outsiders" that have brought a different perspective to the university's activities. Nonetheless, a peripheral university can still make a valuable contribution to the local development of the region – a fact that is often stressed by all the lecturers – though it is now being

affected through alternative ways, that is, through research practices. On the basis of Bourdieu's theoretical model, briefly outlined above, this can also affect both the idea of the university and its modus operandi.

The current university crisis, often referred to in the Brazilian literature, was caused by external political pressures that led to a conflict between the traditional academic institutions and the entrepreneurial system. However, this crisis is also the outcome of internal conflicts between different ideas of what constitutes a university and its procedures. In other words, it is not just a conflict between internal and external forces but also between competing internal forces. This inner conflict can be interpreted – on the basis of the theories of symbolic violence, and social and cultural reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) – as a part of a process in which some academics are striving to reproduce the current patterns of the university while other academics are attempting to remodel them.

As Bourdieu (1988: 11) points out, universities can be regarded as fields of confrontation, where different social actors dispute for the hegemony of particular ideologies, and for their administrative or academic control. In other words, the ideological and political disputes within the university represent strategies to increase not merely the economic capital of particular groups but above all, their symbolic, social and cultural capital, which circulate within the university in different spheres of power. These power struggles within the academic world can either be aimed at maintaining or improving its external status and authority or else the personal scientific prestige of particular academics.

As well as this, there are political disputes for the administrative control of institutional resources. In Bourdieu's (1988: 40) terms, these are disputes for intellectual, scientific and academic power. Thus, the university can be thought of as a place where academic groups struggle to impose their definitions of reality, or more precisely, their definitions of university and higher education. In this particular case, it is possible to regard the "locals" as those who seek to perpetuate the current university status quo, while the "outsiders" wish to change it.

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Although the tensions between "locals" and "outsiders" are not explicit in their daily lives, they are apparent in some of the extracts from the interviews, such as the comments made by the Lecturers in Business Studies 8 and Health Sciences 9 quoted in Chapter Four. Their comments illustrated their discomfort with regard to the opinions and procedures – even pressures – of some of the outsiders. This was made clear in the following remarks:

> I get very worried when some of them [the outsiders] become directors or even heads of departments because they want to change the university according to their will. They want to force Unioeste to be a kind of 'branch' of USP or some federal university because they're the best universities in Brazil. [...] They don't realize we're different. In their minds, we're just worse [than those elite universities] (Lecturer in Business Studies 8).

Commenting on the divergence between these types of academics, the Lecturer in Health Sciences 9 expresses his concerns about the undue prominence he believes is given to research practices by the outsiders:

> You can see these people that have come with their PhD degrees to the university, recently. [...] They complain about the working conditions, and also about us because some of us do not have a PhD or a MA degree yet. However, we, the old people, are the ones who teach our students how to work there, outside the university (Lecturer in Healthy Sciences 9).

Added to this, the lecturer in Human Sciences 7 made a striking remark about the internal power struggle between these academic groups and their concern about losing power and control. When she was asked about the main changes she had noticed at the university in recent years, she talked about the growth of the number of lecturers with a master or doctor's degree. However, she also mentioned – even with some sarcasm – how some of her – "local" – senior colleagues have just embarked on MA or PhD courses. She suggested that this reflected their need to achieve a similar academic status as some of their peers who came to the university as doctors from other institutions. Thus, this was a way of keeping their positions within some powerful groups of the institution – both academic and political.

Although there is a striking contrast between "locals" and "outsiders" with regard to the significance that they attribute to professional training and research practices, this does not mean that anyone in these academic groups is against either of these activities. They just have different perspectives about what should be the priorities of a university. In fact, it can be said that most of the locals support the development of research and the MA and PhD programs in the university. However, it was only with the arrival of a larger number of new lecturers in recent years, especially in the mid 1990s, that these activities significantly increased. Moreover, the "outsiders" also value their teaching practices. This is evident in the interviews, as was exemplified by the remarks of the Lecturer in Technology 4 quoted above.

Although these two groups of academics may not be directly linked to the groups that are in favour of or opposed to the current educational policies being implemented in the Brazilian higher education system, their struggle reflects the institutional features – or, in other words, the academic field, habitus and practices – that influence the way that the peripheral universities are responding to the current process of change. This is evident in the metaphorical expression "university obesity" used to denote an institutional growth of poor quality. To some extent, "university obesity" is concerned with an imbalance between teaching and research that is reflected by the priorities of internal academic groups in their veiled struggle to impose their idea of a university.

5.3 "University obesity": possible causes

Among several matters raised during the interviews that exemplified the phenomenon of "university obesity", one was the recently introduced first-degree courses. Despite their initial enthusiasm for the increase in the number of students and courses of study, most of the lecturers interviewed expressed some concern about the new first-degree courses introduced in the late 1990s and early 2000s. These were often one of the main targets for comments, criticism, and even complaints made by the lecturers. In fact, the number of first-degree courses introduced at Unioeste during that period was

noteworthy by Brazilian university standards. For instance, from 1998 to 2003, there were 12 new classes formed from already existing courses, and 16 new first-degree courses in all the five campuses (Unioeste, 2001a; 2003a; 2005b).

Despite being criticised, these new courses are usually regarded by academics as welcome additions to the university for various – even obvious – reasons. In the first place, more courses means that a wider range of fields can be offered than the institution is used to. Thus, the students have more alternatives when choosing their professional training. Moreover, as the university increases its capacity to introduce a higher number of trained professionals for the labour market, its local reputation also rises since the institution is regarded by the community as a centre for professional training that helps to improve the social and economic development of the region.

Finally, some of the academics have great expectations from the new first-degree courses because they offer an opportunity to carry out new kinds of work within the university. This attitude is found among those lecturers that work in courses or departments related to their subject but that are not exactly their main area of interest. These lecturers display an enthusiasm that is based on a desire to work on genuine themes and with peers from their original field of study. This wish to move from one department to another by taking advantage of new first-degree courses was expressed in some of the interviews. Among the lecturers, one – who works in entirely different courses from the subject he graduated in – made clear that he was very enthusiastic about having first-degree courses in his specific area at the campus where he works.

This feeling of dissatisfaction with professional – particularly teaching – activities within the institution seems to be strong and is quite common. As was mentioned earlier, groups of "local lecturers" in geography, sociology and law that had formerly taught in courses of other fields of study have played an important role in introducing first-degree courses in these specific subjects in different Unioeste's campuses (Unioeste, 2001a; 2003a; 2005b). The interviewed lecturers – who were directly or indirectly involved in introducing some of these courses – stated that they were the outcome of

internal movements formed to serve the interests of particular groups of academics, and sometimes the result of external pressure from local politicians. In the particular case of the law course, it was in response to a request by a group of lawyers of Rondon campus that have been teaching other subjects (Unioeste, 2000). Although the request to introduce this course was first made in the early 2000s, it was set up in 2003 partly as a result of external pressure from local politicians in towns where other Unioeste campuses are located and that also require this particular course (Unioeste, 2001b; 2005c).

As was mentioned in Chapter Four, Unioeste has considerable political importance in electoral terms. Local politicians have often sought to improve their reputation among local electors by introducing a law course in their towns since it is regarded as having a high social status. Although Unioeste is an institution that caters for all the localities of the region, regardless of where a certain course takes place, there is rivalry between the campuses or the towns where they are located. There is often a conflict over the particular site chosen for a course because of factors such as prestige, resources, the nature of the campuses, and the wishes of the administrators who want to introduce them.

In fact, the presence within the university, of many lecturers capable of working in the required new courses has often been used as an argument to justify their inclusion on the grounds that the institution would not need to employ new lecturers, at least in the short term, and thus there would be no extra expense. However, although new courses are initially regarded as benefiting the growth of the institution, they can have a deleterious effect on academic work – resulting in "university obesity".

A certain amount of dissatisfaction over this kind of institutional expansion was expressed in the interviews as is illustrated by the following remarks:

> There aren't enough classrooms. The physical structure of the campus should be a priority! You don't have a laboratory to work in… Then, the [two new first-degree courses] arrived. There is no space! It is just more people to share our misery! They say we should cater for the needs of the community. But, at what cost? Is it our standards? I've

already heard some students saying the library doesn't have enough books. Our course is older, and we don't have many books either. So, I think it isn't a good thing to create new courses. This just adds to the number of lecturers and when I think about it, why set up more courses if the Campus isn't able to run properly the courses that it already has? [...] Why doesn't the state invest in the courses that are already running? (Lecturer in Human Sciences 5);

When the Law course was set up, all the local politicians came to the university to make speeches to the law students. They claimed they had helped to set up the course and had got R$15,000.00 to buy books for the course, and so on. Maybe, all of them did something, maybe only one. I don't know! What I know is that [my department] didn't receive a single cent last year to buy one book and no one came to talk to my students to explain why the [department] didn't receive any money (Lecturer in Human Sciences 7);

We carried out a survey in the region. [...] We have identified a local need, in fact expectation, for the [first-degree] course. We were very pleased with the results of the survey because it confirmed our expectations. We've been wanting this course for a long time. [...] But we had to arrange for it to be run during the morning because we don't have the right physical conditions to run another course at night. This was serious because most of our potential students have to work during the day. So we couldn't arrange the course to serve the community as we'd expected to do. [...] We couldn't employ anyone else until now because this was an agreement we had to make before we could start the course. So other lecturers [from other departments] are helping us, but it's a kind of improvisation. This isn't good! [...] In the end, we only have more work for the same salary! (Lecturer in Business Studies 5).

All these comments were made by "outsiders" that are part of the academic group that is most involved with research and the growth of the institution through the creation of MA and PhD rather than first-degree courses. Thus, it is not surprising that they have a somewhat negative view of the way the university is expanding because it is not developing but just growing, or as the Lecturer in Health Science 9 said, "it is getting fat". Even the Lecturer in Business Studies 5, who was initially favourable to this kind of growth, became disappointed with its results.

Thus, as the extracts above suggest, some academics, especially those that wish to devote more time to research, do not regard the creation of new courses as contributing to a desired model of institutional development

because they are introduced in a climate of stringent financial and structural conditions. Some academics are dissatisfied because these new courses give rise to additional work that gives them an excessive workload. Others are dissatisfied because this tendency can reduce the funds available for the already existing courses and departments as well as for outreach. This is because the amount of public funding received by the institution does not increase at the same rate as the rising financial costs of the new courses and their research and outreach activities.

This institution usually sets up a new course when it already has part of the necessary structure and a staff of lecturers to start it. However, this initial condition often only meets the basic needs of a new course. Thus, it is necessary for the university to make an immediate investment, employ new lecturers and establish a suitable structure for the course to ensure that it is viable. Nevertheless, as several comments from the interviews bear out the financial resources provided by the state government for new courses are usually insufficient, and this can result in a good deal of frustration – as was the case with the Lecturer in Business Studies 5.

Furthermore, in the view of some of the interviewees, most of the new buildings and equipment that had been acquired were designed to serve the new courses. The lecturers also stated that the older courses and departments had not received any significant financial aid during this period of expansion. In other words, as is suggested by their comments (or rather, complaints in the case of the Lecturer in Human Sciences 7), even when there is significant financial support for new courses, it can cause some discontent and disappointment among lecturers from the other departments and courses. This is because it can be interpreted as a form of neglect of the already existing courses, which are only being given limited support.

Although the new courses have been the favourite target of the academic's criticism, the interviews also revealed other signs of "institutional obesity". For instance, one factor that was often mentioned as a positive sign of institutional growth was the remarkable increase in the number of lecturers (75.72 percent between 1999 and 2003) (Unioeste, 2001a; 2003a; 2004b). However, all the lecturers interviewed complained that the number of

lecturers is still not enough to carry out all the university's activities satisfactorily since they are overloaded with academic and administrative commitments – which have been added to by the introduction of new first-degree and master courses. Together with this growth in the number of lecturers, there was also a remarkable increase in the number of people with doctorates and master's degrees in the same period – 262.07% and 94.4% respectively. These combined to increase the number of research projects being carried out by the institution – which saw a notable increase of 67.63%[16] (Unioeste, 2003b; 2005b). Nevertheless, this rise was still far below the university's expectations because it did not match the rise in the number of lecturers with a PhD or a MA degree, and also because the number of research projects carried out within the institution decreased by 8.52% between 2002 and 2003 (Unioeste, 2002a; 2003b; 2005b).

Several comments in the interviews suggest that the main reasons that account for the small expansion – and even the decrease – in the amount of research of this university are the inadequacy of the laboratory facilities and the lack of funds to undertake research projects. This can be seen in the following remarks:

We have a very good group of lecturers here, nowadays. Many of them are new here. They have enough enthusiasm to try to do things here because they are young and come from the big universities. They have had a good deal of academic experience so they want to carry out their research projects. They have to fund their own research because we're too engaged with teaching and outreach. [...] The failings of our structure are evident. The lecturers that do research have to pay for it with their own money (Lecturer in Business Studies 7);

This is our laboratory, our minuscule laboratory. See, I guess we have about R$500,000.00, maybe R$600,000.00 worth of equipment here but it's still very limited. That machine [he pointed to a machine] is broken. It cost R$100,000.00 and it isn't working because a part is missing that would cost only R$100.00 to replace. I could buy it but I refuse to do so. That's Unioeste's responsibility. Can you believe that? A R$100,000.00 machine isn't working because Unioeste cannot

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[16] Unfortunately, the available official data about the research conducted after 2003 is unreliable. However, as the number of doctors has continued rising in recent years, it is likely that the research activities carried have also continued growing.

afford R$100.00 to fix it! [...] There're so many times when you get frustrated because you cannot carry out your work in the way you would like to. Unioeste has people as efficient as, or more efficient than the people at Usp, ITA, and Unicamp but the work of these people is very limited because of their working conditions (Lecturer in Technology 1).

As well as this, the interviews suggest that many lecturers prefer to carry out outreach projects instead of research. For instance, the Lecturer in Human Sciences 5 mentioned she was one of the first lecturers of her Campus who opted to carry out research instead of engaging in an outreach project that was being undertaken by many lecturers of her Campus. She describes her experience as follows:

> When I arrived here I was the first person that did not want to do outreach. It is an ineffective form of social assistance. Well, that is my opinion. So I submitted a research project... (Lecturer in Human Sciences 5).

Another example of the possible preference for outreach practices, rather than research, can be found in the following comment made by the Lecturer in Health Sciences 9 about a colleague who avoided doing research and started an outreach project instead:

> I still believe the main role of a university is to produce science... and to prepare professionals for the labour market too. The research here is very complicated. There's no incentive. Sometimes you just want to give up. I have a colleague in [another] Campus. He's already a doctor. When he finished his research he said he would stop doing it. So he created an outreach project. I think he was right to do that. He has less [institutional] bureaucracy to deal with, and he told me he managed to get some money from the municipal government [for his outreach project]. I think he did the right thing because... Well, it's tough trying to obtain federal funds for research because we cannot compete against the structure of the USP or the Federal universities.

Thus, it is possible that the partially satisfactory improvement in the amount of research being carried out could also be due to the fact that many lecturers with a PhD degree prefer to devote their time to outreach projects, which are becoming an important alternative source of financial income for

this institution, as well as the academics themselves. In fact, as will be discussed in the next chapter, some of the interviewees stated that their outreach projects were of value in enabling them to increase the funds of their departments or Campus – mainly through services rendered to private or public companies.

Nevertheless, despite the evidence in the interviews of the importance of outreach for this university, the official data of the institution shows that there was more research than outreach being carried out during the first years of this decade. For instance, in 2002 the academics of this university carried out 634 research studies and only 303 outreach projects (Unioeste, 2003a; 2003b). However, a plausible explanation for this is that the outreach projects – at least in the period studied – had a better chance of obtaining funds than the research studies, since only 4 of these 634 research projects were funded, either completely or partially, by external financial agencies while at least[17] 12 of the 303 projects were funded by external agencies (Unioeste, 2003a; 2005b: 65).

The fact that outreach had a better prospect of obtaining financial support can be attributed to its character. It involves kinds of activity that can bring immediate benefits to the surrounding community and thus has a better chance of obtaining financial support from local companies. In contrast, the funds for research projects are mainly provided by a restricted number of state agencies. A researcher from Unioeste has less chance of obtaining financial support since he/she has to compete for it with researchers from elite universities that have already established a tradition in this area. Moreover, although this lack of experience is a failing of Unioeste, it helps those in more intensive research institutions to establish partnerships with companies that can also provide the necessary resources.

It should be stressed that the outreach of this university has also had its production reduced in a similar way to what occurred with research between 2002 and 2003. The number of outreach projects decreased by

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[17] The number of outreach projects afforded by external agencies is referred to as "at least 12" because the available information of these projects' budget was incomplete. Therefore, it is not possible to know precisely how many projects receive some financial support. Unfortunately, even Unioeste's official document of its institutional assessment published in 2005 (Unioeste, 2005b) does not provide any additional information about this subject.

19.63% between 2001 and 2002 (Unioeste, 2003a). Thus, although the data provided by the interviews suggests that there is an interchange between research and outreach, this is not corroborated by the data from the institution. Hence, simply replacing one activity with another does not represent the idea of 'enlarging without improving' which is embodied in the metaphor of "university obesity" examined here. This kind of "obesity" is thus represented by a reduction of both these practices despite the growth in the number of qualified lecturers with PhD and MA degrees.

It should be pointed out that some of the lecturers interviewed expressed a very sceptical view about the increase of the research carried out within the university during the last few years. They suggested that some fake research could have been done and that the final reports of these studies were approved by some departments as part of an espirit de corps among the lecturers. Although there is no evidence to support these accusations of fraud, the suspicions of the interviewees are borne out by the fact that the institution did not have accurate official procedures to assess the reliability of the research carried out by the lecturers until 2001 (Unioeste, 2004a). At present, the lecturers have to show that they have published an article on the basis of their research as part of a final report submitted to an assessment committee to prove that their research project was really carried out and its findings were made known to the academic community. However, before that year, the researcher only had to submit a very simple report of his/her research to the peers of his/her department, which would then endorse it (Unioeste, 2004a). In short, the suspicions suggest that some lecturers may have pretended they carried out a piece of minor research in order to justify the salaries paid to them by the state, since it was a part of their contract that they had to be engaged in research or outreach practices as well as their teaching activities.

Perhaps, what is more significant than these suspicions are the comments of many lecturers regarding the failure of Unioeste to encourage research. In fact, 23 of the 40 lecturers interviewed claimed – sometimes very emphatically – that this university does not value undertaking research:

The main responsibility of this university is professional training. I mean to introduce good professionals to the labour market. I guess this is what we do best! [...] But there's another role where we are unsuccessful. We should produce knowledge. We should do more research! We are still "crawling on all fours" in terms of research. The resources are very limited. It seems there's little incentive [for research]. [...] However, I think we've made a remarkable improvement during these last five years thanks to the good group of lecturers we have (Lecturer in Sciences 5);

I realize that one thing missing in Unioeste is clear policies. This is a thing that Unioeste has never had. I mean clear aims that will improve the university. [...] I would like there to be more incentives and more investment for research because I regard myself as a researcher. It's fine if they decide to focus on creating more first-degree courses. But there's a lack of a clear policy for this expansion. I mean they should have a plan to decide which course should be introduced first, then the next one, and so on. It seems they first launch the public examinations for the course and after that, they start trying to find the resources. Sometimes I think they decide to set up a new course during a coffee break (Lecturer in Technology 1).

The main argument that is usually made to justify the lack of incentives and investment for research lies in a general assumption that Unioeste should give priority to professional training, and that this was the main reason for its foundation in that region. It is true that this was its main role during its first years of existence. In addition, although some of the lecturers maintain that the university encourages research, 28 of the 40 lecturers interviewed[18], think that the conditions for conducting their research are unsuitable. By conditions, they mean the restricted institutional structures and the shortage of internal and external resources to fund it.

Several of the interviewees attributed the lack of incentive to carry out research to the limited financial resources of the institution. In this way, the difficulties related to research projects is basically thought as a financial problem. In fact, as discussed in Chapter Four, the public resources were sometimes not even sufficient to pay the lecturers' salaries and maintain the institutional organisation, even though academics can request financial

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[18] The official report of the institutional assessment of Unioeste shows that 89.18% of all the lecturers of the university consider the conditions for research to be unsatisfactory (Unioeste, 2005b: 60). This figure is higher, in terms of percentage, than the 28 interviewees who expressed discontent with the institutional constraints on research.

resources for research from either the federal or state government agencies. However, as was shown earlier in this chapter by the comment of the Lecturer of Health Sciences 9, the academics have many difficulties in obtaining resources because these agencies usually prefer to invest in research projects supported by universities that have a better structure and more qualified academics, which, in principle, have a better prospect of succeeding in their research projects. Thus, although the institution has a large number of academics capable of conducting research, some of them argue that the institution does not give enough financial support to these activities. They suggest that the probable cause of this inadequate investment is the traditional priorities of the institution, which are teaching/professional training and shows traces of its original purpose which was preserved by the so called "local lectures".

5.4 University obesity: different academics, different solutions

Although all the academics interviewed claimed there were some benefits in the current process of change that the university is undergoing, some also believe the final results can be adverse or even harmful to the institution and its academic work. The interviews also suggest that some of the recent improvements of aspects of the university – such as expanding laboratory facilities and employing more lecturers with a PhD degree – have enabled the institution to improve its teaching, research and outreach activities. However, the shortage of public funds has prevented it from exploiting its potential, and can also have an adverse effect on its physical structure, its working conditions and educational standards.

Thus in the lecturers' view, a part of the problem arising from an institutional expansion without improvement is caused by the inadequate funding of the state government. In fact, as was discussed in Chapter Four (see Table 5), there is a gap between the resources granted by the state and the real needs of the institution; a gap that is widening – partly as a result of the new courses being set up. In short, the situation of growing "obesity" that Unioeste is currently undergoing can be understood as being basically

caused by a growth that is not being matched by a corresponding financial support that should come from its main stakeholder, which is the state government.

On the strength of this reasoning, the "university obesity" is to some extent caused by the negligence of the state, inasmuch as Unioeste is seeking to meet current local expectations regarding its social role by increasing its number of courses and places, while the state is not playing its part and failing to support this social need for growth. In other words, since the universities are currently regarded as significant vehicles for economic progress, as is pointed out by Shattock (2005: 14), they are required to be more responsive to the local and national, as well as the social and economic needs. By doing this, this university would be fulfilling, at least in part, its social and economic responsibilities by responding to the increasing social demand for places.

Since this university does not carry out a significant amount of research (as has been argued throughout this chapter), it is able to fulfil its social mission by training a capable workforce for the local labour market. Although the university is failing to make a contribution in terms of knowledge production that could have a positive impact on the local or even national economy, this can be attributed to the neglect of the state, since some lecturers have clearly displayed an interest in increasing the amount of research carried out by Unioeste. This adds force to the idea (expressed by some of the interviewees as well as by the Brazilian literature) that the state's policies are turning the Brazilian higher education system into a "scrap-heap".

The constraints on public funding reflect the policy of the government which was to establish a new relationship between the state and the higher education system, and encourage the universities to move into the marketplace and search for alternative financial resources. In addition, it was hoped the universities would – or even should – acquire characteristics very similar to those of private organizations and become subject to the "rules of the market". These government strategies – which were outlined in the "Administrative Plan for the State Reform" (Brasil, 1995: 44-47) and in the "National Plan of Education' (Brasil, 1998a: 35-39) (see Chapters 2 and 3) –

aimed to increase the university's competitiveness and autonomy, and thus lead to an improvement of its activities.

Although these policies have been severely criticized by a part of the academic world, it can be argued the state has not ignored the universities. The "university obesity" examined here, can be viewed as resulting from the uncoordinated actions of different groups of academics with distinct interests that have a significant influence on the institutional administrative procedures. This is apparent when it is taken into account that a part of the expansion through new first-degree courses was not the outcome of institutional planning, but rather, a response to the interests of particular academic groups that managed to exert pressure on the administrative structures. Thus, the "university obesity" can also be regarded as an institutional problem caused by the way that the institution is being run insofar as it attempts to broaden some of its activities while keeping them entirely dependent on limited public resources. Hence, although the state is usually blamed for this situation, some of the lecturers interviewed thought that the university itself is partly responsible for its "obesity".

The answer of the institutions to this financial problem is expressed in two different – even opposing – ways. Perhaps it is preferable not to refer to actions emanating from the institution but rather to examine distinct procedures that are undertaken by groups of academics that seek to overcome problems in contrasting ways. Some of the academics are trying to obtain more resources to improve their practices by becoming more involved with the marketplace. These procedures can be characterized as an incipient form of academic capitalism (a concept that was discussed in Chapter Three).

At the same time, other academics are attempting to increase the revenue and improve the academic performance of the university by rejecting involvement with the marketplace and demanding more financial aid from the state. This second strategy is closely related to a traditional understanding that the university is a public good. From this perspective, the university is in danger of losing its character if it becomes too involved with the marketplace

because this kind of involvement can make the institution a hostage to private capital.

As will be discussed in the chapters that follow, a majority of the lecturers interviewed is very keen on establishing profit-making relations and partnerships with companies and organizations. They are sympathetic to the idea of carrying out their professional activities in a more mercantile atmosphere so that they can obtain alternative funding from external private and public sectors. This perspective is even understood by these academics as a means of increasing their own incomes and allowing the university to make a profit, as well as improving the conditions for carrying out research and – particularly in the peripheral universities like the one being studied here – outreach. However, this does not imply the whole institution is becoming more entrepreneurial. Indeed, as the entrepreneurial activities of the university originate from the interests of particular individuals or groups within the institution, they do not represent an institutional policy, though their ideas may have the support of the university management. Moreover, this institution does not embody all the five key elements, outlined by Clark (2004: 174-178), that define a university as being entrepreneurial.

The interviews suggest that two of these elements are present, though in an incipient form. One can detect the first signs of "entrepreneurialism in heartland departments", which lead to the creation of some "basic forms of extended developmental periphery". This was apparent in the interviews with some staff members (such as Lecturers in Health Sciences 1, 2 and 7, and Lecturers in Agricultural Sciences 2 and 3) of departments that tended to be of an increasingly entrepreneurial character (such as the School of Agronomy and Animal Husbandry and the School of Pharmaceutical and Medical Sciences). These are strategic teaching and research centres in the institution, especially agriculture which is the main economic activity of the region.

The interviewees stated that both Schools have established partnerships with some local public and private companies. For instance, according to the Lecturer in Agricultural Sciences 3, her department worked for 4 local companies between 2001 and 2003. However, she also stated that

she and her colleagues made little profit from these services, probably because they were the first attempts by a department to engage in such practices. Yet, she also thought they were beneficial since being involved with them can make it easier to sell other services and eventually obtain more resources, including funds for future research projects.

In fact, despite the efforts of some academics, the money obtained from sources other than the state is still insignificant. Apart from 2005, when the alternative resources corresponded to almost 13%, it barely represented one percent of the university's budget between 2003 and 2006 (Unioeste, 2001a; 2003a; 2007c). This can be attributed to the absence of an inner entrepreneurial culture and effective institutional policies aimed at increasing the university's budget by drawing on alternative resources.

This lack of official encouragement is noticeable in the remarks of the Lecturer in Business Studies 7 and in Technology 1, quoted earlier in this chapter. This suggests that another characteristic of an entrepreneurial university is lacking, that is a diversified funding base that can offer "many possible sources of support" (Clark, 2004: 174-175). Furthermore, as entrepreneurial practices are still restricted to the initiative of some individuals or departments, it cannot be said that this university has an "institution-wide entrepreneurial culture", which is another element of an entrepreneurial university (Clark, 2004: 177). There are only isolated entrepreneurial practices carried out by some academic groups that are interested in becoming involved with the marketplace and adopting market procedures. Despite this, even the limited entrepreneurship that is found is usually criticized by other academics who regard the process as a kind of privatization of the institution.

The criticism of entrepreneurialism – which is better described as "academic capitalist practices", in the term employed by Slaughter and Leslie (1997) – does not necessarily reflect a desire to break off the university's connections with the marketplace completely. It seeks to avoid a type of relationship in which the institution can become too dependent on private capital, and thus abandons or reduces its social responsibilities to the local community, and its traditional role as a medium for criticising society. In fact,

the contrast between these two views about the value of academic entrepreneurialism also reflects an ideological conflict between different academic groups.

As already mentioned, both groups are engaged in a tacit struggle for academic and administrative power within the institution. Each seeks to impose its particular views on the other about what can be understood by a university, its mission and the way it should operate. In other words, they are struggling to impose and reproduce their own habitus and practices (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Moreover, both groups play key roles in the internal political and academic arena that affects the administration of the university. Although the Schools and departments are jostling for positions of power in strategic administrative sectors so that they can have an ideological influence on the institution, the tacit tension that exists between the academic groups has the effect of weakening the central university administration. In other words, this situation hampers any attempt to establish a "strengthened steering core", which is another key element of an entrepreneurial university (Clark, 2004: 175-176).

The resistance to the adoption of a more entrepreneurial system may be due to the feeling of insecurity that arises when taking risks to bring about radical change, as well as ideological factors that support a particular concept of a university. As the Brazilian literature and empirical data of this research make clear, the process of change which is stimulated by educational policies, does not bring about immediate improvements in the higher education system. On the contrary, as illustrated by the academics' comments quoted in this chapter, it may cause a deterioration of the institutional structure and the academic working conditions, and thus can make it difficult for the university to move into the marketplace. In short, it can end up in a situation of "university obesity".

Moreover, these adverse effects support a general feeling that the state government, through its neo-liberal policies, is intentionally aiming at making the public university system a "scrap-heap". This is based on an assumption – which is fairly common among some lecturers – that the state is a kind of "external enemy" of the higher education system. This

perspective is shared by the National Lecturers' Union (ANDES, 2003) and a significant part of the Brazilian literature – such as Catani and Oliveira (1999b), Gentilli (2001) and Mancebo (2004) among others.

Thus, while some academics have expressed a desire to change the situation with all its drawbacks so that opportunities can be found for institutional and, above all, personal development through a greater involvement with the marketplace, others think it represents a crisis that is damaging the image of the university. In their view an ideal university should be responsible for making relevant social and political criticism and allowing reflection, as well as producing socially useful knowledge. For this reason, they think the current crisis must be opposed and overcome. Hence, this second group of academics has been reacting against the recent Brazilian educational policies and those of the most recent federal and state governments that have been understood as being responsible for the decline and privatization of the public higher education system. These reactions have led to a political movement that is driven by the national and local lecturers unions, which have written several manifestos and organised demonstrations and strikes. In short, a part of the academic world has decided to resist!

6. Addressing the university crisis: turning to resistance

This Chapter provides an analysis of one of the two main activities that academics have been engaged in to deal with the current institutional crisis discussed in earlier chapters. This is a political movement of resistance against the current Brazilian educational policies, which are regard as having had a harmful effect on the institution being examined, and the higher education system as a whole. These academics seek to overcome the crisis by obtaining more public support for the institution's activities. Although this situation is generally regarded by the Brazilian literature as a power struggle between internal (academics) and external (government) agents, an inner – albeit tacit – tension is noticeable among academics that would prefer to deal with the crisis in a different way. In the light of this, this chapter introduces the initial answers to the first research question of this thesis, which address the way that Brazilian academics in the public peripheral universities are responding to the effects of the educational polices.

6.1 The perspective of the literature: the defence of the public good

As discussed in Chapter Three, a significant part of the Brazilian literature strongly argues that the process of globalization has been responsible for widening the social and economic divisions that exist between some societies and nations. An example of this is Lander (2001: 47), who states that:

> Far from providing increased welfare benefits on a collective basis to the majority of the people, the current process of globalization, which involves a radical form of capital deregulation, has rapidly increased the inequality and problem of "exclusion" in different countries as well as within each of them (*my translation*).

In his view, globalization is also responsible for the rise and spread of neo-liberal policies that have increased the political and economic power of the private sector (Lander, 2001: 50). In the case of Brazilian higher education, these policies have led to a reduction in the public funding to the institutions

(Corbucci, 2004: 686). As a result, the higher education system has been forced to adopt entrepreneurial practices, and become more closely linked to the marketplace through a process of "marketization" of the universities and "commodification" of education (Sguissardi, 2004: 49; Pinto de Almeida, 2002: 54). These authors argue that the neo-liberal policies have weakened the structure of the public universities in Brazil, and made them more dependent on private financial resources. Finally, this situation has led to a reduction of their institutional autonomy and academic freedom since it has forced academics and institutions to be more engaged with external rather than internal agendas.

With regard to this, Gentili (2001) states that the public universities in Brazil and the whole of Latin America are undergoing a severe crisis:

> the neo-liberal policies are an obstacle to constituting an autonomous intellectual world because they exhaust, impoverish and degrade the universities, when regarded as institutions that offer a public space for the production of socially useful knowledge (Gentili, 2001: 111-112) (*my translation*).

This results in "a poor structure, the 'marketization' of the university and very poor working conditions for both teaching and research [...] this seriously affects the production and socialization of knowledge" (Gentili, 2001: 112) (*my translation*). This author concludes by outlining a pessimistic view, in which academics and institutions are gradually avoiding their social responsibilities and ceasing to reflect on and adopt a critical stance to social and political issues. He claims that: "the political and democratic commitment of the intellectuals diminishes if, to any great extent, they cease to participate in the struggle and resistance of the Latin American social movements of the people" (Gentili, 2001: 112) (*my translation*).

It should be stressed that the crisis of the Brazilian universities referred to by Gentili (2001) – as well as by Catani and Oliveira (1999b), Leher (2004) and Mancebo (2004) among others – arises from four interrelated factors. First, the neo-liberal educational policies implemented by the federal government have reduced the public funds of the public universities, and this has led to a weakening of their structure and a

worsening of working conditions (Amaral, 1999). Next, this situation has compelled the universities to seek alternative financial resources, especially from the private sector. A further point is that the partnerships with private companies deprive public universities of some of their autonomy by making them become dependent on private funding. This also has an adverse effect on academic freedom since academics have to carry out research and services that are of value to the companies but not necessarily to society. Thus, current educational policies can bring about privatisation within the public higher education system (Mancebo, 2004: 852). Finally, in a perspective of this kind, education becomes a commodity, which can widen the gap between different social groups since not every social class can afford to "purchase" a good education (Leher, 2001: 178; Corbucci, 2004: 698). Thus, the state can be blamed for the main features of the crisis that the higher education system is currently undergoing inasmuch as the institutional decline can be regarded as the outcome of external pressures, particularly those arising from the government's neo-liberal policies.

According to these authors, there are three key university's aspects that are at risk and need to be protected. An analysis of them can help understanding the idea of university they seek to defend. First, the university is regarded as a public good. Here, the term "public" can be defined as something that is entirely funded by the state; it is solely the state's responsibility to pay for the services of public universities. Viewed from this perspective, the state should not be just the main stakeholder of the public university but ideally the only one. In this way, the services of the public university are completely free to its users and this ensures that every citizen has the right of access to higher education – although it does not guarantee that people from a poor social background can be offered a place at a public university since they first have to pass difficult entrance exams.

The second characteristic concerns institutional autonomy and academic freedom. In the view of many Brazilian authors, such as Belloni and Obino Neto (2000) and Gentili (2001), these concepts can only be preserved if the state funding frees the university from the need to apply for financial aid from the private sector. Thus, the academics do not have to

move from internal to external agendas – or rather, they are not under pressure to serve private interests. In such a point of view, it is essential for autonomy and academic freedom to be secured by public funds to allow the university to be deeply engaged with important social issues. This does not mean that academics should not serve the interests of private capital. However, if the institution is not in immediate need of resources, it will be able to choose whether or not to do so. Moreover, this idea of the university stresses that the priority of teaching, research and outreach should be given to social and political matters – particularly those that affect underprivileged groups. This is what Chaui (2001: 116) calls the "political vocation" of the university, meaning that it has the responsibility to play a significant political and social role.

The emphasis on this "political vocation" is the third characteristic of this idea of university. Gentili (2001) claims that the university has a political role by being responsible for reflecting on and, if necessary, criticizing the government, as well as corporate and social measures. In short, the university should be an active and representative political arena (Chaui, 2001: 117). This does not mean it should act as a kind of "supervisor" of society and government. This political role should entail an increasing participation of academics in social, economic and political processes, although this emphasis does not mean ignoring the university's "scientific vocation". Chaui (2001: 123) stresses the importance of political engagement insofar as there is an imbalance in the involvement of academics in actions concerned with these two university vocations. Chaui (2001: 123) also argues there is a gap between knowledge production and citizenship within academia since many academics are not concerned about the social relevance of their research. This particularly applies to those academics who are more interested in producing useful knowledge and technology for the marketplace than helping to solve current economic and social problems. In her view, they only wish to be involved in activities that can yield some profit both to the institution and themselves, and are not concerned about narrowing the wide social and economic gap that exists between the social classes. For this reason, authors such as Gentili (2001) and Chaui (2001)

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claim that neo-liberal policies in Brazil have a negative effect on the scientific activities of the university and pose a threat to its "political vocation".

A further point about this idea of university is that it is strongly supported by left-wing academics. Thus, the desire to defend a type of university which gives priority to a deeply political engagement can probably be attributed to the fact that the Brazilian universities played a very important role against the military dictatorship in the period 1964-85. However, since the end of the dictatorship, there has been a decline in the participation of students and lecturers in political movements. Chaui (2001: 132) points out that owing to the influence of neo-liberal policies, most academics now adopt a passive stance with regard to social reality. This apathy has only been interrupted when very specific university corporative issues have arisen, such as a demand for higher salaries. Thus, the crisis examined by these authors is basically concerned with the social and political character of the institutions, though they also believe damage has been caused to the production of knowledge by the entrepreneurial characteristics introduced to the university as a result of neo-liberal policies.

Hence, a significant part of the Brazilian literature adopts a very radical point of view by suggesting that any interference or investment from private capital is intrinsically harmful to the exercise of academic freedom. In such a perspective, the work and political positions of academics are compromised by external financial pressures. There is some circumstantial evidence for this as when for instance, in 2005, a prestigious Brazilian newspaper revealed that some medical researchers had been accused of deliberately conducting biased studies so that the distorted results could benefit some pharmaceutical companies. Moreover, a report by a committee of ethics in medical research stated that one scientist in three admits to misconduct when undertaking research (Folha de São Paulo, 2005d; 2005e; 2005f).

This is not just a criticism of dishonest professionals (as in the example of the medical researchers) but also of anyone who thinks that private capital can form the basis of his/her academic work, and stems from an idea of a university that is firmly based on ideological principles and that

regards the public nature of the universities as the sole responsibility of the state. Perhaps paradoxically, although this model emphasises the university's contribution to social and economic development, it rejects the possibility of this occurring through partnerships with private companies.

Hence, by following this rationale, it is understandable that there is an attitude of resistance on the part of many Brazilian academics against the current educational policies because their ideal of a university is being threatened. Although there is no consensus among academics – as discussed in Chapters Five – the National Lecturers' Union (ANDES, 2003) and several academic groups from different universities have joined a resistance movement to "save" what they regard as a real public university. This standpoint is explicit in many articles that claim some government actions have led to the privatization and the decline of the university. As Leher (2004: 887) points out:

> When faced with the process [of reforming] the public universities, the Lecturers' Unions cannot accept it. If they do so, the price they will have to pay, is their loss of autonomy and inability to make criticisms, as well as the decline of the unions themselves. The lecturer's political movement will be under the biggest pressure in its history. As our movement is the body that makes the most radical criticism of this privatization and the destruction of the university as a public space, the sectors that take advantage of the *entrepreneurial* style of university will forge alliances with the governments that are bent on closing down the university to defeat us (*my translation*).

This way of interpreting and acting against the educational policies for higher education finds an echo in what happens at peripheral universities such as the one being investigated.

6.2 Resistance at the peripheral universities: strikes and demonstrations

As in other parts of the country, the view that the current educational policies are harming the university's structure and activities can be found within the institution being investigated. This forms the framework that supports the activities of academics whose main aim is to protect and

strengthen the political dimension of the university under threat. These opinions can be found at different occasions during the interviews. Some academics criticize their colleagues for supporting the prospect of becoming more involved with the marketplace. At other times, some academics severely criticise the state government, which is blamed for failing to fulfil its responsibilities to the university and causing it to deteriorate. For instance, the following questions asked by the Lecturer in Human Sciences 5 correspond to some points supported by the authors mentioned in the previous section, and raise serious doubts about the role played by the state in recent years. She wants to know the reasons for the institution increasing its expenditure by introducing new courses rather than investing in activities that are already running since there are often insufficient resources to carry them out. In other words: what is the reason for supporting an "obese university", rather than a "smaller, healthier university"?

> I don't think it is a good idea to set up new courses. This makes me, as well as other lecturers ask: why set up more courses if the Campus is not able to support the courses it already has? [...] Why doesn't the state invest in the courses that are already running? (Lecturer in Human Sciences 5).

This lecturer adds further comments in an attempt to answer her questions. She suggests the state, as the main stakeholder, is really responsible for the current situation in the institution:

> I think the state government has forgotten that the university also belongs to the state. It seems that the state government just leaves us with the leftovers. Isn't the university important to the state? Sometimes I think so. We don't have resources to do anything, for example, to buy material or go to conferences. [...] It seems the state doesn't want to improve the quality of our services within the university (Lecturer in Human Sciences 5).

Similarly, other lecturers also suggest that the state is aggravating the process by imposing constraints on the use of university resources. For this reason, some academics regard the state as playing a significant role in the

decline of their working conditions and the quality of teaching and research, as is made clear in the following comments:

> There're changes because of the educational policies launched by the Ministry of Education. This National Plan of Education, for the last ten years... What can I say? It was designed to hit us by making the pedagogy courses weaker, and imposing on us these [vocational] primary school teacher training courses just to say the kids have been taught to read and write by teachers with a higher education degree. [...] This is taking place because of a new world order that is squeezing us [...] So we [the staff members of the department] have taken up very clear position against the neo-liberal attacks that the government is making against us (Lecturer in Human Sciences 2);

> We have faced several difficulties lately. There was that long strike last year [2002]. We feel constantly threatened because of these neo-liberal proposals. We have to be very wary because... You can see that, nowadays, you have to organize an event but you also have to find an external sponsorship for it; you have to run the department, and you have to do research and teach... Some colleagues have to teach more than 20 hours per week, and attend several meetings. What time do they have to do research? By the way, nowadays we have to find someone who will sponsor the research that we do. So, in the end, the lecturer has to carry out more and more of the responsibilities set out by the neo-liberal policies. [...] The lecturers are overloaded. I'm sure that no one in my department just works for 40 hours per week [which is what they are paid for]. The state isn't playing its role as our stakeholder (Lecturer in Human Sciences 9).

These comments reflect the opinions (expressed in the literature) that the state is mainly responsible for the current university crisis. Some academics argued in the interviews that the national and state educational and economic policies launched in the mid 1990s have helped to cause this "growth without improvement". In other words, the state's policies have led to the deterioration of both the university's structure and academic working conditions as well as to a decrease of institutional autonomy and academic freedom that has had an adverse effect on the standards of higher education and research. In short, this serious situation has been caused by an "external agent".

Concerns about the harmful effects of the reforms implemented by an "external agent" has led to a lively debate among Brazilian academics, as

well as the organizations that represent them, such as the National Lecturers' Union (ANDES-SN) and the National Association of Managers in Federal Higher Education Institutions (ANDIFES). Many of the ideas arising from these debates – usually characterized by severe criticism of the government and its policies – have been expressed in books and articles published in academic journals and prestigious newspapers, official documents sent to the state and federal government, and political manifestos disseminated among the academic community of the higher education institutions. Basically, the aim of this literature is to encourage students and lecturers to oppose the principles of the university reforms set out by the Ministry of Education.

This opposition has been expressed through demonstrations held in the capitals of the states (Folha de São Paulo, 2005a), and student invasions of the administrative centres of many universities throughout the country, such as USP, Unesp, Ufes and Ufrgs (Folha de São Paulo, 2007b; 2007c). For instance, the seizure of the rector's building in USP in 2007 – the most important university of the country – lasted for 51 days. During this period, the students demanded more public funds for the university, and requested a re-examination of State Decree 51,460/2007 enacted by the government of Sao Paulo state (São Paulo, 2007). In their opinion, this threatened their institutional autonomy because it required greater public accountability by the university (Folha de São Paulo, 2007a). Just a few weeks after this decree was enacted, the government of Parana State, where Unioeste is located, also enacted a decree (Decree 848/2007) with a similar ruling (Paraná, 2007). This immediately caused a strong reaction among the academic community of the public universities, though it was not accompanied by any invasion of public places.

In addition, the universities have repeatedly held several strikes during the last few years to demand higher salaries and better working conditions (Buarque, 2004: 33). The strikes have been the main form of pressure against the deterioration of the university structure, the reduction of public funds and loss of institutional autonomy. In fact, many authors attach great importance to the strikes as the main – sometimes only – instrument that the

academics possess to struggle against government pressure and neglect. Buarque (2004: 33) even states that "without these strikes the federal universities might have already closed down or been abandoned".

At the same time, this academic resistance has eroded the internal relationships between different academic groups, as well as harming the social reputation of the institutions. Even academics who value the academic struggle in favour of the concept of a university as a public place for expressing social criticism, recognize that "the consequences of these strikes have been extremely exhausting and demoralized the universities by damaging their social prestige" (Buarque, 2004:33). In fact, this strategy may no longer be as effective as it used to be. The government does not seem to be affected by this type of action, and this has made the strikes last longer in recent years. For instance, the last strike at Unioeste (sometimes mentioned in the interviews) lasted for almost six months – from September 17th, 2001 to March 1st, 2002 (PSTU, 2002). However, the lecturers returned to their work with most of their demands not having been met by the government, and with a good deal of administrative damage that had to be repaired in the years that followed.

As this investigation is concerned with how far the university is being threatened by the state's policies, it was expected that some of the academics interviewed would express their opinions about possible forms of resistance. Although there were comments expressing support for the movement against the policies (as is shown by some extracts from the interviews), several academics expressed doubts about the value of the movement and even disagreed with it. Most of the comments in favour of a resistance movement stressed the importance of its internal organization when holding strikes. This may have been because, at the time of the interviews, this institution was still recovering from the long strike between 2001 and 2002. Several of the interviewees thought that this is the main step they can take as a form of confrontation. This is borne out by the following extracts:

> We have a very strong resistance. We have a very active history of resistance and our Pedagogical Project is – I can say, particularly with

regard to the courses of my own department – revolutionary by modern-day standards. [...] My department is the one that led the strikes - like the last one, last year [2002]. The staff in my department is made up of the people that effectively fight for certain rights. So we are very clearly taking a political stand. [...] We will fight! We will organize the next strike because we believe in a better university for everybody (Lecturer in Human Sciences 2);

We are well organized here. We will probably begin a strike sooner or later. Even our students are actively engaged in the movement. Some of the students have gone to Curitiba [the state capital] to take part in a demonstration against the state's policies. [...] Some departments are more conservative and reluctant to get involved in the lecturers' movement. But I feel the academics of this university should work together in times like this because it affects everyone. I guess, everybody feels it's the only way to obtain our rights (Lecturer in Human Sciences 7);

A public university like this one is an important thing to the state. It isn't important just to the region. It's important to the whole state. If it was clever enough, the state government could use it as a means of political propaganda. [...] However, the state government prefers to turn us into a "scrap-heap". [...] We support a public university, but the state government is forcing us to become like a private one. We cannot allow this! It's our duty to fight against it because the university is a public good... We are not alone in this movement. This is a national struggle! (Lecturer in Human Sciences 4).

All these comments were made by lecturers from human sciences' departments. Although this group of lecturers is not the only one that supports the resistance movement, the interviews suggest their members are usually those who are most involved. Moreover, although it might be thought that there is a consensus of opinion among all the academics, only 10 lecturers of the 40 interviewed were enthusiastically supportive of a political movement against the state and its policies.

Apart from two health sciences lecturers and one from business studies, the other seven belonged to the group of human sciences. Another five lecturers (three from the human sciences) mentioned the importance of the last strikes, and the need to be aware of political manoeuvres on the part of the state that could be damaging. However, these five lecturers were not in favour of demonstrating against the government, except for very particular

reasons[19]. The attitude of these five lecturers was close to that of the other 25 lecturers who did not think strikes and demonstrations were suitable activities for improving the institution. Among these 25 lecturers (and the last five lecturers just mentioned), there was a predominant view that the university should invest in research and outreach as a means of obtaining more resources from external agencies, and improving their local and even national reputation. For instance, the Lecturer in Agricultural Sciences 2 was one of the five lecturers who showed some sympathy for the resistance movement when he mentioned the importance of the National Lecturers' Union standing up against the official policies:

> I think we have good alternatives to the federal government's recommendations for university reform. The ANDES [National Lecturers' Union] has made a very good proposal. It's undertaking useful discussions about it as I could see for myself in the meetings I took part in (Lecturer in Agricultural Sciences 2).

However, later this same lecturer stated the following:

> That strike we carried out last year [2002] was the longest ever held [in the country]. But, what did we get? We got nothing but problems. [...] However, another issue is the financial resources we can get for doing research, but I think we don't know yet how to make use of this opportunity (Lecturer in Agricultural Sciences 2).

Although most of the interviewees from the Human Sciences' departments were incorporated in the resistance movement, this does not mean there was a consensual view among all the members of this "academic tribe". Two – out of eleven – interviewees from the human sciences had a positive view on profit-making university practices. On the other hand, the resistance movement mainly consisted of lecturers from those departments. The large presence of these lecturers is usually attributed to the fact that they are not in a position to sell their services or research results to the

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[19] One reason for such an action could well be, for instance, something similar to the Decree 848 (Parana, 2007), which could actually constrain academic freedom and institutional autonomy. The Decree 848 laid down a set of principles that were so unreasonable that it only lasted for one month. The state government made several amendments as soon as the Lecturers' Unions pointed out the problems they involved. Nevertheless, as the decree was passed into law some time after the interviews, although this is, obviously, only an assumption.

marketplace because they are less attractive to private capital than those carried out by the technological or scientific departments. Thus, the resistance could be thought of as arising from a general apprehension about the outcome of changes and risk-taking by academic members that might suffer from this process.

However, the data suggest that the basis for the resistance is more ideological than organizational. In other words, it does not seem to be caused by a concern about risk-taking or the insecurity of changing used structures and academic practices, as Clark (2004: 92-95) and Taylor (1999: 90-93) suggest. The resistance appears to be a movement designed to protect political ideals that, it is believed, can only be fulfilled by keeping the main characteristics of a traditional university (this issue will be fully explored in the last section of this chapter). It is worth noting that the rationale of the movement can be extended to a wide range of institutions and affects most lecturers, even those that are in favour of marketing practices and a kind of university that comes close to being entrepreneurial.

6.3 Practices and habitus: reproducing a pattern of resistance

The point mentioned above by the Lecturer in Agricultural Sciences 2 regarding the possibility of obtaining further resources for the university through profit-making research practices, recurs in the comments of several lecturers that claim, (though sometimes in a hesitant manner), that they are not involved in a resistance movement. For instance, the answer of the Lecturer in Sciences 3 to the question about the current reduction of public funds to the university raises some similar points to those of the Lecturer in Agricultural Sciences 2:

> First, we should apply to the state agencies that sponsor the research done by the universities. [...] Another possible measure, although I don't like it very much. . I don't mean I don't agree with those who do it. I just think it doesn't have to be the first choice... Well you could try to obtain external funds from private companies because you can get private money without becoming a private institution since this is not what our university is like. So the idea could be to try to obtain some financial support for the courses and thus improve the students'

professional qualifications. It's easier to do that in some subjects, like computer science and engineering. [...] If the university had a way to allocate the funds obtained from private sources in [a somewhat balanced way throughout the departments] an equitable manner, it would be possible to get resources without putting our public character at risk (Lecturer in Sciences 3).

An interesting point in this quotation is the cautious way this Lecturer refers to the possibility of obtaining private funds by carrying out research in a public university. The particular relevance of this is the general assumption that any private investment in a public university can threaten its public character. This clearly reflects the ideas of the Brazilian literature and the views of lecturers that are involved in the political resistance movement against the current educational policies. In fact, the damage caused by allowing private capital to enter public universities is a widespread idea within the institution.

In addition, the quotation suggests that some academics feel uncomfortable in undertaking, or even accepting, entrepreneurial practices and perspectives within the institution. The data suggest that they are not comfortable about agreeing to carry out a more entrepreneurial kind of practice because the "dominant" or more visible "discourse" within the institution disapproves of this conduct. The discomfort is not necessarily caused by direct pressure from an individual or group of lecturers. However, some of the interviews suggest that certain academics who are concerned that their colleagues may disapprove of their entrepreneurial perspective. The following remark of the Lecturer in Sciences 4 also reveals disquiet about this point:

There are some people that think a lot about this idea of doing work for companies as a way of obtaining funds because the university doesn't have money and the state won't give more money to us in a hurry, will it? But I think this is a very delicate issue. [...] At the [public] university where my husband used to work, there was a sector that offered paid courses to the community and companies. [...] This meant they could get funds and invest them. Things worked out very well; better than here. So I think it is something that is worthwhile... On the other hand, there's this issue about being a public university. The state has to pay for it, and no services should be charged because society had already paid for them... However, I believe we

could promote some [paid] courses through outreach... But this is a delicate matter here and I don't want to comment on it (Lecturer in Sciences 4).

Although there is no evidence of open intimidation, this issue causes a degree of self-criticism among some lecturers and may prevent them from adopting a favourable opinion of entrepreneurial practices. This "self-imposed" silence is perhaps a form of self-protection inasmuch as support for entrepreneurial policies or practices opposes both the perspective of the literature and the general attitudes of the resisting group, which despite its small number of supporters, has a significant influence within the institution.

As well as this, even the interviewees that expressed support for entrepreneurial practices, or just argued in favour of the need for them within the university, usually added a comment insisting that they did not want to change its public character. This was apparent in remarks such as the following:

> The role of the university, in my view, is to serve society, especially those that most need help. However, we don't need to be very radical. We should engage in dialogue with all sectors, but try to serve those who are most deprived. [...] Some courses are more ideologically committed such as philosophy and sociology... These people don't agree with me but I don't see anything wrong in forming partnerships with private companies. But many people here think we are going to sell our souls if we do that. [...] In fact, [my department] has done some services to [a private organization]. It has been good for the university because it gets some money. [...] I see it as a positive step. Nevertheless, we must be aware that the public universities cannot become institutions that just sell their services to those that can pay for it. We must be aware of this! (Lecturer in Human Sciences 11);

> Unfortunately, we don't have a tradition of private companies sponsoring university projects. It's a pity! There should be a greater interaction between universities and companies. [...] There are many people who would disagree with me about establishing partnerships, though fortunately not in my department, but in the university. Many lecturers, particularly in this campus, will accuse you of privatizing the university if you do that. Of course, that's foolish! I don't want to privatize the [public] university. I don't know anyone who wants to do that. [...] The university will not be less public just because you do that. On the contrary, the university will be in a better position to fulfil its role (Lecturer in Business Studies 3).

As is clear from the last four interviews quoted, some interviewees are not comfortable in openly expressing their support for entrepreneurial academic practices. Alternatively, they seem to feel the need to make clear that these practices do not affect the public nature of the university. In other words, the former appears to be a kind of self-criticism while the latter is a means of justifying that this type of activity is harmless to the institution. In both cases, the interviewees revealed their viewpoint in a way that is designed to prevent anyone blaming them for being against the public university and in favour of privatization.

Although no-one wished to transform a public university into a private one, there were several lecturers who openly or covertly supported the adoption of market-like practices within the university:

> It's clear to me that the state cannot fund all the state universities. I think the university should create the means to support itself. If it doesn't do this completely, at least it can do it partially. I agree with this policy of selling services. My department has been discussing how to do it but this does not mean privatizing Unioeste itself. Unioeste is public, students do not pay fees, but this doesn't mean everything of the university is free, does it? (Lecturer in Business Studies 8);

> Not all this equipment is being used at present. [...] So let's put the laboratory in the marketplace. [...] I think we could make some money to improve the quality of our courses. [...] But there are those that say this is a public university and we can't do this, we can't do that... Either we change our idea about what it's public, or we won't have the structure to survive in this capitalist system where we live (Lecturer in Technology 1).

These kinds of practices are not enough to turn a public university into a private one, neither are they enough to characterize it as entrepreneurial. However, they necessarily modify the traditional "non-profit-making" feature of the public universities, and alter the customary notion of "public" ascribed to them. Moreover, the modifications that some lecturers believe, and fear, are likely to follow this first change, are significant. More precisely, the institutions may become too closely linked to private funding and this can

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lead to the reduction of state sponsorship, and make them entirely dependent on private companies.

This means, the universities might have to work almost exclusively for the interests of the private vested interests that are paying for them. As a result, these lecturers think that the universities will have to modify their political role since they are in a position to criticize the private sector that is sponsoring them. Furthermore, the universities could end up by failing to carry out their responsibilities to other social sectors, and even compromise its "tuition-free" character since this might be treated like any other service provided by the institution.

It is a basic assumption that Brazilian public universities can only preserve their traditional style of working, their essential procedures and, basic features if they are fully sponsored by the state. By and large, this notion of being "public" is something that cannot be questioned, although some of the lecturers interviewed raised this very possibility – or necessity – as in the case of the Lecturer in Technology 1, who (in his quoted remarks) pointed out the need to change the "idea about what is public". However, it is unlikely that there will ever be a review of the concept of "public" in the way it has been historically ascribed to the university or even questions raised about the restrictions it imposes on institutional practices that might be profit-making. This public concept is generally accepted as the fundamental basis that underpins the university. It is a principle which ensures that all the university's activities should be free and appears to be sacrosanct. For this reason, some interviewees felt the need to explain that some of their opinions did not represent a threat to this characteristic, (as was shown in the quotations of the Lecturers in Human Sciences 11 and Business Studies 3).

Thus, some interviews suggest there is a need to overcome some of the barriers imposed by the usual meaning of the term "public" so that the university can supplement its financial reserves and, in this way, its ability to make a significant contribution to society. In addition, this must be done without imposing restraints that could restrict the university's services to private vested interests, and confine its contribution to particular social groups. However, given this need, what are the mechanisms that bring about

a consensual agreement about this concept that is so strong that there is no prospect of it being reviewed? What are the structures within which the lecturers work that make it necessary for them to explain that when they welcome entrepreneurial practices within the institution, this does not mean they are approving of or encouraging the privatization of public universities?

An answer to these questions might lie in Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) ideas of symbolic violence, which represent a process whereby particular social restraints are produced by indirect cultural mechanisms rather than by direct coercive social control. The concept can be defined as the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning upon social groups that experience them as legitimate. The legitimacy makes it hard to discern the power relations between the groups, and this helps to make the imposition of these systems – and the particular habitus and practices associated with them – "naturally" accepted and systematically reproduced (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 1-10). In other words, symbolic violence is the outcome of elusive power struggles between groups that invest their social, cultural and symbolic capital in order to impose the worldview that is most satisfactory to their interests, and success of which depends on the internalization of the principles that accept and recognize the worldview as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1989: 8-14).

Symbolic violence implies the use of symbolic systems – such as myth, language and science – that are involved in the process of planning and establishing the worldview of the groups. Symbolic systems, that are, basically, structured instruments of knowledge and communication, are thus used as instruments of power in the process of symbolic violence. Apart from acting to inculcate particular social and cultural perspectives that coalesce to form a legitimate consensus among different groups, symbolic systems also play a kind of "pedagogical role" that results in continuous training. It is the habitus itself that is internalized and which can carry on reproducing itself within the social groups that have incorporated it (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 31). In other words, symbolic violence uses structured instruments of power based on symbolic systems of communication and knowledge that also construct structures. Insofar as they are structuring instruments (or

"structuring structures" to be faithful to Bourdieu's words), they fulfil their political and ideological function by imposing and legitimising a veiled and self-reinforcing domination or influence of one group upon another (Bourdieu, 1989: 11).

In the particular case analysed here, apart from being strengthened by its legal basis, the conventional concept of "public" attributed to the public universities in Brazil is established by a very influential discourse that is widespread throughout the institutions. It is a discourse which is opposed to marketable practices and states that the entrance of vested interests into public universities will pervert their nature, mission and practices. Hence, it is impelled to thwart any policies and practices that can drive the institution towards marketable or entrepreneurial kinds of organization and conduct. In short, it seeks to protect the traditional idea of a public university in Brazil.

In addition, it is a discourse that is readily accepted by most lecturers since it is based on the rationale that one must protect and strengthen an autonomous, free and politically and socially engaged type of university, which is only possible if it is sponsored by the state. Moreover, it becomes more persuasive and acceptable to the extent that this discourse harshly criticizes the neo-liberal policies that are partly responsible for the current structural decline, which is already apparent. In fact, the structural problems currently faced by the universities not only support this "discourse", but also strengthen it. Thus, if one is opposed to it, this implies that one is in favour of the current institutional decline.

Furthermore, the favourable reception of the "discourse of resistance" can be attributed to the authority or reputation of its supporters. As already discussed, much of the Brazilian literature supports a concept of public university that is in tune with the discourse hostile to entrepreneurial universities. The authority of the authors helps to turn this kind of "discourse" into the most common opinion among the academics, and also into the most reliable version of what a public university must be. In addition, several supporters of this kind of university are members of different university ruling bodies. Since they are actively involved in decision-making boards, their

opinions are more widely known than those of others. This also helps to strengthen the "discourse" and make it more widely accepted.

Out of ten interviewed lecturers engaged in the movement of resistance, two were involved in the local Lecturers' Union and two others participated in the organization responsible for demonstrations and strikes; three were heads of departments and together with another lecturer, were members of administrative councils and other committees. All of them claimed to have actively participated in the last internal electoral processes for directors and rector. Thus, although the resistance group is a minority within the institution (25% of the group of interviewees), they are strongly represented in strategic university sectors and thus quite visible and also influential.

Their presence in positions of power (for instance, in ruling bodies of the Lecturers' Union and the university) helps to give greater prominence to the ideas inculcated by the "discourse of resistance", both internally and externally, since they act as representatives of the institution. This means they can express their ideas to the academic world as well as to the external community (through newspapers or other media) especially when there are strikes and demonstrations. In this way, the discourse against market-like university practices appears to reflect a general opinion within the university. Furthermore, on some occasions, it can be regarded as a kind of "official statement" of the whole academic world. Hence, it is not surprising that some lecturers feel ill at ease about appearing to undertake – or wishing to undertake – a more entrepreneurial attitude when the "dominant" or more visible discourse disapproves of this conduct.

When the "discourse" is strengthened by being associated with the powerful positions occupied by some of its advocates, it comprises a symbolic system, which acts as an instrument of power that can influence and persuade academics about the virtues and benefits of the traditional kind of public university in Brazil. Thus, the discourse itself provides the reasons to justify a possible association with it. Although some of the interviewees wished to become involved in partnerships with private companies and profit-making practices, they were held back by the belief that public universities

must be exclusively sponsored by the state in order to keep the integrity of their public character, and as a result, be able to act in defence of social interests.

However, this pressure on them is not caused by the authority of those in power who seek to preserve the traditional character of the university. It takes place when the principles of the "discourse" are internalised by its continual and substantial presence in the academic field. This reinforces the reliability of the discourse itself as well as the authenticity of the concept of university that it supports. In other words, the discourse to protect the traditional kind of university becomes legitimate since it is incorporated by the academic world.

This leads the new follower – or believer – to defend it against external attacks and to protect it from his or her own criticism. This was evident in some of the earlier quotations, in which the interviewees either criticised or justified their answers. One example is that of the Lecturer in Human Sciences 11 who stated that:

> I don't see anything wrong in making partnerships with private companies. [...] Nevertheless, we have to be careful because the public university cannot become a university that just sells services to those that can pay for it.

Another example is the answer of the Lecturer in Sciences 3 who after stating that "it would be possible to get resources [from private companies] without endangering our public character", cautiously added "I don't mean I don't agree with those who do it. I just think it doesn't have to be the first choice". In other words, despite the contribution that profit-making activities can make to the institution and to their own departments, many academics feel they must express their belief in the principles of the traditional public university.

In fact, this pattern of cautious – or self-censoring – comments about partnerships with private companies as being harmless to the traditional system is a way of showing a personal belief in supporting and maintaining the public character of the university. Thus, the qualitative concept of "public" attributed to the Brazilian public universities is incorporated by means of an

elusive form of coercion that somehow affects not just the practices of entrepreneurial academics but their opinions about the possible harm that their practices can do to the university's social "mission". In a subtle way, this coercion legitimizes, reproduces and perpetuates the rationale that supports the traditional kind of university. In other words, the general assumption about the need to keep the current type of university in Brazil is the outcome of a pedagogical process of symbolic violence.

Apart from organizing strikes and demonstrations against the government, the resistance movement carries out another kind of practice, which is probably the most important; this is spreading the belief in the principles that support this movement (as distinct from disseminating the principles themselves). In this way, even if the movement does not increase the number of new academics engaged in it, it at least acquires more followers of the ideals that it fights for; these are followers that do not want to be disloyal to the university's moral objectives which consist of attempting to improve the quality of life of local society although the idea of doing this through entrepreneurial practices is generally condemned.

6.4 Resistance: ideological principles, not the fear of taking risks!

When it was earlier mentioned that most of the academics associated with the resistance movement are from the human sciences departments, it was also stated – though the idea was refuted – that such an involvement might be due to a feeling of insecurity on the part of the lecturers about being able to move into the marketplace successfully. This interpretation rests on a general assumption that research on the human sciences and outreach is not marketable as it is not in the commercial interest of private capital to pay for it.

In fact, there were frequently comments by the interviewees that suggest that there are possible limitations to the way these fields can be marketed because some subjects can be classified as potentially more profitable than others. This is evident in the quoted comments from the Lecturer in Science 3, which states that "it is easier for some subjects, like

computer science and engineering, [...] to obtain external funds from private companies". Other remarks also support this rationale, such as that of the Lecturer in Health Sciences 1, who said "there are courses that have an excellent potential to generate income for the institution [...] such as nursing, pharmacy, physiotherapy".

In addition, without discussing the commercial viability of the human sciences, Becher and Trowler (2001: 159-170) claim that disciplines related to technology, sciences and business studies are more likely to attract industrial and commercial sponsorship than those confined to the human sciences, because the type of contribution the latter is able to make to society at large is less utilitarian. Becher and Trowler (2001: 169) confirm the common belief that these subjects have a limited commercial potential by showing that their type of research suffers from "a philistine perception that it is marginal and irrelevant as well as small-scale and trivial". When these factors are taken into account, it may be plausibly to think these departments would prefer to support a type of university that, despite the recent constraints, has been given some reasonable financial support for their activities. It could also be argued that the huge numbers of academics from human sciences departments in the resistance movement is partly caused by a fear of taking risks in practices that implies to lose the safety provided by the state's supplies.

Moreover, as earlier discussed, the decision to move into the marketplace through adopting an entrepreneurial approach (whether it be the whole university by means of institutional policies, or academic groups through isolated practices that are driven by particular factors) includes the risk of failure and loss of invested capital. This capital, as Shattock (2005: 19) and Barnett (2005: 53) remind us, is not wholly financial. Barnett (2005: 53) states that "it might be cultural, intellectual [or symbolic], or social capital that could also be at stake; that is being put at risk". According to Bourdieu (1988: 78-79), these kinds of capital provide the basis for the academic and scientific power exercised by academics within particular areas of the university. Academic power largely concerns the inner organizational and managerial influence that one possesses and can employ to persuade

councils or boards to make decisions that can benefit the group with which the academic is affiliated. The scientific power concerns the status one possesses within a particular scientific field, in which one can exercise some influence because of being recognized as an authority. In this case, taking a risk in becoming involved with the marketplace means putting one's economic capital at stake and, perhaps more importantly, the internal and external prestige and influence that has been accumulated over a period of years.

The involvement with the marketplace can also affect the institutional identity of the university that decides to take such a risk. This involvement can still have an effect on the academic identity of the individual or the group that moves into the marketplace, even if they are not linked to an entrepreneurial university where the ventures may put more than economic and symbolic capital at risk. There are risks involved at a deeper institutional level. The entrepreneurial process can affect academic and student identities, as well as institutional pedagogies and values. As Barnett (2005: 55) says, the entrepreneurial university "is engaged on an especially risky course. It may be risking more than it understands, for it may be risking itself. In coming to be a different kind of institution, it risks coming to live by new sets of institutional values".

Although Barnett does not define what these values are, the relationship to the marketplace that an entrepreneurial practice entails could imply values such as competitiveness and performativity allied to profit making activities, which are not traditionally embedded in the universities. Furthermore, even the core of the institutional practices could be affected, and thus turn teaching, research and outreach into ordinary commodities that can be traded in mercantile activities. As a result, this could also restrict access to good quality higher education to a privileged group and exclude an economically- deprived part of society. In other words, the foreseeable risks can damage the treasured democratic feature of the Brazilian public university, a feature that is an unconditional part of the concept of "being public".

While this change in identity affects the institution as well as the entrepreneur, the identity of academics and even disciplines can also be at risk if they become more entrepreneurial and strengthen their links with the marketplace. Becher and Trowler (2001: 165-176) argue that academic communities can be controlled by the influence of the external entrepreneurial pressures of productivity, economic relevance and accountability and become an "epistemic drift". This is a shift from the norms of a traditional discipline and the values of a certain academic community to a state of conflict that is detached from disciplinary science, and controlled by the external regulation of entrepreneurial and government organizations (Becher and Trowler, 2001: 168). This shift affects the epistemic disciplinary basis insofar as there is a fundamental conflict between the criteria of an external control system involving economic application and immediate external utility on the one hand, and academic concerns – often based on scholarly enquiry – on the other. The outcome of this "epistemic drift" is a tendency to reorganize knowledge structures within the university and turn them into functional patterns that are unsuitable for this kind of institution (Becher and Trowler, 2001: 173).

Thus, returning to the lecturers of this research, their market-like practices can also have effects that modify their disciplinary identities and the nature of their academic practices, although they are not in an entrepreneurial kind of university. These academics may have to face significant losses with regard to their symbolic capital as well as their internal and external reputation and power positioning. This means that, when the special features of the human sciences departments are taken into account, that is, the factors that may prevent them from successfully moving into the marketplace, the risks of such a venture will increase. In fact, they have a lot that is at risk!

However, taking risks does not necessarily mean incurring a loss. The very idea of risk also implies the possibility of succeeding in a venture. Clark (2005) provides many examples that demonstrate that this can be worthwhile. However, the prospects of success do not change the fact that academics from the human sciences are more likely be involved in the

'resistance movement' than lecturers from other fields because of their misgivings about taking the risk of engaging in entrepreneurial practices.

Although Clark (2005: 93-95) does not conduct a specific discussion on the human sciences, or any other particular academic group, he states that there is a need for a "daring volition" on the part of the institution to undertake entrepreneurial activities. The inhibitions about doing so can be attributed to different structural factors that are difficult to overcome, such as a high dependence on state support, or an uneven power structure in which members of the main administration have an excessive control over the departments, which can block new initiatives at their starting point (Clark, 2005: 171). In addition, inhibitions can arise from an unwillingness to take risks or an anxiety about doing so. This fear paralyzes some universities and academics, and prevents them from trying out alternative ways of solving current financial and structural problems. As Clark (2005: 94) argues: "inertia in traditional universities has many rationales, beginning with avoidances of hard choices". Clark (2005: 170) even makes fun of this hesitation to take the risk of becoming entrepreneurial by suggesting amusing explanations for it. In his view, when becoming entrepreneurial, it can sometimes be found that:

> traditional ways will certainly prove best over the long term; if the university is hobbled by a lack of money, government officials and other patrons will surely come to their senses and realize, for the good of the nation, that universities must be funded as a first priority and at a much higher level; if our institution is going to remain cash poor after twenty years of cutting to the bone we should hang together, do our ennobling work, and share equally the pangs of poverty. Embarking on a new path seems difficult and risky (Clark, 2005: 170).

Nevertheless, when listening to the lecturers – particularly, though not solely, those in the human sciences departments – the decision not to move into the marketplace or become proactive is not influenced by a naive understanding that the traditional university approach is better for the nation, or a belief that it will be funded just because of the state's good will, as Clark (2005) suggests. Although changes can be difficult and risky, the decision to keep this model is not caused by apprehensions that this kind of endeavour might end in failure. It does not seem to be due to the supposed limitations of

these fields either, as is borne out by the number of I comments in the interviews that show the potential of these subjects to carry out profit-making services.

One example of this is given by the Lecturer in Human Sciences 11, who mentioned that his department had been carrying out a survey that was paid for by a private local organization. Other interviewees provided further examples of services carried out by lecturers of these departments, such as free consultancies to local farmers about environmental protection, and reports to some local municipalities about the regional potential for ecotourism, both undertaken by departments of social sciences; as well as this, free foreign languages courses have been offered by departments of languages. Although these last examples were free services, they could have charged fees and provided some funds for their departments.

In other words, these kinds of departments are able to carry out services and research that are potentially profitable within the marketplace, although they may perhaps be less commercial or profitable than those of other fields such as technology or the sciences. However, the decision not to charge for the services mentioned above was not caused by apprehension, the limitations of the subject, or a loss of symbolic capital. Rather, it emerged from a belief in the positive and necessary qualities of the public nature of the public universities. The free services are ordinary practices carried out within the traditional Brazilian university, whose public character can be regarded as essential to allow it to accomplish its social mission, and to preserve institutional autonomy, academic freedom, and its democratic principles.

The preference for a traditional type of institution rather than a proactive one, or even to pursue entrepreneurial practices within the former, is an ideological decision, as can be inferred from the following remarks:

> In my view, we shouldn't think of the university as a business, or as a company that produces some particular commodity and then sells it. [...] The public university has a social responsibility, which means it must go beyond just having a purely mercantile character of research or outreach. If it's to become a service agency, it will have to be associated with specific groups that are in powerful economic and political spheres of influence. I think we, the lecturers of a public university, are living a process that is making the institution become a

"scrap-heap". It is not only the physical structure and investment that are becoming "rubbish". I think they are making the public think that they are being treated as "rubbish" too. [...] So the risk is: whom am I going to sell services to? Am I going to sell services to the person who pays me more? Who pays me best? For instance, I am going to serve the companies' owners because they are the people who have the resources and can pay me. This means I will be involved in a real mercantile trade. The public university will still be financed by society but only a tiny group will reap the benefits (Lecturer in Human Sciences 7).

From this quotation, it is clear that the reasons for not carrying out entrepreneurial practices are determined by a concern to maintain the public character of the institution in order to serve society as a whole, rather than particular groups. This is very similar to what was stated by the Lecturer in Human Sciences 11 in an earlier quotation: "we have to be aware because the public university cannot become a university that just sells services to those that can pay for it"; and this is not very different from the claim of the Lecturer in Human Sciences 2 who said in another comment (quoted earlier): "we will fight! We will organize the next strike because we believe in a better university for everybody".

The rationale for opposing entrepreneurial academic practices is based on the argument that the investment of private capital in public university practices will change the institutional modus operandi, its internal agenda, and its social commitment. For this reason, those in favour of partnerships within the private sector or entrepreneurial activities can be simply regarded as accepting the current economic pressures that are gradually privatizing public universities.

On the other hand, academic commercial activities in the marketplace can also be regarded as means of adapting the academic procedures or the institution to the current reality. In this way, the academic world is avoiding its role of being committed to social intervention and radical change. This is made explicit in the following comment from a lecturer involved in the university 'resistance movement':

In my view, these are people who tend simply to adapt to current reality instead of trying to change it. However, my actions are different.

I don't adapt to the system. I criticize the system because I understand how it is historically structured. I can understand the historical process that drove humanity to accept capitalism as the hegemonic alternative today. But I know it is not the only possible choice. This is the reason that makes me criticize the current system and seek other alternatives instead of just adapting to it. [...] The main tendency and all the pressures are exerted to encourage one to adapt to the system. That is, the university "opens its doors" to private capital because it feels that the state funds are not enough to supply our needs. So the university asks society, I mean the companies, to support it through partnerships. However, I think that a different reaction should be to struggle for more state investment so that one can achieve a significant academic output. It is an important scientific output that will assure, in some way, the reputation of the courses and the institution as a whole (Lecturer in Human Sciences 2);

The passage above supports the ideological stance that is expressed through resistance. In this view, to become entrepreneurial means to acquiesce to a situation imposed by external economic forces that can harm the social and political ideals that have found shelter within the university. In addition, these external forces – by which is meant state government or economic capitalist forces – have already affected the institutional structure and the working conditions of the staff. In particular, it is the very notion of "public" that is being reviewed, or perhaps threatened, as the Lecturer in Human Sciences 7 argues: "It is not only the physical structure and investment that are becoming 'rubbish'. I think they are making the public think that they are becoming 'rubbish too'". Despite this, the academics of the resistance do not regard the inner degeneration as being the outcome of internal practices (as previously discussed through the metaphor of "university obesity"). The current difficult situation that the institution is undergoing suggests that the main risk does not arise from a wish to bring about change, but rather a desire to struggle for more funds from a government that does not seen inclined to provide them.

The criticism that the Lecturer in Human Sciences 2 makes of those who prefer to adapt to economic demands emphasizes that the rationale of the resistance to the traditional system is not based on the idea that traditional ways can become better over a period of time, as Clark (2005: 170) has ironically suggested. For the followers of the resistance movement,

the value of a university can be measured in terms of academic production and social and political action. Moreover, it is regarded as more useful to stand up against the logic of vested interests and the privatization process that restricts the democratic character of the university and its ability to make a contribution to society.

Thus, the comments from members of the resistance movement focus on the need to struggle to ensure that the university is working properly for the whole of society, rather than for specific privileged groups. In their view, the problem of entrepreneurial practices is not the loss of external prestige but that their reputation is solely based on their contributions to the economic development of the private sector without any help being given to society at large, in particular, deprived social groups that also pay for the university through taxation. The dilemma is not that one is given funds by private organizations but that one becomes a hostage to them as a result of their financial support. This can restrict or hamper the academics in playing a political role by adopting a critical stance to society, especially to those private groups that have become the university's new sponsors.

Thus, although it is not possible to measure the role played by risk evaluation in warding off marketable practices, it is clear the decision not to engage in them is driven by an ideological view that supports the particular concept of a public university already discussed. In other words, the resistance movement does not support a particular model because its organization and structure are the best currently available. It seeks a model whose structure and organization can provide support for practices derived from social, political and academic ideals that are grounded on a system of thought that provides a comprehensive view of the identity of the university and its social responsibilities.

It can be argued that the idea of the public university that they strive to support is nostalgic and romantic. It is such an idea that has the authority of most of the Brazilian literature, whose ideological position is the same as that of the academics. It is also the position held by the lecturers in the university being investigated, as was shown in the earlier remarks of the interviewees,

and which echo the following comments by Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001: 80):

> The process of the expansion of capital tends to reorganize the social space of education in accordance with the capitalist rationale. However, it does not only have an effect on the economic sphere. Through the economic reorganization itself, the cultural and symbolic nature of the sphere of higher education is changed to reflect the values and peculiarities that are characteristic of the logic of capital. This leads to a process whereby education is overwhelmed by economic production [*my translation*].

As well as this, this attitude is spreading throughout the academic world and becoming a convincing and politically correct "discourse", which is being accepted and adopted as the most legitimate, or "natural" attitude by, the majority of the academic world. Thus, although this section has mainly focused on human sciences lecturers, who were initially regarded as the most fragile group within the academic world, the ideological stance that embraces the traditional university system is not restricted to them. As was seen, the support of the traditional public character of the university is not thought by academics to involve the resistance movement, as was the case of the comments quoted from the Lecturer in Agricultural Sciences 2, and also by those that expressed support for entrepreneurial practices, such as the Lecturers in Science 3 and 4.

Thus, the public character of the university, which is fiercely supported by the academics who are active in the resistance movement, also receives support, with different degrees of acceptance, from other groups. As well as being against the policies that encourage this perspective and the practices derived from it, the resistance to entrepreneurialism is a generalized stance within this peripheral university, though it has different nuances. Nevertheless, this does not prevent the emergence of an entrepreneurial standpoint, though it is manifested in a milder form.

6.5 The persistence of an entrepreneurial trend

Some of the academics have strongly reacted against the educational policies that they believe have led to a reduction in the state funding of public universities, and also against the entrepreneurial tendency that offers a possible alternative solution. Despite this, those opposed to the policies are more in favour of entrepreneurial practices. Rather than just viewing the situation as simply leading to the decline of the public university system, these academics also regard it as an opportunity for establishing new practices that can help address local issues.

Measures taken to obtain financial resources from alternative sources are not designed to subject the institution to the domination of external agencies. In fact, as will be more fully discussed in the next chapter, the entrepreneurial system is regarded by some academics as a way to counter the problem of limited public resources. It is an alternative that can help them to improve the quality of their work, and achieve professional self-fulfilment. In view of this, these academics are in agreement with the policies that have reduced public funding to public universities on the grounds that they do not only take place for economic reasons. They have also sought to persuade institutions to establish new kinds of relationship between the state and the higher education system, by encouraging academics and institutions to become more proactive and play a relevant role in local, as well as national, economic and social development. According to Pereira (1995; 1996; Brasil, 1995), the public universities should form close ties with all possible social sectors – both public and private.

This situation can be basically interpreted in two different ways – as a process of privatization of the public good on the one hand and as an opportunity for expanding some repressed practices beyond the traditional institutional limits, on the other. Moreover, the academic community also reacts in two different ways, as was shown in the interviews. One of them is the rejection of entrepreneurial policies and perspectives through the resistance movement, while the other is the acceptance of a new kind of

economic and social intervention through entrepreneurial practices – or academic capitalism, as it could be called.

Nevertheless, this "adherence to entrepreneurialism" does not necessarily mean agreeing with current policies. It can perhaps be better understood as an opportunity, at a time of crisis, to undertake activities that can bring benefits to the institution and to the academics themselves since it can also be a chance to carry out personal projects that have been postponed because of the need for closer links with the productive sector. As a result, whether resisting or adapting, both academic groups are taking measures to check the decline of the institutional structure and worsening of working conditions.

However, apart from the adoption of different procedures, each kind of reaction implies a different view of what a university is and what its social role should be. Although both kinds of actions aim to maintain the university as a public good, each group is addressing different concepts of the word "public". While one of them states "public services" – in higher education, in this case – should be completely sponsored by the state since it is its sole responsibility, the other perspective embraces private capital. They also disagree about the notion of offering free university services.

This entrepreneurial perspective has a place within the peripheral university investigated (which will be more fully explored in the next chapter). The lecturers claim that despite being more involved with the marketplace and a growing trend to carry out entrepreneurial, marketable and competitive cultures within the institution, this does not mean that the lecturers should avoid engaging in political activities or adopting a critical stance to society. Rather, it should attempt to strengthen its bonds with society. Although the institution may concentrate on economic activities (by producing more applied knowledge or technology, selling services or training professionals for the more immediate needs of the local labour market), it should also be more aware of contemporary social issues. This can be achieved through the new resources obtained by means of partnerships between the university and private companies, which should bring overall benefits. Obviously, this excludes the state as the sole sponsor of public universities, although the

government should still play a role as the regulator of the higher education system. Finally, this should also provide material support for institutional autonomy. While the resistance groups are supported by most of the Brazilian authors, the entrepreneurial activities find support in Shattock (2005), who convincingly argues that in the current scene, autonomy can be based on an entrepreneurial model.

Neither of the two concepts of a public university is neutral or impartial and both reactions to the current educational crisis are socially built within the academic world. They are the outcome of different ideological views of the academic groups. Thus, as they correspond to two different internal standpoints regarding the function of the university, the power relations that determine the nature of the university and its reactions to the current process of change are not established by postulating a conflict between internal (academic) and external (government and marketplace) forces, as the academics of the resistance movement basically suggest. They are essentially internal power struggles between academic groups with different interests and ideologies.

To understand this power struggle, it is necessary to understand the particular modes whereby the entrepreneurial practices are carried out in a peripheral university. Then, let's see how they are taking place.

7. Outreach: academic capitalism in the peripheral public universities of Brazil

In this Chapter, there is an examination of how Brazilian academics in public peripheral universities are becoming involved with the marketplace through outreach practices. Although outreach has usually been regarded as a means of making a contribution to deprived socio-economic groups, it has also become a way of generating income. While accepting that outreach still continues to retain its "philanthropic" or "social" purpose, in my view, the emergence of market-like practices has affected the organization of the academic work and even the mission of the university. My argument is that this process has led to an incipient form of academic capitalism. To some extent, this is the result of the educational and economic policies that have forced the involvement of academics with the marketplace. As well as this, the increasing involvement with the marketplace is also driven by the particular needs and expectations of some academic groups that see it as means to improve their career prospects and boost their incomes.

7.1 Academic capitalism as a way to deal with the crisis

As discussed in the previous chapter, the academics of the peripheral university investigated have been dealing with the current institutional crisis in two key ways. One of them is to engage in a struggle against the impositions of the government by organising strikes and taking part in demonstrations with the aim of making public opinion and the government more sensitive to institutional problems. These kinds of confrontations are aimed at enabling universities to demand an increase in public funds and thus prevent the institution from having to engage in entrepreneurial practices and move into the marketplace. The academics involved in these activities are vigorously opposed to the current educational policies, and the practices that can originate from them.

The other way of dealing with the current difficulties is to provide further funding for the institution from private sources through profitable

market-orientated practices. The academics engaged in these practices are not satisfied with the shortage of public funds or with the unsatisfactory working conditions caused by the educational policies either. They regard the partnerships with private companies as means of benefiting their professional activities and to increase the total budget of the institution.

Evidently, these different courses of action produce ambiguous expectations about how they can improve the institution, especially with regard to its social role. In the case of academics that welcome partnerships with companies, the market-like practices are regarded as more than just means of removing financial constraints of the university. They are thought of as a way of improving their professional activities, strengthening the relationship between the university and society, and contributing more effectively to the economic and social development. At the same time, the academics opposed to these procedures claim they will force the public universities to surrender to private capital and become its hostage, acting as private organizations, and being less responsive to the requirements of society. For this reason, these academics try to prevent business practices from taking place in the university.

Despite differences in their outlook, both ways of coping with the crisis can be understood as a reaction against the deterioration of the physical structure and working conditions of the institution. However, each of them is based on a different idea of university, and different perspectives about its social responsibilities, and operational tasks.

As these opposing groups of academics perform practices that reflect contrasting ideas of the purpose of a university, they tend to engage in an internal power struggle, whose aim is basically to impose and reproduce their particular views of university within the institution. The imposition and reproduction of particular views of university thus leads to the expansion and dissemination of ideas that will be accepted by more and more academics (Bourdieu, 1977; 1988). In this way, rather than becoming a hegemonic concept, these ideas are experienced as legitimate views that will be the basis for justifying the institutional practices of teaching, research, outreach and management.

This inner power struggle which seeks to make one particular idea of university prevail over another, was discussed in the light of Bourdieu's (1977; 1988) theory of practice and his ideas of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) in the last two chapters, though the focus there, was on the actions and ideas of resistance. For a better understanding of the tension within the institution being investigated, it is necessary to examine the main practices carried out as a rudimentary kind of academic capitalism insofar as they are opposed to the idea of resistance.

The involvement of peripheral Brazilian public universities – particularly the one being investigated here – with the marketplace, is taking place essentially as a result of outreach activities and the so-called "specialization". These are sold to the community and private or public organizations as a substitute for the market-related research undertaken by the universities – as those investigated by Slaughter and Leslie (1997). This peculiar feature of this type of university probably arises because the research carried out there is still in its infancy, and because the importance that outreach and "specialization" have within the Brazilian higher education system.

As described in Chapter Four, specialization is both a way for post-graduate courses to keep professionals abreast with recent studies, and an intermediary stage between a first-degree and a Master's degree. In places where the rate of professionals with a Master's degree is low (as in the case of this investigation), a specialist degree is of considerable value because it confers on the student some kind of social and academic recognition. In the case of this research, most of the local lecturers have first obtained a specialist qualification before embarking on a Master's degree. In fact, specialization was the highest degree obtainable for many lecturers for many years because it was difficult to move elsewhere to obtain a Master's degree (Paraná, 1994; Unioeste, 2007b).

Currently, specialization courses are means of obtaining alternative resources for the lecturers and the university which are as important as the outreach programmes, since specialization is a university product that is easily sold in a region where there are plenty of potential customers. Since

Master's courses are still very rare in that locality, a specialist degree can be of great value for people that wish to improve their job prospects in the labour market. It is also easy for the institution to organise specialist courses because many lecturers are attracted by the accompanying financial incentives. As the specialist courses are not a regular part of the institution, they are fee-paying[20], and a high proportion of the fees are paid to the lecturers. In other words, specialization courses are a significant way for academics from the peripheral universities to become involved in the marketplace, as well as being a profitable commodity for this type of institution. However, as some of the academics are openly opposed to practices that operate in an entrepreneurial form, inasmuch as they are regarded as factors leading to privatization, new specialization courses have become more strictly regulated. The following comment illustrates this situation:

> I have had to face many bureaucratic and political hurdles before getting the university's authorization to carry out my specialization program [the specialization course he organized]. If they keep doing this [i.e. imposing barriers], I will do it in a private university of the region instead because there are a lot of people interested in it. It will definitely be profitable (Lecturer in Healthy Sciences 9).

The purpose of stricter control is to reduce the commercial character of specialization, by setting the student fees as low as possible. Of particular importance is that these courses have to justify their existence – at least, officially – on the grounds of their usefulness and ability to make a contribution to the local society. By doing this, it was hoped to prevent practices from adopting a private character, and to preserve or strengthen the public character of the university. Nevertheless, the irony of the fact that specialization courses are being officially justified in this way is revealed in the following remarks by the Lecturer in Human Sciences 7, who was a member of the Board that carries out an assessment of new subjects and

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[20] The only tuition-free specialization in the university investigated is performed by the department of Education. It was established as a regular institutional course because of the ideological position of most of the members of such department, which understand that paid specializations are a form of privatisation of the public university.

gives permission for setting up new specialist courses at one of Unioeste's campuses:

> I particularly advise my students to go straight on to a Master's degree rather than waste time doing a specialization course. [...] It's very clear to me that most of these courses are just commercial ventures carried out by lecturers desperate for money (Lecturer in Human Sciences 7).

The statement above is openly against entrepreneurial academic practices, and exemplifies the perception of some academics about many specialization courses as being just profit-making university practices that do not necessarily produce substantial benefits to the local community. It contrasts with the quotation from the Lecturer in Health Sciences 9, who is one of the lecturers that supports the commercialization of university products and services (such as specialization courses), which he regards as potentially profitable. In short, these two quotations reveal two different views and ways of dealing with this university practice. While some academics regard specialization courses as a valuable means of increasing the funds available to the institution, others understand specialization – when undertaken with these aims – as a factor that can harm the public character of the institution. Moreover, while some lecturers are keen to increase the number of these courses, and make them as profitable as possible, others struggle to reduce the scope of the commercial ventures, and see them as a valuable way of intervening in the social life of the institution.

Those who are in favour of the commercialization of university services regard entrepreneurialism as a valuable feature of academic practices. This is because it attempts to establish or undertake activities that support a form of academic capitalism within the public institution, even though it operates in a traditional format. In contrast, the opposing position struggles to maintain the integrity and purity of a traditional approach (which was discussed in the last two chapters). Although it might be thought that these two views about this academic practice and its mode of operation could cohabit in harmony within the same institution, this is not possible inasmuch as they are antagonistic positions. Strengthening one of them implies

attempting to weaken the other. Thus, divergent academic groups struggle against each other to impose their ideas as the most suitable and relevant for the interests of the institution.

In addition, the conflicting attitudes to market-like practices are not restricted to the question of specialization, which is just one example of a subject involving internal power relations. These disputes also concern how to deal with the current situation caused by changing educational policies, and the possible effects on the academic practices and the moral objectives of the institution. The changes that the university is currently subject may in some circumstances lead it to be more supportive or resistant to academic capitalist practices.

With regard to these power relations, Bourdieu (1988: 84-90) argues that the actors of a particular field – in this case, the university field – draw on different types of capital – economic, social, cultural and symbolic that together make up academic capital – to maintain or improve their external status of authority or high scientific reputation within the academic community. This reinforces the strength of the hierarchical positions that reflect academic or political power and allow those who possess it to reproduce their beliefs within the academic world, and influence institutional policies (Bourdieu, 1988: 84-90). In Bourdieu's words, academic capital and power are

> obtained and maintained by holding a position enabling domination of other positions and their holders [...] this power over the agencies of reproduction of the university body ensures for its holders a statutory authority, a kind of function-related attribute which is much more linked to hierarchical position than to any extraordinary properties of the work or the person, and which acts not only on the constantly renewed audience of students but also on [...] who are placed in a relation of wide-ranging and prolonged dependency (Bourdieu, 1988: 84).

Although the existence of power relations exerts some influence on the decision-making bodies that can give official approval to the practices that reflect the particular ideas of the university, the supporters of each position have to spread their views among others members of the academic world. By doing so, they can obtain the veiled or public support that makes a

particular idea of a university and its respective practices legitimate and even dominant. In this way, it can be reproduced among different academic "tribes" within the institution in a "natural" way. By being spread, a particular view can become dominant within the university field, and provide political support. In other words, the academic capital invested in power struggles plays a role in making a particular set of practices acceptable – even officially approved – despite some opposition within the institution.

The reputation and influence – that can be both internal and external – that are acquired through the investment of academic capital, and the dissemination of particular opinions, can be traded on at certain times. One example is the inner elections for deans and directors (which were described by the Lecturers in Technology 1 and Human Sciences 7 as being as fiercely competitive as the election for the city mayor), and another is the representations made by the university when negotiating to obtain resources from external stakeholders (both private and public). In addition, the reputation and influence in particular fields strengthens their social capital. Thus, academic capital and power are strengthened, or rather, strengthen each other. As Bourdieu (1988: 91) says: "capital breeds capital".

In the particular university investigated, which does not operate in an entrepreneurial way, the support of the students and academic staff that share a common view about its aims and procedures is especially important for the academics who are engaged in market-like practices insofar as there is an active group opposed to them. This is important since university sectors at all levels can exert some degree of pressure, and hence have some influence, on the administrative power-base that controls the bureaucratic, legal and political structure of the institution.

In view of this, the support and participation of the basic sectors of the university are required to establish localized practices of academic capitalism within a traditional institution. This resembles, to some extent, the argument of Clark (2004: 83-85), though he discussed entrepreneurialism as a feature of the institution, rather than a practice carried out by sectors of a traditional university. Clark also recognised the importance of participation by the basis (that is the departments and schools) in forming a university that operates on

entrepreneurial lines. In fact, there is a similarity between the rationales of Bourdieu – though he does not focus on entrepreneurialism – and that of Clark. Both authors recognize that there is a need for empathy and considerable participation, in terms of views and actions, by a significant part of the academic community to allow a particular kind of institution to be set up, and certain kinds of practices to be undertaken.

The question of whether academic capitalist practices can be implemented (in both situations, as an intrinsic feature of the institution or as activities carried out by internal groups) depends on obtaining official approval from the institution – as was the case of the Lecturer in Health Sciences 9 mentioned earlier. However, this is only possible if there is a general understanding, inside or occasionally outside the university, that these practices are legitimate in the social and academic context. In turn, this depends on the support offered by various university groups in different fields and administrative levels. This support is obtained through the incorporation of particular views that makes them not only acceptable but legitimate. The views referred to here reflect the dispositions of the habitus of the university (Bourdieu, 1977), and are acquired as a result of the existing power relations. In fact, to some extent, particular views can be – and usually are – subject to the impositions of dominant or locally empowered social agents as a result of a power struggle. This then is what Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) mean by his expression "symbolic violence".

Although it may seem simplistic to suggest that the idea of a power struggle can be attributed to a dichotomous concept of a university, Bourdieu (1988: 113) reminds us that this kind of power struggle usually implies a shared world-view, which is "necessarily based on a dualistic model of order that distributes things and ideas in opposing and simultaneously complementary classes". Additionally, the practices carried out by the university also affect its ethos and its mode of operation; for instance, although being traditional in character, its acceptance of entrepreneurial practices implies that it has become to some extent entrepreneurial too. Hence, as well as moulding the habitus and practices of particular academic groups, the outcomes of the internal power relations also exert an influence

at an institutional level. Furthermore, the establishment of any kind of institution is the result of internal conflicts that are influenced by the external political and economic context, and involve all the members of the academic community. Even those that possess little influence or academic capital can become significant actors in the process of shaping the administrative and political character of the peripheral Brazilian universities.

Thus, the aim of specialization and the way it is carried out reflects the tensions that prevail in these power disputes. It should be remembered that the controversies about these courses are not due to the idea of specializing in itself. Rather, it lies in the way that they are carried out and made use of by academics or the institution.

Although specialization is not officially a kind of outreach, in the interests of simplicity, in this chapter it will be treated as a category of outreach, since in effect, it operates as one. Outreach does not involve either regular courses of study or areas of research. The courses are temporary programs that aim to cater for specific social or economic local needs, which make them similar to many of the temporary courses that are officially classified as outreach programs. Moreover, they are regarded as a form of social action by the university like any outreach programme. The main difference is the fact that specialization courses award the students with a certificate that has degree status.

Another factor is that, outreach has recently become an extremely vague and generalised concept in Brazilian universities. Silva (2002: 155-159) points out that academics usually conceptualize outreach as embracing any kind of activity that extends academic expertise to outside social groups, seeks to improve their quality of life, or assists in economic development. In short, almost any activity that the academics carry out can be regarded as an outreach practice.

Some of the outreach activities carried out by Brazilian academics are still offered free to underprivileged socio-economic groups. These free services mainly apply to teaching and health care. They are offered by departments such as social work, education, medicine and physiotherapy. At the same time, these services can also be regarded as part of the students'

training, since they need subjects that can enable them to practise the skills they have learned at university. However, even these activities are subject to public financial constraints, and this compels some academics to engage in more profitable activities. This was illustrated by the Lecturer in Health Sciences 9, who stated that his university does not provide any support for his outreach project, which runs a programme concerned with preventive medicine for the elderly:

> Everybody says my outreach project is important to the community but nobody gives me anything to carry it out. [...] When I need something I have to go begging "door to door" at the local commercial centres and at the city hall to get some help to enable me carry out my outreach project (Lecturer in Health Sciences 9).

Although outreach has been traditionally associated with concepts of social responsibility at the Brazilian universities, it currently involves a wide range of practices and aims. These include contributing to regional development and seeking to obtain resources from outside or making a profit through applying the knowledge and skills of the academic staff (Silva, 2002). To some extent, this conforms to the idea of academic capitalism discussed by Slaughter and Leslie (1997). The knowledge and skills of workers are important factors to economic growth, since they enhance the quality of labour, and this quality is largely acquired in formal education. In view of this, university academics can make a valuable contribution by improving the quality of labour in the work they carry out – largely in formal education. When academics and institutions compete for income through the application of their human capital in productive work that yields an income or profit to them, the university is, in effect, engaged in academic capital.

It is this notion of academic capitalism that is applied here to the outreach practices of the public Brazilian peripheral universities. In my view, this type of higher education institution is becoming increasingly involved in the marketplace in a – albeit incipient – form of academic capitalism through "market-related outreach" practices rather than market-related research. Moreover, together with Slaughter and Leslie (1997), who state that changes in the nature of academic work are taking place in response to the

emergence of global markets, I agree that the changes in Brazilian peripheral universities, in principle, have similar motivations. However, in this case, the involvement with the marketplace and the adoption of market-like practices within the academic world, are taking place through very localised activities.

Since outreach is a concept that can be understood in many different ways, it is first necessary to introduce a notion about what outreach is – or can be – in Brazilian universities.

7.2 The ambiguous concept of outreach

Outreach – which here includes the specialization courses – comprises a significant part of the current changes in Brazilian universities. It is concerned with different kinds of relationships that universities have been forming with several social groups and public or private organizations. The declared aim of forming these links is to collaborate with these groups and organizations to foster social and economic development in the region where the university is located. In fact, Brazilian universities have traditionally played an important social role in improving the education and the quality of life of the local community – especially among deprived socio-economic groups. As Brazil faces several economic and social problems, its universities have often provided this kind of assistance to a part of society. Fagundes (1986: 165) points out that the Brazilian university has often replaced the state when and where it has failed to provide some basic services – especially education and health care – to some social groups. In addition, Silva (2002: 150) claim that Brazilian universities have also helped, though less frequently, the local economy through direct action stemming from its outreach practices, which have usually been free. Some of these direct services are concerned with medical assistance, sports activities, and consulting services in law and accountancy to the community.

To some extent, outreach practices have provided the main links between the universities and society in Brazil. Silva (2002: 159) states that there have been four types of outreach carried out by the universities. Chronologically, the first is concerned with the research practices of the

institution, and has been present in Brazilian universities since the first institutions began. The academic community believed that closer links with society could be helpful to improve the production of knowledge at the institution and that these could be forged by providing more relevant subjects to meet some of the needs and expectations of society. There is a view that universities have provided some services to the community as a way of making them more aware of their situation and the main problems facing local society. The information obtained through this kind of outreach was then drawn on to carry out research and, though less often, also used by academics to implement measures aimed at tackling some of the local problems and shortcomings identified. To some extent, this type of outreach can be regarded as an early kind of action research (Silva, 2002: 161).

The second kind of outreach is the capacity of the university to assist in social welfare. For the last 50 years, successive Brazilian governments have encouraged universities to provide assistance to underprivileged socio-economic sectors of society. Unlike the first type of outreach, this does not regard the production of knowledge as its primary aim. The main priority of this type of outreach is to assist the local population through direct services, especially in the fields where the state fails to provide adequate help to the whole population, such as education and health care (Guimarães, 1997). It is also based on an understanding that the public university has a debt to society that indirectly sponsors the institution through taxation. This idea of outreach is usually understood as involving a direct form of social contribution to the public university. Thus, many academics regard outreach as a very significant expression of a university's responsibility to society (Tavares, 1996).

The third type of outreach is linked to industrialization and the increasing importance of technology in several occupations (Silva, 2002: 163-164). As most Brazilians have traditionally had limited opportunities to enrol in higher education, many universities have undertaken outreach practices with the aim of expanding academic knowledge to the community through temporary courses in several subjects. These courses are devoted to training the workforce and updating the skills and knowledge of the workers.

To some extent, these practices have been partly designed to meet some of the needs of the marketplace for a better-prepared workforce that is capable of carrying out some of the tasks required by the industrial sector as well as other occupations (Segenreich, 2000).

The three concepts of outreach summarized above have been basically restricted to public universities. Moreover, they have been regarded as of value since they can narrow the gap between the university and society – particularly those social groups that have not had access to higher education. Tavares (1996) argues that outreach is regarded by some sections of the academic world as the most significant of the university's responsibilities. This is in line with a general consensus among some academics that a university cannot keep itself apart from the main social issues in the way that it used to in the past. It has to become a significant agent in the improvement of the community by serving the public good.

Silva (2002) refers to a fourth kind of outreach, which came into being during the early 1980s. This kind of outreach is carried out by both private and public organizations, mainly through consultancies and professional training to company employees. These services differ from the other three types of outreach in their commercial character. While the other three were traditionally free services, this one is sold and aims to bring financial resources from outside to the institution and to the academics involved in its practices. Although it began in private higher education institutions, recently public universities have also started using it as a means of obtaining funds to enable them to carry on working and increase the income of academics (Tavares, 1996).

A striking feature of this last type of outreach is the fact that it has an effect on the others. As Gentili (2001) points out, the shortage of public funds to the university has intensified the quest for alternative sources of income. As many Brazilian universities do not have a suitable structure to undertake a search for funds for commercial research, outreach is becoming the main alternative. As a result, the other types of outreach also are now adopting more commercial characteristics.

Some academics attempt to keep the social commitment of outreach in their practices. They still carry out outreach for the public good as part of their professional activities. However, even this social kind of outreach is beginning to be paid for. Although those who receive the services do not usually pay anything, some academics have made efforts to find sponsors for these kinds of activities, such as the municipal government and even some private companies. These different ways of undertaking outreach also reveal differences in the ways academics regard their social role to the public.

Silva (2002) points out that although there is some consensus among academics about the concepts they have of teaching and research, the same does not apply to their interpretation of the meaning of outreach. Some of them understand outreach as being a "function" with a similar status to teaching and research. For others, outreach represents the main institutional practices responsible for fulfilling the social responsibility of the university. Other academics understand outreach as meaning "communication", that is, it is a way of spreading academic ideas in a way that complements the other activities (teaching and research). Finally, there are academics that regard outreach as representing the basic principle of the university, and believe that all other activities must be related to outreach practices. From this perspective, teaching and research should complement outreach practices. Tavares (1996) even says that outreach could become the "principle" or "new paradigm" of some universities.

It should be pointed out here that not only has this practice become a profit-making activity for the Brazilian public universities but also they have started competing for a "place" in the market. Academics and universities are competing among themselves and with companies for the chance to offer courses – specialist or otherwise – and carry out services. For instance, the moment that the language department started offering classes in foreign languages, it also began competing for clients with the language schools of the town. This situation is illustrated by the following remarks of the Lecturer in Human Sciences 8:

> It is unfair to the language schools because we can charge the
> students the lowest price in the region since our salaries are already

paid by the state. [...] In fact, it is odd because we compete against some of our former students. [...] However, it is a way to bring some money to the department and also a form of training for our students. [...] By the way, I feel I am offering a useful service because I can give someone a chance to study who cannot afford it [a language school].

On the other hand, the comments of two lecturers in health sciences suggest the university could have different outreach programs to assist different social groups. It should adopt some profit-making practices to serve a particular type of customer as well as providing other services geared to assisting underprivileged groups:

> I would like to see Unioeste expanding its outreach projects so it can benefit the population, especially the most destitute people. In particular, the health care departments of the university, like mine, should assist those people that really need us because they do not have any other choice... However, I have often seen some patients who are in a good economic position to pay for private treatment, being treated at the university's clinics. So, I don't think it's the responsibility of the university to remove patients from the clinics of the region. It should assist those people that really need our services. [...] I think this would improve our reputation in the region (Lecturer in Health Sciences 3).

The other comment was made by the Lecturer in Health Sciences 1, who raised the possibility of selling services to companies and organizations in order to obtain more financial resources for the university:

> We have invested money in improving our laboratory. Why have we done this? We can use our lab to conduct many kinds of analysis and in this way obtain more resources for our school. Initially, we were working for [a particular company]. [...] At present, we conduct 256 analyses per month. We earn a large amount of money from this which can be spent in our departments... Currently, we are negotiating a contract with [another] company (Lecturer in Healthy Sciences 1).

This same lecturer also mentioned contracts and partnerships with companies that have combined to set up the "Community Pharmacy" of the School of Health Sciences. This pharmacy provides low cost medicine for the people who live in the poor neighbourhoods of the town.

Thus, outreach can be the chief academic practice to obtain alternative financial resources for universities that do not have an established research department. It is largely driven by the institutional – and even personal – need to increase resources. Furthermore, it is concerned with the social role of the university which it regards as an institution that is, it is actively involved in the local economy. Outreach can also be a way of enabling the universities to maintain their prestige within the local community. This is because they obtain social recognition in return for serving the public good in a disinterested way. However, this situation can have effects on the overall role of the public universities as well as their ability to administer academic work.

7.3 Outreach as a form of academic capitalism

In the case of the peripheral university being investigated, research practices are confined in localized sectors. For instance, while 50 percent of all its departments – which includes those related to economics, business studies, law and health sciences – is responsible for only 10 percent of the research conducted by the university, another 16 percent of the departments – teaching agronomy and natural sciences – is responsible for 41 percent of the institutional research (Unioeste, 2005b). In addition, in this particular university, more than half of the lecturers (54.14%) claim that research is undervalued within the institution; and 89.18 percent of them think that the institutional conditions for research are unsatisfactory (Unioeste, 2005b). Despite this, some of the academics are devoted to research, particularly the newcomers, referred to here as "outsiders". As discussed in Chapter 5, the recently set up departments and schools, which a large number of "outsiders" belong to, are among the most successful research departments of this university. However, in this context, outreach acts as an alternative to replace research as part of the academic activities, as well as being employed as a means of intervening in areas that have not been catered for by the state. This is apparent in the remarks of the lecturers interviewed, such as the Lecturer in Health Sciences 8:

Here, we have several outreach projects that cater for a lot of people in the community. Our course is not the only one that does this. Other courses do it too. I know that even the people of the English department have attractive outreach projects. [...] We don't have any structure to undertake research as other lecturers do, and I would like to have it. That's why we are very keen on outreach [...] it is a way of serving the community because a lot of people cannot afford medical treatment.

It is possible to see from other comments too, that some outreach practices are moving into the marketplace. Outreach does not only benefit underprivileged social groups. It also supplies funds to the institution mainly through services provided to local, public and private organizations. The comments of some lecturers suggest that the involvement of lecturers in more market-like outreach practices can be attributed to – and even stimulated by – the reduction of public funding for the university:

The government is playing a wicked role nowadays. The idea that the government is the main stakeholder is a myth. They say higher education should be paid for the state but not entirely. [...] We must think in terms of a "partial privatisation" of the university. The government is not giving as much money as it used to do in the past, and this won't change soon. It does not matter who runs the government. There is no money! [...] I think the university will have to create the means to support itself. If it doesn't do this completely, at least it can do it partially. [...] I agree with this policy of selling services (Lecturer in Business Studies 8).

We cannot expect very much from the government. So we should try to do most things by ourselves because the state is too slow. [...] There's this agency [run by academics], which has formed some partnerships with [a particular state company] and even some others. When we need something for our department, instead of trying to obtain it from the state, we use this agency to sell some services (Lecturer in Technology 3).

Although this view was more common in the departments of vocational subjects, the lecturers from traditional academic fields, such as natural and social sciences, also expressed similar opinions:

I think it is a complicated issue to think about possible solutions from the government. I think part of the solution will come from private capital. I know there are many people here that say we are "selling our souls to the devil" but I think it is hard to teach when you don't have the right conditions (Lecturer in Science 1);

First of all, I think it is our duty to change the course and find a place for it in the marketplace. [...] I always make a joke about the idea of sociology being a leftist course. I say I've studied to help the revolution. So I could work in a office in a communist state. However, the revolution didn't happen and we didn't get a job. [...] So, we must find a place and take control within the marketplace because there's already room for us in the labour market. [...] I believe we have an excellent product to offer to the market. For instance, we made an agreement with [a local private organization] to identify the customers' preferences for particular products (Lecturer in Human Sciences 10).

As these remarks bear out, these activities can be considered to be a way to overcome problems arising from a lack of public funds. Partnerships and agreements with companies (mostly to undertake services such as outreach activities) are regarded by some university groups as a suitable way of tackling the current financial difficulties faced by the institution.

It should be noted that the increasing presence of these kinds of academic commercial activities in public universities is in accordance with the expectations of the "National Plan of State Reform" introduced by the federal government in the 1990s (Brasil, 1995). Pereira (2004: 231-234), the minister responsible for introducing the reform, argued that public universities should become what he called "social organizations", so that they could operate in a private capacity, and stimulate academic entrepreneurialism and competitiveness (these issues were fully discussed in Chapter Three). Public universities should encourage the forging of links with the marketplace, to enable academics to undertake business ventures since these could become an effective means of improving some aspects of academic work, and add to the institution's prestige.

These characteristics match up to the concept of academic capitalism outlined by Slaughter and Leslie (1997: 208-210). This is because academic capitalism involves allowing academics to engage in exchangeable and profit-making practices in the market. It also implies the growth of

entrepreneurial and competitive features among academics and institutions so that they can employ strategies that enable them to become financially successful within the market. Thus, these commercial outreach practices can be regarded as the way that academic capitalism takes place in the peripheral university being investigated.

There is another reason for the growing involvement of lecturers with the marketplace. It might stem from the fact that entrepreneurialism is not just regarded as an opportunity to make money for the institution but also as an ordinary part of great practical value of their activities as lecturers:

> I think that the university should allow lecturers to be involved with the real labour market through a job or some other way. This would help them to be better teachers because they would have direct contact with the real needs of their professions. Thus, they could bring the reality of the outside world into the classroom (Lecturer in Business Studies 2).

> You're preparing a professional that will be a clinician. You aren't preparing someone to be a lecturer. So, people who have their private clinic, as is my case, can improve their techniques. We can give another viewpoint to the students when we teach because we have already gotten used to several details of our profession. [...] I don't mean I have no interest in research. But Unioeste doesn't offer the right conditions to lecturers like me to carry out research. I have the impression you have to make a choice: either you do research or you have your own [private] clinic. [...] It is a bad thing because you could conduct research with commitment because you are really involved with the immediate problems of the profession (Lecturer in Healthy Sciences 4).

This involvement can take place through outreach programs or professional activities. In both cases the interviewees state the importance of this involvement to their academic practices, though only outreach is financially profitable.

However, the practices through which academics and universities become more engaged with the marketplace are criticized in Brazil. Most of the criticism is found in the work of academics that are usually affiliated to social sciences departments at the Brazilian elite universities and tend to have a leftist orientation and are thus opposed to neo-liberal policies.

Similarly, internal resistance to these practices is also found among academic leftist groups, (which was shown by the Lecturer in Human Sciences 11, in the last/previous chapter). As already discussed, commercial practices are condemned because it is feared they may have an adverse effect on the autonomy and social responsibility of the university, as well as preventing certain departments from obtaining resources – as is sometimes hastily concluded.

In fact, academics from the resistance movement are justified in believing that possible restrictions of academic freedom can be attributed to a form of dependence caused by the university's connections with private capital. In some cases, partnerships with companies are only feasible when private economic interests are not challenged or threatened by the academics. This point is alluded to by the Lecturer in Human Sciences 9:

> [Some colleagues] are investigating the problems of soil erosion caused by deforestation close to local rivers. So they are organizing a series of lectures to farmers to inform them about the possible environmental dangers. [...] They have also reported these problems to the authorities. Of course, perhaps nothing will happen because there are some companies that have [economic] interests in this area...

Afterwards, she completed her argument with the following observation:

> Recently, I was informed that the guys at the Department of Agronomy are doing something similar; they are even having meetings with the farmers. However, they seem to be giving different kinds of advice to the farmers. Well, I wouldn't be surprised if we find out that some fertilizer company is sponsoring them.

Other examples of this issue could be mentioned. For instance, the Lecturer in Health Sciences 9 said that one of his colleagues used to carry out a free outreach project for the local community. However, when his department formed a partnership with a public organization in 2001, his colleague decided to give up his former outreach activities and start a new one which brings further income to him. These comments support Cowen's (1996; 2001) argument that it is possible that the growing links with the marketplace

can have an adverse effect on academic freedom ,and lead academics to adapt their priorities to fit in with those of agendas from outside.

Nevertheless, some academics are unconcerned about adopting this kind of academic capitalism (as is clear from the remarks already quoted). In fact, some of the lecturers interviewed thought that this kind of action does not reduce the level of social commitment. On the contrary, the relations with productive sectors are seen as improving the quality of the role that the institution plays in society. This is evident from the following comment, which suggests that these partnerships can be constructive insofar as they can help to create conditions that make a university more responsive to local social needs:

> Our local "Community Pharmacy" mainly caters for people from the lower social classes. We offer a service that is almost ideal and that no other pharmacy can offer because we have the necessary human resources [students and lectures] to do it really well. [...] We would not be able to sell medicines so cheaply if we didn't have a partnership with [a private] company (Lecturer in Health Sciences 7).

Thus, the issue of the relations between public universities and the marketplace and whether or not they should be regarded in a favourable light, is highly controversial and no single view can be fairly accepted by Brazilian academics. Some of them regard the growing links between universities and private organizations as a form of exploitation and a restriction of freedom that can make universities subject to market forces. Moreover, this can be interpreted as a conceptual shift from the university as a public good to an entity that works as a private institution that is less socially committed.

On the other hand, others believe that profit-making activities undertaken through outreach can represent a real chance to exercise academic freedom and social responsibility since obtaining alternative sources of income can lead academics and the institution to break away from state sponsorship and become financially independent. The lecturers that believe this are more likely to support an entrepreneurial culture in the

institution because, apart from being keen to undertake profit-making services, they also see it as an opportunity for engaging in research projects.

Thus, it is not surprising that opposing views about commercial practices produce tensions and result in a power struggle between the supporters of each position within the university. These power relations play a more important role than is often realised. In the literature, it is believed by many authors that the universities' organizations and operations are being forced to adapt to official policies or social pressures. However, it does not seem imprudent to infer from the interviews that the mode of operation of this peripheral university is established and even changed in accordance with the temporary views generated from the changing imbalance of such a power relations that make them more successfully and broadly accepted by a significant part of the academia

Currently, the imbalance in power relations is beginning to benefit the academics involved in commercial activities. Several academics welcome the trend towards creating more links with private companies and becoming more involved with the marketplace, probably because this can help improve their working conditions as well as the institutional services they carry out for the local community. In other words, the commercial outreach can be a way of making social outreach better. Added to this, while most of the public funds have to be spent on already existing sectors or activities, the funds obtained from alternative sources can be spent in more flexible ways. In fact, it was common, during the interviews, to hear comments about investing the alternative income to improve the quality of services and teaching. This practice resembles a strategy about "taking away from rich companies" and "giving to the poor"; a kind of "Robin Hood scenario"!

7.4 The "Robin Hood syndrome"

The following quotations – or part of them – have already appeared in other sections of this thesis. They are reproduced here because they are good examples of a recurrent discourse about using outreach projects as a

means of improving general aspects of the working conditions within the institution:

> In fact, [my department] has carried out some services for [a private organization]. It has been good for the university because it earns some money. The money has come to the department... It isn't very much but we could invest it in books for the library (Lecturer in Human Sciences 11);

> Let's put the laboratory in the marketplace. [...] I think we could make money to improve the quality of our courses. Sometimes, there aren't any classes because some of the material is missing. This money could be used to buy it, and improve the classes, [it could be] invested in the lab... (Lecturer in Technology 1);

> Our "Community Pharmacy" mainly caters for people from the lower social classes. We offer a service that is almost ideal and that no other pharmacy can offer because we have the human resources [students and lectures] to do it really well. [...] We would not be able to sell medicines so cheaply if we didn't have a partnership with [a private] company (Lecturer in Healthy Sciences 7).

Other interviewees have made similar comments. For instance, the Lecturer in Technology 3 mentioned that some of the computers used for the classes had been bought through a very well established partnership between her school and a state company; the Lecturer in Health Sciences 9 stated that he had acquired some of the equipment for his laboratory, which is used for classes and his current outreach project, by means of financial resources obtained through the "specialization" course he had coordinated.

These remarks throw valuable light on the contrasting views regarding the possible effects of private or public sponsorship on the social responsibilities of Brazilian public universities. As already seen, some of the academics believe that the state should be the main – or even the only – sponsor of the university. In their view, this way of funding is the only way to preserve the university's autonomy and its public nature, since academic practices can become dependent on – even controlled by – private companies (as was exemplified by the Lecturer in Human Sciences 9 in the last section). In short, only public funds can enable the university to play a significant role in local society.

On the other hand, other academics claim that relationships with private organizations are beneficial because they allow them to obtain money that can be invested in the university and its services – as suggested by the quotations above. Since the public funds are insufficient to carry out all the institutional activities effectively, the alternative resources obtained through outreach, specializations and partnerships – and sometimes research – become of great value in allowing the university to carry out some of its academic activities. In fact, the lecturers quoted or just mentioned above, claim that some of the classes and outreach services with social implications are able to achieve a high standard because of the resources acquired from the profit-making practices, rather than institutional public funds. Thus, it is the entrepreneurial academic activities, which are sharply criticized by some of the Brazilian literature, that in fact keep some institutional practices working properly.

Added to this, some comments from the interviews suggest that public sponsorship cannot be a strict guarantee of autonomy, as it is supported by the resistance movement. Brazilian universities can sometimes be subject to the power and influence of government officials that may use them to pursue interests that do not always correspond to the public will. According to some interviewees, the peripheral university investigated is susceptible to the interference of local politicians that can have some influence over the way public university funds are spent:

> We don't have the proper physical structure to carry out our activities but the government allowed the university to run two new courses. However, we don't have enough classrooms and the library isn't very good... There's no space! So, can anyone explain why these new courses were set up? Some people say we have to cater for the needs of the community. They say that if we create more useful courses for the community, the local authorities will help us to increase the university's budget. In my view, this is only a political issue because local politicians will say at the next elections: "see, I'm helping the university to offer good courses for your children"... But when the student arrives here, he will realize that there are not the right conditions for a course. So, the university becomes something else to be used in the next election (Lecturer in Human Sciences 5).

This means that, some politicians can use the institution to increase their local popularity, though this does not necessarily mean they comply with the university's policies.

Moreover, despite this possible external influence (which may be sporadic), public sponsorship does not ensure that the right conditions exist for carrying out academic activities such as teaching, research and outreach. This is sometimes due to the scarcity of resources and sometimes because they are misused. Although some of the lecturers interviewed blame the government for the shortage of funds, some comments also suggest that a part of the problem concerning institutional resources is due to an inappropriate use them. Of course, the funds are usually allocated in accordance with the priorities of the institution. However, in the view of some lecturers, administrative institutional decisions often show a lack of objective criteria and are sometimes based on personal interests. This specific point is mentioned by the Lecturer in Sciences 2:

> If you have a friend in the general administrative dept of the university, everything is easy for you, if you don't have... I will give you an example: once I asked for some money to go to a conference. I had just finished my PhD and had produced three very good papers from the findings of my research but I only received half of the money I needed. So, I had to pay the rest by myself. However, one of our colleagues received more than me, even though she hadn't published anything there. [...] She had worked for [the Rector] during the elections. This is the way things work here.

Thus, some of the investments may be used to favour particular groups that have some kind of influence or political capital within the institution. To some extent, this kind of practice occurs when there is a desire or need to keep political power and patronage in the hands of certain academic groups. Political support – especially among academics or departments that can have influence within or outside the institution – is very important for those who hold high positions of authority and maintain political and administrative control (Bourdieu, 1988). Furthermore, this form of political support (illustrated above) helps some academic groups to challenge

or "reproduce" the administrative control of the institution, since it means that they can impose their concept of a university on that institution.

It is reasonable to suppose that some of the adverse conditions which currently hamper the university from carrying out academic work, is the outcome of inappropriate internal managerial policies, particularly as this university faced allegations of corruption in the Administrative Department between 2001 and 2003. For this reason, the state government dismissed two rectors – one in 2001 and another in 2003 – so it could investigate the accusations of personal misuse of public funds, and fraud in conducting public examinations (Paraná, 2001; Jornal Hoje, 2002; Folha de Londrina, 2003; Gazeta do Paraná, 2003). This scandal was mentioned by several lecturers during the interviews, who expressed their concern about possible government constraints on the university, and especially, the adverse effects this was having on the public status of the institution. This was apparent in the following extracts:

> All the time there is something about Unioeste in the newspapers... but we get very depressed because Unioeste has only appeared in the crime section (Lecturer of Engineering 1);

> I mean, the lecturers are desperate because there isn't enough equipment, and the classrooms are unsuitable to allow them to carry out their work [as well as] they can. Added to this, the Governor has told the newspapers that our former rector was a thief, as well as this new one! (Lecturer of Healthy Sciences 7);

> At present, society has a poor opinion of the university because of the troubles of the last rector... We don't have to judge them, the justice will do it. [...] We have to show that most of the people [of the university] are honest (Lecturer of Engineering 4).

Although it is not possible to measure the consequences of the allegations of corruption for the university or to establish a causal link between the accusations and the decline of some its activities, it is worth remembering that there was a reduction in research and outreach practices between 2001 and 2003 (as was mentioned in Chapter 5). In addition, there was also a 5.3% reduction in public funds from 2002 to 2003. However, there

was an increase of 86.7% in the amount of resources received by the state between 2001 and 2002 (see Table 5) (Unioeste 2001a; 2003a; 2003c). Furthermore, during this period the university increased its number of students, set up its first MA program, and created 8 new first-degree courses and 5 new classes from already existing courses (Unioeste, 2001a; 2003a). Although this problem has probably damaged the reputation of the institution, particularly in the region where it is located, it has not affected its relationship with the state government which is borne out by the fact that there was not a reduction of public resources to the university. On the contrary, the resources almost doubled from 2001 to 2002.

When these various factors are taken into account (limited public funds, external interference, misuse of resources, and even corruption), it is not surprising that some of the academics support the idea of engaging in profit-making practices since they can provide additional income to the institution and to themselves. As the money obtained from commercial kinds of outreach usually goes straight to the departments involved, they can escape from external pressures and the university's conservative policies and stifling bureaucracy. They can also avoid being misappropriated by the university's administration. In other words, although there is a risk of academics involved in entrepreneurial practices becoming subject to the influence and control of external private bodies, there is also a chance to become independent from certain constraints and restrictions. These practices can allow academics actually to enjoy academic freedom. Moreover, if they spread throughout the university, and can stimulate a new kind of institutional approach, this could result in a greater degree of autonomy. In fact, this has already been argued and supported by Clark (2004), who identified this as an opportunity for acquiring actual academic freedom in the several cases he has investigated. In the case of Brazil, this can be interpreted as a new kind of autonomy which does not require a significant amount of public resources. Nevertheless, it is feasible and may undermine and even replace the traditional concept that is championed by the Brazilian literature.

Data obtained from the interviews showed that most of the private resources obtained from commercial practices were spent on improving the institution's working conditions in the area of teaching and research as well as both commercial and social outreach. As is suggested by the quotations at the beginning of this section, these practices are a legitimate means of ensuring that the university works properly or at least better. In other words, some academics undertake profit-making activities to improve the institutional services by taking funds from the "rich" private companies and giving them to the "poor" students and community in a kind of "Robin Hood strategy".

Naturally, it is not only the institution or the public that benefits from these practices but also the academics since these services have become an alternative source of revenue for the lecturers involved in some outreach projects. Some of them claim these additional earnings help to increase – or, in their words, "complete" – their salaries, which have been decreasing as a result of the decline of public investment on higher education. These remarks by the Lecturer in Business Studies 3 are representative:

> Our salaries are disgraceful. We represent a very well-trained professional category; nobody has the nerve to say that our work is not important. Nevertheless, our salaries are miserable. So it is very natural that many lecturers, especially our more enterprising colleagues, use the chance to sell their outreach projects to boost their incomes.

Moreover, as well as being a way of overcoming economic constraints on their academic work, entrepreneurial practices also provide individual financial rewards. However, they can provide more than just monetary benefits. The lecturers involved in these practices can increase their academic capital, and thus be empowered to exert some degree of influence on institutional policies.

7.5 Outreach: a source of academic power

Since these entrepreneurial practices allow some lecturers to work together to improve their working conditions and the quality of some of their courses, as well as to provide means to undertake outreach with a social objective, they can also enhance their reputation both inside and outside of the institution. As the Lecturer in Health Sciences 3 commented (in an extract quoted earlier in this chapter), outreach – especially when regarded as a form of social intervention – can enable an institution to recover and improve its reputation within the region, as well as its own status. In other words, some lecturers can increase their academic capital through these practices, and in turn acquire some degree of importance and influence in some sectors of the university, the marketplace, and society. This is relevant insofar as it empowers academics to negotiate internal issues (Bourdieu, 1988).

In fact, it is clear from some of the lecturers' remarks quoted earlier in this chapter, that personal reputation and influence are factors that can determine the internal distribution of public funds, and affect political and administrative decisions affecting the institution. For instance, the Lecturer in Health Sciences 9 mentioned that internal issues that were largely concerned with ideological rather than financial factors set up barriers to the running of profit-making outreach programmes. Similarly, the Lecturer in Health Sciences 4 argued that internal factors sometimes impose constraints on carrying out some types of research. Yet, the Lecturer in Sciences 2 suggested that the distribution of funds can be influenced by the political connections that academics enjoy.

Thus, the groups that act entrepreneurially by trading academic products and services (specialization, research, consultancies and so on) are able to occupy positions of power – mainly internally but also externally – because the social and academic benefits that can be paid for by these financial resources, increase the social and economic importance of some groups and individuals. This can also lead to a degree of academic freedom by overcoming the inner resistance to these practices, or by influencing the

institutional policymakers to act in favour of their positions. Hence, to some extent, the quest for funds is also a quest for recognition, status and power.

However, it should be pointed out that the efficiency in such an enterprise does not lie just in the amount of profit earned. It concerns the way that these financial resources are spent to improve teaching, institutional structure and social outreach. In other words, an important recipe for success in this incipient form of academic capitalism within the peripheral Brazilian universities, concerns the social or institutional commitment of the lecturers. The acquisition of books and computers through outreach (as mentioned earlier by the Lecturers in Human Sciences 11, and Technology 3) are examples of such "Robin Hoodian" efforts to improve institutional teaching conditions. Similarly the "Community Pharmacy" mentioned by the Lecturer in Health Sciences 7 is a notable example of social commitment made possible by these entrepreneurial practices. Thus, apart from the fact that these practices allow some degree of academic freedom and autonomy, they require commitment to the improvement of society and the institution. This contradicts another recurrent criticism made by some authors in the Brazilian literature – such as Castanho (2000), Favero (2000), Leher (2001), and Mancebo (2004) – that there is a lack of social commitment that is probably caused by entrepreneurialism within the academic world. Their understanding of this concept is perhaps somewhat different from the idea of social responsibility which is chiefly related to political and social criticism. However, this type of social and academic commitment is necessary to ensure the presence o of academic capitalism within this peripheral university.

It should be pointed out that on the basis of this reasoning, some of the academic capital that is invested in the power relations within the university being investigated is acquired by earning and investing in resources rather than by improving scientific and scholarly expertise. In other words, in Unioeste, as well as the usual process of achieving prestige by carrying out research and publishing articles, academic capital and power can be gained through entrepreneurial efficiency. This does not mean that these entrepreneurial – and "Robin Hoodian" – practices are the only means

of accumulating academic capital. Naturally, some lecturers do it through typical social outreach, political engagement, or scholarly research; and as expected, this capital is also invested in the internal power relations.

A further point is that, all the university practices – research, outreach, teaching and management – are able to forge a close relationship with the marketplace or to avoid doing so if they prefer. Although outreach is the main commercial practice of this peripheral university, this does not mean that the lecturers who are committed to it, are also more favourably disposed to entrepreneurialism, while those critical of this perspective are primarily devoted to research. Several academics who are clearly against entrepreneurial practices – such as the Lecturers in Health Sciences 5, Human Sciences 5, and Agricultural Sciences 2 – mentioned that they were involved in social outreach programs. In contrast, some academics that displayed an entrepreneurial tendency, showed an interest in research – for instance, the Lecturers in Sciences 2, Agricultural Sciences 3, and Healthy Sciences 4. In fact, research was the main entrepreneurial and profit-making practice in the cases studied by Slaughter and Leslie (1997). This means that outreach can be conducted with either a profit-making or a social emphasis; research can be carried out with either an academic or commercial interest; and teaching can give priority to either professional training or general education.

However, despite the interest in conducting market-like research shown by some lecturers, entrepreneurial practices were basically limited (at least during the period of this research) to commercial types of outreach because of the peculiarities of this peripheral university. In other words, although not all outreach has an entrepreneurial character, most of the profit-making practices are carried out through commercial activities. In the case of research, it mainly has an academic focus, and has been largely confined to certain university faculties. As shown in the third section of this chapter, most of the research was carried out by only a few departments – such as agronomy, and natural and social sciences – while those chiefly concerned with subjects that have a vocational character, such as business studies, law,

health sciences, and engineering have had little involvement with research (Unioeste, 2005b).

Insofar as academic capital has economic, social, cultural and symbolic aspects (Bourdieu, 1977; 1988; 1989), the wide range of practices and their emphasis on economic, academic or social aims builds up academic capital with varied traits. This helps to maintain or improve external or internal status and influence, or else achieve a high scientific prestige, unlike the academics that are engaged in different practices with distinct priorities (Bourdieu, 1988). In other words, different practices can produce academic capital with different features, and this empowers academics to exert varied degrees of influence on different settings. For instance, capital earned through practices with entrepreneurial characteristics influence the sectors that are ideologically in favour of this perspective, while practices based on a traditional approach lead to power being exerted by the sectors that support them. This means that capital is invested to breed itself – as Bourdieu (1988: 91) pointed out. This empowers social actors to assist and reproduce habitus and practices that can reinforce their prestige and influence within specific university settings. Additionally, any particular view and the corresponding actions it supports are also intended to be extended to sectors initially contrary to such practices and views. This takes place in a process of tacit or either explicit power struggles that aims a hegemonic position of a particular throughout the university field (Bourdieu, 1988; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). In other words, the university is an autonomous field where different categories of power struggle with each other in a dispute for self-reproduction and dominance.

Bourdieu (1988: 48) argues that these categories of power are essentially concerned with two antagonistic "principles of legitimation": a social principle, which is based on political reputation, and the economic and social facets of academic capital; and a cultural principle, built on the scientific authority and intellectual prestige and based on the cultural and symbolic features of academic capital. Each of these is associated with a type of academic power that Bourdieu (1988: 48) described as temporal and scientific respectively. It is the conflicting relationship between these two

types of power that governs the organization of the university. In the opinion of Bourdieu (1988: 36-40), these two kinds of academic power correspond to opposing forces because they represent contrasting commitments and interests linked to a specific habitus and practices.

With regard to the contrasting influence of these types of power, two events at Unioeste can perhaps serve as good examples. The first is outlined by the Lecturer in Sciences 2, who in an earlier quotation mentioned the difficulties she had in receiving funds from the university despite the high standard of her scientific production. This may have enhanced her capital and reputation within the scientific community but did not increase her internal political influence. In fact, the scientific capital allowed her to obtain federal resources to improve her laboratory and carry out particular research projects. On the other hand, she stated that someone else with less scientific qualifications succeeded in obtaining institutional resources because of her internal political influence. The second example lies in the fact that all rectors of this university – except between 1996 and 1999 – did not have a PhD degree (Unioeste, 2007b). Thus, it was not their scientific reputation that had raised them to such a high position, but their "temporal" power.

Bourdieu (1988) also mentions that the different kinds of capital and power are usually located in particular university sectors. "Temporal" power is largely acquired by subjects devoted to professional training – exemplified by law and medicine – while scientific power is dominant in most academically traditional branches of learning – such as humanities and the sciences (Bourdieu, 1988). In the peripheral university being investigated, the division of these kinds of capital and power among the subjects resembles the one observed by Bourdieu (1988) in the French context. Since scientific power is held by academics who are chiefly devoted to academic practices that obtain academic capital of a cultural and symbolic character, this kind of power can be mainly found in the Sciences, and Social and Agricultural Sciences departments that correspond to the main fields concerned with research at Unioeste (Unioeste, 2005b). In contrast, "temporal" power, which is grounded on capital with a social and economic character, might prevail within those departments that are attracted to market-like practices, such as those

subjects that are incorporated in the Business Studies, Health Sciences, and Technology categories. These are not involved very much in research, and lay emphasis on professional training (Unioeste, 2005b). Although lecturers with an interest in commercial practices can be found throughout the university, these last three subjects largely – though not exclusively – comprise academics who are attracted to them. As revealed in the interviews, most of the lecturers who are ideologically opposed to entrepreneurial practices belong to the Social Sciences group. In other words, the distribution of capital and power among university groups depends, to some extent, on the types of practices they carry out as well as their profit-making, social or academic emphasis, which can be determined by the ideological values of each academic group. Similarly, also the amount of power and degree of influence they have are affected by their degree of commitment to different social and academic interests, as well as by the types of practices they carry out. Moreover, practices and power have a dialectical relationship insofar as the prestige of those who occupy positions of power within a particular field has an effect on the value of the practices performed by members of the field or within it.

Thus, at least at the university being investigated, there is more than a conflict between academic groups that have different points of view about opposing kinds of sponsorship, which is reflected in the Brazilian literature as a conflict between the assumed public or private nature of institutional practices and can lead to contrasting effects on the way the university carries out its social responsibilities. There may also be a tension between concepts of a university, which can then be regarded as a centre for knowledge production or a service provider – or even a professional training centre when the distinction between "local" and "outsider" lecturers is taken into account. While the first conflict is between the academic groups who are either against or for entrepreneurial practices (whether research or services), the other one causes a tacit opposition between them because they have divergent conceptions about the nature of this university with regard to its chief institutional role: research or service.

As Bourdieu (1988) argues, the production or reproduction of academic capital as well as the attempts to impose views and practices that are supported by it, and that at the same time support it, are embedded in contexts of power; the university is such a context. However, in this a field of competing forces there is no definitive winner. There are just temporary dominant views that establish some degree of power and affect contrary positions while also being affected by them. The recent implementation of new educational policies in Brazil may have favoured some of these views that obtain power and legitimacy through particular practices usually concerned with the institutional and academic peculiarities. However, the reality of the university is established and expressed as a provisional picture that is the outcome of numerous conflicts between ideologies, interests, traditions and beliefs that are influenced by both internal and external factors. Thus, the university is an institution that is constantly changing. This is because it has to be in accordance with the current historical, social and economic context; a context that is largely determined by the assumed characteristics and the roles played by the university.

Conclusions: some final words for further thoughts

It is a commonplace that the universities are changing. In fact, the university institution has always been subject to some kind of modification and adaptation during its long history. These changes have been caused by both internal academic issues and the shifting social, political and economic contexts, which the university itself has helped to originate. While some changes may be just superficial with minor adaptations to some new factors, there are times when the changes can be of a radical nature and affect the university's traditional structure. Currently, it is this second type of change that we are witnessing. The university of the near future will be a new kind of institution, and perhaps feel alien to people who are used to its traditional structure and organization. As Scott (2000:1) points out, "the university of tomorrow will not simply be an extension of the university of today".

The many authors whose works were discussed in this investigation provided different analyses about various aspects of the current university's changing process, which is taking place in several higher education systems, and has had an effect on nearly all aspects of institutional activities: types of operation and sponsorship, social commitment, economic role and so on. In the case of Brazil, this process of change intensified from 1995 onwards when the federal government launched new educational and economic policies grounded on neo-liberal ideologies that aimed at improving the higher education system by forcing it to establish closer ties with the marketplace (Brasil, 1995). It was expected that this would make the universities more responsive to immediate social and economic needs, and that, in turn, it would help to make the national economy more competitive in the global context (see Chapters 2 and 3).

However, most of the Brazilian literature that deals with this subject – such as Chaui (1999), Belloni and Obino Neto (2000), Castanho (2000), Favero (2000), Gentili (2001), Silva Junior and Sguissardi (2001) – fails to give any recognition to the fact that the universities might derive some benefits from these policies. They have been regarded as a form of external pressure and potentially harmful to academic freedom, university's autonomy

and social commitment. As a result, the policies have faced strong opposition from a significant part of the academic world, which mainly consist of left-wing academics, as well as university and academic associations, such as the National Lecturers' Union that have been carrying out a political resistance movement (see Chapters 5 and 6). In fact, the current educational policies can be considered as the main factor that is responsible for the economic and institutional crisis that Brazilian universities are currently facing.

Nonetheless, although the researches carried out by these Brazilian authors are consistent and of value, they have been usually confined to an examination of national statistical data about higher education, and national educational policies and guidelines. Little attention has been paid to the opinions of the academics about the current situation undergone by the universities, or their strategies for coping with their problems. This is a serious shortcoming since the academics themselves are the social actors in this process of change and their views of what it involves are of great value to understand how the universities are actually being affected by the current economic and political context, as well as their response to it.

This situation raises several questions. Is the viewpoint supported by the literature really largely consensual within the academic world, or are there groups that only wish to form an academic entrepreneurial culture and carry out profit-making practices? If this is the case, who are they, and how does this academic entrepreneurialism take place? Are these practices having an adverse effect on academic freedom and the social responsibilities of the university?

This research aimed to answer, at least partially, these questions, and obtain an understanding of Brazilian universities that was grounded on the views of the real social actors involved in the current changes they are undergoing. It was decided that the best way to address these questions was to conduct semi-structured interviews with 40 lecturers from an ordinary Brazilian public university (which was described in Chapter 4). By taking into account the lecturers' remarks and the arguments discussed in the literature, four considerations were raised.

First, there are indeed many lecturers whose views correspond to the interpretations of most of the Brazilian authors examined. They regard the current educational policies as harmful to key areas of the public university, and support the actions against them, while also seeking to persuade the government to increase the level of public spending on the institution. However, another part of the academic world viewed this situation as an opportunity to introduce new procedures which were particularly concerned with introducing an entrepreneurial culture (see Chapters 5 and 7). Several academic groups have forged or strengthened profit-making relationships with public and private organizations. In the university being investigated, these market-oriented relationships have been essentially based on the exchange of services through institutional outreach programmes that have become an important means of bringing additional income to the institution and the academics from alternative financial sources.

This entrepreneurial behaviour, which is still in its early stages, has been interpreted by a majority of the Brazilian authors as just a reaction to the financial constraints brought about by the reduction of public funds to the university. However, the evidence provided in the previous chapters suggests that such an interpretation is simplistic insofar as many of the academics who were interviewed were very keen on engaging in market-like practices, as well as establishing closer relationships with the marketplace. This enthusiasm can be attributed to the fact that some of these practices and forms of behaviour reflect the academic and professional interests of a part of the academic world.

With regard to this issue, Becher and Trowler (2001) point out that there are some disciplines – particularly in the vocational field, such as accountancy, tourism and administration – that usually have an intrinsic entrepreneurial culture, which is associated with the professions that have helped them become academic branches of learning. In other words, the involvement with the marketplace and entrepreneurial practices is not just a reaction to help the university to carry on working despite its shortage of funds. It is to some extent a "natural" feature of some subjects, and also assists the academic world in achieving professional fulfilment.

Secondly, these entrepreneurial practices are not simply a reaction to the current educational policies. Although such practices were triggered off by the implementation of new policies, the comments of the lecturers suggest that, rather than being simply a means of overcoming financial restraints, they regard entrepreneurial practices as an opportunity to make progress in their academic and professional careers. Moreover, their actions are influenced by personal interest, ideological belief, their particular academic circumstances and their opportunities in the region.

This is also apparent when account is taken of the fact that different academic groups do not react in the same way to the situations that are caused by these policies. Reactions to current educational policies are not only a mode of adapting to the economic context but also a form of resistance against it. Furthermore, although these reactions can be summarized in two courses of action (adaptation and resistance), they are manifested differently in different institutions. For instance, while some research-intensive universities – such as those investigated by Slaughter and Leslie (1997) – can increase their resources by carrying out research, the peripheral university investigated here is doing it through several types of outreach programs.

As expected, these market-oriented practices have been sharply criticized by a part of the academics who are concerned about two serious implications they have for the university institution. First, it means that the public universities may become dependent on private sponsorship, which would be the outcome of a continuous decline of public funds accompanied by a constant search for private financial resources. Secondly, this dependence can make academics and institutions become largely – if not wholly – tied to the interests of private capital. Thus, academics and institutions would spend less time in carrying out activities and projects for social groups that cannot afford the university services. In other words, this situation can make the public university become a "hostage" to the private sector because it is unable to fulfil some of its social commitments.

The third reflection arising from this research is the assumption that academic entrepreneurial practices may be the cause of negative outcomes.

There is some evidence to support this, such as the comments by the Lecturers in Human Sciences 9 and Health Sciences 9 in Chapter Seven. However, it can also be argued that these practices can help to bring about an authentic institutional autonomy, as well as fostering academic and social commitment. As discussed in Chapter 7, the university may either keep or lose its autonomy in both situations, being funded by the state or sponsored by private resources. Although the university is always subject to some kind of influence from the institution that sponsors it, the source of the funding does not directly increase or decrease its autonomy. This depends to a great extent on the way the institution is affiliated to its sponsors (the state or companies), and on its internal policies and organization.

Perhaps the problem of resisting the external attempts to exert financial control over the universities might be overcome if alternative sources of funding were made available. This would strengthen academic capitalist practices since alternative financial sources would involve forming closer ties with others institutions besides the state. However, this perspective must, naturally, be treated with some caution, since many lecturers that expressed their support for it are obtaining financially benefits from market-like practices. In fact, personal profit is a powerful motive in the process of becoming more entrepreneurial. Nonetheless, as stressed by Clark (2004) (and reinforced by the "Robin Hoodian" practices of some departments of the university investigated), the resources acquired from alternative sources through entrepreneurial practices can reduce the effects of external influences and help the university to become self-governing.

In addition, it should be remembered that all the academics interviewed thought that although much the university engages in entrepreneurial practices, it should maintain its public character as a means of ensuring its continued social commitment. The concept of "public" with regard to the Brazilian universities implies an exclusive sponsorship by the state as a means to secure academic freedom and the free benefit of all the services (teaching, research and outreach) provided by the institution. To some extent it also implies denying or avoiding profit-making practices or

commercial relations since they are viewed as factors that could lead the university to becoming privatized (see Chapters 3 and 5).

However, as the Robin Hood metaphor (discussed in Chapter Seven) illustrates, institutional and social improvements have resulted from these commercial practices. In fact, this research has found that such improvements were a necessary part of these practices as a means of building up academic capital and enhancing the lecturers' internal and external influence and power. This suggests that entrepreneurial practices are not pernicious in themselves but can help a university to carry out its social responsibilities. In other words, this research has found that an academic entrepreneurial culture can be not only of economic but also of social value, as long as it does not behave like a private company or allow itself to be solely guided by financial considerations. Above all, there must be no restrictions on its ability to be involved in society and politics, as well as in its academic activities.

The identification of this positive facet of an entrepreneurial culture within a Brazilian university contradicts the gloomy outlook of much of the literature. Added to this, many higher education systems are undergoing a process of change that takes a different shape in accordance with the special features of each place. Perhaps, a time will come when the Brazilian academic community will have to revise its concept of a public university.

This naturally implies renewing the Brazilian universities, a point which leads to the fourth consideration that has arisen from this research. Whatever the character of the new Brazilian universities will be, it will not simply be the outcome of new educational policies and current social and economic demands. It will arise from conflicting interactions between academic groups that hold different views concerning the university's "mission", the question of sponsorship and its responsibilities.

The members of the academic community of the university investigated react to the current Brazilian educational policies by adopting different procedures. While some academics respond through practices involving resistance, others do so by attempting to take advantage of them. The choice of any of these procedures also reflects different views about

modes of operation and sponsorship of the university, as well as its economic and political role. In other words, different academic groups respond to the current changing educational policies in distinct ways that are grounded on particular ideas of university.

Moreover, as Bourdieu (1988) pointed out, the university is a field in which different kinds of powers struggle with each other in order to expand and reproduce the rationale and the practices that support them. This implies that these two forms of reactions to the national policies are involved in a tacit internal struggle that seeks to empower their supporters, and establish a particular idea of a university as being legitimate or hegemonic (see Chapters 5 and 7). These struggles are not necessarily explicit. Acts of domination and submission are hidden behind the persuasive and hierarchical relations that exist among the members of the field where they take place. In other words, they are experienced as a kind of natural process.

Hence, the conflicting interests and expectations of the academic groups are not necessarily manifested in disputes that aim to obtain attractive administrative posts. They are largely about pursuing allegiances to support, reproduce and broaden a particular idea of university (regarded as a shared world-view) into various sectors of the institution. In other words, the tacit struggle between the groups that support a particular idea of a university seeks to make a socially built concept seem natural. When a concept becomes hegemonic, it can bring benefits in terms of capital enhancement and positions of power – whether political, scientific, social or administrative – to those that support it. Thus, the changing process that the university is undergoing might occur in different ways and depends on shifts in the balance of power relations between academics.

In the university investigated, these power relations are assisting the rise of an entrepreneurial culture. This is suggested by several remarks made by the lecturers who were interviewed, as well as by the fact that three quarters of them were enthusiastic about – or at least sympathetic to – commercial practices (see Chapters 4 and 7).

As seen in the interviews, the willingness of some lecturers to engage in profit-making activities is due to an understanding that they are practical or

realistic means of increasing the departmental and institutional budget and can enable them to cope with the current situation where there are limited public funds. It should be remembered that the academics themselves are responsible for some of the problems in their university. This is because they played a significant role in bringing about a growth in the number of courses and students at their university even though they lacked the suitable conditions or resources to do so. In other words, the problem of unplanned and disorganised growth in the institution (discussed in terms of "university obesity" in Chapter Five) has encouraged the academic staff either to take up a political stance or else to engage in practices (sometimes of an entrepreneurial kind) to improve the conditions of their university.

Moreover, it is quite possible that the special features of many of the subjects taught in the institution also play an important role in establishing an entrepreneurial culture among some of the academics. As Becher and Trowler (2001) explain, some fields, particularly vocational, have an "innate" connection – or "natural" continuity – with the marketplace insofar as their academic origins are often related to external needs about preparing the workforce for the labour market.

Thus, many lecturers may wish to devote themselves to entrepreneurial practices because they are an expression of an intrinsic part of their subject. For this reason, they are the lecturers who are most enthusiastic about entrepreneurial practices (this is borne out by the analysis of the research data). Although both kinds of reaction (resistance and adaptation) occur throughout the university, their distribution is uneven. The lecturers who are opposed to the entrepreneurial trend are mainly concentrated in the humanities and social sciences departments, while those that support it belong to the sciences and various vocational subjects (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Furthermore, some aspects of the "academic culture" of vocational subjects are extending and influencing other academic fields that have to adapt to the idea of carrying out their activities in line with the new political, economic and social requirements and expectations. A vocational approach is becoming widespread in most of the courses and departments. This was

well illustrated by the Lecturer in Human Sciences 8 quoted in Chapter 4. This lecturer came from a research-intensive university, and was surprised by the priority given by the institution to professional training, which contrasted with the time spent on research shown in her former university. Perhaps, this is a reflection of the history of this university. Although it has lately been producing more research, something which is reflected in the establishment of its first MA programs in the late 1990s (Unioeste, 2001a), this university was mainly founded to train a qualified workforce for the regional labour market.

This does not mean that research is not related to entrepreneurial practices or vocational subjects. As several authors such as Slaughter and Leslie (1997) show, research is an effective entrepreneurial practice in some institutions. In addition, it should be pointed out that three of the four MA programs of this university are on applied subjects (engineering, agronomy, and applied economics). However, because of this university's characteristics, research still has limited conditions to be extensively developed as commercially feasible, although it is possible that these MA programs can make some contribution, perhaps in a close future, for improving the entrepreneurial features of this institution in terms of research practices.

The fact that the MA courses were firstly set up by such departments, rather than by those of traditional academic courses, just reinforces the idea that vocational subjects – which seem to be more favourable to entrepreneurial practices – are expanding and becoming influential on this university. Moreover, as research has mainly been the concern of "outsiders", it is possible to think that the tension between these academics and the "local" ones (which have somewhat contributed for the "university obesity") is basically restricted within issues concerned with the institutional priority in terms of research and teaching inasmuch as members of both groups tend to somehow support entrepreneurial practices, although through different university activities.

Finally, if the power relations are leading to the growth of an entrepreneurial culture, and to an increasing influence of vocational subjects

over most traditional academic branches of learning, this also means that a new kind of academic culture can be formed, which no longer lays emphasis on the production of knowledge as a public good or the training of professionals for an academic life. Rather, it entails a preparation for jobs and is characterized by aggressive competitiveness and the idea that applied and commercial knowledge is of great value. In other words, it is a kind of "alien academic culture" that is increasing its importance within the peripheral university investigated. Again, this does not mean something necessarily pernicious to the institution or the academics. It means a new mode of institutional organization, which can play a significant social role, though in a way that differs from the traditional pattern of university life.

Naturally, the conclusions arising from these final reflections are incomplete and deserve further investigation. This is to clarify their faults or excesses with a view to provide a better understanding of the current higher education systems. In short, I am aware of the limitations of this study. However, this research attempts to lay the basis for a different and potentially useful understanding of the current period being undergone by the Brazilian universities; it is hoped this will offset the usually pessimist general assumptions that are supported by the Brazilian literature.

The findings of this research show that an entrepreneurial culture within the university does not automatically lead to the deterioration of some essential features, such as institutional autonomy, academic freedom, and social commitment. In fact, it can allow the university to intervene more effectively in different social sectors – both public and private – and provide an opportunity for the staff to exercise the political vocation that has historically characterized Brazilian universities. This is not just because of the improvement of their financial resources, but because of the deep involvement of the institutions with their social environment. The social, academic and economic success of an entrepreneurial system will depend on what the institution has to deal with. In other words, it is the responsibility of the universities and academics to proceed in such a way that the partnerships they form with private capital become real associations, rather than a situation where one of the agencies dominates another. After all, the

public universities have a significant social responsibility to the Brazilian people. They must not become a hostage to private interests, whether external (as in the case of those linked to private companies), or internal (concerned with the political ambitions of some of its members). We are indeed witnessing the renewal of a very old western institution but it must keep its sense of vocation and seek to stimulate creativity and free thought as well as preserve its social, cultural and political significance; on the strength of the findings of this research, I am confident they will!

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Appendix 1

Questions that oriented the interviews

Biodata

1. What is your role here?
2. How long have you been working here?
3. Why did you choose this institution to work?

Perceptions of Change

4. In your view, what have been the major changes that you have experienced/witnessed in the past 5 years in your university?
5. How have these change affected you and your working conditions? (Positive and negative aspects)

Purpose of the University

6. In your view, what should the university's priorities/main activities be? Why?
7. What role do you think that the state should play in higher education e.g. in terms of funding, audit, accountability?
8. What are your views on private higher education?
9. What links do you believe that universities should have with the wider community?

Quality Assurance

10. What are your views on quality assurance in higher education?
11. What form do you think that it should take in Brazil?
12. What do you see as some of the main advantages and disadvantages in QA?

Looking Ahead

13. What changes would you like to see in universities (courses, conditions to research, facilities to students, relationships with community and local leaders etc.)

14. Do you have any further comments/ observations?

Appendix 2

In the table bellow, I outline the categories and their related subcategories that in turn are made up of the themes that emerged from the transcriptions of the interviews. Such a mode of organization was helpful to identify the main subjects and issues involved in the phenomenon investigated, as well as to maintain the attention on the original aspects that led to each category. Although each theme appears associated to only one category, during the process of interpretation they were considered in relation to other categories inasmuch as they were interrelated to each other.

Table of the categories, subcategories and themes

CATEGORIES	SUBCATEGORIES	THEMES
University's Changes	Growth/Development	University's growth - First-degree courses
		University's growth - Post-graduate courses
		University's growth – Enrolment
		University's growth - Structure/Facilities
		University's growth - Lecturers' qualification
		University's growth - Research
		Improving courses standards
		Improving academic environment
		Improving university's reputation
	Decline	Becoming scrappy
		Deteriorating institutional structure
		Poor working conditions
		Overwork
		Inadequate lecturers' incomes
		Harming university's reputation
Factors for Changing	External Factors	Neo-liberal policies
		Government's plot
		Shortage of public funds
		Quality assessment policies
		Labour market's pressures
		Private higher education's growth
	Internal Factors	Personal interests
		Ideological stance
		Academics' dissatisfaction
		Outsiders vs. Locals ideals
		Personal academic capital
		Status of the academic fields
		Institutional reputation
		Inadequate management of the institution

Academics' Priorities	Locals' Priorities	Professional training
		Commercial outreach
		Social outreach
		Improving lecturers' qualifications
		University administration
		Political capital
		Knowledge consumers
	Outsiders' Priorities	Academic research
		Applied research
		Post-Graduation programs
		Academic capital
		Commercial research
		General Education
		Scholarship
University's Mission	Locals' View	Regional development
		Qualifying workforce
		Service provider
		Social commitment
	Outsiders' View	Production of knowledge
		Political stance
		Citizenship
Academics' Reactions	Adaptation (Entrepreneurialism)	Links with the labour market
		Partnerships with companies
		Providing services
		Commercial outreach
		Commercial research
		Searching for alternative resources
		Supporting entrepreneurial culture
		Reinvesting private resources
		Effective institutional policies
	Resistance	Struggling to increase public funds
		Protecting university's public nature
		Increasing university's political vocation
		Protecting academic freedom
		Protecting institutional autonomy
		Democratizing access to higher education
		Improving social assistance
Institutional Prospects	Negative Prospects	Limiting academic freedom
		Limiting institutional autonomy
		Hostage to the marketplace
		Political use of the university
		Harming university's reputation
	Positive Prospects	Improving institutional revenues
		Improving personal incomes
		Improving institutional structure
		Self-reliance
		Modernizing
		Enhancing social assistance
		Enhancing economic support