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The First Graduate School of Latin American Economic Studies (ESCOLATINA) between “Autochthonous” and International Logics (1956-1964)

Elisa Klüger

Laboratoire d'économie et de sociologie du travail (UMR 7317),
CNRS/Aix-Marseille Université

Johanna Gautier Morin

Department of History, European University Institute (Florence)

Thierry Rossier

Department of Management, University of Fribourg;
Department of Sociology, London School of Economics (Visiting Fellow)

Abstract After World War II, international organizations and research institutes dedicated to the development of local expertise thrived in Latin America. The desire to produce appropriate knowledge to solve the region's socio-economic problems raised the question of the intellectual and material autonomy of these organizations. This article combines intellectual and social history to investigate the early years of the first Graduate School of Latin American Economic Studies (ESCOLATINA), founded in Chile in 1956. The mixture of archival research, collective biography, and sequence analysis allows us to examine the tensions between, on the one hand, the quest for epistemic autonomy and rapprochement with other social sciences, and, on the other hand, the influence of the US model of graduate schools of economics together with the dependence on foreign resources and experts. The history of ESCOLATINA also reveals how the academic and political environment in Chile shaped the school and transformed it over time.

Keywords: ESCOLATINA, academic autonomy, transnational expertise, sequence analysis, collective biography

Résumé Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, des organisations internationales et des instituts de recherche dédiés au développement de l'expertise locale ont prospéré en Amérique latine. Le désir de produire des connaissances appropriées pour résoudre les problèmes socio-économiques de la région a soulevé la question de l'autonomie intellectuelle et matérielle de ces organisations. Cet article combine histoire intellectuelle et sociale pour enquêter sur les premières années de la première École supérieure d'études économiques latino-américaines (ESCOLATINA), fondée au Chili en 1956. L'association de recherche d'archives, de biographie collective et d'analyse de séquences nous permet d'examiner les tensions entre, d'une part, la quête d'autonomie épistémique et le rapprochement avec d'autres sciences sociales et, d'autre part, l'influence du modèle nord-américain d'écoles supérieures d'économie ainsi que la dépendance à l'égard des ressources et des experts étrangers. L'histoire d'ESCOLATINA révèle également comment l'environnement académique et politique du Chili a façonné l'école et l'a transformée au fil du temps.

Mots-clés : ESCOLATINA, autonomie académique, expertise transnationale, analyse de séquence, biographie collective

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Introduction

In November 1953, representatives of the academic community met in Santiago, Chile, for the Second Congress of Latin American Universities to discuss the future of research and teaching of economics in Latin America*. Hermann Max Coers, director of the Institute of Economic Research of the University of Chile (UCh) and research director at the Central Bank of Chile, presented a critical paper entitled "Teaching and Scientific Investigations," in which he pointed out the shortcomings of economic education in the region. He attributed the repeated failures of Latin American economic policies to the adoption of measures that were not adapted to the local socio-economic environment and to the inappropriate application of ideas designed in foreign contexts. In his view, the universal aspiration of neoclassical economics was illegitimate in Latin America because it depended on the circumstances that produced it. Therefore, Latin American countries ought to create "an autochthonous ideology, born out of the specific development needs of these countries, which need not seek inspiration in what is thought and practiced elsewhere" to understand and improve their economic reality.¹ Max Coers thus called for the creation of a Latin American "pilot" school of economics to train economists from across the region. His main goal was to "awaken and educate the students in the critical spirit that characterizes independent thinking" and help them "create and develop their own ideas."² The pilot school was to become the first institution in Latin America to offer graduate education in economics and the proposed curriculum aligned with the Congress' emphasis on the integration of

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¹ Max Coers, 1955, 54.

² *Ibid.*, 57.

economics, history, and social sciences.³ Its participants believed that these disciplines would make it possible “to penetrate the intimate conditioning of the structure of the institutions of economic life”⁴ and recognize “extra-economic factors that contribute to determining the economic phenomena.”⁵

Max Coers faced, nevertheless, fierce opposition from the Catholic University which was competing with UCh for resources and prestige. Despite this resistance, which blocked the international legitimation from the Congress, UCh went ahead with the project and inaugurated the School of Latin American Economic Studies for Graduates (Escuela de Estudios Económicos Latinoamericanos para Graduados—ESCOLATINA). The school began its activities in 1957 with Max Coers as its first director. It relied on the public budget of UCh and private international funding from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Although ESCOLATINA was a Chilean school of Latin American studies, financial contributions from foreign sources placed the institution in an ambivalent position. Rockefeller Foundation funds were used for hiring foreign professors who contributed to the school’s early development. Thus, the search for a balance between foreign sources of knowledge, financial resources, and the development of “autochthonous” economic ideas was at the heart of the tensions that pervaded ESCOLATINA. In its first decade, the school oscillated between its dependence on local dynamics (Chilean politics, funding, and recruitment), regional aspirations to serve all Latin Americans, and its transnational institutional setting. In this sense, ESCOLATINA differed significantly from its humanities counterpart and direct competitor, the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), which launched its first master’s program in sociology in 1958. FLACSO stemmed from a regional initiative approved during the Latin American Conference of Social Sciences, and UNESCO and other Latin American countries agreed to support the school financially.⁶ By opposition, ESCOLATINA was torn between proponents of a more humanistic, local, and critical approach to economics and those who believed that the school would be more successful if it modeled itself on master’s programs in the United States. In both cases, the founders of the school wished to teach in Spanish and hoped that young Latin Americans would no longer need to travel north to receive a solid education in economics.

These tensions were not limited to the ESCOLATINA case. After World War II, the problem of academic autonomy became a political issue and fueled debates about the need for advanced scientific institutions and graduate schools in the region. Paradoxically, while the debates about academic autonomy have profoundly shaped the history

³ In 1952, CEPAL began offering an eight-month specialization course on development problems, which did not correspond to a graduate training but rather focused on training civil servants (Klüger, Wanderley and Barbosa, 2022).

⁴ Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Financieras de la Universidad de San Andrés, Bolivia, 1955, 119.

⁵ Loyo y Zamora, 1955, 60.

⁶ For information on the creation and funding of FLACSO, see Beigel, 2009.

of European academia,⁷ the transposition of Eurocentric interpretive frameworks to Latin America in the literature has proven shortsighted and in need of conceptual renewal.⁸ The emphasis on the interventions of foreign experts in economic policy and the over-reliance of Latin American elites on US and European universities has occulted local initiatives and internal tensions in the development of autochthonous knowledge.⁹ On the contrary, the region boasts a long history of academic development, and the wave of independence inspired the first schemes to create autonomous republican universities.¹⁰ Pioneering work has recently challenged the traditional analytical framework to study the international circulation of knowledge, and the diversification of scientific marginality in post-war Latin America has proven even more conducive to the emergence of these debates.¹¹

ESCOLATINA was the first graduate school in economics in Latin America, and yet its history has never been written. This paper examines the early history of the school through the lens of these fundamental contradictions and analyzes their impact on the successive curricula and faculty, from the creation of the school in 1956 to the political changes that occurred in 1964 with the election of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva. At this time, a significant number of professors left the school to assume senior official positions for the newly elected government. Chilean politics did deeply influence the development of the institution, from the radicalization of professors in the mid-1960s to the suppression of academic freedom after the military coup in 1973. The dictatorship interfered directly with UCh, negating the quest for academic autonomy that was central to ESCOLATINA's mission, and ultimately erasing the memory of this pioneering school. The study of this early phase is a first step in the reconstruction of the unknown history of the school and a necessary contribution to the understanding of the events that led to the purge of the teaching staff under the Pinochet dictatorship.

To this end, we relied on archival sources, most of which belong to the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, and elaborated an original prosopography of the 84 faculty members of ESCOLATINA from 1957 to 1964. We reconstructed the professors' trajectories in their international and institutional contexts, investigating their relationships with entities such as the Chilean state, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, and international organizations. These primary sources allowed us to write a collective biography that combines the microhistory of personal careers and the quantitative analysis of institutional trends.¹² We have conducted sequence analyses to identify

⁷ Bourdieu, 1988 and 2001.

⁸ Beigel, 2013; Bringel and Domingues, 2015.

⁹ Arocena and Sutz, 2001; Dezalay and Garth, 2002; Gautier Morin and Rossier, 2021.

¹⁰ Ribero, 1971; Tünnermann, 2000.

¹¹ Beigel, Gallardo and Bekerman, 2018.

¹² On the use of quantitative methods in microhistory, see Lemerrier and Zalc, 2008, 19-33.

the faculty trajectories based on their geographic, sectoral, institutional, and career mobility. This methodology allows us to identify the different career “types” in terms of the ordering, timing, and duration of the professors’ career stages. Far from classifying individuals arbitrarily, this technique uncovers biographical tendencies and highlights the relations between individual life courses, institutional settings, and the structure of Latin American societies.¹³

In the first methodological section, we describe our data and our research strategy (section 2). Then, we briefly present the results of the sequence analysis by detailing six types of trajectories of the 84 individuals teaching at ESCOLATINA between 1957 and 1964 (section 3). We return to these six groups in the empirical sections that follow when we provide specific examples of trajectories through descriptive and illustrative text boxes. In the first empirical part (section 4), we examine how the newly established institution, which sought to become independent, struggled to access funding and distinguish itself in the reputational marketplace. The school’s cornerstones, such as its internal organization, funding scheme, faculty hiring, and student selection, were not neutral components in a highly competitive institutional environment in which rival organizations fought for scarce resources. The fifth section delves into this issue, looking at a time when the school nearly merged with its social science competitor, FLACSO, and illustrates how the creation of these graduate schools sparked competition for intellectual, political, and national legitimacy in the region. The sixth section presents the triumphant consolidation of the school, which gained sufficient legitimacy to eventually collaborate with other institutions and international organizations in training future experts in economic policy and land reform in Latin America. The progress of the school allowed it to contemplate setting up the first doctoral program in economics in Latin America. However, in the face of increasing political tensions, the future of the institution remained uncertain. Finally, in conclusion, we open the discussion to include the political aftermath and evolution of the school during the governments of Frei Montalva and Salvador Allende, followed by the military coup—a period that will be the subject of a subsequent piece.

Data and research strategy

This article draws on a series of documents belonging to the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and held at the Rockefeller Archive Center in Sleepy Hollow, New York. We followed the money to reconstitute the history of ESCOLATINA and considered the two foundations as actors of this story: we tried to identify their commitments, concerns, and motivations to understand the underlying logic of the archival material. We focused on correspondence between representatives of the two foundations and

¹³ See Abbott and Hrycak, 1990, for the method of sequence analysis.

ESCOLATINA faculty, field reports from these representatives' visits to Chile, and reports and applications for funding. These documents outline the reasoning and rationale for decisions about the management of the school, debates about the curriculum, and information about the academic careers and social backgrounds of teachers and students. Critical examination of these sources requires reflection on the biases present in the archives kept and organized by international donors. We do not oppose philanthropic activities to sovereign agency. Instead, we analyze the interactions between donors and recipients resulting from intermittent and negotiated strategies as defined in the rich literature in philanthropic studies.¹⁴

We also used these archival documents to collect information on the 84 faculty members who taught at ESCOLATINA between 1957 and 1964. We built a database by compiling the names mentioned in the letters and reports and conducted sequence and cluster analyses to highlight trends and changes in their careers. We collected their biographies based on both archival materials (CVs sent by the school to the foundations) and biographical information extracted from various web sources. Whenever we could find them, we collected the birth (and death) dates of these 84 individuals, their place of birth, their nationality (or nationalities), and assigned gender (we identified only two women in the cohort). Unfortunately, the year of birth was missing for twelve individuals. Furthermore, because a significant age gap separated the oldest (Oscar Schmieder, born in 1891) from the youngest (Álvaro Bardón, born in 1940), we decided not to map the trajectories of these professors by age, nor by graduation date, but rather by a yearly calendar approach, from the end of World War II to 1964, the *terminus ad quem* of our study. We then collected data on their educational trajectory at the university level (degree, institution, country, year of graduation, and year of commencement) and on their professional career (when available prior to 1945) through 1964 (position, institution, sector, country, and the start and end years of each trajectory spell). We found information on the beginning and end of each position at ESCOLATINA, including information on the courses taught. We also collected post-1964 information on their trajectories when available.

We then coded this information based on a systematic scheme to create states for the sequence analysis.¹⁵ Four channels of biographical sequences were of interest to us: 1) the international mobility of these professors to map their trajectory by country; 2) their sectoral occupations (including higher education) to show circulation across professional fields; 3) their career mobility (including the period of education) to understand the type and hierarchical level of the different positions held; and 4) their institutional mobility to capture career entropy and the frequency of institutional changes. Thanks to these data (20 years of annual biographical states on four career dimensions

¹⁴ Hall, 1992; Cueto, 1994; Guilhot, 2011.

¹⁵ See Ellersgaard *et al.*, 2019 for coding method in sequence analysis. Some biographical periods were left blank in the sequences: for the youngest individuals before university study, for the oldest individuals after retirement, after death (Carlos Oyarzún, who was probably born in 1919 or 1920, died in 1961 while teaching at the school), and in cases where no information could be found.

for 84 individuals), we conducted a multichannel sequence analysis. Through ascending hierarchical clustering based on Ward's method, we identified different groups of trajectories.¹⁶ We also collected other information to qualify cluster profiles: the *citizenship* of the individuals allows us to compare their national origins with their international mobility. Moreover, their main *teaching subject* at ESCOLATINA (agriculture, development, macroeconomics, econometrics, etc.) provides more information about the social and political project associated with their field of specialization in economics.¹⁷

International and institutional trajectories of ESCOLATINA professors (1957-1964)

Based on cluster analysis techniques, we identified six groups that illustrate the different types of institutional and international mobility.¹⁸ Figures 1-4 show four dimensions of interest: international mobility (fig. 1), sectoral mobility (fig. 2), career mobility (fig. 3), and institutional mobility (fig. 4).¹⁹ Finally, table 1 qualifies these clusters by the topics taught at ESCOLATINA and the nationality of the faculty. The first cluster consists of European and Chilean macroeconomics professors (n=16) who started their careers in other countries before coming to Chile, where they held professorships. The second group comprises state and international organization executives (n=12), who have worked for a long time in these public organizations, often in Chile, holding research and sometimes management positions. The third category represents US agricultural economics teachers (n=8), and consists of individuals who have taught this topic primarily at US universities and briefly joined ESCOLATINA. The next three groups were younger and still in training for a significant period during the years that interest us. The fourth cluster is related to academic researchers (n=10) who have held research positions after training in Chile or other countries. The fifth group, Chicago and Charles River boys and girls²⁰ (n=12), comprises Chilean nationals who travelled to the US for a short period of time and earned degrees from the most prestigious economics departments before returning to Chile, where they often hold a professor position. The sixth and final cluster is the early

¹⁶ See Appendix 1 for more details on the method, sequence analysis and hierarchical ascending clustering. As recommended in most sequence literature, we set the insertion and deletion costs to half of the maximal substitution cost, i.e., two in this case. Appendix 2 displays the four substitution cost matrices for the four sequence channels. Appendix 3 shows the dendrogram tree for the ascending hierarchical clustering.

¹⁷ Since some birth years are missing, we will not display them in a table but will comment on that information in the text when it is available.

¹⁸ See Appendix 4 for a list of the 84 individuals per cluster, indicating their nationality (or nationalities) and, if available, their date of birth.

¹⁹ In these sequence individual plots, the x-axis indicates calendar years, while each line corresponds to an individual trajectory. Individual trajectories are displayed in the exact same order throughout the four graphs, based upon a ranking of their similarity throughout the four channels within each cluster.

²⁰ This label refers to the universities along the Charles River in Boston and surrounding areas. Here, we refer specifically to Harvard and MIT.

bloomers (n=26), who were the youngest in this group. They finished their studies the latest, the vast majority in Chile and a few in other countries (mainly the US); most of them were appointed professors at the end of their educational period.

We also show in figure 5 the evolution of the clusters from the creation of ESCOLATINA until 1964. In the early years, ESCOLATINA's faculty consisted mainly of an (older) fraction of European and Chilean macroeconomics professors. After 1960, the number of members in this group decreased considerably. Other groups became predominant in the late 1950s, such as the US professors of agricultural economics, university researchers, and the Chicago and Charles River clusters (the latter appearing only at the end of the period). Finally, since 1961, the younger early bloomers increased significantly. Thus, we analyzed staff composition and curriculum changes considering the biographical and historical developments presented throughout the article. In the narrative, we present each cluster in more detail in relation to the school's faculty composition, and we have selected the trajectories of key figures to illustrate each cluster.

Academic sovereignty: the impossible autonomy (1957-1960)

Although the creation of ESCOLATINA sought to produce local Latin American economic thought rooted in Chile, the initial setup of the school was transnational. The faculty, funding scheme, and curriculum all reflected a highly globalized circulation of people, ideas, and capital. The initiative was launched in early 1957, when Juan Gómez Millas, the UCh Rector, Max Coers, and Joseph Grunwald, the director of the UCh Institute of Economic Research, corresponded with Norman Buchanan and Montague Yudelman of the Rockefeller Foundation Division of Social Science to obtain funding for the UCh Institute and ESCOLATINA.²¹

Joseph Grunwald^a (1920-1997) was a Viennese professor who fled to the United States after escaping Nazi persecution. A doctor in economics from Columbia University, Grunwald had taught at several American universities before moving to Chile, where he directed the Institute for Economic Research from 1954. He played a crucial role in connecting UCh with international donors; he was also responsible for informing and explaining recent developments at the school to the representatives of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.^b

Grunwald is a member of the group of *European and Chilean macroeconomics professors* (n=16), which prevailed at ESCOLATINA from 1957 to 1959. This cluster mainly included Europeans from Germany, Austria, Italy, Romania, Spain, and Belgium, as well as a few Chileans. Most of them were born in the 1920s, although some Europeans

²¹ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. February 16, 1957, Juan Gómez Millas to Norman Buchanan and July 11, 1957, Joseph Grunwald to Montague Yudelman.

were older. During the 1940s, these professors had spent time in Europe, the United States, and Latin American countries. Another characteristic of this group is that they had the most stable trajectory in terms of institutional change. They were all appointed professors, mainly in the early 1950s, in Chile. Most of them taught macroeconomics and economic theory and analysis.

a. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. Escuela de Estudios Económicos Latinoamericanos para Graduados—Prospecto, 1957. ZALDÍVAR, 2009, p. 139, URL: <https://prabook.com/web/joseph.grunwald/3743564> (accessed 15/03/2023).

b. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. January 11, 1957, Montague Yudelman and Norman Buchanan luncheon with Joseph Grunwald.

In April 1957, the Rockefeller Foundation approved a three-year grant to hire distinguished foreign professors at ESCOLATINA. This decision was dependent upon Grunwald's leadership of the Research Institute.²² Among the first 19 faculty members, a majority were foreign, and half had already studied or taught in the United States.²³ Moreover, these professors were primarily associated with other institutions, such as the Inter-American Center for Teaching of Economic and Financial Statistics (CIEF, 1953), the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA, 1948), and other faculties at UCh.²⁴ Their dedication to ESCOLATINA was therefore sporadic and often minimal.

Jorge Ahumada (1915-1965), a Chilean professor of economic development at ESCOLATINA, was an agricultural engineer with a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University. He taught economics in Chile, Guatemala, and Puerto Rico. He also worked as a researcher and economist at the IMF, and served as an advisor to the Bank of Guatemala before joining ECLA, where he headed the training program on economic development problems.^a

Ahumada is a typical representative of the *state and international organization executives cluster* ($n=12$). The members of this group were born in the 1910s and 1920s, and most of them came from other Latin American countries and the United States. They spent much of their careers in Chile, the US, or other Latin American countries. Two worked in the private sector for a long period of time, while seven worked in international organizations, and ten out of twelve spent most of their careers working for the Chilean state. In these extra-academic affiliations, they acted as researchers and held senior management and executive positions. Because their extra-academic positions provided them with "practical" knowledge, they mainly taught applied topics related to the interests of the state and international organizations, such as development and agricultural economics.

a. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. Escuela de Estudios Económicos Latinoamericanos para Graduados—Prospecto, 1957.

²² RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. April 3, 1957, RF resolution 57071. The grant was conditioned to Grunwald's permanence or a satisfactory replacement in case he should need to leave. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. February 11, 1957, from Montague Yudelman to Esrkine McKinley.

²³ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. Escuela de Estudios Económicos Latinoamericanos para Graduados—Prospecto, 1957.

²⁴ This center was created as the result of a partnership between UCh and the Inter-American Institute of Statistics (IASI), based in Washington and sponsored by the Organization of the American States (OAS).

Figure 1: Multichannel Sequence Clusters, International Mobility. Sequence Individual Plots (n=84)

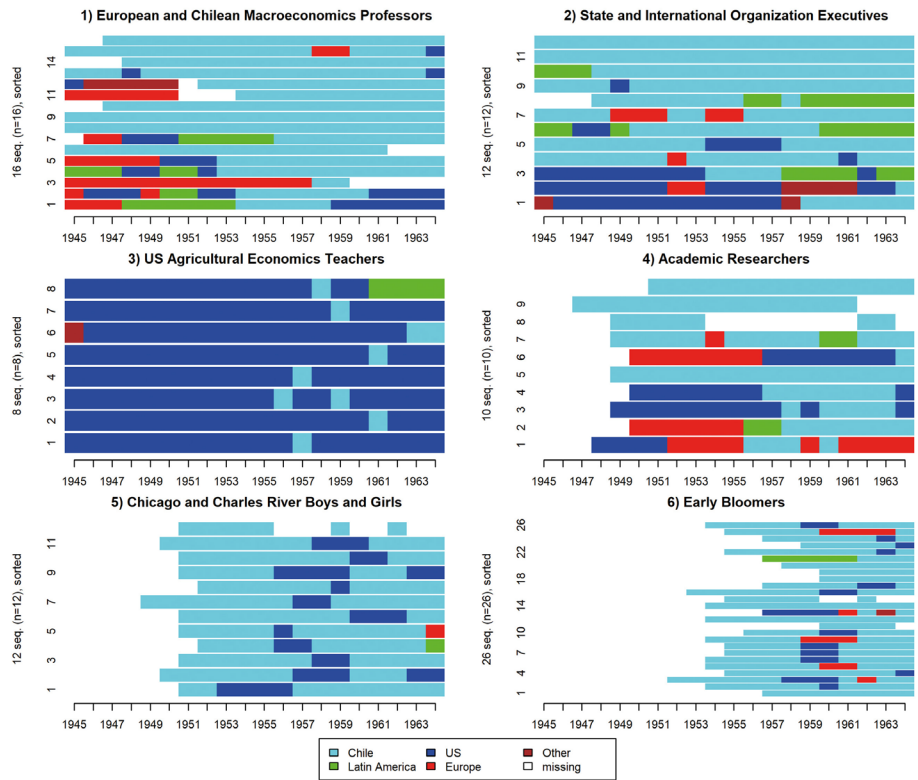


Figure 2: Multichannel Sequence Clusters, Sectoral Mobility. Sequence Individual Plots (n=84)

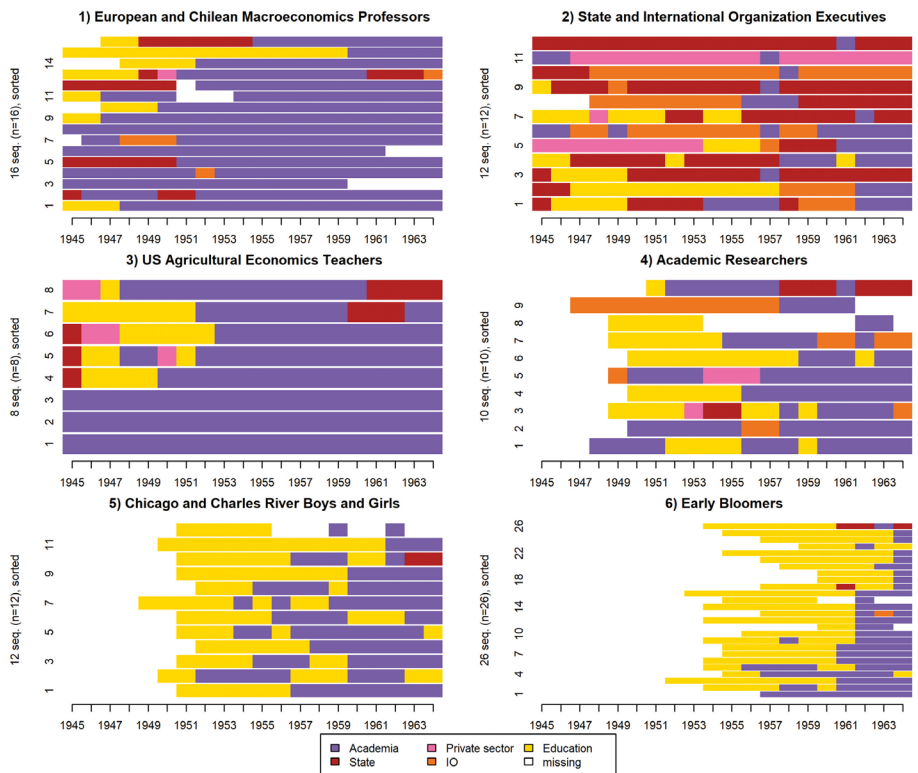


Figure 3: Multichannel Sequence Clusters, Career Mobility, Sequence Individual Plots (n=84)

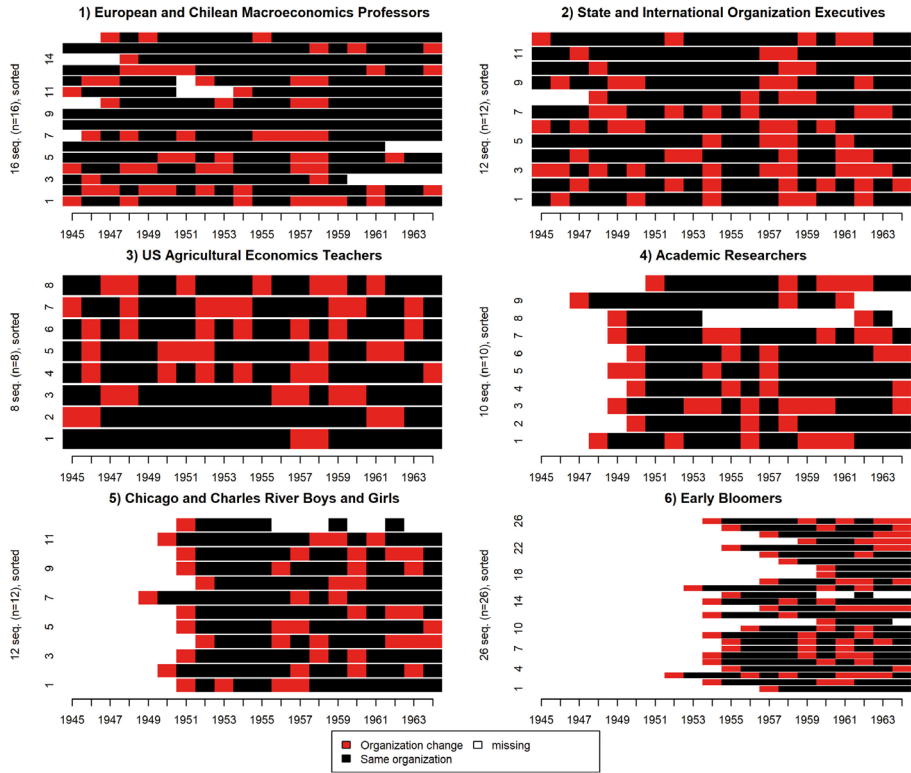


Figure 4: Multichannel Sequence Clusters, Institutional Mobility, Sequence Individual Plots (n=84)

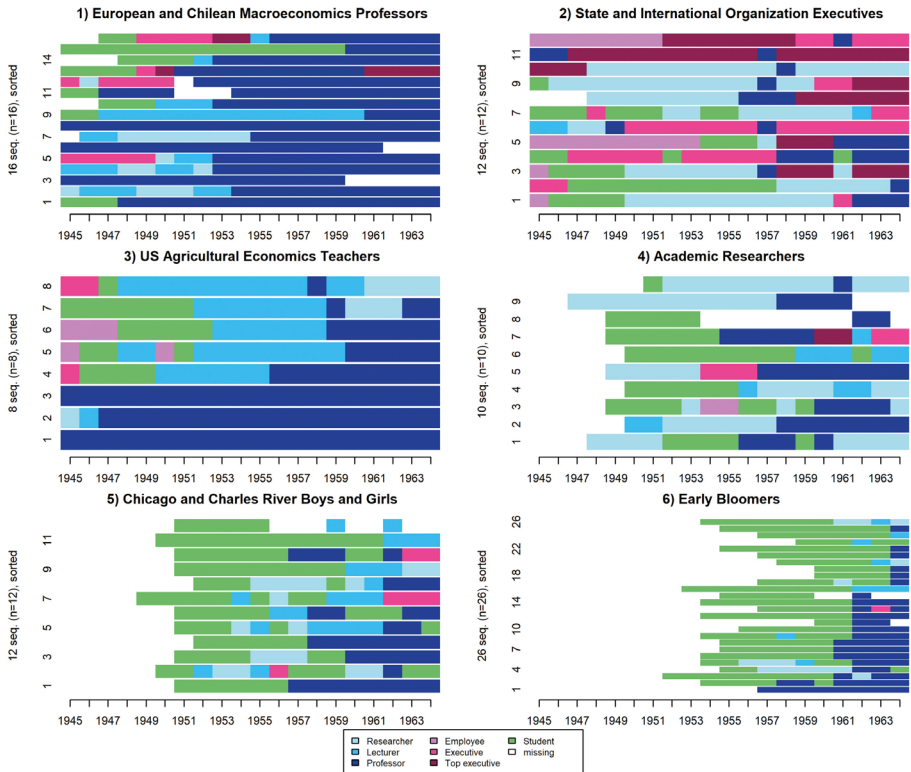
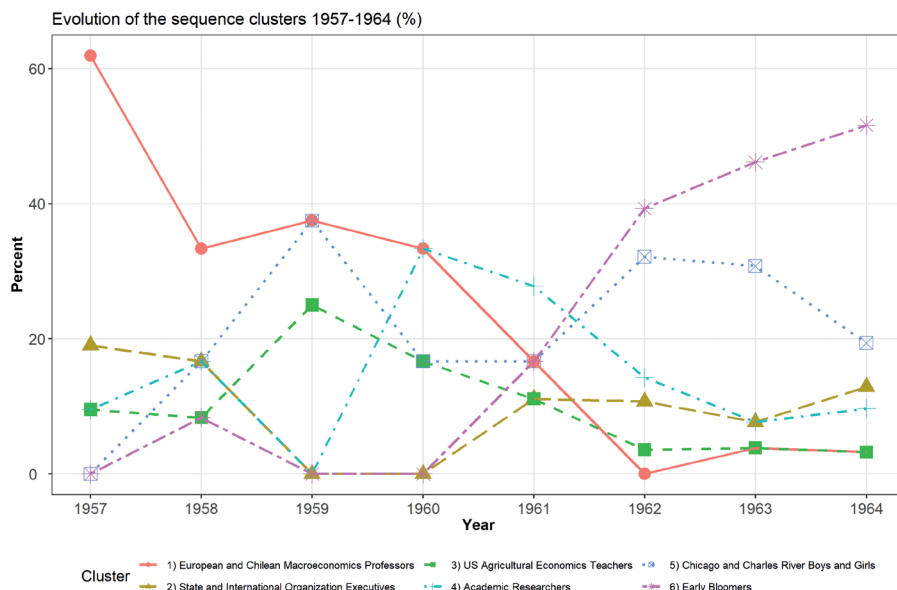


Table 1: Teaching Topic and Nationality at Birth of the Six Multichannel Sequence Clusters (in %)

Cluster	Teaching topic				Nationality at birth				Total share of each cluster in the set
	Agriculture	Development	Macroeconomics, business, economic theory and analysis	Mathematics and statistics	Chilean	European	Latin American	US citizen	
1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professors	0%	6%	75%	19%	38%	50%	6%	6%	19%
2) State and International Organization Executives	33%	25%	33%	8%	50%	8%	17%	25%	14%
3) US Agricultural Economics Teachers	50%	12%	38%	0%	0%	38%	0%	62%	10%
4) Academic Researchers	20%	20%	40%	20%	60%	20%	0%	20%	12%
5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls	25%	8%	42%	25%	100%	0%	0%	0%	14%
6) Early Bloomers	15%	31%	38%	15%	88%	4%	8%	0%	31%
Total percentage across all clusters	20%	19%	45%	15%	63%	18%	6%	13%	100%

Figure 5: Evolution of the Six Multichannel Sequence Clusters 1957-1964 (in %)



Resources were available to hire foreign professors, but recruiting the right ones proved to be a controversial task. In the summer of 1957, Yudelman visited ESCOLATINA and reported his discussion with Luis Escobar Cerda, the dean of the faculty of economics, about using the Rockefeller Foundation’s budget to hire Oscar Schmieder, a world-renowned German-born economic geographer. Yudelman argued that this was not what he and Buchanan had in mind when they decided to fund visiting faculty. He hoped that the next visitor would be someone who could introduce advanced economic theory to the school rather than heterodox disciplines.²⁵ In the following years, most of the U.S. scholars who taught at ESCOLATINA had come to Latin America on a Fulbright fellowship or with research funds provided by their home universities. Wayne State University, for instance, supported David Felix, who taught economic history at ESCOLATINA in 1958, and conducted research projects on inflation and industrial growth in Latin America.²⁶ Robert Brown, who taught economic theory and gave seminars on transportation at ESCOLATINA, came to Chile in the middle of his doctorate on a travel grant from Harvard. Meanwhile, young Chilean economists were sent to pursue their graduate studies abroad so that in a few years they could teach the core courses, thus freeing ESCOLATINA from its dependence on foreign professors.

²⁵ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. November 20, 1958, Montague Yudelman visit ESCOLATINA.

²⁶ Felix, 1959.

Frank T. Bachmura (1922-1975), born in Irvington, New Jersey, earned his bachelor's degree at New York University before beginning a PhD in economics at the University of Chicago. He then specialized in agricultural economics. Before coming to Chile on a Fulbright scholarship, Bachmura had taught at the universities of Wyoming, Denison, and Vanderbilt. The US Department of Agriculture hired him after just a year at ESCOLATINA.^a

Bachmura represents the *US agricultural economics teachers (n=8)*. The members of this cluster, American citizens or German and Austrian immigrants to the United States, were born between 1896 for the oldest and 1925 for the youngest. They spent their entire career in the United States, where they taught in universities. They came to Chile only as visiting professors at ESCOLATINA for a year or two, where half of them taught agricultural economics.

a. Gerhels, F. *et al.*, "Memorial Resolution for Frank T. Bachmura", Indiana University Bloomington Faculty Council Circular B12-1976, October 7 1975, *Bloomington Faculty Council Minutes*, URL: <https://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/bfc/view?docId=B12-1976> (accessed 28/03/2023).

In 1957, the school welcomed students from all over Latin America with a bachelor's degree to take a two-year course. The first year of the program offered three hours of economic history and three hours of economic analysis, complemented by external training in economics and administration provided at the UCh Faculty of Economics and Statistics under the responsibility of the CIEF. The second year was devoted to the writing of a master's thesis under the supervision of a tutor from one of the institutes depending on the UCh Faculty of Economic Sciences or other partner institutions, such as CIEF and ECLA. Students chose the subject of their thesis freely, provided it "related to an aspect or problem of the Latin American economy."²⁷

However, the reality did not meet the initial expectations. The new program focused on mastering mathematical and statistical tools, economic analysis, and practical applications of economics.²⁸ The economic development course was one among many and did not address the specificities of Latin American economies.²⁹ The training in economics remained conventional, with a quantitative focus close to that of mainstream North American masters in economics. The paradox of a Latin American School of Economic Studies with so little interest in Latin America was rooted in ESCOLATINA's setup during those early years.

Until 1960, few courses were offered to students, and few professors collaborated with ESCOLATINA, while cooperation with neighboring international organizations gradually faded. The school aspired to become independent of these international institutions, and emphasized the need for additional funds to hire teachers and tutors.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. Escuela de Estudios Económicos Latinoamericanos para Graduados—Prospecto, 1957.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Besides a few faculty members from neighboring organizations and international visitors, ESCOLATINA relied on professors from the UCh Faculty of Economics to teach introductory courses and hired UCh graduates as teaching assistants and tutors. Table 2 displays the number of professors and teaching assistants at ESCOLATINA for each year.

Table 2: ESCOLATINA's professors and teaching assistants per year

Year	Professors and teaching assistants
1957	21
1958	12
1959	8
1960	6
1961	18
1962	28
1963	26
1964	31

Recruiting competent faculty and securing resources were not the only challenges ESCOLATINA faced in these early years. Selecting students from countries with uneven undergraduate training in economics was not a trivial task either. In the beginning, there was no budget to travel and interview candidates directly. The professors relied solely on written applications,³⁰ which they frequently pointed out as the source of selection errors. Incoming first-year students had received heterogeneous training in economics across countries and universities.³¹ Efforts to equalize cohorts and allocate scholarships led to endless discussions about the selection of Chilean students and the legitimacy of the school vis-à-vis the country that funded it. In this regard, Luis Escobar Cerda argued that UCh should not prioritize ESCOLATINA. According to him, the graduate school mainly granted scholarships to foreigners, and the content of its program did not meet the quality of undergraduate training in Chilean universities.³²

Escobar was right when he considered ESCOLATINA did not primarily benefit Chileans. *Figure 6* shows that while one third of the students were from Chile in the early years of the school, their proportion declined to less than 10% of the registrations until the 1962 curriculum reform reversed the situation and divided the teaching program into different subdisciplines, as we will see later. However, this apparent disconnect

30 John Strasma. Some Personal Notes Toward a History of the Graduate Program (ESCOLATINA), 1957-1964. January 24, 1972, Santiago, to Peter Bell. RACVirtual Vault #011135.

31 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. January 5, 1959, Joseph Grunwald to Montague Yudelman and November 20, 1958, Montague Yudelman visit ESCOLATINA.

32 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. January 13, 1959, Escobar Cerda conversation with Montague Yudelman and Leland DeVinney.

between ESCOLATINA and the local dynamics of research and higher education remained a central concern for the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. They recognized, on many occasions, that UCh was an excellent environment for their investments because of its traditional stability, progressive attitude, and autonomy from external pressures,³³ and argued that “an apolitical setting with a scientifically oriented approach” was “vital for the proper functioning of any program in economics.”³⁴

In 1959, the Rockefeller Foundation redefined the conditions for the renewal of ESCOLATINA’s grant. The rector of UCh, Juan Gómez Millas, wrote to the foundation, arguing that ESCOLATINA had significantly improved in teaching students from all Latin American countries.³⁵ He pointed out that the number of applicants now outnumbered the available positions, which attested to the attractiveness of the institution. UCh even agreed to increase the budget of both ESCOLATINA and the Institute of Economic Research by 15% for the next five years to finance the basic operational costs of the graduate school, including administration, salaries of Chilean teachers, and scholarships. As a result, Millas wished to increase scholarships for foreign and Chilean students, improve selection methods, and hire foreign professors and tutors. He hoped that ESCOLATINA would reach “an academic level comparable to a good graduate school in economics abroad” by 1964, at which time the university would be self-financing. As the outcome of these negotiations, the Rockefeller Foundation approved the renewal of the grant for the period from 1960 to 1962, provided that UCh increase the school’s budget and expand the number of scholarships for Chilean students.³⁶

Independent knowledge governance: the failed merger (1960-1962)

In 1960, ESCOLATINA faced a crucial dilemma: it had to decide whether to merge with the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), which had developed a graduate school in sociology and was about to expand into the fields of economics, political sciences, and public administration.³⁷ The Organizations of the American States (OAS), which funded FLACSO, was willing to support four full-time professors

33 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. October 20, 1961, RF resolution 61138; April 1961, consultant report: Economics Project, University of Chile. William B. Gates to Alfred Wolf of the Ford Foundation—PA 61-372, Report 000311. Virtual Vault.

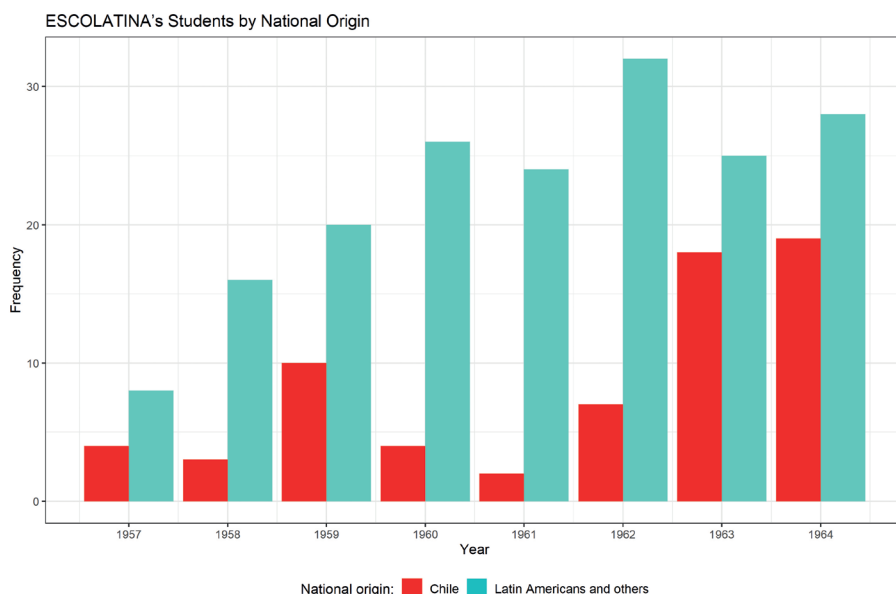
34 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. June 7, 1961, Robert Wickham from the F.F. to Charles Hardin, ESCOLATINA’s evaluation.

35 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. April 24, 1959, Juan Gómez Millas to Leland DeVinney.

36 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. October 29, 1959, Janet M Paine, assistant secretary to Juan Gómez Millas.

37 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. May 25, 1960, Escobar Cerda to Erskine McKinley. See also Franco, 2007, 117-118.

Figure 6: ESCOLATINA's Students by National Origin



and a fellowship program of about US\$100,000 per year.³⁸ By comparison, ESCOLATINA's annual budget was approximately US\$38,000 at that time (see table 3), which explains how compelling the offer was. Moreover, the merger would have allowed both schools to benefit from the experience and reputation of the other, share governance in faculty recruitment,³⁹ and concentrate international aid and scarce teaching resources in one institution.⁴⁰ Grunwald believed, however, that the merger was a mistake.⁴¹ It would thwart ESCOLATINA's efforts, scatter highly qualified personnel, and hand control of the project to rival intellectual influences.

While UCh discussed the merger project internally, FLACSO invited three international experts in October 1961: Celso Furtado, a Brazilian economist from ECLA; Howard Ellis, from the University of California, Berkeley; and Raúl Hess, a former finance minister of Costa Rica, to arbitrate the creation of graduate schools in economics and public administration at FLACSO.⁴² In his final report, Furtado argued that a graduate school should have broader ambitions than training academics and experts and should focus on economic

³⁸ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. May 25, 1960, Escobar Cerda to Erskine McKinley.

³⁹ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. May 25, 1960, Escobar Cerda to Erskine McKinley and May 28, 1960, Escobar Cerda conversation with John P. Harrison.

⁴⁰ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. May 25, 1960, Escobar Cerda to Erskine McKinley.

⁴¹ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. May 8-15, 1961, Charles Hardin report trip to Santiago and conversations with Joseph Grunwald.

⁴² Franco, 2007, 119.

research on Latin American economies.⁴³ To do so, recruiters should hire Latin Americans with a “better nonconformist mental attitude, that is to say, people not inclined to observe the Latin American social reality as something that justifies itself.”⁴⁴ He also sustained that the study of underdevelopment should incorporate historical analysis and that “a close contact with studies of Sociology and Political Science [was] absolutely necessary.”⁴⁵

The discussion about establishing a graduate school of economics at FLACSO and merging with ESCOLATINA lasted for nearly two years before the idea was finally discarded. The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations did not guarantee the transfer of ESCOLATINA’s funding to the new entity if FLACSO was to absorb ESCOLATINA, and FLACSO would have had to send a new application process to the Rockefeller Foundation.⁴⁶ Conversations with the Ford Foundation regarding possible support for a graduate school of economics in Chile went in the same direction. The situation of both institutions became even worse, as FLACSO expected additional funding from the United Nations, UNESCO or the OAS—but ultimately received none.⁴⁷ Simultaneously, ECLA created the concurrent Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES, 1962),⁴⁸ which offered short training courses for active professionals (mainly from the public sector). Thus, the institutional environment became more competitive over access to funding and network resources.

In April 1961, the Ford Foundation produced a report evaluating the possibilities of investing in economic training in Chile.⁴⁹ The report stated that if FLACSO was chosen, UNESCO in Paris would end up controlling the school and the Ford Foundation considered this possible outcome a mistake. The report recommended that the foundation instead give ESCOLATINA a three-year grant to aim at attracting most of the permanent staff from Latin America while retaining a US scholar with experience in the field, such as Grunwald, as a consultant and intermediary with the US academic system. Moreover, the report insisted that they should be careful in recruiting the school’s director. Max Coers was about to retire, and Grunwald had just accepted a visiting position at Yale. In the end, Grunwald and Escobar asked visiting professor John Strasma to become the program coordinator and gradually take over the administrative duties of Max Coers.⁵⁰ He thus became the *de facto* director and shaped the program to

⁴³ Furtado, 1962, 52.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, 54.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, 55.

⁴⁶ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. June 2, 1960, Erskine McKinley to Escobar Cerda

⁴⁷ Beigel, 2009, p. 325.

⁴⁸ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. June 2, 1961, Charles Hardin conversation with Robert Brown and Carlos Hurtado.

⁴⁹ April 1961, consultant report: Economics Project, University of Chile. William B. Gates to Alfred Wolf of the Ford Foundation—PA 61-372, Report 000311. Virtual Vault.

⁵⁰ John Strasma. Some Personal Notes Toward a History of the Graduate Program (ESCOLATINA), 1957-1964. January 24, 1972, Santiago, to Peter Bell. RAC—Virtual Vault #011135.

Table 3: ESCOLATINA’s resources by period and source compared with FLACSO’s resources

Budget in US\$ by source	1957-1959	1960-1962 ^a	1962-1965	Total
University of Chile	47,880 ^b	159,000 ^c	438,000 ^d	644,880
Rockefeller Foundation	66,400 ^e	80,000 ^f	150,000 ^g	296,400
Ford Foundation	-	-	500,000	500,000
Total budget of ESCOLATINA	114,280	239,000	1,088,000	1,441,280
ESCOLATINA’s average budget per year	38,093	79,667	272,000	160,142 ^h
FLACSO’s total budget ⁱ	*	267,615	388,638	

a. These were the projected values for 1960-1962, but in 1961 the two Foundations jointly evaluated the merger project of ESCOLATINA and the Institute for Economic Research, and the new grant included the year 1962, which was to be the last year of the previous grant. The residual ESCOLATINA’s grant RF 59171 and the Institute’s grant RF 59172 remained available the following year for contingencies, as explained in the RF 61138 resolution. | b. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. April 24, 1959, Juan Gómez Millas to Leland DeVinney. | c. Data extracted from the table in RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. October 22, 1959, RF resolution 59171. | d. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. October 20, 1961, RF Resolution 61138. | e. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. April 3, 1957, RF resolution 57071. | f. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. October 22, 1959, RF resolution 59171. | g. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. October 20, 1961, RF Resolution 61138. | h. The total amount for the three periods is divided by nine to obtain this figure even though it equals eight years, because there are two budgets estimates for 1962 from the Rockefeller Foundation and UCh. | i. Data from Beigel, 2013, 76. Because the budget is marked every other year, we used the average value of the two years when data were needed for only one year.

*Values for these years are not comparable

resemble a US graduate course.⁵¹ The school eventually came under the control of a North American familiar with recent trends in US universities.

John Drinan Strasma (1932-2007) was an American economist born in Kankakee, Illinois. He earned a bachelor’s degree at De Pauw University in Indiana before transferring to Harvard to earn a PhD in economics. In 1958, Strasma received a Fulbright fellowship to conduct research at the UCh Institute for Economic Research. After completing his PhD, he returned to Chile in early 1960 and began teaching at ESCOLATINA, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation’s grant for foreign visitors.

Strasma belongs to the cluster formed by the *academic researchers* (n=10). Their trajectories started in the late 1940s, as most of them were born in the late 1920s/early 1930s. They spent about 10 years in Chile until 1964. They were mainly Chilean, but also European and American, and had spent a few years in Europe or the United States early in their careers. After their studies, they worked mostly in academia, some of them with experience in international organizations. They worked as academic researchers for a

51 Joseph Grunwald, *Some relevant impressions gathered from a visit to Santiago, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro*, January 16-February 6, 1962. RAC—Virtual Vault 008808.

few years, holding this position comparatively more than the other groups, and the majority of them were appointed professors in the mid-1950s in Chile. Proportionally to the length of their trajectory, they changed institutional affiliation more often than the other groups. Among them, mathematics and statistics dominated teaching topics.

In the fall of 1961, ESCOLATINA finally reformed its administration and redefined its leadership. The UCh Institute of Economic Research and ESCOLATINA merged under a single director in January 1962.⁵² This fusion contributed to the constitution of an academic body with research experience, simplified the movement of personnel between the two organizations, and allowed ESCOLATINA students to develop supervised research work.⁵³ Besides, the school aimed to catch up with North American graduate schools of economics and sought the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations' support to launch an internationally recognized PhD program at ESCOLATINA.⁵⁴

Both foundations expected Grunwald to return to Chile and take over the leadership of the merged school.⁵⁵ However, the escalation of Cold War conflicts in Latin America, with the Bay of Pigs invasion, awakened anti-imperialist sentiments. Growing political pressure insisted that leadership positions remain in Chilean hands. Strasma explained that his Chilean colleagues therefore decided that the new director had to be "Chilean, well-trained, dynamic and available for full-time work at the university."⁵⁶ They chose a Latin American, but a Latin American who had just returned from studying in the US.

Knowledge Transfer and Chileanization (1962-1964)

By the fall of 1961, Max Coers was about to retire, and Luis Escobar Cerda had become Minister of the Economy under Chilean President Jorge Alessandri. Grunwald, moving to Yale, left the Institute for Economic Research and ESCOLATINA in the hands of Carlos Massad, whom he had been grooming for years to take over the position.⁵⁷ Rockefeller Foundation directors immediately wondered whether these changes would "seriously jeopardize or

⁵² John Strasma. Some Personal Notes Toward a History of the Graduate Program (ESCOLATINA), 1957-1964. January 24, 1972, Santiago, to Peter Bell. RAC—Virtual Vault #011135.

⁵³ Rockefeller Foundation Records, projects, SG 1.2, Series 300 Latin America (FA387b), SerieS 309 Chile—SubserieS 309 S Chile, Social Sciences, BOX 36, Chile University of Chile, Economics 1962-1963, Hereafter (RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963). October, 1964, The Institute of Economic Research 1963-1964: a report by the director Carlos Massad, Santiago, Chile.

⁵⁴ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. July 21, 1961, Escobar Cerda to Charles Hardin.

⁵⁵ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. July 7, 1961, Robert Wickham phone call with Charles Hardin; RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. August 14, 1961, Juan Gómez Millas to Charles Hardin; RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. December 28, 1961, Joseph Grunwald phone conversation with Charles Hardin.

⁵⁶ John Strasma. Some Personal Notes Toward a History of the Graduate Program (ESCOLATINA), 1957-1964. January 24, 1972, Santiago, to Peter Bell. RAC—Virtual Vault #011135.2

⁵⁷ Starting January 1959, there are mentions in the conversations by the Foundation representatives about Carlos Massad replacing Grunwald one day. See for instance RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. January 13, 1959, Escobar Cerda, conversation with Montague Yudelman.

affect [their] interest in the Economics program,” and feared that the trustees would abandon the expansion project with Escobar and Grunwald “out of the picture.”⁵⁸

Carlos Massad (b. 1932) was born in Santiago and graduated from UCh in the mid-1950s with a degree in commercial engineering. He worked at the Institute for Economic Research as an assistant to Grunwald before moving to Chicago in 1956 to complete his master’s degree. He achieved excellent results and was one of the few Latin Americans to qualify directly for a doctorate.^a After returning to Chile in 1959, he coordinated the Institute’s research activities with Grunwald and started teaching at ESCOLATINA in 1961.

Massad is one of the most prominent representatives of the *Chicago and Charles River boys and girls* ($n=12$). This group consisted exclusively of Chileans, mostly born at the very beginning of the 1930s. They had studied at UCh since the early 1950s and were all graduates of renowned US institutions, such as the University of Chicago (five out of twelve), “Charles River” institutions (two at Harvard, one at MIT), and other Ivy League universities (one at Yale and one at Columbia). Afterward, they returned to Chile and held academic research or teaching positions, including a professorship for eight of them. Among them, mathematics and statistics were overrepresented as teaching subjects, while agricultural economics was also important.

a. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. January 11, 1957, Montague Yudelman and Norman Buchanan luncheon with Joseph Grunwald.

Despite doubts about changes in leadership, both foundations judged that ESCOLATINA was progressing well and that UCh was the right place to advance education in economics in Latin America. Although ESCOLATINA was ultimately under purely Chilean leadership, it was staffed with American tutors to guide them and keep the school connected to the US academic system. UCh invested US\$438,000 to cover the school’s essential operating costs, and the Rockefeller Foundation granted an additional US\$150,000 to send Chilean teachers abroad and fund scholarships, libraries, and equipment. The Ford Foundation granted the school US\$450,000 for the period 1962-1965 for the faculty exchange program, expenses, and scholarships, and US\$50,000 to fund a committee of US economists to advise the university on the orientation of its program.⁵⁹ Finally, the integrated graduate school/research institute moved into a three-story building in the residential neighborhood of Providencia. With such an augmented budget, the number of teaching personnel steadily increased (see table 2 above), from 18 in 1961 to 31 in 1964. As figure 6 has shown, Chilean undergraduates no longer viewed ESCOLATINA as “a second-class program for second-rate economists from less developed countries.”⁶⁰

⁵⁸ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. August 31, 1961, Kenneth W Thompson to Charles Hardin; RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. September 18, 1961, Joseph Grunwald conversation with Charles Hardin and Leland DeVinney.

⁵⁹ John Strasma. Some Personal Notes Toward a History of the Graduate Program (ESCOLATINA), 1957-1964. January 24, 1972, Santiago, to Peter Bell. RAC—Virtual Vault #011135.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Strengthened by these recent developments, figure 7 indicates that beginning in 1964, the school opened a third year in its program to redesign the curriculum and create the first doctoral program in the region.⁶¹ The school's goal was to establish a graduate program dedicated to the needs of Chilean and Latin American economic development.⁶² To improve the level of students from different backgrounds, ESCOLATINA instituted a one-year "preparatory cycle" focusing on the teaching of general economics and mathematics, as well as agricultural economics and "economic problems of Latin America."⁶³ The second year was devoted to evaluating students and selecting the best ones to enter the advanced cycle, which offered courses for those who wished to pursue a PhD in economic development and agricultural economics.⁶⁴

The creation of an agricultural economics program had been debated for several years, especially at a time when the Alliance for Progress believed that land reform would be the cornerstone of economic development in the region.⁶⁵ These discussions were fraught with political controversy and quickly became a national issue when the Chilean headquarters of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) considered establishing an Institute for Land Reform in Chile. The FAO partnered with Grunwald, Escobar, and Strasma to host such an institute at ESCOLATINA.⁶⁶ In December 1961, the Chilean government requested funding to create a Land Institute associated with ESCOLATINA, and the Inter-American Development Bank informally agreed to provide US\$100,000 per year to support the Institute's program.⁶⁷ The FAO and the Chilean government also requested US\$800,000 from the UN Special Fund in March 1962 to complete the Chilean government's investment of US\$753,000 over five years.⁶⁸

ESCOLATINA had already laid the foundation⁶⁹ for a one-year preparatory course in agricultural economics, followed by a two-year advanced course that prepared

⁶¹ This is mentioned in the Rockefeller 1961 resolution. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. October 20, 1961, RF resolution 61138. We could not find the minutes of the Second Conference. Some notes on the conference appear in the publication *Universidades: union de universidades de America Latina: Buenos Aires, Julio-Septiembre, 2 (5), 1961, p. 65-66.*

⁶² RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. June 7, 1961, Robert Wickham from the FF to Charles Hardin, ESCOLATINA's evaluation.

⁶³ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. October, 1964, The Institute of Economic Research 1963-1964: a report by the director Carlos Massad, Santiago, Chile; John Strasma. Some Personal Notes Toward a History of the Graduate Program (ESCOLATINA), 1957-1964. January 24, 1972, Santiago, to Peter Bell. RAC—Virtual Vault #011135.

⁶⁴ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. October, 1964, The Institute of Economic Research 1963-1964: a report by the director Carlos Massad, Santiago, Chile.

⁶⁵ Feder, 1965.

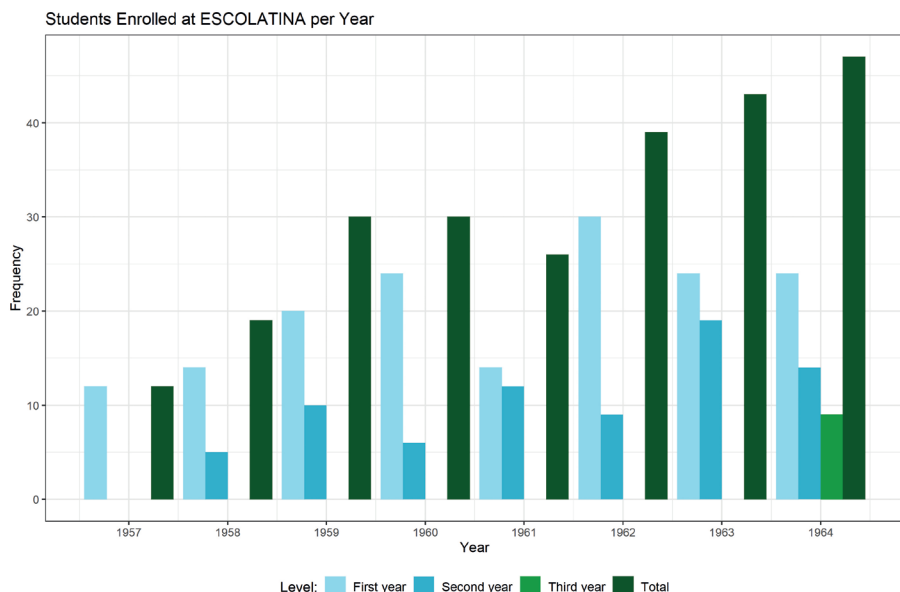
⁶⁶ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. September 18, 1961, Joseph Grunwald conversation with Charles Hardin and Leland DeVinney.

⁶⁷ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. December 20, 1961, Hernán Santa Cruz to Charles Hardin.

⁶⁸ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. March, 1962, United Nations Special Fund Project Request—Land Economics institute of the University of Chile.

⁶⁹ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. June 4, 1962. Charles Hardin conversation with Escobar Cerda.

Figure 7: Students Enrolled at ESCOLATINA per Year



students for admission to doctoral schools at internationally renowned universities.⁷⁰ The OAS, USAID, UN agencies and private foundations provided scholarships to sponsor recruits. ESCOLATINA asked the United Nations to provide the school with six full-time international experts to teach key courses and seminars in agricultural economics.⁷¹ The program began with contributions from Solon Barraclough, an economist with a PhD from Harvard University, and Jacques Chonchol, an agricultural engineer who graduated from UCh and the London School of Economics, and worked for the Ministry of Agriculture. Juan del Canto, Kurt Ullrich, and David Alaluf belong to the second generation of Chileans with foreign training that prevailed after 1962. Despite ESCOLATINA's strong desire to create a program in agricultural economics, the school did not obtain funding from the UN Special Fund.⁷² Instead, the Chilean government and the FAO negotiated the approval of the United Nations to create the Institute for Training and Research in Agricultural Reform (ICIRA) in 1964, which they explicitly designed to train Latin American experts to deal with agrarian reform issues.

⁷⁰ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. November, 1961, Folder Escuela de Estudios Latino-americanos para graduados (program for 1962).

⁷¹ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. March, 1962, United Nations Special Fund Project Request—Land Economics Institute of the University of Chile.

⁷² RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. August, 1963, Carlos Massad note to the RF.

Chilean David Alaluf Catan (1933-1997) graduated from UCh in 1958 with a degree in commercial engineering and economics. In the same year, after working as an assistant to German professor Oscar Schmieder during his stay in Santiago, Alaluf received a scholarship from the German Foreign Office and a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to pursue his PhD in Kiel.⁷³ There, he worked under Schmieder's supervision. Upon his return to Chile, Alaluf taught agricultural economics at ESCOLATINA and later joined the Institute for Training and Research in Agricultural Reform.

Alaluf belongs to the cluster of *early bloomers* ($n=26$). This group is one of the youngest, with most of its members born in the 1930s. Their careers were the shortest of the six groups, starting as early as the mid-1950s. Most of them were still students in the late 1950s/early 1960s. Most were Chilean and studied in Chile, while others left for foreign countries, mainly to the US. During this short trajectory, they often changed their affiliation. One of their main characteristics was to obtain a professorial contract directly after their studies, mostly at ESCOLATINA, and to obtain a tenured position early in their careers. Of all the faculty members at ESCOLATINA, this group became dominant at the end of the period (1962-1964). They taught mainly development economics.

a. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. November 24, 1958, ESCOLATINA—Esquema de proyecto para petición a la Fundación Rockefeller.

The intensification of regional cooperation and scientific exchanges over the years made it increasingly challenging to recruit prestigious foreign scholars, not only in agricultural economics. This was the main reason for the delay in the implementation of the ESCOLATINA doctoral program.⁷³ Between 1961 and 1962, ESCOLATINA welcomed only one senior visiting scholar, Albert Gailord Hart from Columbia, who taught economic theory. In agricultural economics, the school tempered the problem “temporarily by entering joint research projects with ICIRA and the Land Tenure Center, [from the] University of Wisconsin, in which these institutions supplied the teaching services of one or two professors.”⁷⁴ They also relied on cooperation with FLACSO in 1964, when ESCOLATINA borrowed staff to teach rural sociology.⁷⁵

The rapprochement with FLACSO was part of a general effort to work closely with the social science community that characterized the transition from Luis Escobar Cerda to Sergio Molina's deanship in the Faculty of Economics. Escobar ran for the rectorship of UCh in 1963, and the heated debates surrounding the nomination reflected national political divisions, as liberals and conservatives supported Escobar, while communists and socialists endorsed his opponent Eugenio González Rojas, the dean of the Faculty

73 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. July 23, 1963, Charles Harding conversation with Carlos Massad. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963.

74 John Strasma. Some Personal Notes Toward a History of the Graduate Program (ESCOLATINA), 1957-1964. January 24, 1972, Santiago, to Peter Bell. RAC—Virtual Vault #011135.

75 William Carmichael to Harry E. Wilhelm, July 17, 1964. Memorandum “The FLACSO Decision”. RAC—Virtual Vault 008799.

of Philosophy and Education.⁷⁶ Escobar's goal was to revive and revamp sociological and political science studies,⁷⁷ since "the social sciences other than economics [were] an underdeveloped area in the university and widely scattered [between the law department, economics, and the faculty of philosophy] with unhappy results."⁷⁸ Eventually, Escobar was defeated and left the deanship of the faculty.⁷⁹ His successor, Sergio Molina, nonetheless fulfilled his ambitions of opening up to the social sciences, with the support of Carlos Massad.⁸⁰

During his tenure as dean of the faculty of economics, Molina pledged to create a campus that would "provide central housing and facilities for all faculties and institutes (other than law) in the social sciences."⁸¹ He believed he could push this comprehensive project forward and counted on the support of the Frei government (which appointed him president of the Central Bank and minister of finance in 1964). Massad was also convinced that the new government would "look favorable on any initiative, especially directed to problems whose answers involve economics and social approaches [... including] land reform."⁸² However, the abrupt change in leadership left the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations wondering, once again, about the coherence and quality of the school's governance. By the end of 1964, Carlos Massad, who was very involved in Frei's campaign, became vice-president of the Central Bank.⁸³ In such a context, both foundations doubted that Molina and Massad could commit themselves to the new "campus" while being engaged in national responsibilities.⁸⁴ They believed that UCh had "a long story of relative independence from the effects of partisan political interference," which they hoped to preserve despite the political transformations and

76 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. December 17, 1962, Escobar Cerda conversation with Leland DeVinney.

77 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. August 8, 1962, Escobar Cerda conversation with Gerald Freund.

78 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. March, 1962, United Nations Special Fund Project Request—Land Economics Institute of the University of Chile. December 17, 1962, Escobar Cerda conversation with Leland DeVinney. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. March, 1962, United Nations Special Fund Project Request—Land Economics Institute of the University of Chile. December 17, 1962, Carlos Massad conversation with Leland DeVinney.

79 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. August 27, 1963. Carlos Massad to Charles Hardin.

80 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. July 22, 1964, Carlos Massad conversation with Robert L West.

81 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. July 24, 1964, Sergio Molina conversation with Robert L West. RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. October 14, 1964, Carlos Massad phone call with Robert L West.

82 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. October 14, 1964, Carlos Massad phone call with Robert L West.

83 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. July 24, 1964, Sergio Molina conversation with Robert L West.

84 RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. December 2, 1964, Robert West to Lawrence J. DeRycke; RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. December 9, 1964, Lawrence DeRycke to Robert West; RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 36/1962-1963. December 10, 1964, Robert West to Kenneth Thompson, Gerald Freund and Ralph Davidson.

growing ideological polarization of the Chilean society.⁸⁵ In the following years, however, the political radicalization of the teaching staff profoundly affected the university and ESCOLATINA, with the rising influence of the social sciences and the return of the ambition to produce economic thought anchored in the Latin American context.



Our reconstruction of ESCOLATINA's initial decade is the first systematic attempt to analyze the pioneering creation of a graduate school of economics in Latin America that influenced the formation of an entire generation of economists working in the region. We consider ESCOLATINA as a cornerstone that allows us to understand how the field of economics emerged in Latin America and to grasp the challenges of creating a regional institution that brought together experts from different countries with very different economic training and social backgrounds. We show how some failed negotiations and unsuccessful projects punctuated the history of ESCOLATINA, illustrating the complexity of the circulation of knowledge and economic expertise.

The combination of archival research and a prosopographical approach has allowed us to uncover the inconsistency between the declared quest for epistemic autonomy and rapprochement with other social sciences, on the one hand, and the influence of the US model of graduate schools of economics, with a dependence on foreign resources and contributors on the other hand. We emphasize, nevertheless, that Chilean and foreign professors formed international alliances for mutual benefit. Foreign resources made ESCOLATINA's project viable, while international circulations strengthened the school's reputation and was crucial for the training of young Chilean teachers. At the same time, the Chilean experience qualified foreigners to publish and teach about Latin America, a field of expertise that was becoming increasingly important in US academia during the Cold War. We also demonstrate how the school combined these sources of knowledge in an international level graduate program, while collaborating with the social sciences and focusing on the specificities of Latin American economies.

Finally, we note that when ESCOLATINA settled in Santiago, the city was already a regional intellectual capital, hosting several international organizations and academic institutions concerned with the social and economic development of Latin America. The dynamics of collaboration with neighboring institutions and competition for prestige and resources have characterized the history of ESCOLATINA from the beginning. The intention to serve students from all Latin American countries contrasted equally with the fact that it was a Chilean institution financed by local resources and not easily adaptable to the needs of the local public.

⁸⁵ RAC/RFR/P 1.2/S300/FA387b/S 309 Chile SS/Box 35/1957-1961. October 20, 1961, RF resolution 61138.

During this first decade, local politics had a major influence on the school's funding and governance. As will be discussed in more detail in a later article, the political radicalization of Chile beginning in 1965 had a profound effect on ESCOLATINA. As Christian Democrats left the school to join the Frei government, tensions increased between conservatives and a growing number of leftists, including students and faculty seeking asylum from neighboring dictatorships. From 1967 on, student activism and the University Reform Movement led to changes in the structure and administration of UCh, and the quest for greater autonomy and democratization of the university caused discord between generations and among professors with different political views. These divisions also affected ESCOLATINA. Although it remained functional, while most of the surrounding schools were on strike, conflicts arose over the desired content of academic teaching in economics and its social and political purpose. In 1969, a left-wing group including some ESCOLATINA graduates succeeded in getting the economist and communist activist Pedro Vuskovic of CEPAL elected to head the Institute of Economics. These events coincided with the suspension of Rockefeller Foundation funding for the social sciences in Chile⁸⁶.

The transition to the Allende presidency in the early 1970s brought ESCOLATINA closer to the social sciences and to heterodox, Marxist economic thought. Vuskovic was appointed Minister of the Economy, which strengthened the ties between the faculty of economics and the government. These changes met with growing resistance from both conservative and liberal forces within the UCh faculty of economics, leading to its split in 1972, with the Sede Occidente devoted to classical economics and management and the Sede Norte to political economy. The dictatorship dissolved the latter in 1973, while the economists working for Augusto Pinochet took control over the former. FLACSO managed to survive by transferring its teaching structure abroad and kept a small research unit in Chile. Meanwhile, ESCOLATINA was placed under the direction of the Sede Occidente, and Chicago-trained economists backed by the dictatorship took over its teaching program, obliterating ESCOLATINA's initial quest for academic autonomy and annihilating this original academic experiment.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Arrate, 2017.

⁸⁷ Zaldivar, 2009, 204 and 222; Carcanholo, 2012; Franco, 2007; ESCOLATINA, 1974 folder, available at the Archive of the Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Sequence analysis and ascending hierarchical clustering

Sequence analysis (SA) is the statistical study of chronological sequences of states. It allows researchers to compare biographical sequences based on their similarities.^a Using the technique of optimal matching, SA measures the degree of similarity of sequences taken in pairs. A unit of time (an age, a year, etc.) is assigned to each state that forms the sequence. We then created a metric distance that assigns costs according to the number of operations required to transform one sequence into another. Three types of operations are possible: insertion (a state is inserted into the sequence), deletion (a state is removed from the sequence), and substitution (a state is substituted by another). The higher the costs of transforming one sequence into another, the more different they will be from each other. Each operation can be associated with a specific cost, which can be unitary, based on theoretical assumptions, or determined empirically from the data.^b It is also possible to compare sequences across more than one biographical channel at the same time, using multichannel SA, which applies this calculation across multiple career dimensions.^c Once these costs are established, it is possible to use some automatic classification techniques to group similar sequences into homogeneous classes, which differ most from each other, and thereby obtain coherent groups of trajectories. One of the most widely used methods for partitioning biographical sequences is the ascending hierarchical clustering on the distance matrix between sequences.^d

The ascending hierarchical classification using Ward's method and the minimum variance criterion^e ensures that the variance within the different classes is minimized and the variance between the classes is maximized. The classification follows an ascending path, *i.e.*, the most similar individuals are first grouped in pairs. By successive iterations, the algorithm creates classes of individuals by merging the two closest individuals, then the closest classes until we obtained a single class. The clustering tree can then be divided into several classes chosen statistically or analytically. We can then qualify the different clusters of sequences by a group of co-variables, whose modalities are under- or over-represented in each of the classes.^f We performed our analyses using the *R* package *TraMineR*, and several associated packages.^g

a. Abbott and Hrycak, 1990.

b. Gauthier *et al.*, 2014.

c. Pollock, 2007.

d. MacIndoe and Abbott, 2004.

e. Ward, 1963.

f. Studer, 2013.

g. Gabadinho *et al.*, 2008.

Appendix 2: Substitution cost matrices

Table A: Substitution cost matrix, international career

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	0	2	4	4	4	2
II	2	0	4	4	4	2
III	4	4	0	4	4	2
IV	4	4	4	0	4	2
V	4	4	4	4	0	2
VI	2	2	2	2	2	0

I = Chile; II = Latin America; III = US; IV = Europe; V = Other; VI = Missing.

Table B: Substitution cost matrix, sectoral career

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	0	4	4	4	2	2
II	4	0	4	4	2	2
III	4	4	0	4	2	2
IV	4	4	4	0	2	2
V	2	2	2	2	0	2
VI	2	2	2	2	2	0

I = Academia; II = State; III = Private sector; IV = International organization; V = Education; VI = Missing.

Table C: Substitution cost matrix, job position trajectory

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
I	0	2	3	4	4	4	2	2
II	2	0	3	4	4	4	2	2
III	3	3	0	4	4	4	2	2
IV	4	4	4	0	3	4	2	2
V	4	4	4	3	0	3	2	2
VI	4	4	4	4	3	0	2	2
VII	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2
VIII	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0

I = Researcher; II = Lecturer; III = Professor; IV = Employee; V = Executive; VI = Top executive; VII Student; VIII = Missing.

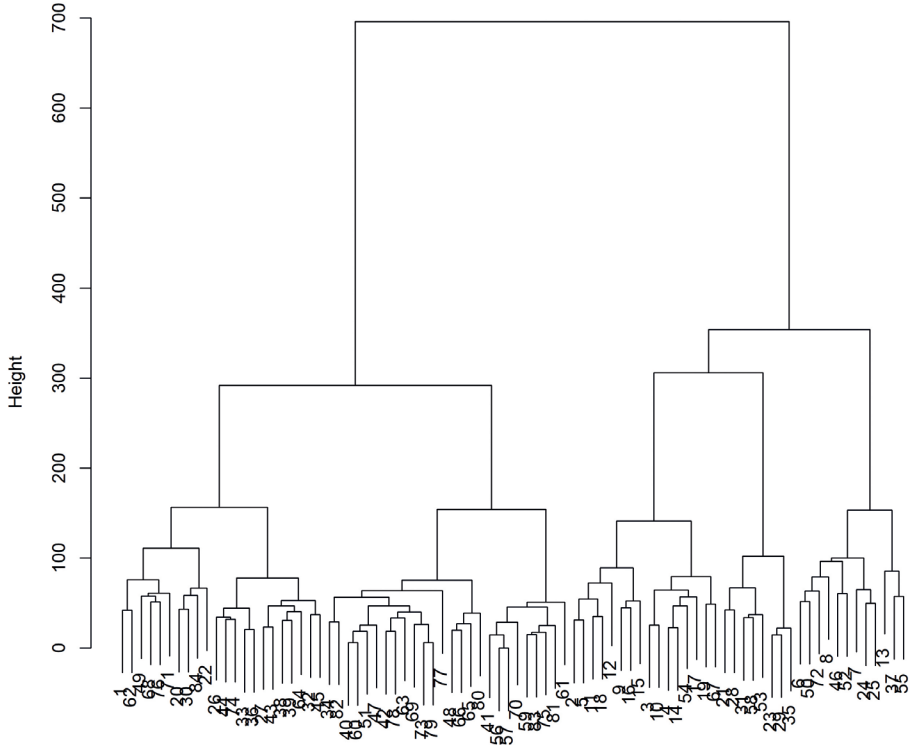
Table D: Substitution cost matrix, organizational changes

	I	II	III
I	0	3	2
II	3	0	2
III	2	2	0

I = Organization change; II = Same organization; III = Missing.

Appendix 3: Dendrogram of the ascending hierarchical clustering

Figure A: Dendrogram of the ascending hierarchical clustering according to the Ward criterion on the multichannel sequence matrix



Seq_4_Multichannel_dist_THEORETICAL_inde12

Appendix 4: List of teaching personnel at ESCOLATINA 1957-1964

Table E: List of professors and teachers at ESCOLATINA, with year of birth, citizenship, and sequence cluster belonging

First Name	Last Name	Year of Birth	Nationality	Cluster
Allen	Buchanan	?	US	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Enrique	Cansado	1917	Spanish	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Paul	Constantinescu	?	Romanian and Chilean	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Horacio	D'Ottone	1922	Chilean	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Luis	Escobar Cerda	1927	Chilean	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Joseph	Grunwald	1920	Austrian and US	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Juan	Iampaglia Sgubin	1925	Chilean	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Álvaro	Jara	1923	Chilean	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Hermann	Max Coers	1893	German and Chilean	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Sergio	Molina Silva	1928	Chilean	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Emmerico	Paternost	?	Italian and Chilean	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Oscar	Schmieder	1891	German	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Leonel	Torres	1922	Colombian	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Eduardo	Valenzuela Thienel	1928	Chilean	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Pierre	van der Meiren	?	Belgian	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Othmar	Winkler	?	Austrian and Venezuelan	1) European and Chilean Macroeconomics Professor
Jorge	Ahumada	1917	Chilean	2) State and International Organization Executives

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Jorge	Alcázar Ampuero	?	Bolivian	2) State and International Organization Executives
Jorge	Bande	1911	Hungarian and Chilean	2) State and International Organization Executives
Solon	Barraclough	1922	US	2) State and International Organization Executives
Regino	Boti León	1923	Cuban	2) State and International Organization Executives
Jacques	Chonchol	1926	Chilean	2) State and International Organization Executives
Enrique	Delgado	1924	Chilean	2) State and International Organization Executives
John Lawrence	Enos	1924	US	2) State and International Organization Executives
Jorge	Marshall Silva	1917	Chilean	2) State and International Organization Executives
Hernán	Pardo	?	Chilean	2) State and International Organization Executives
Félix	Ruiz Cristi	1923	Chilean	2) State and International Organization Executives
Marvin	Weissman	1927	US	2) State and International Organization Executives
Frank T.	Bachmura	1922	US	3) U.S. Agricultural Economics Teachers
Henry	Bakken	1896	US	3) U.S. Agricultural Economics Teachers
Rudolph C.	Blitz	1919	Austrian and US	3) U.S. Agricultural Economics Teachers
Peter	Dorner	1925	US	3) U.S. Agricultural Economics Teachers
Ernest Ludwig	Feder	1913	German (and US?)	3) U.S. Agricultural Economics Teachers
David	Felix	1918	US	3) U.S. Agricultural Economics Teachers
Albert Gailord	Hart	1909	US	3) U.S. Agricultural Economics Teachers
Albert	Lauterbach	1904	Austrian and US	3) U.S. Agricultural Economics Teachers
Robert	Brown	1932	US	4) Academic Researchers
Rolando	Chateauneuf	1932	Chilean	4) Academic Researchers

Peter	Heintz	1920	Swiss	4) Academic Researchers
Ernesto	Lezaeta	?	Chilean	4) Academic Researchers
Markos	Mamalakis	1932	Greek	4) Academic Researchers
Carlos	Oyarzún	1919/1920?	Chilean	4) Academic Researchers
John Drinan	Strasma	1932	US	4) Academic Researchers
Oswaldo	Sunkel	1929	Chilean	4) Academic Researchers
Abraham	Toledo	1927	Chilean	4) Academic Researchers
Claudio	Véliz	1930	Chilean	4) Academic Researchers
Herta	Castro	1932	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Carlos	Clavel	1933	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Carlos Mario	Cortés	1929	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Juan	Del Canto	1931	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Luis Arturo	Fuenzalida	1929	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Rodolfo	Hoffman	1934	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
José	Ibarra	?	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Teresa	Jeanneret	1934	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Roberto	Maldonado	1923	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Carlos	Massad	1932	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Orlando	Sepúlveda	?	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
Kurt	Ullrich	1930?	Chilean	5) Chicago and Charles River Boys and Girls
David	Alaluf	1933	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Héctor	Assael	1938	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Álvaro	Bardón	1940	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Iván	Bello	1931	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Juan	Braun	1933	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Mario	Corbo	?	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Douglas	Escobar	?	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers

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Jorge	Espinosa	?	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Ricardo	Ffrench-Davis	1936	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Carlos	Filgueira	1937	Uruguayan	6) Early Bloomers
Eduardo	García	1930	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Keith Broadwell	Griffin	1938	UK	6) Early Bloomers
Carlos	Hurtado	1937	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Arturo	Israel	1938	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Roberto	Jadue	1925	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
James	Locke	1935	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Ney	Marques	1928	Brazilian	6) Early Bloomers
Rolando	Mellafe	1929	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Víctor	Ochsenius	1917	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Cristián	Ossa	1935	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Ernesto	Schiefelbein	1934	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Carlos	Sepúlveda	1938	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Patricio	Silva	1934	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
José	Vera	1919	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Iván	Yañez	1923	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers
Hugo	Zemelman	1931	Chilean	6) Early Bloomers