Chapter 2.1

Becoming Economic Experts: Philanthropic Foundations and the Internationalization of Economics in Colombia during the 1960s

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Abstract
This chapter studies how the internationalization of economics during the 1960s shaped the economics profession in Colombia and its relationship with academe and the state. To do this, it examines the role philanthropic foundations, particularly the Rockefeller and the Ford Foundation, played as sponsors of economic education and research at the Universidad Nacional, the Universidad de los Andes, and the Universidad del Valle. It also situates the internationalization of economics in Colombia in relation to contemporary experiences in other Latin American countries, like Chile and Brazil. Based on archival research, this chapter shows that the intervention of philanthropic foundations in universities yielded an unexpected outcome: the economics profession strengthened its position in key state institutions at the expense of building solid academic communities.

Introduction

Although there was a long tradition of economic thought and practice in Colombia before, the premise that experts on economic affairs require a specialized academic training was specific to the second half of the twentieth century. Political economy was taught in Faculties of Law (Hurtado, 2016, see chapter 1 of this volume) and Engineering (Mayor Mora, 1984) since the early nineteenth century but for most of Colombia's republican history economic analysts and policy makers were generalists without specialized training in economics— with some notable exceptions (c.f. Jaramillo, 2006). The approach of these men to economic science was more pragmatic than academic and their knowledge about economic issues stemmed mainly from their close practical experience dealing with private and public affairs. As economics began to institutionalize in higher education in the mid-twentieth century (Kalmanovitz, 1993; Bejarano, 1999; Palacios, 2005), the figure of the economic expert as a specialist with a specific disciplinary training began to take shape. The professionalization of economics in Colombia should not be seen, however, as a teleological progression from the domain of non-specialists to that of experts. It was rather an open-ended process, influenced by both the legacies of preexisting professional traditions and the selective appropriation of international disciplinary trends.

This chapter studies how the internationalization of economics during the 1960s shaped the economics profession in Colombia and its relationship with academe and the state. To do this, I examine the role philanthropic foundations, particularly the Rockefeller and the Ford Foundation, played as sponsors of economic education and research at the Universidad Nacional (*Unal*), the Universidad de los Andes (*Uniandes*), and the Universidad del Valle (*Univalle*). What began as experimental programs in the 1940s within an established Faculty of Law and a sui generis

[1] Part of this chapter was written while the author was bursary of the program Icetex-Pasaporte a la Ciencia (Foco Sociedad) and holder of the Oxford's Global History of Capitalism Project studentship.

commercial school gradually evolved into the economics departments of the Universidad Nacional (Hernández Gamarra and Herrera, 2002), Colombia's main state-funded university, and *Uniandes* (Álvarez et al., 2019), the first institution of higher education that was both private and secular. The third department of economics examined in this chapter opened its doors in the late 1950s at *Univalle*, a regional university funded by the state but administered by local business elites (Offner, 2019). Even if the economics departments at *Unal, Uniandes*, and *Univalle* were not at that time the only ones of their kind in Colombia – or even the first that granted degrees in economics (Montenegro, 2017)– they offered for contemporaries a clear alternative to what Jorge Ruiz Lara, Colombia's first PhD in economics, dubbed the prevailing "French system" of "training economic lawyers"(Ruiz Lara. 1958, p. 2). These were also the programs that US-based philanthropic foundations like the Rockefeller and the Ford selected in the 1960s to implement an internationalization strategy that proved successful in changing the face of economics departments in other Latin American countries.

If by comparative standards the creation of academic economics departments occurred rather late in Colombia, this is less true about the valorization of economists' expertise outside universities. Only after World War II governments across the world began to develop permanent staffs of economic experts and to rely routinely on professional economists for external advice. While in the post-war period economics departments supplied to a great extent this expertise in the United States (Bernstein, 2001, pp. 128-132), this was not necessarily the norm elsewhere. Until the 1960s, the demand for economics graduates in Great Britain outside universities was rather low (Tribe, 2021, pp. 372). Government positions in France were staffed for most of the twentieth-century by mathematicians and engineers who received on-the-job training in economics while working for the state (Fourcade, 2009, pp. 205-207). In Colombia, the picture was mixed. From the 1960s onwards, academically trained economists were actively recruited to work for the state but often found themselves sharing the workspace with other professionals —mainly engineers (Mayor Mora and Zambrano, 2016, p. 384)— in the planning department, the central bank, and the Ministry of Finance. As members of a relatively new profession, Colombian economists had to compete and even cooperate with an established tradition of autodidact economic lawyers and engineers.

To distinguish their expertise from that of other professionals with experience in economic affairs, economists in Latin America used "internationalization as a strategy of professionalization" (Montecinos, 1996, p. 284). Colombian economists, unlike those from other Latin American countries like Chile and Brazil (Fajardo, 2022), developed relatively weak links with the UN Economics Commission for Latin America (Villamizar, 2012). In the absence of a strong and established local *cepalino* community, US-philanthropic foundations, namely the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, were from the onset the central players in the creation of an institutional basis for the internationalization of economics in Colombia. Additionally, without a deeply rooted nationalist tradition of economic thought like in Mexico (Babb, 2001), the assimilation of the dominant disciplinary trends in the United States in Colombian economics departments was less prone to conflict between communities with opposing epistemic views about the economy and society. One must thus be cautious about drawing broad generalizations about the effects of philanthropic foundations' internationalization strategies based on the experiences in other countries, like that of the infamous story about the Chicago Boys in Chile (Valdés, 1995). As recent comparisons with the Ford sponsorship of economics in Brazil showed (Suprinyak and Fernández, 2021), similar internationalization strategies yielded divergent results when they were

applied in different institutional contexts. If anything, as this chapter contributes to illuminate, the Chilean case was more likely the exception than the rule.

The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations as sponsors of economic education and research in Colombia

It was not by chance that US-based philanthropic foundations became one of the main sponsors of economics in Colombia after the Rockefeller Foundation allocated its first grant for the creation of the *Centro de Estudios en Desarrollo Económico* (CEDE) at *Uniandes* in April 1958 (c.f. Álvarez, et. al., 2019, pp. 53–56). Within the Rockefeller and the Ford foundations, the end of World War II led to an internal re-examination of their grant policies. After sponsoring "basic" research in economics during the interwar period, the Rockefeller's Social Sciences Division turned its attention to the problems of less developed countries (Geiger, 1993, 99).[2] In 1957, the Rockefeller appropriated its first three grants to develop economics departments and economic research centers in Latin America.[3] These grants, particularly the foundation's flagship program in the Universidad Católica de Chile (Valdés, 1995, pp. 127–32), became a referent for the projects the Rockefeller sponsored in Colombia. Yet, the influence of the Rockefeller's previous experiences was less pronounced in *Uniandes* than it was in *Univalle*, where the infamous collaboration between the Católica and the University of Chicago provided both a model and the manpower for the creation of the *Centro de Investigaciones sobre Desarrollo Económico* (CIDE) in Cali (Table 7.1).

From its first incursion in Latin America in 1960, the key priority for the Ford Foundation was to change the face of higher education in the region. In an exploratory report commissioned by Ford to survey the developmental problems in Latin America, a group of prominent social scientists based in the University of Yale identified the overall "weakness of university education" as one of the most pressing issues in the region.[4] During the 1960s, Ford became the main sponsor of "general education" attempting to break with the compartmentalization of the professions that allegedly characterized the typical Latin American universities.[5] Transcending the understanding of the university as a "loose federation of schools and faculties" became reformers' motto in the first half of that decade (Wickham, 1973, p. 22). *Uniandes* and *Univalle* assumed the leadership of this top-down university reform project when they submitted a joint proposal to Ford for creating basic studies programs that contributed to the integration of academic units and to counter the professionalizing trend in higher education. Ford appropriated in 1961 its first grants in Colombia to both universities for the development of a "school of basic studies."[6] By promoting the integration between academic departments, these initial Ford grants had an indirect but

[2] The Ford Foundation's program area on Economic Development and Administration "assumed the Rockefeller mantle" in recognition of its historical leadership in the field (Geiger, 1993, pp. 99–100).

[3] The Getúlio Vargas in Brazil, and the Universidad Católica and the Universidad de Chile. See Rockefeller Foundation (1957, 193, 195, 202).

[4] James W. Fesler, Albert O. Hirschman, Sidney W. Mintz, Robert Triffin, Henry C. Wallich, Lloyd G. Reynolds, "A Report to the Ford Foundation concerning Program Possibilities in Latin America," 30 June 1958, Catalogued Report 000066, (CR/FFR).

[5] See Atcon (1966[1958])

[6] R. Frodin, J. L. Morrill, J. H. Rushton, "Recommendations for Aid to Higher education in Colombia", January 1961, Catalogued Report 000012, CR/FFR.

important influence on the education of economics. At *Uniandes*, for instance, the resulting School of Arts and Sciences strengthened the mathematical training of economists in the economics department, exposed students in economics to humanities' subjects, like economic history, and facilitated the cross-fertilization with students from other departments.[7]

Ford's integrationist aspiration also found an expression in the creation of the Division of Human Sciences at *Unal* in 1966, which merged the department of economics with other six departments in the social sciences and the humanities, including sociology.[8] By rationalizing university administration, the so-called *Reforma Patiño*, attempted to institutionalize the academic profession, or as one participant put it, to "create the profession of university professor as such" (quoted in Briceño. 1988, p. 144). As commentators argued in the late 1950s and early 1960s,[9] the absence of full-time professors, with proper remunerations and opportunities for career development in universities, contributed to the low academic standards of economics education and the general absence of a research culture in local economics departments. The *Reforma Patiño* was thus welcomed with enthusiasm by young professors and the student movement (Briceño, 1988, pp. 114–15; Archila, 2012, p. 80; Hernández Gamarra, 2020, p. 108). It also offered Ford, as Lauchlin Currie wrote in a report dated August 1966, a unique opportunity "to bring about a truly major reform in the largest university of the country." In his capacity of director of the division's new interdisciplinary research center, the *Centro de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo Económico y Social* (later known as CID),[10] Currie urged the foundation to sponsor the creation of a "Graduate School or Schools in the Social sciences, forwarding integration at a more advanced level."[11] Although this idea never came to fruition, Ford appropriated in 1968 a grant to *Unal* to support for three years the staffing of the economics department and the CID. Simultaneously, *Uniandes* received a Ford grant with funds earmarked for three fellowships to strengthen the teaching capacities of its graduate program in economics.

Table 7.1. Rockefeller and Ford grants to economics departments in Colombia, 1958-1971

Recipient	**Donor**	**Grant duration**	**Visiting professors**	**Fellowships**
Uniandes	Rockefeller	1958-1964	2	11

[7] The faculty from the School of Arts and Sciences taught students from the economics department general courses in calculus and linear algebra and a specific course in "calculus for economists.". See, "Memorando Daniel Peñaranda a Consejo Académico de la Universidad," Acta #83-65, Actas del Consejo Académico Facultad Economía (FF/); "Tentative request for a grant to the Ford Foundation for the Consolidation of the School of Arts and Sciences of the University of the Andes," 6 December 1966, Informes rectoría (I/), UADA.

[8] Acuerdo Número 71, Acta no. 22, 18 May 1966, CS/ACHUN.

[9] H. K., Allen and J. F. Bell, "Final Report on The University of the Andes and The University of Cauca," RAC records, 311S, box 78, folder 739, p.2. See also Hunter and Ternent (1960, 191–94) and Ellis, Cornejo, and Escobar Cerda (1960, 1–3).

[10] Created under Acuerdo 47, 1966, Consejo Superior Universitario, CS/ACHUN.

[11] Lauchlin Currie, "The Possibility of a breakthrough in higher education in Colombia," 17 August 1966, R3402, GF/FFR, 4.

	Ford	1968-1971	1	3
Univalle	Rockefeller	1963-1967	8	11
Unal	Ford	1968-1971	4	8

Sources: Rockefeller Foundation (1958, 1959, p. 195, 1960, 1962, pp. 162, 186, 1963, pp. 202–203, 1964, pp. 117, 134, 1965, p. 136, 1966, p. 145); Ford Foundation (1968, p. 130); Facultad de Economía, "Second Report;" Reed Hertford, "Final Report – Evaluation: National University, Faculty of Economics and CID," 8 January 1973, R3402, GF/FFR. NB: The table excludes grants for the development of programs in agricultural economics and business management.

Between 1958 and 1971, the Rockefeller and the Ford foundations appropriated grants to the economics departments of the three universities to strengthen education and research in economics. These grants shared two underlying assumptions. Firstly, foundation officers expected that promoting academic research through the creation of specialized centers such as the CEDE, CIDE and CID would have positive effects on the education of local economists. Besides becoming hubs for producing local knowledge about economic development, research centers were considered a solution to retaining full-time faculty. Secondly, Ford and Rockefeller grants were grounded on the idea that fostering exchanges with economics departments in the US would raise the academic standards of both economic research and education in Colombian universities. Those exchanges included prolonged stays from visiting professors and the allocation of scholarships to Colombian economists for studying abroad. The Ford and Rockefeller foundations gave at least thirty-three fellowships to students from the three universities to pursue graduate studies in the United States (Table 7.4, Annex).

Foundation officials considered both disciplinary and area expertise when they brokered connections between their grantees and economic departments in the US. The foundations, particularly the Rockefeller, relied on the networks of scholars, academic departments, and research centers they built after three decades sponsoring economic research in the US. In the post-war period, those networks expanded to include Latin Americanist specialists based in US universities, a by-product of the area studies initiatives financed by Ford (Delpar, 2008, pp. 159–62). The strong disciplinary orientation that characterized the collaboration between the Universidad Católica in Chile and the University of Chicago (Valdés, 1995, pp. 145–46) was not a common characteristic of all the programs in economics that philanthropic foundations sponsored in Latin America. In some cases, such as the long-lasting cooperation between Brazilian universities and Vanderbilt University sponsored by Ford, the "area interest" predominated over the disciplinary focus (Suprinyak and Fernández, 2021, p. 914). Overall, the programs that the Rockefeller and Ford funded in Colombia offered a nuanced picture. As I show below, no single collaboration left an indelible mark in the profession comparable to that Chicago and Vanderbilt left in the Chilean and Brazilian cases.

Philanthropic foundations were not the exclusive patrons of economic research and education in Colombia during the 1960s. The Alliance for Progress not only created a state demand for economic expertise to negotiate foreign loans and coordinate public investments, but also made available financial resources for training economists through the Agency for International Development (AID).[12] The projects that philanthropic foundations sponsored in Colombia

[12] As I will show in section 3, the AID sponsored the graduate program at *Uniandes*.

intersected those funded by US government agencies,[13] but this overlap does not imply they were mere instruments of US soft power, as Parmar (2012) suggests. Rather both foundations operated within a broader funding ecosystem that was intellectually anchored in shared assumptions about the association between technical education, modernization, and development (Solovey, 2013, p. 115; Gilman, 2003, p. 16). To a certain degree, the consensus that underlaid the cooperation between different US donors was that the formation of a new technocratic elite would be a catalyst for economic and social change.

From the *Chicago Boys* to the *Rover Boys*: The Rockefeller at Univalle

Created in 1958 upon the request of regional business elites (Mayor Mora and Zambrano, 2016, pp. 45–46), the economics department at *Univalle* was the newest of the programs the philanthropic foundations sponsored. The dynamism of the Cauca valley in the 1950s captured the attention of the Social Sciences Division of the Rockefeller foundation, which throughout the 1960s invested heavily in the development of this state-funded regional university. In 1962, a Rockefeller envoy observed that *Univalle*'s economic department was remarkably well staffed by Latin American standards but suffered from a lack of leadership after its founder and dean, Antonio Posada, resigned in reaction to student strikes.[14] In search of guidance, the Rockefeller turned to the University of Chicago, building on its previous experiences with the Universidad Católica de Chile and the Universidad del Cuyo, a state-funded regional university in the province of Mendoza, Argentina.[15] Between 1963 and 1968, Rockefeller sponsored three Latin American PhD candidates from the University of Chicago to teach at the Universidad del Valle: Sergio de Castro (1963-1964), Luis Arturo Fuenzalida (1965-1967), and Alberto Musalem (1968).[16] Fuenzalida was also the first director of CIDE (1965-1966). Six students from *Univalle*, out of the eleven that received Rockefeller scholarships, pursued a PhD in the University of Chicago (Table 7.4, Annex).

The Rockefeller experience at *Univalle* demonstrated how similar strategies of internationalization yielded different outcomes depending on the local institutional context. The collaboration between *Univalle* and the University of Chicago was short-lived and the scholarship program did not produce the same results of the Rockefeller projects in Chile and Argentina, despite visiting professors' active attempts to build a Chicago school in Cali. Prospective candidates were subjected to an intense preparation, oversaw by Fuenzalida and other visiting professors, that aimed to prepare them for graduate study in Chicago. Among other tasks, this preparation included reading Stigler's *The Theory of Price* and resolving all the problem sets in that book (Mayor Mora and Zambrano, 2016, pp. 443–44). De Castro recognized that given their

[13] For example, Ford, US AID and the IADB supported the on-the-job training of economists in the planning department, which goes beyond the remit of this chapter.

[14] "Report of Robert S. Smith on a visit to Cali" 3-12 October 1962", box 78, folder 720, RG 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

[15] For the Project Cuyo see Sjaastad (2011).

[16] De Castro and Fuenzalida had been Rockefeller fellows from the Universidad Católica, while Musalem participated in the Cuyo project. Alberto Núñez (PhD candidate, Chicago), from Panama, arrived with Ford support. "Allocation # 27, RF61153", 15 August 1963, box 75, folder 712; "Allocation #71, RF64095," 2 August 1965, box 75, folder 714; Reinaldo Scarpetta to Roger Biringer, 8 February 1969, box 75, folder 715, RG 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

career expectations his students in Cali, who had diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, "suspected theory" and preferred instead to be taught "how to DO specific things which will allow them to perform something of concrete value to the economy." Yet, he expressed the conviction that with the proper training they could be persuaded that Chicago's theoretically driven approach was "'the kind of Economics'" that was right for them.[17]

In May 1965, the Rockefeller hired Arnold Harberger as short-term consultant to assist the graduate training of Colombian students in Chicago.[18] Harberger was expected to stop in Cali in his way to Chile and Argentina to interview candidates but cancelled his trip at the last minute and rescinded his contract.[19] Fuenzalida, Harberger's former student, personally selected four students to pursue a PhD in Chicago. The information registered in their application form indicates that these students did not necessarily come from privileged backgrounds. Three of them attended state-funded high schools before enrolling in *Univalle*, a marker of social mobility at the time. Unlike other Rockefeller fellows, none of them reported having previous experiences in the US.[20] A Rockefeller officer expressed that he had "mixed feelings about these boys,"[21] but he was reassured that the economics department at Chicago was prepared for the job: "They take inadequately trained material and turn out well-trained people and maintain the standards at the output level. This, Al [Harberger] is prepared to do for Cali."[22] Two years later, all four candidates had deserted without even qualifying for a master's degree. Harberger remarked in the graduate record of one of these students that their "English" level was a major difficulty, adding in a coldly hand-written note that their "poor background" and "inadequate intellectual capacity" were also to blame for their bad performance.[23] In the Rockefeller's reports and correspondence, the group of students from *Univalle* were referred to as the "Rover Boys at Chicago" in allusion to Arthur M. Winfield's early twentieth century popular juvenile series, which narrated the pranks of a group of untamable youngsters at a military boarding school.[24]

These prejudiced remarks obscured how misguided had been the attempt to use the collaboration between the University of Chicago and the Universidad Católica as a model for *Univalle*. The case of the Rover Boys also illustrates how exceptional the experience of the Chilean Chicago Boys was. Due to their different life experiences, the students from *Univalle* faced higher barriers than the Chilean Chicago Boys in assimilating to student life in Chicago, as they faced bigger difficulties surmounting the language barrier, navigating an alien academic culture, and relocating their entire families to a new country.[25] The students from *Univalle* also expressed concerns about the type of economics education they received at Chicago and expected the Rockefeller to

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[17] De Castro to CMH, 17 February 1964, box 75, folder 712, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

[18] Memorandum of Consultation Agreement- Harberger, 18 May 1965, box 74, folder 706, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

[19] Recision of Consultation Agreement- Harberger, 30 July 1965, box 74, folder 706, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

[20] Box 123, folder 2192; Box 129, folder 248; box 139, folder 2253; box 155, folder 2434, 10.1, 311S, FF/RFR

[21] De Rycke to Hayes, 30 March 1965, box 129, folder 2148, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

[22] Davidson (RKD) to DeRycke, 8 April 1965, box 133, folder 2192. 10.1, 311S, FF/RFR.

[23] Arnold Harberger, "Evaluation of Graduate Study," box 129, folder 2148, 10.1, 311S, FF/RFR.

[24] JMD's diary notes, May 1966, box 129, folder 2148, 10.1, 311S, RFR.

[25] Transcript of telephone interview with Greg Lewis, 5 January 1965, box 133, folder 2192, 10.1, 311S, FF/RFR.

facilitate their transfer to Harvard after the first year of studies.[26] This expectation was probably nurtured by the experience of Antonio Urdinola, later Minister of Finance (1998). A graduate from *Uniandes*, Urdinola received in 1963 a Rockefeller fellowship in his capacity as professor at *Univalle* to study in Chicago. After passing his winter exams with solid marks, Urdinola requested a transfer to Harvard, arguing there were no faculty in Chicago who specialized in his field of interest, the "dynamic aspects of economic growth."[27] As a Rockefeller officer registered, at Harvard, Urdinola would "be able to work the kind of economics that he believes fits the situation in Colombia much better than the work he was doing at Chicago."[28] Harvard's research program on the quantitative aspects of economic growth in the 1960s was more amenable to address the development issues that interested Colombian students than Chicago's strong mathematical emphasis on microeconomics.[29]

The Rockefeller and *Univalle* soon understood that Chicago-style economics was not the way to go in Cali. After 1967, the economics department at *Univalle* turned its attention away from a general program in economics to focus on its pioneering Ford-sponsored business management graduate degree and its program on agricultural economics, which continued receiving Rockefeller support until the early 1970s.[30] It was in shaping these fields and not precisely that of economics that philanthropic foundations had a lasting impact at *Univalle*.

Sponsoring applied research in economic development: The Rockefeller at the Uniandes

In contrast to the program at *Univalle*, Rockefeller's internationalization strategy at *Uniandes* appeared to be, from the foundation's perspective, more successful in achieving its goals. Nine of the eleven Colombian students from *Uniandes* that Rockefeller sponsored to purse advanced studies in the United States obtained a graduate degree. The Rockefeller fellows from *Uniandes* had a higher endowment of social capital than those from *Univalle* to begin with. Only one of them had attended a state-funded high school. The rest had completed secondary education either in renowned private high schools in Bogotá and Barranquilla, or in private academies in the US. Jorge Ruiz Lara (U. Illinois, BA, 1954) and Miguel Urrutia[31] had obtained their undergraduate degrees from US universities (Harvard, BA, 1961). Given their shared backgrounds and previous experiences, *Uniandes* fellows were arguably better equipped to confront the language and cultural barriers that were constitutive, not merely accessory, of the academic exchanges philanthropic foundations promoted between economics departments in Colombia and the United States. To smooth the transition, the Rockefeller sponsored Colombian economists to attend a summer school in the Economics Institute of the University of Colorado, Boulder, which attempted to give foreign students an opportunity to improve their English, strengthen their theoretical foundations and meet other international students.[32]

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[26] Excerpt from GHS diary, 9-19 August 1965, box 133, folder 2192, 10.1, S 311, FF/RFR.
[27] Urdinola to Compton, 2 April 1964, folder 2476, box 159, 10.1, 311S, FF/RFR.
[28] Interview with JPP, 18 June 1964, box 159, folder 2476, 10.1, 311S, FF/RFR.
[29] For applied research on economic development at Harvard, see Syrquin (2018).
[30] Karsten Laursen and Lester D. Taylor, "Economics at the Universidad del Valle, Cali, Colombia," 30 October 1967., Reel 3395, GF/FFR. See also Offner (2019, 139-142, 144-171).
[31] Director of the national planning department (1974-77) and general manager of the central bank (1993-2005).
[32] See, for example, "Appointment to attend Economics Institute for Foreign Graduate Students," box 154, folder 2427, 10.1, 311S, FF/RFR.

Rockefeller fellows were expected to rejoin the economics department at *Uniandes* after completing two years of studies at the master's level, even if some attempted to pursue a PhD. Jorge Ruiz Lara (U. Illinois, 1961) and Miguel Urrutia (Berkeley, 1967) were the only fellows who succeeded at obtaining a PhD. Only exceptionally the foundation considered extensions for doctoral studies. The rejection of Eduardo Wiesner's application to extend his scholarship for pursuing a PhD in Stanford illustrates why.[33] As a Rockefeller officer explained to dean Gómez, before attempting to obtain a PhD abroad, the department should encourage students like Wiesner to "get a tour of research and teaching which is long enough to bring them to grips with the problems in their home setting."[34] This position, which considered country-specific knowledge as important as disciplinary expertise, was consistent with the focus given to the national problems of economic development at CEDE since its creation.

To direct CEDE in 1958, the Rockefeller hired John Hunter, who was at the time the "Latin American specialist" at the Economics department of Michigan State University. A PhD from Harvard (1949), Hunter published during the 1950s various pieces on foreign trade and investment in Latin America.[35] One of his colleagues at Michigan State considered Hunter "to be closer to Arthur Lewis than most of the American development writers."[36] Hunter and his successor at CEDE, Wallace Atherton, who specialized in labor economics,[37] had a long-term impact on the center's applied and empirically oriented research on economic development (c.f. Sánchez et al., 2008). From its very first research contract with the Ministry of Economic Development, CEDE made it one of its main occupations to produce "basic economic data" that both researchers and policymakers could then use for economic analysis.[38]

Upon their return from the United States, the Colombian students funded by Rockefeller built on that legacy of applied economic research. From 1962 to 1971, CEDE was directed by four former Rockefeller fellows: Ruiz Lara, Urrutia, Ortega and Isaza Botero. In a memorandum dated October 1966, the center was portrayed as a "pioneer" in applied fields such as labor economics, demographic studies, and urban and regional planning. CEDE researchers conducted the first periodical city-level survey on employment in Bogotá,[39] with the support from the Rockefeller and the central bank, and later expanded its coverage to six additional cities in collaboration with the planning department. With the applied studies produced at CEDE, the memorandum argued, the economics department at *Uniandes* achieved political influence, positioning unemployment

[33] Wiesner was Urrutia's successor as director of the national planning department (1978-81) and the first fellow appointed as Minister of Finance (1981-82)

[34] CMH to Gómez, 7 December 1963. Box 161, folder 2498, 10.1, 311S, FF/RFR.

[35] Curriculum Vitae, John M. Hunter, April 1959, box 78, folder 740, R.G, 311S, FF/RFR.

[36] Martin Bronfenbrenner to Everett Hagen, 3 December 1957, box 78, folder 740, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

[37] Wallace Atherton CV, 13 May 1960, box 78, folder 742, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

[38] From the start CEDE specialized in producing basic economic statistics. According to Atherton, "such an emphasis has been essential in a country where many basic economic data are either absent (e.g. personal income distribution) or unreliable and conflicting." Wallace N. Atherton, "Third Annual Report," 1 September 1961, CEDE/Universidad de los Andes, mimeo, 5.

[39] See Franco Camacho (1965)

as a top issue in the economic agenda of the President (then candidate) Carlos Lleras Restrepo (1966-1970).[40]

While Rockefeller grants helped the economics department at *Uniandes* build closer links with the state through the data and analysis produced at CEDE, some external observers casted doubts about their impact on the institutionalization of economics in universities. The tension between building an academic community of economists, on the one hand, and responding to the state demand for economic expertise, on the other, became patent with the early experience of the first graduate program in economics in Colombia, the *Escuela de Economía Para Graduados* (later *Programa de Economía para Graduados*, PEG), after its creation at *Uniandes* in 1964.[41]

According to dean Wiesner (1965-1968), the economics department envisioned the creation of the postgraduate program as a solution to "the urgent demand that Colombia had —and still has — for a select group of well-trained economists at the graduate level"(Wiesner Durán, 1965, p. 2). With sponsorship from the US Agency for International Development, four professors from the University of Minnesota visited the economics department between 1964 and 1967 to design the curriculum for the graduate program and conform a faculty "trained in the techniques of modern economic theory."[42] The PEG's curriculum (Table 7.2) initially placed a strong emphasis on theoretical and mathematical economics, in line with contemporary disciplinary trends in the US (Orozco-Espinel, 2020). Given that the graduate program also aimed at the education of a "governing cadre." (Wiesner, 1965, p.2), the PEG's curriculum evolved to integrate policy-oriented subjects taught by government employees. Until the late 1970s, the *PEG* was the only alternative for receiving advanced training in economics locally, which accentuated the protagonism the economics department at *Uniandes* acquired in the profession during the 1960s.

Table 7.2. Curriculum of the *Programa de Economía para Egresados*, 1964

Preparatory	**First Semester**	**Second Semester**	**Third Semester**
Economic Theory	Macroeconomics I	Macroeconomics II	Economic History II
Mathematics I	Microeconomics I	Economic History I	Elective*
English	Statistics I	Statistics II	Elective*
	Mathematics II	Elective*	Thesis
	Elective*	Thesis project	

[40] Memorandum, "The Activities of CEDE and the Rockefeller Foundation," 5 October 1966, box 69, folder 746, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

[41] Currie identified this tension in his evaluation of the graduate program. Economists in developing countries like Colombia were, according to him, typically called to address policy issues that required urgent solution, which needed "intuitive judgement" and left "very little margin for the use of advanced statistical techniques." In his view, economics' students developed that intuitive judgement by learning economic theory and history. Lauchlin Currie, "Informe del visitador Lauchlin Currie" I/UADA.

[42] "Agreement between The Universidad de los Andes and the University of Minnesota- To Establish a Graduate Program in Economics," 12 June 1963, folder 745, box 79, R.G 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

*The list of electives included: History of Economic Doctrines, Econometrics, Mathematical Economics, Labour Economics, International Economics, Public Finances, Monetary Economics, Public Services, Private Firms and Public Control, Demography
Source: Lauchlin Currie, "Informe del visitador Lauchlin Currie sobre la Escuela para Graduados, Universidad de los Andes," 5 April 1964, Informes, Rectoría (I/), UADA.

Table 7.3. PEG's roaster of courses and professors, 1970

First Semester (January-May)	**Summer (June-July)**	**Second Semester (August-December)**
Applied Matematical Analysis (Manuel Ramírez)	Monetary Theory and Policy (Enrique Low*)	Advanced Economic Analysis (Manuel Ramírez)
Statistics (Dionisio Ibañez*)	Public Investments (Guillermo Perry*)	Econometrics I (Eduardo Sarmiento)
Microeconomic Analysis (Roberto Junguito)		Fiscal Theory and Policy (Enrique Low*)
Macroeconomic Analysis (Max Rodríguez)		

*Visiting professors from the planning department.
**Elective courses: Economic doctrines (Álvaro López Toro), Labor Economics (Miguel Urrutia, visiting professor from the Monetary Board).
Source: Facultad de Economía, "Segundo informe anual de la Facultad de Economía presentado a la Fundación Ford," 1970, I/UADA, 6-7.

The professors who visited Colombia to teach at the PEG voiced their criticisms about the Rockefeller grants, which they argued had done little to raise the academic standards of economics education at *Uniandes*. Minnesota professors had a low opinion of locally trained economists, who according to Larry Saajstad from the University of Chicago were inadequately prepared for the "heavy emphasis on theory, mathematics and statistics" that the Minnesota group gave to the *PEG*..[43] Visiting professors also took aim at the Rockefeller's internationalization strategy. According to Buttrick, the nature of *Uniandes* as an elite private university and the criteria Rockefeller officers used to shortlist candidates –such as students' English proficiency– combined in benefiting students from advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds to receive advanced training in the US.[44] For these students, the prospect of becoming full-time university professors, a position that was poorly remunerated and did not enjoy public recognition, was highly unattractive. Hence, once Rockefeller-sponsored economists joined the faculty at *Uniandes*, they were "not highly motivated for either research or teaching" but were instead "more concerned with their social status."[45] Fellows used their international degrees and research record at CEDE to leverage positions in government, leading to a high turnover of faculty in the

[43] This was why most the PEG mostly attracted engineering students, who excelled in the program, according to the coordinator of the Minnesota collaboration Jhon Buttrick. Diary Notes by Rondo Cameron, 17 November 1965; RKD Diary, with Larry A. Saajstad, University of Chicago, 6 May 1966, box 79, folder 746, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.
[44] "Confidential Report on Los Andes-Minnesota project", 22 December 1965, box 69, folder 746, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR
[45] Diary Notes by Rondo Cameron, 17 November 1965, box 79, folder 746, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.

economics department which did not cause particular concerns to dean Wiesner.[46] Instead of making big efforts to retain personnel, Wiesner reached an agreement with the Population Council to finance demographic research in the economics department and offer a new round of scholarships for prospective researchers and teachers.[47]

To an extent, the strong bonds the economics department at *Uniandes* developed with the state through CEDE was a curse in disguise for developing an academic community with exclusive dedication to research and teaching like the Rockefeller had expected. As a foundation officer put it, at a time when economic expertise was on high demand in government, the one-way flow in the rotation of personnel between universities and the state was a "constant danger" for the consolidation of an academic community at the economics department.[48] The early experience with internationalization at *Uniandes* created a path dependent trajectory in the subsequent evolution of the economics department and its research center, which from early on positioned them as hotbeds for government economic experts.

University reform and the rebellious youth: Ford at the Universidad Nacional

Several factors explain the relatively late involvement of philanthropic foundations in the economics department at *Unal*. While *Uniandes* and *Univalle* represented the type of "modern" universities that the Ford and the Rockefeller foundations expected to make exemplary models for the region, to their eyes *Unal* suffered from the ailments of the "traditional" Latin American university, caught in a struggle for control between the state, and the professorial and student bodies. At first, the philanthropic foundations abstained from appropriating funds to social science departments at *Unal*, with the notable exception of Ford's grants to Fals Borda's sociology program.[49] When dean Álvaro Daza asked Ford in 1964 to support the department's *Centro de Investigaciones Económicas* (CIE), CID's immediate precursor, the foundation rejected this request, alluding to Ford's existing obligations with the "graduate school of sociology" and the "political and economic problems which confront the University."[50] In the 1960s, the frustration of the youth with the National Front political arrangement grew steadily (Leal Buitrago, 1981)—particularly in state-funded universities. As the decade progressed, the student movement radicalized and its leaders adhered to anti-government organizations (Archila, 2012, p. 84). Student strikes in state-funded universities, often displaying anti-imperialist banners, became more frequent, which must have led Ford officers to consider with extreme care financing further projects in *Unal*.

It was not until Currie linked the staffing needs of the economics department to Ford's interest in general education and interdisciplinary research, that the foundation considered sponsoring economics at *Unal*. In the field of economics, Ford had hitherto privileged investing in on-the-job training of economists and since 1963 sponsored a technical assistance mission from

[46] Wiesner to Davidson, 16 February 1966, box 79, folder 746, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.
[47] "Demographic grant. Universidad de los Andes", box 60, folder 992, IV3B4. 3a, S2, Population Council Records.
[48] JMD diary, visit to Los Andes, 01 September 1966, box 79, folder 746, 1.2, 311S, PF/RFR.
[49] Rusthon et al. "Recommendations for aid to higher education", 16-18.
[50] Daza to George Schyler, 6 April 1964; Schuyler to Daza, 13 May 1964, R3402, GF/FFR.

Harvard's Development Advisory Service (DAS) in the planning department.[51] According to the testimony of former student Alcides Gómez (Hernández Gamarra and Herrera, 2002, p. 435), Currie's brief tenure as dean of the economics department and the integration of the department into the Faculty of Human Sciences were catalyzers for the transformation of economics education at *Unal*. While economics students suddenly had the opportunity to take classes with Currie and Harvard professors from the DAS mission, like Karsten Laursen and Lester Taylor, they read Neo-Marxist and French structuralists social thinkers with their peers of the Human Sciences Division in the student campus.

Although Currie's tenure was brief, the transformation of the economics department continued under the deanship of his successor Bernardo García. García had obtained his undergraduate degree in economics from the University of Louvaine (1964) and was a PhD candidate from the École de Hautes Études in Paris. He initiated a program to staff the faculty following an internationalization strategy that resembled the one previously adopted by the departments at *Uniandes* and *Univalle*. Yet, this faculty training program did not rely exclusively on sending students to pursue graduate degrees in US universities, as some of the brightest students went instead to European and Latin American institutions.[52] The appointment in 1967 of the economist Jorge Méndez as rector of *Unal* added credibility to the university's commitment to strengthening its economics department.

Given its prolonged involvement in the planning department, Ford appeared to be more receptive than the Rockefeller to the symbiotic relationship that developed during the 1960s between economics departments in universities and state institutions. When Ford's regional officers presented to the board of trustees a grant request to fund the programs at *Uniandes* and *Unal*, it began by recognizing that there was "already [an] important linkage among the national planning agency" and those universities. Not only the Government had "in the past five years recruited its key planning personnel by raiding the economics staff of the two universities" but it was also starting to "look to the universities as a source of basic, policy-oriented research studies."[53] By the late 1960s, the legitimacy of economics as a source of expertise for informing and formulating government policy was beginning to sediment. State institutions like the planning department, the Ministry of Finance and the Monetary Junta actively sought economists from the leading economics departments of the country to advise the government on key policy issues.[54] Ford's grants took as point of departure the ground covered by a decade of Rockefeller sponsorship of economics education and research.

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[51] For a summary of the grants the Ford gave to the Harvard DAS group to assist development planning in Colombia see K.N. Rao to James R. Holmes, "Formal closing of the Grant Series 63-547," n.d., R4248, GF/FFR.

[52] According to García (2002, p. 441), 17 students received scholarships during his tenure to pursue graduate studies abroad, which presumably included the 8 Ford fellows. The economics department also introduced a system of teaching assistants to screen prospective candidates and financed language courses. Alberto Corchuelo obtained a graduate degree in development economics from ESCOLATINA in the Universidad de Chile (196?), while Gabriel Misas and Alcides Gómez both obtained a master's degree in economics from the University of Louvain in 1970 and 1971.

[53] David E Bell to McGeorge Bundy, Request No. ID-204, 16 July 1968, R3402, GF/FFR.

[54] The recruitment of economists in government goes beyond the scope of this chapter, but it suffices to add that former Rockefeller fellows Antonio Urdinola, Miguel Urrutia, Eduardo Wiesner and Jorge Ruiz Lara had occupied advisory and directive positions in those institutions.

To coordinate the Ford grants, the foundation hired Albert Berry (PhD, Princeton, 1963). This was Berry's second visit to Colombia, where he had been in 1962-1963 to conduct research for the Economics Growth Center at the University of Yale, of which he was assistant director when the Ford approached him. Berry and CID's new director Roberto Arenas (1967-1970) proved to be successful community builders. Citing the "acute" need for economists in government and state institutions' growing demand for policy-oriented research, Berry advocated in favor of strengthening the research center at *Unal*. In his view, CID had a "good chance to be, right from the start, a better economic center than Los Andes because, unlike CEDE, it would not have to start from scratch but rather from CIE's previous experience and institutional capacities."[55] With Ford's support CID could, according to Berry, build a strong academic community in a relatively short period of time. Following Berry's advice, Ford covered the salary supplements of five "Colombian collaborators" to work at the center for three years.[56] It also sponsored two Latin American visiting professors, one of whom was the Argentinian Guillermo Calvo (then PhD candidate at Yale), and granted eight scholarships to pursue doctoral studies in the US. *Unal* committed to provide four additional scholarships. Berry got personally involved in the center and the economics department. He taught several courses at the department and the center's researchers training program and interviewed prospective scholarship candidates. He also co-coordinated two pioneering research projects on the economic effects of urbanization and the distribution of agricultural income.[57]

In 1972, Ford officers concluded that, due to reasons relating to timing and "problems of design," the grant to the economics department at *Unal* "satisfied neither party to it."[58] This grim assessment was informed by the final grant report written by Reed Hertfort, who replaced Berry as adviser and taught agricultural economics at the department. Hertford's report outlined how student demonstrations, and the "hard-handed" response of the government, affected the work at the economics department and the research center. While the dilemma philanthropic foundations faced in other Latin American countries during the second half of the 1960s was whether to continue sponsoring economic research in universities that were under the grip of military dictatorships, in Colombia this question was posed by the reinvigoration and radicalization of the student movement.

From the very beginning of Lleras Restrepo's administration (1966-1970), the relations between the government and the student movement were fraught. One of the main issues of contention for mobilized students was the "imperialist" intervention of foreign powers in higher education, which they perceived in the involvement of US-based philanthropic foundations in both private and state-funded universities. Shortly after Lleras Restrepo's possession, radicalized students sabotaged a ceremony that the president presided in the university premises with Nelson Rockefeller as special guest. The president responded by enacting a decree that dissolved the student directory in *Unal* and removed students' representatives from the university's governing

[55] Albert Berry to William Cotter, 2 April 1968, R3402, GF/FFR.

[56]Between 1968 and 1971, the CID used Ford funds to hire four Colombian economists with doctoral studies in the US: Antonio Hernández (ABD, Rice), Humberto Camargo (ABD, Yale), Pablo Salazar (ABD, Georgetown) and Francisco Thoumi (PhD, Minnesota). Reed Hertford, "Final Report-Evaluation, PA68-759", 8 January 1973, R3402, GF/FFR, p.6.

[57] CID, report "Ford Foundation grant No. 68-759," 17 February 1972, p. 47, R3402, GF/FFR

[58] John C. Farrell, 19 February 1972, "Closing Grant 68-759," GF/FFR.

body (Hernández Gamarra, 2020, p. 121). A student demonstration in *Univalle* that denounced the involvement of philanthropic foundations in that university in 1969 sparked a new wave of protests that extended to both private and state-funded institutions across the country. Young professors supported the demonstrations, demanding a bigger say in university affairs (Briceño, 1988, p. 205). Against this background, Hertford reported that teaching at the department was constantly interrupted due either to student strikes or governmental decisions, and class attendance remained low. Between 1968 and 1971, the University had seven rectors and the CID had four directors. This administrative instability impacted the continuity of the center's research projects. After Arenas Bonilla resigned as CID's director in June 1970, research activities at the center stalled.

The denouement of Ford and the Rockefeller's involvement in state-funded universities in the 1960s revealed to both foundation officers and university reformers, the limitations of attempting to build academic communities in Colombian universities based on imported conceptions of academe that were not easily translatable to the local institutional context. In the 1970s, Ford shifted its attention to the sponsorship of independent economic research centers across Latin America, like Fedesarrollo in Colombia, thus closing the chapter of the big philanthropic foundations' institution-building efforts in universities.

Even if Ford grant to the economics department at *Unal* did not yield the results foundation officers anticipated, it had unexpected outcomes that helped to shape the economics profession in Colombia. The short-lived experience of the CID in the late 1960s set the foundations for the formation of an academic community mainly composed of alumni from Colombia's biggest state university. From the eight Ford fellows, only Antonio Hernández (ABD, Rice) and Luis Eduardo Rosas (PhD, 1973, U. Brown) carried on pursuing doctoral studies.[59] While Hertford reported that only one of the eight Ford fellows joined the faculty at *Unal* upon their return, former CID researchers and their students integrated in the mid-1970s the economics department at the Universidad Externado de Colombia.[60] This group formed the basis of the professorial body at the Universidad Nacional when the Faculty of Economic Sciences was reestablished in 1978 (Hernández Gamarra, 2020, pp. 138-139;148-149).

Ford's grant at *Unal* also allowed a more diverse group of economists, both in terms of their socioeconomic origins and their intellectual outlook, to penetrate some of the institutional sites where Colombian technocrats legitimized their expert authority in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Hertford considered that Ford's internationalization strategy, despite its shortcomings, had not been an utter failure because "all [Ford fellows] are productively employed in Colombia and some are making rather significant contributions to policy research and management."[61] In 1970, García recruited some of his former students to form a research group (SEPROCOL) at the National Statistics Department to produce empirical socioeconomic analyses.[62] After leaving CID, Arenas was appointed by Pastrana to head the National Planning Department and hired

[59] Decades later, Hernández was appointed General Comptroller (2002-2006). Rosas would become director of the planning department (1973-74) and head of ILPES (1974-78).

[60] Among them, Antonio Hernández, Homero Cuevas (MA, 1974, McGill), Jesús Antonio Bejarano (MA, Development Economics, 1974, U. North Carolina), and Luis Bernardo Flórez (MA Development Economics, 1977, Hague International Institute of Social Sciences).

[61] Reed Hertford, "Final Report-Evaluation, PA68-759", 8 January 1973, R3402, p.16-17, GF/FFR.

[62] Interviews with Salomón Kalmanovitz (13 January 2020) and Gabrel Misas (13 May 2022).

former CID researchers to join the technical staff. Currie and Berry served as Arenas' advisers. Only months before Ford received Hertford's report, Rosas was appointed director of the planning department in replacement of Arenas. He directed the institution between 1973 and 1974. Thusly, in an ironic twist, the two main programs in economics Ford sponsored during the 1960s converged, at the exact moment when philanthropic foundations were crowding out from the sponsorship of economics in Colombian universities.

Conclusion

While the professionalization of economics in Colombia responded to the state's demand for experts on economic affairs during the 1960s, it was also driven by a deliberate strategy of internationalization that aimed at building an academic community of economists in local universities. Philanthropic foundations' grants to fund scholarships, visiting professorships, and local research centers brought Colombian economists closer to the dominant trends in the increasingly US-centered economics discipline. The Rockefeller and Ford, together with US AID, fostered partnerships between local departments of economics and academic programs in the US that by contemporary standards had fairly heterogeneous approaches to economics, such as Chicago, Minnesota and Harvard. Arguably none of these institutional collaborations left a durable and indelible mark on the economics profession in Colombia, at least to the extent that scholars have documented for Chile and Brazil. The only attempt to build a school with a strong disciplinary identity at *Univalle* utterly failed. Instead, individual economists like John Hunter and Wallace Atherton at *Uniandes*, and Lauchlin Currie and Albert Berry at *Unal* left a bigger imprint in these departments by setting the direction of research agendas and building communities of technically literate but policy-minded economists. Philanthropic foundations' internationalization strategy yielded an unexpected and ironic outcome: the economics profession strengthened its position in key state institutions at the expense of building solid academic communities in universities.

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Annex

Table 7.4. Colombian economists that received fellowships from the Rockefeller and Ford foundations to pursue graduate studies abroad

	Sponsor	Name	Termination date	Degree pursued	Degree obtained	University

Universidad de los Andes						
1	Rockefeller	Jorge Ruiz Lara	1961	PhD	PhD	University of Illinois
2		Miguel Urrutia	1966	PhD	PhD	UC Berkeley
3		Hernán Mejía	1964	PhD	ABD	University of Oregon
4		Eduardo Wiesner	1962	MA	MA	Stanford University
5		Guillermo Franco	1962	MA	MA	University of Pennsylvania
6		James Ternent	1963	MA	MA	University of Oregon
7		Francisco Ortega	1964	MA	MA	Vanderbilt University
8		Max Rodriguez	1965	PhD	MA	Vanderbilt University
9		Giovanni Ciardelli	1966	PhD	MA	University of Minnesota
10		[redacted]	1964	MA	-	Harvard University
11		[redacted]	1964	MA	-	University of Oregon
12	Ford	Jorge García	1976	PhD	PhD	University of Chicago
13		José Giordanelli	1972*	PhD	No information	London School of Economics
14		Darío Bustamante	1972*	PhD	No information	Princeton University
Universidad del Valle						
1	Rockefeller	Antonio J. Urdinola	1966	PhD	ABD	Harvard University*
2		Enrique Low-Murtra	1969	PhD	ABD	Harvard University
3		Nohra Peñaranda	1964	MA	MA	University of Pittsburgh
4		[redacted]	1964	MA	-	Duke University

5		[redacted]	1965	MA	-	Wayne State University
6		[redacted]	1966	PhD	-	University of Chicago
7		[redacted]	1967	PhD	-	University of Chicago
8		[redacted]	1967	PhD	-	University of Chicago
9		[redacted]	1967	PhD	-	University of Chicago
10		[redacted]	1968	PhD	-	University of Chicago
11		[redacted]	1970	PhD	-	Harvard University
Universidad Nacional						
1	Ford	Luis Eduardo Rosas	1973	PhD	PhD	Brown
2		Antonio Hernández	1970	PhD	ABD	Rice
3		Jaime Tenjo	1972	PhD	MA	Brown
4		[redacted]	1972	PhD	-	Vanderbilt University
5		Hector Melo	1970	PhD	MS	NSSR
6		M Neyra	1970	PhD	MS	Rice
7		Gustavo Jiménez	1971	PhD	MS	Rice
8		Rodrigo Manrique	1972	PhD	MS	Vanderbilt University

Sources: Fellowship cards, Social Sciences/Humanities, box 7, Record Group 10.1, Series 311, FF/RFR; Facultad de Economía, "Second Report;" Reed Hertford, "Final Report," FFR. I crossed out the names of the fellows who did not obtain a degree to protect their identity.