

Academic Dependency and Brazil's Trade Deficit in Management Knowledge: Foreign Influence in Graduate Management Education at Public Universities in Brazil

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The world of management education is definitely bipolar: rotating around the axis between the USA and Europe. This article stems from an inductive study of foreign influence in graduate management programs at Brazilian public universities. The study followed Grounded Theory (GT), gathering significant data through in-depth interviews, as well as using participant observation and document analysis. GT focuses on emergent theory, rather than basing research on existing theory. This allows concepts and theory to emerge directly from data. Rigor in data collection is paramount when using this approach. The interviews were thorough and meticulous, having over 160 free response questions and lasting up to 6 hours each. 54 interviews were performed from August-November 2009, 42 were transcribed, and over 322 discrete codes were produced. A total of 8 graduate programs were analyzed: UFRGS [*Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul*], UFPR [*Universidade Federal do Paraná*], USP [*Universidade de São Paulo*], UFRJ [*Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro*], UFMG [*Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais*], UFBA [*Universidade Federal da Bahia*], UFPE [*Universidade Federal de Pernambuco*], UNB [*Universidade de Brasília*]. These universities were selected due to their prominence and comparability: they are all public, highly regarded academically, have Ph.D. programs, and are the locations of the majority of current management Ph.D.'s in Brazil. Each has a different history, culture and character. The respective faculties are also distinctive, displaying different educational origins, networks and aspects of endogamy. Virtually all of the professors interviewed, both those with domestic and foreign PhD's, gave some evidence of academic dependency. From a phenomenology and interpretivist standpoint, it is significant in and of itself that most of the professors *believe* there exists a dependency; above and beyond the reality of the phenomenon. The levels of foreign material, and foreign language materiel, used in graduate level classes alone would qualify as a dependency. Brazilian management education does exist in a state of intellectual dependence, but it is an evolving process, not a permanent state of being. The current and historical context of Brazilian management education has a direct influence on the nature of this dependency. For example, the author believes that, based upon the research results, the more internationalized a program becomes, the less dependent it is. This is a paradox that is based upon the nature of dependency. As long as the management programs are merely recipients of foreign management literature, theory and practices, the knowledge trade balance is 100% negative. However, the more the program internationalizes, the more the knowledge deficit can be reduced, because the connection becomes more two-way than one-way.

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FOUNDATIONS OF MANAGEMENT EDUCATION IN BRAZIL

A quick review of Brazil’s history in management education is essential to begin this article. It will give a basis for justifying this research, as well as context for the analysis and results. “Reciprocal typifications of actions are built up in the course of a shared history. They cannot be created instantaneously. Institutions always have a history, of which they are the products. It is impossible to understand an institution adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced.” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 70) Path dependency is an important concept when studying institutions. Identifying the origins of management education in Brazil is therefore imperative to understanding the present situation.

Universities in Brazil are relatively young (Trindade, 2005): they are less than 80 years old, and only a few are older than 50 years (Panizzi, 2003; Mollis, 2007; Schwartzman, 2007). Management education came even later. FGV-EAESP (Fundação Getulio Vargas - Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo) was the first management program in Brazil. It started in 1954 with the assistance of Michigan State University of the USA (Wood & Paes de Paula, 2004). It was no coincidence that the first management program was in São Paulo, as it was the largest market and location of numerous foreign multinationals. Most were from the USA, and demanded trained managers. Soon after FGV was founded, several other business schools were established at existing Brazilian universities, both private and public, with American help: UFBA, UFRGS, FGV-EBAPE (FGV-Rio de Janeiro), and PUC-RJ (Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro). A graduate management program at FGV-EAESP started in 1958, the first domestic program for training professors (Wood Jr. & Paes de Paula, 2003).

The first generation of Brazilian business professors went to the USA for their graduate education. Many of them participated in plans sponsored by the US government, such as USAID

and Point Four, and US organizations, including the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations (Castro, 2000). These all had declared and undeclared political, social, and economic motives (Caldas & Alcadipani, 2003; Chaves, 2009), as many were focused on preempting Soviet influence during the Cold War (Roitman Rosenmann, 2008). For political and economic (capitalist) reasons, the USA welcomed the opportunity to educate foreign students, mostly from elite classes, in political science, economics, management, and other social sciences, in addition to military training. Former US Defense Secretary and World Bank President Robert McNamara publicly voiced this idea: “They are the new leaders. I don’t need to expatiate on the value of having in leadership positions men who have previously become closely acquainted with how we Americans think and do things” (Galeano, 1973, p.273). Suppression of social sciences during the military dictatorship (Garreton, Murmis, de Sierra, & Trindade, 2005) at that time partially necessitated the need for studying abroad: some students were in exile, others went with the government’s blessings.

In the earlier years, there were only a handful of domestic options for a PhD in management (FGV, USP, UFRGS), which meant that most had to study abroad, mostly to the USA. Starting in the 1990’s, a number of professors were educated in Europe, primarily France and England. (Bertero & Keinert, 1994). The number of Ph.D. programs has grown slowly over the last two decades, but still today there are fewer than 20 such programs in Brazil, mostly at public universities. These programs have up to 40% of their students in *strictu sensu* (academic as opposed to practical) graduate programs. Even though some private universities are counted among the best in the nation, most are not on par with public universities: students in academic graduate programs can make up less than 1% at these (Lucchesi & Malanga, 2010). The lack of domestic opportunities for obtaining a Ph.D. is an impetus for studying abroad. When reviewing the faculties at each university, foreign Ph.D.’s can range from less than 8% at USP to more than 44% at UFRGS. Similarly, the countries where these Ph.D.’s were obtained differ. For example, at UFRGS over 25% of the professors have Ph.D.’s from France but less than 4% have a PhD from England, while at UFRJ over 14% have a PhD from England, but none hold a PhD from France. This is in part due to historical influences and path dependency.

Two governmental organizations, CAPES (*Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Superior Nível*) and CNPq (*O Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico*), both founded in 1951, have been responsible for sending numerous students abroad in the last 60 years. In 2002, between the two organizations, a total of 2,239 study abroad scholarships were awarded; of which, over half went three countries: the USA with 738, France with 520, and the UK with 293 (Laus & Morosini, 2005). When these students return as professors, if they do, they bring back their experiences and results of their educations. Their pedagogy is undoubtedly different. This includes their choices of academic literature. While abroad, most have developed academic networks and participated in research with foreign partners. Their foreign language abilities will have been enhanced, which can increase the chance of their being published in international journals. Due to their academic history, they serve as both an extension and conduit of foreign influence in Brazilian management education.

Historically, foreign influence has been the result of both foreign and domestic governments and industry (Caldas & Alcadipani, 2003). By comprehending the role of the professor, such influence can be managed to produce the best possible results without losing intellectual sovereignty to hegemonic pressures.

A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Dependency Theory: For over half a century, various forms of Dependency Theory (*Teoria de Dependência*) have circulated around the academic world, mostly in the developing countries. Dependência is defined in its political economy form as: “a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development” (Gilpin, 1987, p. 282). It is arranged in a system of hubs and spokes. Developed countries, mainly the USA, European countries and Japan, are at the center (hub), connected by spokes to developing countries on the periphery. Within the developing countries are industrialized cities (hubs), which connect by spokes to lesser developed areas of their own country (periphery). The direction of trade involves raw materials moving from peripheries to centers, and processed or finished materials moving from centers to peripheries.

The more critical perspective of Dependency Theory believes that due to historical precedents and path dependency, those countries that developed first also developed faster and further. Dependency Theory is best understood when framed as a relationship between countries having different degrees of industrialization (Vernengo, 2006). The countries that developed first were able to do so without competitive pressure or interference by more developed countries. They were not limited in their development by the existence of a “saturated” world order, as are many countries of today. The word saturated is appropriate because previously there was room for growth in every sense for the United States and Europe, first at the expense of relatively helpless indigenous societies around the globe, and then lesser developed nations.

The world of today, both economically and geographically, is saturated, with little room for expansion. “There is no doubt, however, that the immense gap between the developed and the less developed economies along with global market conditions have made it much more difficult to escape dependence in the late twentieth century than it was for developing economies in the nineteenth century” (Gilpin, 1987, pp. 303-304). Virtually all expansion must come at the expense of other countries in a relatively zero-sum game, especially in times of global economic stagnation or recession. This interpretation of Dependency Theory views it as a static state of existence, with weaker and lesser developed countries having little to no hope of ever “expanding” at the expense of the stronger, already developed ones.

It also holds that foreign governments act together with foreign capital to constrain competitive development in periphery countries. In addition, theorists blame a trans-national bourgeoisie (both in periphery countries and center countries) for enabling, supporting, and profiting from the dependent relationship at the expense of the peripheral countries (Arceo, 2005). The relatively small percentage of the population who benefit from this arrangement, mainly the landed elites, act in their best interests against the interests of their country and fellow citizens by cooperating with and furthering the influence of foreign capital (Haggard, 2000).

A more modern interpretation of Dependency Theory is the perspective that underdevelopment is a process, highly correlated to contextual elements, and not merely a condition brought about by the nature of the relationships between developed and underdeveloped countries (Gilpin, 1987; Cardoso, 1970). As long as the countries are trapped in the relationship, they will suffer from the effects of the process. It is not necessary to subscribe to the causality arguments of Dependência to believe that the phenomenon exists, but not as a *cause* of underdevelopment, or at least the only one. Countries in the age of globalization are not

just in a state of dependence, but interdependence. However, the degree of both dependence and interdependence is highly variable. The idea of interdependence does not concern itself with the relative power or processes of influence that exist. Instead it focuses on transaction costs that occur from breaking relationships with other individual countries (Milner, 1993). Many of the developed countries rely on the developing countries for raw materials and also as a destination market for their finished goods, and thus would lose a substantial portion of their economies for severing contact. The developing countries are dependent upon the developed countries for financial investment, technology infusion, and high tech manufacturing.

The relationship that exists between the countries at the center and those at the periphery is not balanced. Depending upon their level of development, peripheral countries send raw materials, component products, or unfinished goods towards the center. In return, the center sends finished manufactured goods, which generally have a higher profit margin and more price stability, towards the periphery. Progressively away from the center, smaller proportions of the population participate in the formal economy and benefit from commerce (Vernengo, 2006). Interdependence and dependence are not mutually exclusive, but are actually mutually reinforcing, in that to some extent and in some ways the “independent” countries do need the “dependent” ones, even as they limit their development.

Academic Dependency: Academic dependency is an idea that originated in Brazil in the 1950’s: “1. Dependence on ideas as well as the media of ideas; 2. Dependence on the technology of education; 3. Dependence on aid for research and teaching; 4. Dependence on investment in education” (Alatas, 2000, p. 84). It began as a remnant of colonialism. From the founding of universities in developing countries to the generation of theories, most academic endeavors come from, or are constrained by, developed countries. Educational systems in developing countries are dependent upon the systems in developed countries in many ways. Many of these peripheral countries cannot afford to finance cutting edge research, at least not in numerous areas at once, and rely on technological and theoretical research and development from larger, higher performing institutions and systems in the United States, Europe and Japan (Canto & Hannah, 2001). In addition, promising students from countries with few or poor quality options for higher education often must rely upon study abroad for part, or all, of their academic development.

A parallel to the hub and spoke system of dependency theory can be made with students from developing countries. The academic institutions of Europe, Japan, and the USA act as the center, with other countries’ academic systems the periphery. Similarly, within the periphery countries there is a further extension of the hub and spoke. Universities in Brazil are arranged in this manner, with the best and most developed located in the great cities, smaller satellites in smaller cities, and cascading on down to the periphery. In the USA and Europe, world-class colleges and universities can even be found in small towns. Students can be seen as a raw material, which are taken to the USA and Europe (or to the domestic hubs), refined and returned to their periphery as a finished product. The research agendas are also set in the USA and Europe, which, in combination with perceptions of legitimacy of journals and universities, act as a barrier limiting the development of periphery research programs.

In the academic sense, this is not only relevant to the nature of the communication and cooperation between universities, professors and students (raw materials), but also in the dissemination of the “finished product”. Due to the fact that the social sciences developed first and foremost in the USA and Europe, so too did their systems for the distribution of their knowledge, primarily in the form of journals. Prior to the advent of the internet, it was virtually impossible for academic production from the developing countries to be widely disseminated.

Even today, the most widely read and respected academic journals are in center countries, and many more from the periphery read journals from the center than vice versa. In order to disseminate their research production, authors in peripheral countries find it necessary to navigate the publishing channels of the center countries.

Control of distribution directly influences who is capable of reaching readers worldwide. Even though most journals use “blind” review (which may be blind but isn’t deaf), the language and translation barriers take their toll on professors from the periphery who submit articles to journals. Anyone who is not a native English speaker is at a severe disadvantage when trying to get published in a center or international journal. There is an ever growing emphasis on various levels of gatekeepers that shape and control access to academic publication: translators, proofreaders, and journal editors (Fortuna, 2007). Also, what is of interest to a journal with an international, and primarily center, audience might not match the necessities of Brazil as a country (Mueller & Vieira de Oliveira, 2003).

Another byproduct of this system is researchers from institutions at the center are more likely to have articles published about peripheral countries than peripheral researchers themselves. There have always been scholars from the center undertaking research in the periphery, but most scholars from the periphery who are in the center are there for education, not research (Alatas, 2003). This further reinforces the academic productivity disparity between developed and developing countries. Even more concerning is that the research agendas, topics, and knowledge production are tailored more to the interests of the academic systems at the center than to the needs of the peripheral subjects of research (Gerke & Evers, 2006; Lee, 2000). Journals themselves are “products”, and must meet the demands of the consumers: the readers and researchers, which for a long time were exclusively in the center. The evolution of any institution takes time, and many journals have yet to realize their constituencies have expanded.

In management education, more so than other social sciences, theory and agenda have come from the United States of America. Researchers in peripheral countries, in this case Brazil, most often end up imitating the research produced in the center, in an uncritical manner (Alatas, 1993; Caldas & Alcadipani, 2003). This is not necessarily due to a lack of creativity, but more due to the path dependency of American influence in management education in the country, combined with the mimetic and isomorphic forces of publishing demands and restrictions. As a result, little theory is generated outside of the center. Since academic graduate programs are based upon education in research and theory, most of the teaching material used in graduate management programs in developing countries comes from the center as well.

This teaching material is often delivered in English, which limits overall comprehension and learning for Brazilian students, as compared to texts in Portuguese. If the literature is translated, there are inevitably numerous errors. Additionally, there are often contextual problems, although theory does not suffer as much as case study. Wood and Paes de Paula have devoted attention to the need for more, and better quality, domestic sources of literature. “We must observe that the tradition of using foreign books, as well as the limited availability of high quality domestic materials for graduate programs, acts as a vector in favor of the continued status of administration as an “imported field” (2004, pp. 88-89). In the author’s experience, the literature is overwhelmingly foreign; mostly from the USA. Some professors did make a point of including British texts. Extremely few Brazilian authors were introduced into the classroom.

Caste System in Academia: This academic dependency, combined with path dependency, also leads to a “caste system” for universities, not only within the center countries, but throughout the world. Universities, professors, and research in the United States and Europe are often regarded

as better than those of other world regions, usually without taking the historical and longitudinal aspects into consideration. This ranking, both official and unofficial, remains relatively static despite significant alterations to fundamental characteristics of corresponding countries, educational systems, and said universities (Burris, 2004). Studies have shown that more successful and more liberal academics also come from more privileged social backgrounds (Lipset, 1982). Part of the idea of caste system in academia is that access to the top tier universities is limited. Those that are allowed in become a member of an exclusive society, and to some extent are destined to perpetuate the cycle. Dependency theory has a similar concept, that dependent countries are: "...fastened to the world economy by a transnational class linkage" (Gilpin, 1987, p. 286). Such a class linkage exists between the upper echelons of world universities, primarily through professors and their academic pedigrees.

It is extremely difficult for a student from a lower or middle class Brazilian family to gain access to the best domestic universities, much less the best foreign universities. This stems from a historical lack of investment in public education, especially at lower levels, with about 30% of the Brazilian education budget going to public universities, leaving relatively little for the masses in public primary and secondary education. Most Brazilian families cannot pay for their children to attend private high schools or pre-college preparatory programs, and therefore the children are at a severe disadvantage to gaining entry into the best universities, the public ones, which also are tuition free (Schemo, 1998). Data gathered for this research found that for students attempting to enter management programs at public universities in Brazil, a group which is limited in itself, the percentage admitted ranges from a low of 4% to a high of 16%. Those students who gain entry into the public universities are accorded a definite level of prestige, resulting in a caste system among Brazilian universities. In management, the highest castes are the federal universities, along with USP, FGV-EAESP, and a few other private institutions.

The caste concept is evident whenever there is interaction between individuals from universities of different levels of prestige. This is even more pronounced in international institutional interactions. The "partners" from the "lesser" school are expected to follow the lead of those from the "better" school, and are not generally accorded the same respect. Such was evident in a study of cooperation between Brazilian and English universities participating in a cooperation agreement signed by the British Council and CAPES of Brazil. "There appeared to be a high level of mutual trust and low level of conflict between the partners. It might be argued, however, that this lack of conflict arose from the subordination of the Brazilian group to its British partner. Evidence to support this view is to be found in the clear hierarchical division of activities. Whereas the Brazilians were not invited to undertake teaching in the United Kingdom, the British academics became involved in teaching and supervising during their visits to Brazil" (Canto & Hannah, 2001, p. 34). The Canto and Hannah study opined that a minority of the partnerships were horizontal, or relatively equal, in nature, but that the agreement as a whole had neocolonial characteristics. During this research, many professors remarked that their universities having exchange programs with prestigious universities in developed countries was a sign of recognition of the quality of the Brazilian program; helping the Brazilian university's reputation, but doing nothing to enhance the reputation of the foreign partner institution.

Academic Nationalism: Academic nationalism is a concept that could be borrowed from political science. The need for pride and self-worth in one's country, culture and self is considered by many to be important. In addition, the need for a clear definition of identity is fundamental to being able to research one's own country. With appropriate policy, the educational system can best serve the country's needs and long-term goals and objectives.

Education is the key to development and changing a country's global status. "There is another reason for the rise of nationalism, even more important. The interstate system is not a mere assemblage of so-called sovereign states. It is a hierarchical system with a pecking order that is stable but changeable. That is to say, slow shifts in rank order are not merely possible, but historically normal. Inequalities that are significant and firm but not immutable are precisely the kind of processes that lead to ideologies able to justify high rank but also to challenge low rank" (Wallerstein, 2000, p. 305).

Nationalism does not preclude the use of foreign ideas, resources or education, but does demand their adaptation as well as the development of independent domestic institutions. "Indigenization is to be seen as a simultaneous call to internationalization as long as the latter is understood not as a one-sided process but rather as one emanating from developing societies while incorporating selectively the Western social sciences" (Alatas, 1993, p. 19). Other bases of and for legitimacy in the academic and intellectual world must be established and accepted. Foreign appointments, degrees, or publications should not necessarily be accepted as better just because they are foreign, but based upon valid and verified evidence. Some countries already operate with a more inward looking focus, and could serve as examples for developing countries who wish to create a nationalistic domestic academic system. Japan in particular, was historically influenced by Western theory and models, but is recently responsible for a large share of management knowledge and theory. The Japanese focus more on publishing in domestic journals, as do Germans; both, in essence, have set their own rules of engagement (Alatas, 2003).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research approached the phenomenon using Grounded Theory. Data was gathered from multiple sources and with multiple methods: primarily detailed interviews (1-6 hours, over 160 questions), but also used participant observation, publically available information, and field observations. The study adopted the *emic* perspective (the perspective of those being studied). The author was a Ph.D. student at one of the Brazilian federal universities observed. The QDA (Qualitative Data Analysis) software Atlas.ti helped code data: there were 322 discrete codes, and each interview had on average well over 100 codings. The QDA software was not used for any other purpose: all coding, conceptualization and categorization were performed by the author, using the software only for data storage and organization. An integral part of GT demands that results (data, codes, concepts) be constantly revisited and refined until cogent categories exist and theory emerges.

When a phenomenon exists that has not been greatly explored, GT exploratory research is a logical choice for methodology (Selden, 2005). This approach demands high levels of rigor, especially in data collection and coding. Grounded Theory, allows theory to arise from the data itself, reducing bias and theoretical constraint on nascent topic areas: "in grounded theory we do not know, until it emerges" (Douglas, 2006, p. 259). GT methodology observes a society within its natural environment in order to discover patterns of behavior, allowing for theoretical development. Basic guidelines for GT research were adopted from Dick (Dick, 2005).

One week was spent at each of the seven universities to conduct interviews, which also allowed for non-participant observation. Considerably more time was spent at the home university in participant observation. Units of observation were the professors as individuals, and the unit of analysis was management professors as a general population. Selection consisted mostly of purposeful sampling, to balance between professors with foreign and domestic Ph.D.'s. Theoretical sampling was used in later research stages, to specifically include key informants. Most data was primary in nature, collected by the author. Interviews were recorded directly into

digital files on a laptop before transcription. Notes were taken during and after interviews to record impressions and ideas. Document analysis was performed on CAPES data, university websites, existing literature and professor's CVs. This secondary data was of high quality: as it came directly from the professors and universities.

The 54 interviews resulted in a recorded total of 6130 minutes, or 102.5 hours. It was more difficult to obtain interviews with female professors, for an unknown reason. Actually, UFRGS was the only program with a balanced faculty to begin with. Only 42 interviews were transcribed, due to reaching saturation. "Saturation" in Grounded Theory means discovery of new information has slowed to a trickle, in that new data is ever more redundant. Transcription of the interviews was ordered to balance between foreign and domestic Ph.D.'s before saturation, resulting in: 4 transcriptions at UFRJ, 5 each at UFBA, UNB, UFPE and USP, 6 at UFMG, and 10 at UFRGS, as well as 2 at UFPR. Merely to justify the representativeness of the samples, without quantitative intent, as the sample size was much too small for quantitative analysis: the percentage of the total faculty actually analyzed at each university ranged from 6-22%; the percentage of foreign Ph.D.s analyzed ranged from 8-50%.

The interviews were scripted and semi-structured. Professors were allowed and encouraged to offer expansive, divergent responses. The interviewer also went off on tangents when pursuing relevant information. The script evolved over: some questions became apparent as irrelevant or unimportant and were removed, while others were added as new concepts became apparent. This is part of the important "constant comparison" in Grounded Theory.

The study was limited to only professors active in graduate programs at public universities in Brazil. The only exception was an undergraduate professor at UNB who was included after another UNB professor indicated him as a key informant; because he was an important figure in program administration. The criteria "active" was defined as having teaching and/or advising responsibilities, as several professors had recently retired from active teaching but were still finishing their responsibilities as Ph.D. advisors.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Selected quotations from the interviews are presented as they were recorded and as they were transcribed, as well as translated to English from Portuguese. Comments and questions made by the interviewer during the professors' responses are shown as: [*comments*]. In addition, the responses were transcribed showing the actual vocabulary and phrasing of the professors, so many of the responses are not grammatically correct or fluid, but are natural to dialogue, this is especially true when professors wanted to respond in English. Additionally, the professors' identities were protected through a code of three digits, with a letter designating order. A letter at the end of the three digits differentiates between individuals within the same group. The first digit represents the university: 1) UFBA, 2) UFMG, 3) UFPE, 4) UFRGS, 5) UFRJ, 6) UNB, 7) USP, and 8) UFPR. The second digit represents either: 1) female, or 2) male. The third digit represents either 1) Brazilian Ph.D., or 2) Foreign Ph.D. Thus, interview 422a was with a professor at UFRGS, male, foreign educated, who was the first in this category to be interviewed, and interview 422b was the second foreign educated male interviewed at UFRGS. Of the 42 professors analyzed for this study 21 had Foreign Ph.D.s. In addition, one of the professors with a domestic Ph.D. possessed two MA's from foreign universities, and another had a foreign MBA.

Virtually all of the professors interviewed, both those with domestic and foreign PhD's, gave some evidence of academic dependency. From a phenomenology and interpretivist standpoint, it is significant in and of itself that most of the professors *believe* there exists a dependency; above and beyond the reality of the phenomenon. The levels of foreign material,

and foreign language materiel, used in graduate level classes alone would qualify as a dependency. Professors are all too aware of foreign influence in Brazilian management and management education, but many don't find it a topic of concern. This dependency is not necessarily negative, but it needs to be directly addressed by Brazil's educational system.

Many professors voiced their opinions about the type and level of influence America has had. Most were general observations, but a handful was historical in nature, as some of the professors have been involved in Brazil's management education since its inception. One was professor 121a from UFBA: "First they brought disciplines that we didn't know here: Personnel Management, Financial Management, we didn't know any of this...the Americans brought this." What is important, and might be relevant today, is that for an entire decade afterwards, those from Bahia did not even question what had happened. "We only started to reflect on this 10 years later." When they did, they discovered that there were things in the curriculum that they didn't deem germane, and others they found wanting. "We thought: wait a second, there are so many interesting Management disciplines that should be in the curriculum, so why are we studying Law? Why aren't we studying Organizational Anthropology? Why aren't we studying other disciplines that could bring much more to expertise in Management?" (121a).

Even today, professor 121a adopts and adapts the American style, in both teaching and research, in a definite and confessed example of mimetism. "Look, I want them [*my students*] to have a literature, and the literature I use is from a Brazilian and from an American. The Brazilian, Renato, he copies the American information. He goes to the USA, see what is modern and adapts it to Brazilian reality. It is exactly what I want to do" (121a). This influence is widespread in Brazil, in both academia and industry: "You have to put this into perspective though because the way of doing business in Brazil is very much influenced by the way Americans do business...It was unbelievable, the influence of the most reputable business schools in the country [*USA*]. It is very American biased" (422b). Apparently, so was this professor: "Another thing is I think it is important to extend the American way, the foreign influence in Brazilian programs". What is quite interesting is even having experienced what he had, and wanting to extend American way, when asked: *Does it fit the culture of Brazil?*, he answered, "Not a lot but that's the way we do it." (422b)

A different perspective came from 422f, whose take on American influence was not as welcoming or accepting: "...They developed the professors, took them to the USA, brainwashed them, made them anti-communist and at the same time with a work method, an academic vision that was typically American". However, his response as a program director, and that of others who were bothered by American influence, was to turn to Europe, rather than develop a domestic system. "...there was a decision to send people to Europe to force a diversification and not stay only in the grasp of the American mentality, understand?" (422f). This didn't necessarily reduce the dependency, merely shifted it to another axis.

A more contemporary mimetism occurred in the graduate school of UFRJ, during the development of the PhD program. "[*You said she was modeling it after the United States, why did she choose the United States? Do you know?*] Yes, because the U.S. is the most prestigious. Especially at that time that was an almost 20 years ago and the program started in 1989." The imitation even included matching the academic year with that of the USA, which did not work very well. "At first the first intake started in September '89 because she wanted to exactly coincide with the U.S. program so people could go. And then they realized it wouldn't work so the second intake I was from the second intake and we started in March '91...it started because it had a nucleus, a small group of idealistic professors who wanted to create a business school patterned as a U.S. business school." They explored the American system and imported the

model. “So this group of professors at that time visited a lot of schools and it was the same thing. So it was decided that the school would be a case school.” (511a)

The structure of other Brazilian programs also came directly from the American model, such as UFMG. “For example, the Management departments: Human Resources, Marketing, Productions, Finance...this is the usual model from the American schools” (221b). USP also was highly influenced, specifically in management: “We were always inspired by the American model” (721b). This was true for Brazilian management education in general, according to informant 412b: “The development was all American...When the first programs were made, all of the personnel were trained in the USA. Our system of teaching is equal to that of the USA, in everything”. According to her, Brazilian professors have established a hierarchy of PhD’s, depending upon where they were obtained, with America being the most valued: “...it is said that here they value the Ph.D.’s first from the USA, next from Europe, and last from Brazil” (412b).

Part of this influence is easily attributed to American hegemony: “I think we still have a lot of American influence, in the management area primarily, in our theoretical references, the models...because the USA is undeniably the greatest center of knowledge production, of research, of economic development, it is a reference, the journals, the business schools, a great part of our professors studied there or did their Post-Ph.D.’s there” (211b). This brings up another aspect of dependency: foreign literature in management education. “In the Brazilian reality I think that we still have a great dominance by American literature...” (611a). Students are required to take English proficiency exams in order to enter graduate management programs: “They are permanently bombarded by foreign language texts...they can’t escape from it!” (221b).

Many informants said they used close to 100% foreign material, mostly from the USA. “It really is all American...It depends, in graduate studies I use 100% texts in English.” More than a few believe it to be a direct form of dependency or even colonialism. “Hegemony of the most various levels right?” (422a). One of the problems in using this foreign literature is the limitation it places upon the depth and breadth of students’ learning capacities. Without a functional knowledge of the language, their comprehension is definitely restricted. “I think that there are some extrinsic reasons that just aren’t worth it, that don’t compensate [*the use of English language literature*]. It’s not worth it! [*Do you think it limits understanding?*] It limits, limits limits!...They don’t speak it and don’t normally understand it...they understand 30%, 50% and mostly just get tired!” (322b). It is difficult enough for Americans to decipher the management literature in English: imagine if American students had to learn in Portuguese! This is reality for Brazil: “They already have difficulty reading Portuguese, much less English, understand?” (211a). Even if the material is fully understood, there are contextual problems: “The majority of examples are American, which is an absurd thing! Maybe this irritates me a bit” (412b).

Beyond hampering learning ability, this dependency on learning English limits in other ways. It is magnified by the inability to choose what knowledge to access. If someone in the management field does not speak English, for the most part they are limited to reading what is translated by others. Others either translate what they find interesting, relevant, or are paid to translate. This makes translated knowledge subject to non-academic, goal-oriented external motivations. One professor who mentioned this was 112b at UFBA, who said academics need to learn English: “...they only translate what interests them, and we end up being passed through another filter and thus we are subjected to a series of ideological questions also”. Another divided the academic world into those who at least read English and those who didn’t. “The professor that doesn’t read English is the professor who is outside, he can’t manage to stay up-to-date, he can’t keep up with what is happening in the area of Management...” One professor, a self-described nationalist who said she made a rebellious decision to learn French instead of

English, felt this ended up hindering her ability to convey her knowledge and participate in academic conferences. “It is a limit on going to conferences, because my ideas and to make myself understood and manage to disseminate things that I think” (211a).

As with all research oriented graduate programs, the management programs studied are highly focused on academic output: publication. “Because it does what CAPES demands. What we call the mother in law? Stepmother!” (321a) Demands from CAPES and CNPq for individual and program production have led to normative and coercive aspects that induce professors to publish more, especially in foreign and international journals. “From the institutional point of view, the institution gains more points if you publish in English...it is important because it theoretically can be read by more people, and gives access to Europe...” (112b). One consequence, likely intended, is a further mimetism of the American system. “Most systems are going towards the U.S. model because it proved to be more productive; because Ph.D.’s are supposed to research and publish and all that” (511a).

Many professors referred to the need to adopt different methodology in order to be published in the foreign and international journals. This includes much longer bibliographies, a definite quantitative bent, and even the use of comparative studies between Brazil and other countries, as studies focusing only on Brazil are not deemed as interesting. However, getting published in an international journal endows legitimacy on the professor, and a higher research rating by CNPq. This need for legitimacy is also shown in international academic relationships. Several professors, when asked, said that their universities gain recognition or legitimacy through having established and functioning exchange programs with prominent foreign universities. However, they also said that the respective foreign universities do not see any benefit concerning recognition or legitimacy coming from the relationship with the Brazilian university. In a manner of speaking, this is a one-way dependent relationship.

What truly emerged from the conceptualization is the dependency of Brazil’s management education is not only caused by American and European hegemony. It is just as attributable to current and historical educational and governmental policy. Professor 411b, an academic nationalist, had quite a bit to say about Brazil’s intellectual dependence:

“I think for the Dependency Theory, for example, that Brazil has a very strong, very important tradition in social thought. The intellectuals of the 1930-40’s, that started to discuss this and others even older...They were totally excluded from the discussion, this was for me the greatest harm caused by the military dictatorship except for the loss of human lives, which was also a great loss. The Brazil social thought that stayed suffocated during this period and the possibility for reflection, the generation that emerged is a generation that doesn’t know our own intellectual tradition that is extremely rich...I am not xenophobic or anything, and don’t want to prohibit anything, but only by understanding our country well can we manage to relate to others; if we don’t we’ll always submit.”

It is only partially true, and only for some areas, that there are no sources of Brazilian origin. Some professors, like 411b above, and 211a at UFMG, specifically pointed out that they go out of their way to use primarily Brazilian authors in their classes. There are some true literary giants in Brazilian social sciences, among them Cardoso, Furtado, Jaguaribe, and Ramos (Gaglietti, 2008; Gunder Frank, 2005). The great majority of what is published in management journals, as well as the classic theoretical texts, comes from the United States. But the Brazilian professors make the choice to use the material that is published there; that is disseminated from the core countries. They choose not to use material from peripheral countries, which, even if not published in an international journal or textbook, might be valid.

This leads to another area of intellectual dependency: distribution and dissemination of knowledge. Most of the academic journals, especially in management, come from the core

countries. According to virtually all of the professors interviewed, Brazilians have trouble publishing in these journals, primarily due to the language barrier. Therefore, the dissemination of knowledge is a one-way street, from the center to the periphery. This contributes to a severe trade-deficit in academic knowledge. The qualitative effect is debatable, but it is a reality.

Another reality is the nature of research in the peripheral countries, in this case, Brazil, is different than that of the core countries. Most of it is focused on imitating research disseminated from the core countries, often without reflection or contextualization. Professor 122b from UFBA dealt with this during his interview. “That the concepts and the theories from this area of social science cannot be transposed from another context, they have to have an adaptation...no one is paying attention and we are merely imitating what is done, primarily in the USA”. By not generating its own theory, and by not contextualizing or adapting what is adopted from the core countries, Brazilian management research remains in a dependent position, not interdependent. Again, CAPES and CNPq can be held responsible for much of this. The quantity of publication demanded is a factor because professors desire to churn out numerous articles. This favors “borrowing” an established framework from an existing published study, replacing the foreign subjects with Brazilian ones, and writing a new paper. This is simply the most expedient way to produce numerous articles, but ends up portraying Brazilian researchers as mimicking parrots.

On the other hand, by placing the incentive on publishing in foreign journals, Brazilian researchers find themselves limited in what they can research, and how. While it is debatable whether or not research topics are limited by foreign journals, it seems to be a reality that the methodology and research design are. This is because the foreign journals, because they are located in core countries, also have a primary audience of core country academics. What interests them is what is directly relevant to their reality. This conflicts with what is relevant to Brazilian reality in many cases. In order to get published, Brazilian researchers must make it of interest to the foreign readers, usually by choosing to undertake a comparative study.

In addition, as was uncovered during this study, and supported by the opinions of most of the interviewees, Brazilian researchers must partner with foreign researchers to gain access to these journals. This can be because foreign academics have more established networks and influence, or they help with the English composition. However, by relying on having a partnership, in which the Brazilian is generally the dependant partner, the Brazilian must sacrifice their autonomy in research decisions. Some might be better at negotiating their research relationships, but any relinquishing of intellectual autonomy is similar to a country giving up its sovereignty. The final effect is that any country where researchers must give up their autonomy, such as Brazil, is automatically placed in a less independent, and hence more dependent, position. The difference is that researchers from core countries, such as Brazilianists in the USA, have the *option* of developing research with partners, so they remain in an independent position.

CONCLUSIONS

The opinion of the author of this research is that Brazilian management education does exist in a state of intellectual dependence, but it is an evolving process, not a permanent state of being. The current and historical context of Brazilian management education has a direct influence on the nature of this dependency. Management education initially came about in Brazil due to a demand for trained managers to work for companies that were investing in factories, mostly in São Paulo. The fact that most of the companies were American definitely had an effect on the theories and techniques that were instilled in the pedagogy.

Management education in Brazil is also relatively young. The first undergraduate programs in the country were founded in the 1960’s with help from American universities. Most

of the graduate programs, specifically Ph.D. programs, are less than two decades old. Business programs have not had enough time to develop a critical mass of professors who hold Ph.D.'s, and only in the last decade has there been a significant impetus for academic research. These contextual elements strengthen the argument that dependence in this case is a process, one which will likely diminish over time. This will also change the nature of research by Brazilian professors, from one of imitation and application to one more oriented towards generating theory.

The idea that Brazilian management education is dependent is substantiated primarily because of the dominance of foreign literature, primarily American, which is used in Brazilian management programs. The literature and theories used are not exclusively American, especially in programs that include Public Management. These programs borrow heavily from France and England also. In business management as well, strategy as practice is widespread here in Brazilian graduate programs, even though it originated in Europe, but is uncommon in the USA. In addition, even though most literature is usually translated into Portuguese at the undergraduate level, it is almost invariably delivered to graduate students in English. The level and nature of graduate program dependency is dynamic and complex, and varies between universities.

For example, the author believes that, based upon the research results, the more internationalized a program becomes, the less dependent it is. This is a paradox that is based upon the nature of dependency. As long as the management programs are merely recipients of foreign management literature, theory and practices, the knowledge trade balance is 100% negative. However, the more the program internationalizes, the more the knowledge deficit can be reduced, because the connection becomes more two-way than one-way.

The conduit for this foreign influence, and the dependent relationship, is definitely the professors as individuals. This is true not only for foreign educated professors, but also Brazilian educated professors. Professors choose what didactic material they will use, and by choosing foreign literature over domestic, they enhance the dependent nature of their teaching style. As individual agents, professors are also responsible for establishing and maintaining international exchange programs and research networks. Institutions, such as the management program, do not have relationships with other institutions; these relationships are between agents, not structures.

Professors with foreign Ph.D.'s and those with Brazilian Ph.D.'s are accountable for maintaining and furthering intellectual dependence in different ways. For example, as professors act in an advisory capacity, they have great influence over where their charges decide to pursue a Ph.D. Foreign educated professors are more likely, as shown in this research and also via the analysis of endogamy levels, to push their students to study abroad, although not necessarily for complete Ph.D.'s. In a way this extends the dependence, because the students obtain an education that is removed from Brazilian reality, but at the same time they are made more capable of disseminating their own research. This enables them to reduce the overall trade deficit in knowledge after they graduate, return to Brazil, and begin to publish in international journals. They are also more likely to have extensive foreign research networks, which helps disseminate knowledge and also opens up doors for the students they advise.

On the other hand, professors with a domestic Ph.D. don't have the same networks, so their students cannot benefit from them in this way. They also are limited in their ability to understand foreign material in its native languages, because they normally have less fluency than their foreign educated counterparts. This results in their using teaching materials (i.e. literature) that they themselves might not fully understand, in terms of nuances and origins. Furthermore, due to this level of fluency, they are not able to discern whether or not their students fully understand the assigned literature; at least not to the same level a foreign PhD might. This

reduces their ability to mitigate any problems students have with the literature that go unvoiced; and too often, students remain silent when in doubt out of fear of appearing ignorant.

Therefore, it is a conclusion of this research that foreign educated professors reduce the levels of dependence in several ways. First, they are more capable of recognizing and questioning foreign influence in Brazilian management education. They also increase the foreign networks their universities and students can take advantage of, which reduce the one-way nature of the dependency. Furthermore, they are better able to publish in international journals, which directly reduces the trade deficit in knowledge. Eventually, given enough time and attention, the dependence should evolve into a more equitable interdependence.

Behind the scenes, but just as important, are CAPES and CNPQ policies. The policies that promote publishing in foreign journals might seem to reduce the intellectual trade deficit and dependence in the short term, but in effect it is limited in nature. That is because the research that does finally get published in foreign journals is forced to fit within the designated patterns and styles. This is true for language, topic, and research design. Therefore, whatever knowledge is produced in Brazil must pass through this filter before arriving in the hands of the readers, and automatically the nature of the research is altered. These policies might have a detrimental effect on Brazilian management education. This is because in the long run, Brazilian management journals will probably be further marginalized and become even less relevant both domestically and internationally. Thus, the journals where unadulterated Brazilian research might be published will be irrelevant, and Brazil will be even more dependent upon foreign journals.

This is by nature a path dependency of its own. If in the future, CNPQ and CAPES wish to change and focus on Brazilian management journals, they will need to return to them, revitalize them, and re-establish them as viable and scholarly. All of the time between now and then will be essentially lost, and the journals will more than likely go into decline during this period. It is the suggestion, that instead of primarily focusing on publishing in foreign journals because they are of a higher quality at the moment, CAPES and CNPQ should instead focus sincere efforts on bringing more Brazilian journals up to international standards.

The journals should also be made available in English, Spanish, and possibly other languages, such as Chinese (Mandarin), in order to reach the widest audience possible and disseminate Brazilian generated knowledge to its furthest extent. The English language should not be necessarily viewed as an aspect of neo-colonialism, but rather as a tool, such as a computer programming language. Computer programming languages also originate in the core countries, but are used by programmers worldwide, including those in developing countries, to produce original, useful and innovative software. The English language can likewise be used as a tool to reduce Brazil's intellectual trade imbalance.

As sovereign states, countries are supposed to have absolute control within their boundaries. The most difficult thing to control is the diffusion of ideas and knowledge. Historically, educational endeavors have been supported by the various countries as a tool a foreign policy. Brazil itself engages in this through hosting students from other Lusophone and Latin American countries. France and some other countries have gone so far as to enact laws that limit the amount of foreign material and language on television and radio. Is there any need for protection of education as well? Are imported research agendas, theories and practices threats to sovereignty? When one considers that in a developing country few people hold higher degrees, and those that do are by and large in positions of economic and political power, should a country allow their education to be largely controlled and constrained by foreign sources?

This study raised a few questions that could be answered by future research. Does Academic Dependence actually have negative consequences for Brazil? What are the long-term

effects of CAPES and CNPQ publication requirements? Are foreign educated professors in Brazil more capable of reducing the trade balance in academic knowledge?

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