EXPANDING HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: A CASE STUDY IN THE
ANGOLAN CENTRAL HIGHLANDS

BY

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ABSTRACT

Quality higher education of all types can greatly improve the lives of the people in the community served, but access to this education is not universal and is particularly limited in some areas of the Global South. The purpose of this study is to examine the goals, opportunities, and challenges surrounding ongoing attempts to establish a new tertiary institution in the rural central highlands of Angola, an area with no access to higher education. The case here is a specific institution, UniDondi, and the team of people who are working to fulfill a long-held dream of opening and operating a university at the Dondi Mission Station. Qualitative data was gathered primarily from the development committee, a group of approximately twenty leaders of IECA, a large Protestant denomination in Angola. This study examines their goals for the project along with their experience and perceptions of the opportunities and challenges they face opening this specific institution in this place. The study will situate UniDondi in both a global and local context by addressing the following broad questions as they apply to the case: How does the link between globalization and massification of higher education play out in the Global South? What aspects of globalization most directly affect the development of higher education and how do institutions respond? What impact do local forces have? And finally, in the current context, what are the challenges and possibilities for higher education in the Global South?

Quite simply, this study tells a story—a story that needs to be told to further our understanding of higher education in Angola specifically, and perhaps serve as an instructive example for countries that share characteristics with Angola, more generally.

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PREFACE

The weather is lovely much of the year in Angola. There are generous oil and water resources in the north and stunning landscapes in the rural areas. Though most of the wildlife was killed or driven off during the war, there are currently efforts underway to restore some of the previously abundant populations of land animals.

The capital, Luanda and environs, is home to more than one quarter of the country's population and is a bustling city of skyscrapers, hotels, airports, and urban life surrounded by neighborhoods crowded with small dwellings built of adobe bricks and sheet metal. Leaving Luanda on the main road, once you make it through the busy scene of cars, motorbikes, and people selling everything from pillows to pets, you can enjoy driving on a paved road through the open countryside, dotted with Baobab trees. The road is especially nice in Cuanza Sul, where it was improved before the last election. As you get further south, you need to stay alert for the enormous potholes, often being actively filled by children with shovels who hope you will stop and give them money for their hard work. There is a difficult detour through Dondo, and then around Waku Kungo you leave the Baobab trees behind and encounter rolling hills, beautiful and green during the rainy season, with interesting rock formations. The road from there to Huambo is more difficult. There are many spots where the road is not good, and you must always be careful to avoid the goats, pigs, and people of all ages walking along the edge.

Eventually you reach Huambo, the second or third largest city in the country, depending on whom you ask. This was originally "Nova Lisboa" and the Portuguese influence is easy to see in some of the buildings and boulevards. The Dondi Mission Station is about an hour drive east of Huambo, near the town of Cachiungo. The central highlands boast consistently mild

temperatures year-round. Most of the farming in the area is subsistence and the primary tool employed is the hoe. The electricity is unreliable in the city and often nonexistent in the rural areas. Some areas have running water but where there is none, women and small children, often carrying smaller children, can be seen retrieving water from wells and rivers.

Members of the educated class in Huambo generally have cell phones. There are two national carriers, Unitel and Movicel, and the government has a controlling interest in both companies. Every bit and byte is metered, except for Facebook; it is free. As a result of this arrangement, Facebook is the main way Angolans use the Internet. The digital divide is real and Covid19 made it even more obvious. Television and radio deliver most of the news and entertainment, primarily controlled by the one-party state, although Catholic radio provides an alternative perspective at times. There is no postal system and most places do not have addresses. It is possible, but certainly not easy, to have something delivered to someone in a large city. The carrier DHL does operate in Angola in a limited way. There is a library in Huambo, but it does not loan out any books. You may read something if you stay in the building.

Life in Angola is quite different in the cities than it is in the villages. People living in the cities are somewhat integrated into the formal economy, in at least a small way. They buy things at stores. They might have a government paycheck. They might have electricity and water provided by the government. They drive their cars, motor bikes, and ATVs on roads paved by the government. The villages, however, have dirt roads that wash out during the rainy season. People living in the villages are generally participating in the informal economy, selling produce at the roadside markets, but are unable to access government services other than possibly sending their children to a government school if they can walk the distance. Many of the villages still

operate with hereditary chiefs who direct much of rural life. The deprivation that exists in the rural areas is why there has been unchecked migration to the cities and why the development team for UniDondi emphasizes improving the lives of the rural people as one of the primary goals of the university. This is the context for the development of UniDondi.

CHAPTER 1: GLOBALIZATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Statement of the Problem

Almost 75 years ago, access to quality education, including higher education, was identified as a human right under Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Universal Declaration of Human Rights | United Nations, 1948). Although the initial focus of the work of the United Nations was on primary education, higher education gradually gained attention, perhaps due to the growing recognition of its role in economic development (Kimenyi, 2011). The opening sentence in a recent UNESCO publication reads, "Universal access to higher education (HE) is more than ever a key aspect of social justice and one of the main drivers of development in a country" (UNESCO, 2020, p. 5). The report goes on to say, "Limited access to higher education entails a host of other related social, political and economic problems. The road to economic growth and prosperity in the developing world will either stagnate or be bound to end altogether, if the progress from limited access to education does not succeed" (UNESCO, 2020, p. 46). Developing quality higher education and research capacity is one way to lessen existing global inequalities, both within and between countries (Kimenyi, 2011).

Quality higher education of all types, including vocational training, can greatly improve the lives of the people in the community served, but access to this education is not universal and is particularly limited in some areas of the Global South, a term, defined below, that is commonly used to indicate the lower income countries of the world that often suffer from political instability and lack of economic development. In the Global South, the demand for affordable, quality education greatly outstrips the supply (Stamm, 2017). Even in the face of this

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increased demand, many countries have cut back on public funding of higher education, further limiting access (Kwasi-Agyeman et al., 2020). The problem is clear. The Global South needs to develop its capacity for quality higher education. This is a difficult task for any country in the Global South given widespread challenges such as limited facilities, faculty, and funding (Lee, 2013). Yet if it is not done "the gap between the poor and rich will widen, leading to a rise in worldwide inequality, creating more global despair and conflict" (UNESCO, 2020, p. 46). In the name of world peace and social justice, the Global South and the Global North must work together to achieve access to higher education for all.

Background

One of the most significant and consequential features of higher education around the globe in the last century has been its massive expansion. Once the exclusive purview of the world's elites, higher education now faces such "massification" that enrollment by 2030 is predicted to be in excess of 400 million students world-wide (Altbach, 2016, p. 6). This expansion has been particularly noteworthy in the Global South. From 2000 to 2016, enrollment in higher education in sub-Saharan Africa increased nearly threefold while enrollment in South and West Asia more than tripled over the same sixteen-year period (Calderon, 2018). Even given this increase, sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest percentage of tertiary enrollment regionally at 10% (World Bank, 2021). The latest World Bank data from Angola, from 2019, reports tertiary enrollment at 11% (World Bank, 2021). While the expansion of higher education in the Global South is significant, there is still much more to be done if the region is to achieve parity with the Global North. In order to understand the impact of global forces on the development and current

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state of higher education in the Global South, it is important to consider the interplay of those global forces with national and local historical, political, social, and cultural contexts.

Institutions of higher education have long existed in many parts of the Global South, where they evolved from the needs of the societies in which they developed. (Kassaye Alemu, 2018; Peters, 2019). These institutions were ultimately disrupted and mostly replaced by Eurocentric institutions during the era of colonization (Alemu, 2018). Rather than emerging from within society, the new institutions were imposed from the outside. The colonial overlords used higher education to develop a group of Western educated elites that would cooperate with European goals, thus replacing traditional leaders and social systems (Woldegiorgis & Doevenspeck, 2013).

The higher education institutions of the Global South today are the descendants of the colonial era and are generally built on the model of "western disciplinary-based knowledges" (Robertson & Komljenovic, 2016, p. 596). These higher education systems that developed outside of and often in conflict with existing social norms and desires suffer from poor quality and a lack of legitimacy as they struggle to meet the needs of the people living in the areas they serve (Woldegiorgis & Doevenspeck, 2013). More recently, some faculty and students in the Global South, many from South Africa, have called for the decolonization of the university in an effort to overcome the current identity crisis, but that effort has been made more difficult by the increasing commercialization of the university and "complacent and complicit" academics (Mpofu & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020, p. 4). While student movements in South Africa such as #Rhodes Must Fall and #Fees Must Fall demonstrated a call for transformation, they did not achieve meaningful change and a lack of funding left institutions at the mercy of global forces

"that do not encompass the upliftment of communities or consider the indigenous values, culture, history and identity" of those institutions (Isaacs-Martin, 2020 p. 160). Despite this history and in the midst of these ontological and epistemological struggles, demand for higher education in the Global South is steadily increasing and consistently exceeds supply throughout the region (World Bank, 2021).

Definition of Terms

Throughout this paper, the designation "Global South" will be used to refer to the low-income countries of the world that often suffer from political instability and lack of economic development. Additionally, many of these countries are recovering from the ravages of the colonial era. The contrasting term, "Global North" will be used to refer to higher income countries. While it is true that these terms are commonly employed in this way in academic literature, it is also true that there are a variety of opinions on their use and usefulness, especially when referring to the Global South (Wolvers et al., 2015). The Global South is not, after all, an actual geographical location and its membership is fluid and varied, representing a variety of experiences. The term Global South, however, does have "great potential to consolidate and empower the various social actors that consider themselves to be in subaltern(ized) positionalities of global networks of power" (Kloß, 2017, p. 1). The concept is therefore useful as a tool for analyzing higher education through a postcolonial lens, a theory to be discussed in chapter two. For the purposes of this study, the term Global South will be useful as the research attempts to provide a platform for previously overlooked places and people doing the work of expanding access to higher education in underserved areas.

The increasing demand for higher education in the Global South is driven, at least in part, by the complex and often poorly defined force, globalization. Loosely, globalization refers to the increasing interconnectedness of economies, mobility of people, and sharing of information around the world (Rizvi & Lingard, 2000). In their influential and foundational effort to develop a systematic analysis of globalization in the late twentieth century, Daniel Held and his colleagues defined globalization as "a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions" (Held et al., 1999, p. 16). They went on to identify three schools of thought within scholarly debates on globalization: hyperglobalizers, sceptics, and tranformationalists (Held et al., 1999). Of these, the transformationalists argue that contemporary globalization is driven by a multiplicity of forces and is transforming social, political, and economic realities in a variety of different ways, dependent on more local and historically grounded circumstances. It is this complex, historically grounded definition and understanding of globalization that applies to the discussion of the development of higher education in the Global South that follows.

Globalization and Market Fundamentalism as a Force in Higher Education

After 1990, the ideological war between communism and capitalism seemed to conclude with capitalism emerging as the victor. Once the Cold War ended, neoliberal policies spread rapidly throughout the globe, bolstered by the work of international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank (Spring, 2008; Stiglitz, 2002). These policies emphasized market fundamentalism and the privatization of traditional government services and undermined the idea of higher education as a public good with social responsibility (Giroux, 2010). As this market-based approach to higher education gradually gained influence, and in the face of other funding

demands, many governments reduced their financial support for public higher education, especially in the developing countries of the Global South (Kwasi-Agyeman et al., 2020; Tilak, 2006).

The global force of market fundamentalism thus fueled a shift in public perception of the benefits of a college degree. The benefits of tertiary education today are increasingly seen as garnered by the individual, rather than society as a whole (Altbach, 2016). In this view, higher education enables the student to access the economic bounty that is available in the knowledge economy, a term often credited to Peter Drucker in the 1960s and loosely understood to mean the now global, technology-driven economy bolstered by knowledge and services rather than natural resources and physical labor (Carlaw et al., 2006). The individuals who earn the most money in such an economy are the knowledge workers-people who know things, rather than manual workers-people who do things. The danger here is that higher education becomes interchangeable with training and produces only "market-driven individual(s)" (Giroux, 2010, p.185). These economic incentives appear to be the force behind much of the increasing enrollment in universities all over the Global South (and Global North) while at the same time disincentivizing government funding.

If it is the individual rather than society that gains most from higher education, then it follows quite easily that the individual should be responsible for the costs of that education. Furthermore, according to this line of thinking, the market may provide higher education services more efficiently and effectively than the government. This justifies allotting a smaller percentage of government expenditures to higher education and increasing student tuition and fees (Altbach, 2016; Tilak, 2006). Tertiary institutions in the Global South have seen reduced

government funding throughout the twenty first century (Kwasi-Agyeman et al., 2020; Teferra, 2013). In Kenya, for example, universities are "on the brink of fiscal insolvency" due in part to "the failure of the market model, and decreased state support" (Munene, 2019, p. 25). India's funding shortages can be "explained partly in terms of government's fiscal capacity, but more importantly in terms of government's unwillingness to spend on higher education, as the government tends to believe it better that the higher education system is left to fund on its own through student fees, loans and increased involvement of corporate/private sector" (Tilak, 2019, p. 58).

In response to increased demand for higher education and reduced government funding, private, often for-profit tertiary educational offerings have expanded dramatically. According to Daniel Levy of SUNY Albany, "having grown greatly for decades, the private sector now holds a third (32.9%) of the world's total higher education enrollment" (Levy, 2018, p. 701). Levy goes on to demonstrate that this private enrollment concentrates mostly in developing regions. These forces in combination with the economic struggles inherent to much of the Global South today have created a challenging environment for the creation of a healthy and thriving climate for higher education. According to Philip Altbach, "Economic crisis, massification, and widespread acceptance of the private-good argument have led to a growing privatization of higher education worldwide, deterioration in conditions of study, problems for the academic profession, and the general impoverishment of academe. The austerity has been most crippling in sub-Saharan Africa…" (Altbach, 2016, p, 23). In practice market fundamentalism does not appear to benefit developing countries in the area of higher education nor economic development more broadly (Hickel et al., 2022). Neoliberal policies and market fundamentalism do not

necessarily lead to quality higher education for all and seem to be most damaging to the Global South (Altbach, 2016).

Globalization and Internationalization

Thus far this discussion has focused on globalization as a force in higher education driven primarily by the opportunities and demands of global capitalism. That is but one feature of globalization, however, and it is often contested by other forces. Recall the statement earlier that argued for a transformational understanding of globalization. That is, contemporary globalization is driven by a multiplicity of forces and is transforming social, political, and economic realities in a variety of different ways, dependent on more local and historically grounded circumstances. Jane Knight argued more than a quarter century ago, "Post secondary institutions have a key role in developing awareness, knowledge, and skills…so that they [graduates] are able to work and live in an environment that is both local and global" (Knight, 1994, p. 1). Preparation in the form of professional skills for one's role as an employee in a corporation or small business owner does not always overlap with preparation in the form of critical thinking skills for one's role as a citizen of the globe, yet higher education is often tasked with doing both. In a neoliberal environment, programs that emphasize global citizenship must also address the economic realities of privatization, commercialization, and competition (de Wit & Altbach, 2021). Universities have created a wide variety of international programs to meet this challenge and together these fall under the umbrella term "internationalization."

Internationalization in response to globalization is an active and evolving strategy for institutions in the Global North and the Global South and includes categories such as faculty and student exchange, collaborative research projects, branch campuses, joint degrees, and

international partnerships. These programs are designed to provide training and experience in global citizenship for students and faculty, while at the same time recognizing that they will do business in a global economy. From an institutional perspective, policy makers also hope that internationalization will provide new sources of funding and increase the institution's prestige (de Wit & Altbach, 2021). This may be especially true of higher education in the Global South where "more than 90% of institutions mention internationalization in their mission/strategic plan" (de Wit & Altbach, 2021, p. 36). Internationalization is therefore "both a reaction to and a driver for globalization" (Hauptman Komotar, 2019, p. 301). By preparing students and faculty to do business in a global economy, they naturally contribute to its growth.

For good or ill, world university rankings and the dominance of the English language have developed alongside the internationalization of higher education (Altbach, 2016). These two elements of the globalization of higher education are related. The neoliberal environment of the late twentieth century encouraged the development of higher education markets, and a primary feature of markets is competition (Robertson & Komljenovic, 2016). One manifestation of this competition in higher education has been the rise of rankings. No world rankings of universities existed prior to the twenty first century (King, 2009). Today we have four main global university rankings: the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) or Shanghai ranking, the Times Higher Education World University Ranking, the QS World University Ranking, and the EU sponsored U-Multirank. Research output figures prominently in the algorithms of all four and the majority of academic publications are in English. This, in turn, leads to demand for and dominance of the English language as the language of the academy (Altbach, 2016; King, 2009). This aspect of globalization puts many schools in the Global South at a distinct disadvantage. Institutions and scholars in English speaking countries have a clear

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advantage in the competitive global environment of world university rankings. In response, many non-English speaking countries in the Global South have greatly expanded their efforts to teach English (Altbach, 2016).

It is worth noting that the last few years have created some new challenges. Rising populism fueled by right-wing nationalism and the Covid-19 pandemic have created serious threats for higher education generally and internationalization specifically. While it is too soon to make any definitive judgements on the impact of the current global reality on higher education, we can learn something by reflecting on the last serious threat to internationalization: September 11, 2001. With a few years of hindsight, Fazal Rizvi argued that although initial fears had exaggerated the threat posed by the events of that day, some things had changed significantly. He identified the "new narrative of security" with its implications for student and faculty exchanges, the declining authority of the nation state, and the "antagonistic relationship between the West and Islam" (Rizvi, 2004). His first and last suggestions seem to have continued relevance today and rising nationalist populism could be seen, in part, as a response to the threat of his second observation. The lesson here, however, is that these tragic events did not bring an end to globalization or end all attempts at internationalization as some feared. In many important ways, the events of September 11, 2001, highlighted the need for renewed emphasis on education for global citizenship. Despite the many ongoing political and military conflicts of the moment, we might hope that educators and historians will one day draw a similar lesson from the events of today.

In their recent article on trends in higher education, Hans de Wit and Philip Altbach claim that "internationalization in higher education is entering a new phase" that calls for a shift from

"internationalization abroad to internationalization at home" (de Wit & Altbach, 2021, pp 43-44). Even as international travel resumes following the height of the pandemic, universities must redesign the curriculum to "stimulate global learning for all" through curriculum redesign and an emphasis on increasing the participation of previously excluded groups (de Wit & Altbach, 2021, p. 43). Global problems such as racism, climate change, raging inequality, and toxic nationalism necessitate renewed dedication to the values of international education such as "cooperation, peace and mutual understanding, human capital development, and solidarity" (de Wit & Altbach, 2021, p. 35). In order create a sustainable future for all, internationalization policy makers must resist neoliberal pressures toward competition and commercialization, emphasizing instead an education for global citizenship, even in the face of funding challenges. At the same time, remembering that the transformative effect of education for global citizenship, like all aspects of globalization, will be dependent on local and historically grounded circumstances, the impact will be greatest if educators in the Global South develop their own understandings of and curriculum for teaching values of cooperation and peace, rather than borrow the language of global citizenship from the Global North. Internationalization and "global learning for all" does not imply merely including the Global South in a narrative dominated by the Global North. In fact, the Global North will need to be held accountable in some way for the environmental degradation and gross inequality of our current world, a difficult undertaking for us all.

This increased emphasis on internationalization at home does not mean that other categories of internationalization are being abandoned. There is still much cross-national cooperation in research, at least in places with research level universities. According to a recent study of scientific collaboration between the United States and China, authors Lee and Haupt found that in spite of geo-political tensions and the ongoing pandemic, publications on both

Covid and non-Covid topics actually increased in 2021 over previous years (J. Lee & Haupt, 2021). And yet there are many places in the Global South that do not have the research capacity to join in such international ventures (Lee, 2013). Institutions in this situation may feel they have much to gain from international partnerships, a significant aspect of internationalization within higher education.

Since 2001, the American Council on Education has conducted a survey to gather data on internationalization on U.S. campuses every five years. The most recent survey was conducted in 2021 and showed evidence of accelerating internationalization in some areas, despite the pandemic (Soler et al., 2022). Overall, 30% of respondents indicated that their international partnerships continued at the previous level and 28% indicated increasing academic partnerships, while another 7% reported establishing international partnerships for the first time (Soler et al., 2022). These partnerships take many forms: joint degree programs, branch campuses, collaborative research projects, faculty and student exchange programs, and other creative relationships. Partnerships may involve not only universities, but also NGOs, foundations, religious organizations, local governments, etc. In addition to expanding opportunities for global citizenship education, international partnerships within higher education offer the possibility of new funding streams while simultaneously raising the prestige of the participating institutions (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Universities in the Global South in particular hope that international partnerships will, among other things, increase their research capacity, raise their overall status, and give them access to additional financial resources (Obamba & Mwema, 2009).

In fact, the potential benefits from international partnerships go far beyond the confines of higher education. The critical need for international partnerships of all kinds is acknowledged

in goal #17 of the Sustainable Development Goals established by the United Nations, which calls for international partnerships to help achieve all the goals by 2030. According to the United Nations, "strengthening multilateralism and global partnerships is more important than ever" (The Sustainable Development Goals Report, 2021). We must work together if we are to attain a more just, equitable, and sustainable world.

Initial Research Questions and Purpose of the Study

If massification is the one of the most significant features of higher education in the 21st century, how does the link between globalization and massification of higher education play out in the Global South? What aspects of globalization most directly affect the development of higher education and how do institutions respond? What impact do local forces have? In the current context, what are the challenges and possibilities for higher education in the Global South? These are the concerns that motivate this research. Following a more general discussion of institutional response to globalization, this study will go on to examine challenges and possibilities for higher education in one specific case, the development of a new institution in the central highlands of Angola, and consider the extent to which global, national, and local forces have influenced that development.

One theme of this research is that globalization drives demand for higher education in the Global South because the reordering of political, economic, and social spaces offers interesting and sometimes lucrative opportunities and many individuals, institutions, and societies would like to benefit from the new order. Higher education is seen as one way to access those benefits, although they are unevenly applied, and may even exaggerate or enhance existing inequalities given limited access in the Global South. The extent to which any particular society, institution,

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or individual garners benefits from globalization varies based on local circumstances and those, in turn, are the product of both historical and contemporary context. The purpose of this study is to provide a close examination of one specific context, UniDondi in Angola, although it may hold potential for a wider application to the Global South. The development team of UniDondi faces local, national, and global pressures, particularly in the areas of funding and leadership, as they pursue their goal of opening a school that they hope will one day become a research university.

As stated earlier, the Global North and Global South must work together to expand the capacity of and access to higher education in the Global South, and there have been many efforts to do just that. The literature is full of examples of somewhat successful but often disappointing case studies of North-South international partnerships at existing institutions and these will be examined in chapter two. Yet international partnerships are only one way institutions respond to the pressures of globalization. This study will offer a fuller case study examining the broader goals, strategies, and challenges of a new institution as it is being established, in both local and global terms. Opportunities for such a study only arise when a new institution with a social mission is being formed, and just such an event is happening in the Angolan highlands today.

Assumptions, Limitations, Delimitations

This is a single case study and therefore some might argue that its key limitation will be its lack of wider applicability. While this objection carries some truth, Robert Stake teaches us that, "We do not study a case primarily to understand other cases. Our first obligation is to understand this one case." (Stake, 1995, p. 4). This case study of expanding higher education in rural Angola rests on three key assumptions. First, expanding quality higher education

contributes to both individual wellbeing and the greater good of society. Second, quality in education can be measured and improved through research. In this way, research in education contributes to the global goals of peace and justice. Finally, to achieve these goals, all voices must be heard, and all experiences acknowledged. There are no insignificant spaces; there are no insignificant people.

This study, then, is limited to understanding the global and local forces at work in this one case: the development of a tertiary institution at the Dondi Mission Station in the central highlands of Angola. Written in English for an English-speaking audience, there is plenty of work to be done in simply listening to and understanding the challenges, goals, and opportunities facing the people involved in this project, one that is far removed from the focus of most English-speaking people. In as much as Angola shares some features with its neighbors in sub-Saharan Africa, other case studies may carry lessons for their project, just as the work at Dondi may hold lessons for those that follow. Yet it is enough to have projected the voices of these people working to expand higher education in a previously underserved part of the world. We need to hear this story.

Outline

This dissertation consists of five chapters. The first chapter provides a brief overview of higher education in the Global South with a focus on globalization and internationalization. The second examines higher education and globalization within the Angolan context and introduces the subject of this case study: a new institution that will initially go by the name of ISP Dondi, indicating its opening status as a polytechnic institution, to be called UniDondi once it achieves the long hoped for status of a university. This case study will use the name UniDondi for the

institution throughout the text, as that is the name given to it by the development team. The second chapter also briefly examines how this case study fits into theories of globalization and postcolonialism. The third chapter presents the methodology of the study, while the fourth and fifth chapters offer findings and discussion of the forces surrounding the development of UniDondi.

Conclusion

The Global South is not homogenous. Neither is the Global North. Needs vary within each, but some generalizations are possible. As discussed above, limited access to higher education is a problem more prevalent in the Global South, and it is a problem that creates many associated risks. Although demand for enrollment is high, many tertiary institutions in the Global South are unable to meet that demand due to challenges such as limited funding, inadequate facilities, and few qualified faculty. Private, profit-seeking institutions are increasing to meet the demand, but they suffer from poor quality control. The associated risks of limited access to higher education are serious. Without an educated populace, economic activity stalls, inequality expands, and tensions increase. In a globally connected world, these troubles should be everyone's concern.

The forces of globalization create both costs and benefits. For higher education, some of the benefits can be accessed through internationalization. International partnerships, for example, offer opportunities to expand knowledge and access new resources. With increased funding, more trained faculty, and improved facilities, universities in the Global South would be able to offer solutions to social problems in the regions they serve. In the interest of social justice and

world peace, policy makers everywhere must focus their efforts on building higher education capacity in the Global South.

The new institution at the Dondi Mission Station in the central highlands of Angola represents an important effort to offer higher education opportunities to a previously underserved area. This case study is significant in that, by documenting the development of this institution, its successes and failures, a record will be created of the goals, challenges, and opportunities as experienced by the leaders of the project. This record may be unique, and yet it may also provide valuable insights for others in the Global South facing somewhat similar challenges while working to capture the benefits available through the globalization of higher education. This case study will provide an example of one way that global and local forces interact amidst a project to expand higher education opportunities in the Global South. In the end, it will be one set of answers to the questions: How does the link between globalization and massification of higher education play out in the Global South? What aspects of globalization most directly affect the development of higher education and how do institutions respond? What impact do local forces have? In the current context, what are the challenges and possibilities for higher education in the Global South?

CHAPTER 2: EXPANDING HIGHER EDUCATION IN ANGOLA

Introduction

Angola gained its independence rather abruptly from Portugal in 1975 and the resulting power vacuum produced 27 years of civil war. This devastating conflict, the last proxy war of the Cold War in many ways, only ended in 2002. The country is still working to rebuild. During the civil war, most educational institutions in Angola ceased to function. Higher education did not expand much beyond Luanda until a 2009 governmental decree provided guidelines for its growth and diversification (Conselho de Ministros, 2010). Although this effort did increase higher education options, the entire educational structure was still focused in urban, coastal areas and based on the colonial framework that had been established to produce Angolan leaders and workers for the sole purpose of facilitating the extraction of resources for the colonial powers in the twentieth century.

Shortly after the civil war ended, the United Church of Christ (UCC), a Protestant denomination in the United States, and *Igreja Evangélica Congregacional em Angola* (IECA), a much larger Protestant denomination in Angola, re-established their long-standing relationship. This case study grew out of that partnership, known in the United States as the Angola Partnership Team (APT) of the Illinois Conference of the United Church of Christ. In July of 2016, two members of the APT were asked to attend a planning meeting for the creation of a new university in the central highlands of Angola at the Dondi Mission Station. This was actually the second attempt to establish such an institution, a long-held dream of the people of IECA. The institution is referred to as UniDondi by its leadership team, although the government has named it ISP Dondi, and that meeting provided the initial motivation for this study.

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According to the IECA leadership at the meeting, the primary reasons for the development of UniDondi were "citizenship development, student and staff development, and enhanced quality of higher education offerings." Their plan was and still is to develop a rural university that will create a new generation of national leaders capable of alleviating some of Angola's economic, political, and social problems. The leaders of IECA face significant challenges in carrying out this complex task. There are many obstacles to launching and maintaining such a project in the current global and national climate. As of October 2023, the school is not yet admitting students, although there are several buildings in place, and more being constructed. This study will provide a close examination of the creation and development of an institution of higher learning in the post-colonial, globalized context that is Angola.

Description of Literature Review

There is very little literature on higher education in Angola. Researchers interested in Angola must consider the applicability of literature on higher education in the Global South more broadly, especially those studies that focus on sub-Saharan Africa. While each of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa has its own story, strengths, and challenges, they share a history of colonialism and oppression that has limited access to higher education for most of the population. The literature that does exist mostly examines the successes and shortcomings of programs, policies, and partnerships at existing institutions. A case study of the goals and challenges involved in the initial formation of an entirely new institution such as this one would not only fill a gap in the literature but could be followed up with a variety of studies as the institution matures. This research would benefit policymakers, administrators, and faculty as they develop strategies to overcome local challenges and broader inequalities.

While there is a dearth of information published on higher education in Angola, there is even less published in English on the development of higher education in Angola with respect to global forces. Additionally, most of what is available is focused on Luanda to the exclusion of the rest of the country. The literature examined here includes what little is available on higher education in Angola and the relevant Angolan context in the form of peer reviewed articles, policy papers and reports, dissertations, government publications, and even some news articles. It is interesting to note that reports significantly outnumber peer reviewed articles of any kind. This reinforces Molla's argument that African higher education policy is deeply influenced by the World Bank and various consultants from the Global North who exercise their power through "knowledge-based policy regulatory instruments" (Molla, 2019, p. 343). Despite the relative abundance of these formal, rather aspirational reports, statistics from Angola are difficult to find and when available, are often unreliable. Because there is so little published in peer reviewed journals on Angola, some of the discussion relies on studies set in other countries of the Global South but focusing on sub-Saharan Africa. Literature on globalization of higher education in the Global South more generally is included when it is relevant to the topic at hand.

This chapter foregrounds discussion of the development of research questions for this study and analyzes how theories of postcolonialism and globalization apply to the current case. Once this framework for the case study is set, the chapter provides a brief overview of education policy research on sub-Saharan Africa broadly, followed by a summary of the political and economic situation in Angola before moving on to a description of the development of higher education in the country, along with its efforts toward internationalization. This is provided as context for the case.

The Role of Theory and Research Question Development

This is an intrinsic case study in the style of Robert Stake (Stake, 1995) It is intrinsic in that the researcher has an intrinsic interest in the case. The case is UniDondi, the institution itself that has been in development for the past decade. The job of the researcher, then, is to understand the case. To understand the case, we must understand the context—the social, political, economic, and historical setting for the institution. According to Stake, "the more the case study is an intrinsic case study, the more attention needs to be paid to the context" (Stake, 1995, p. 64). We must come to know this particular institution in this particular place. The real work, then, "is particularization, not generalization" (Stake, 1995, p. 8). This case study has as its primary foundation, a constructivist worldview. That is, the findings will be "formed through participants and their subjective views" (Creswell & Clark, 2018, p. 78). In order to learn about UniDondi the institution, the researcher will examine the hopes and dreams, goals and challenges, frustrations and successes of the people working to bring it into existence.

The study is not driven by theory directly, but the theories loosely held by all participants, including the researcher, will appear in the final analysis. Both theories of globalization and postcolonial theories have influenced the research questions and will provide some direction for the discussion and analysis.

Edward Said, often called the father of postcolonialism, was of Palestinian descent, trained in the Western canon, and argued that the dominant narrative of the "Orient was almost a European invention" (Said, 1978, p. 9). Said and many others, including Gayatri Spivak who later denounced her connection to the field of postcolonialism, devoted their careers to giving voice to the voiceless "subaltern" populations of the Global South (Spivak, 2021). They

challenged the dominant narrative of the colonial, capitalist West by presenting alternative ways of seeing, knowing, and understanding both past and the present realities. A full discussion of postcolonial theory is beyond the scope of this paper and in fact, takes us away from the primary task of understanding the case, but it must be noted that while it would seem reasonable to argue that this study is postcolonial in nature, given its location and participants, postcolonial studies in general have been criticized for neglect and oversimplification of the African experience (Zeleza, 2007). African scholars argue that Africa has always been central to, not outside of, the development of the "West" and that postcolonial theory has often been used "as a discursive weapon of containment against rebellious minority intellectuals" (Zeleza, 2007, p. 104). In short, postcolonialism has been adapted in a variety of ways by various disciplines, including education, but is not one consistent theory. In this way, postcolonialism has entered the mainstream and provides many and contested ways one can analyze any case and will only be used to the extent that it highlights, rather than contains, minority intellectual arguments.

The researcher employing a postcolonial lens must confront the nature and origins of postcolonial theory itself. Postcolonial theory arose in literary studies and is employed widely in the academic circles of the West, along with poststructuralism and postmodernism (Crossley & Tikly, 2006). There is some irony, then, in claiming to emancipate higher education from Western hegemony through the application of a Western theoretical framework. Postcolonialism requires a reframing of the dominant narrative, in this case a narrative of the development and purpose of education, but just how that narrative is reframed should be determined by the formerly colonized people themselves. Rather than insist on a rejection of all that they perceive as colonial, an open-minded researcher accustomed to a postcolonial lens must accept that there are many different ways the colonial story was experienced and is told by those who lived

through it. If we are to hear the voices of the formerly colonized people, we must not assume we know where they should begin or what they should say. We should not assume that the colonial experience is the pivotal moment upon which their history is situated. UniDondi has its own unique story, and this study seeks to understand that story and share it with a wider audience.

In an article examining postcolonial perspectives in comparative education, Crossley and Tikly contend, "One of the strengths of comparative education, however, is that it has always sought to show how a project like colonial education, rather than being an homogenous and monolithic entity, has been perceived and experienced in quite different and contradictory ways in different parts of the world" and they go on to say "postcolonial approaches draw attention to previously under-researched areas within the education literature whilst providing an epistemological challenge to existing theoretical frameworks and perspectives" (Crossley & Tikly, 2006, p. 150). Although not comparative in nature, this case study will explore the goals, challenges, and possibilities for higher education in rural Angola, an under-researched area, as perceived and experienced by a group of church leaders working to expand access to higher education for their fellow Angolans. Whether or not it results in an epistemological challenge remains to be seen, but any application of a postcolonial lens will be applied only inasmuch as it brings the case into focus.

Theories of postcolonialism and globalization are related. According to Joel Spring, "postcolonial analysis sees globalization as an effort to impose particular economic and political agendas on the global society that benefit wealthy and rich nations at the expense of the world's poor" (Spring, 2008, p. 334). A good example of this is the earlier discussion of how European colonizers disrupted existing higher education in the Global South and created new institutions

that would serve their own purposes. Postcolonialism is an emancipatory theory that takes a

"stance in favor of underrepresented or marginalized groups" (Creswell & Clark, 2018, p. 89).

Returning to the case, whom will UniDondi serve? This case study will attempt to highlight the

ways in which formerly colonized people in Angola are shaping higher education in their region

to meet local needs, while acknowledging the influence of the current global context in which

they operate.

Theories of postcolonialism necessarily involve globalization, for without the power of

Western hegemony to create the dominant narrative, postcolonial perspectives would not have

developed in response, at least not in the same way. As such, theories of globalization will also

shape the analysis of the case study. As mentioned in chapter one, Held et al. published a

foundational work on theories of globalization in which they sorted arguments within

globalization studies into three categories, or schools of thought, in order to understand the

impact of globalization and to systematize the use of the term, making it more useful as a tool of

analysis (Held et al., 1999). According to the authors, each of these schools of thought

emphasized different causal dynamics, socio-economic consequences, and historical trajectories.

While hyperglobalizers maintained that globalization had produced a new age of global

capitalism that signaled the demise of the nation state, the sceptics argued that globalization in

the form of expanding markets was real, but the nation state remained as its manager,

accompanied by growing nationalism and fundamentalism (Held et al., 1999). Most useful for

our purposes, Held et al. identified a third group, the transformationalists, who emphasized that

contemporary globalization was driven by a multiplicity of forces and was transforming social,

political, and economic realities in a variety of different ways, dependent on more local

circumstances. In this new era, sites of power were increasingly diffused among public and

private agencies, at times oceans apart (Held et al., 1999). Economic, social, and political activities, education among them, were "increasingly 'stretched' across the globe…they may be rooted in particular locales but territorially disembedded" (Held et al., 1999, p. 28). The transformationalists recognize that the impact of globalization is complex and varied, not felt equally by people everywhere, and often leads to outcomes with both positive and negative qualities. This understanding of globalization is most useful for the analysis and discussion of the development of higher education in a particular place because every space has its own social, political, and economic influential factors that extend beyond pure market forces.

Recent work by Robertson and Dale in the transformationalist line of thinking calls for researchers examining the relationship between globalization and education to critically consider the interconnection of cultural, political, and economic elements of the "education ensemble" and the way in which those elements are shaped by, respond to, and influence global forces. (Robertson & Dale, 2015, p. 149). This method encourages a more nuanced approach to any analysis of the globalization of education by recognizing the complexity and fluidity of global forces and the interplay of those forces with key elements within education, especially in its role as a means of social reproduction (Robertson & Dale, 2015, p. 150). As a critical approach, this merges well with postcolonial theory as it requires a critical analysis of any dominant narrative of the goals and outcomes of the globalization of higher education. The call to remain cognizant of the cultural, political, and economic complexity of any educational project will influence the analysis here.

Part of the complexity of this case is the way in which the globalization of education intersects with the particular history and memory of the participants. Postcolonial does not imply

that the colonial era no longer retains influence or that its influence has been completely rejected. In fact, the colonial era continues to influence many parts of the world and is not always or entirely rejected by the formerly colonized people themselves. In this case study, the participants are the Angolan leaders of IECA, a group of professionals and religious leaders, people primarily from an Ovimbundu background who are themselves part of a church that is an expression of globalization. While their North American influenced Christianity did not always or even often benefit the indigenous peoples directly, it did emphasize formal education, thus allowing the development of an Angolan leadership structure that was eventually used against Portuguese colonial rule (Burlingham, 2017; Peclard, 1998). This will be explored in more detail later in this chapter.

As stated in chapter one, the initial concerns that motivated this research were as follows: How does the link between globalization and massification of higher education play out in the Global South? What aspects of globalization most directly affect the development of higher education and how do institutions respond? What impact do local forces have? In the current context, what are the challenges and possibilities for higher education in the Global South? The specifics of this case created additional questions for the researcher: How can the creation of a new university possibly be accomplished given the limited resources of the sponsoring institution? What do they hope to achieve given the political and economic realities within Angola? The doubts of the researcher, however, are not where a case study highlighting the voices of the participants should begin. The goal here is to understand how the Angolans view and experience the process, therefore the research begins with questions for participants and then the researcher can aggregate and analyze the responses to understand the case. This is, perhaps, a variation on what Stake refers to as "progressive focusing" (Stake, 1995, p. 9). In the simplest

form possible, the questions for the participants of this study and thus the questions that will

provide the data needed for this case study are:

> 1. What aspirations do the participants hold for the future of UniDondi, a new tertiary institution in the central highlands of Angola?
>
> 2. What challenges have they encountered, or do they believe they will encounter in carrying out this project? How can those challenges be overcome?
>
> 3. Which goals are the most important and which challenges seem the most daunting in this process?
>
> 4. How have international partners helped the project? What has been difficult in dealing with international partners?

In truth, it was globalization and postcolonialism that brought us together, the researcher

and the participants of this case study. A globalized Christianity provided the initial connection

and postcolonial desires, that is the desire to challenge dominant narratives of who we are and

what is possible, brought us to this project. The task at hand is to understand this particular case,

the development of UniDondi. What follows is a very brief overview of education policy

research in sub-Saharan Africa to preface a more detailed discussion addressing the Angolan

context of the UniDondi project in light of and relying upon available literature.

Brief Overview of Education Policy Research on Sub-Saharan Africa

Much of the research easily found on the topic of education policy in sub-Saharan Africa

appears in the form of reports from organizations like UNESCO or the World Bank, or from

smaller regional groups. These reports, while informative, are often carried out by international

development agencies organized to expand and improve higher education in the area but are

sometimes criticized for "inadequate contextualization of global policy orthodoxies to African

conditions" (Molla & Cuthbert, 2018, p. 250). Despite their short-sighted consideration of

context, these publications carry authority due to the appearance of legitimacy and "symbolic power" especially those produced by international organizations outside of the region and dominated by countries of the Global North (Molla, 2019). These agencies gather data and generate statistics primarily to inform policy. Policy implementation itself, however, is often complicated by more national and local contexts in all areas of education (Neuman & Devercelli, 2012; Okoli, 2014).

Much has been written about the publishing privilege of the Global North and the challenges faced by those who wish to increase access and visibility for researchers in the Global South (Collyer, 2016; Mitchell et al., 2020). Recent developments in open access journals and self-publishing options have opened up opportunities for scholars everywhere and with this overall increase in the volume of publications, research focused on sub-Saharan Africa has increased, as well, though it still lags other regions and suffers from overgeneralization (Mitchell et al., 2020; Zeleza, 2012). Research disseminated through peer reviewed journals and related publications is often the product of collaboration and case studies, and as such, should be able to address mutual concerns and local needs, but coverage is unbalanced across the sub-Saharan region with a majority of the publications coming from South Africa and Nigeria (Mitchell et al., 2020).

This case study references education policy research in the broader sub-Saharan region whenever it is applicable to the Angolan context. That research typically falls into three categories or areas of concern: limited funding and facilities; lack of incorporation of indigenous knowledge; and the opportunities and frustrations provided by international partnerships. The relevant research emphasizes that education policy, often based on assumptions and priorities of

the Global North, has allowed education to suffer from limited funding under austerity measures (Kwasi-Agyeman et al., 2020; Munene, 2019). Likewise, indigenous knowledge systems have been ignored or neglected (Isaacs-Martin, 2020; Mpofu & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020; Nombuso Dlamini, 2008) And finally, while international partnerships might help with the problem of limited resources, the inherent power imbalances often result in misaligned priorities and disappointing outcomes. (Collins, 2014; Ishengoma, 2016; Teferra, 2014). This is discussed in greater detail below.

The Angolan Context

The historical context for the development of Angola's current higher education system and UniDondi's position within it requires some elaboration. In Angola during the colonial era, as elsewhere in areas colonized by Europeans, education was often initiated and maintained by religious organizations with the cooperation of the colonial administration. While the Portuguese and the Catholic Church controlled much of the educational system in the north and along the coast, the Portuguese had less control of the area inland and to the south. In negotiations with other European powers around the Berlin Conference, the Portuguese recognized the claims of other Christian organizations setting up mission stations in the south and inland. One of those mission stations was the Dondi Mission, established in the early 20th century in the Angolan highlands by Protestant missionaries from the United States and Canada, specifically Congregationalists (Burlingham, 2011). This is where the facilities for UniDondi are currently being built.

As a global force, Christian missionaries and the mission schools they established influenced culture, politics, and economics in ways they did not anticipate. Kate Burlingham is

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one of the few American scholars exploring the history of the Congregational missions in Angola. Her work complicates the narrative of white missionaries working together with European colonizers to control Black Africans and Black African labor (Burlingham, 2011). Burlingham points out that the Congregationalist missionaries from Canada and the United States who were working in Angola, while still thoroughly paternalistic in their attitudes, actually assisted the Angolans in resisting the control of the Portuguese state (Burlingham, 2017). As demand increased for the educational and medical services offered by the Congregationalists, Angolans who grew up in the early foreign missions took over leadership roles in what would become the Igreja Evangélica Congregacional em Angola (IECA). By the second half of the twentieth century, these Protestant Angolans would use their organizational expertise and established power structures to help accomplish the goal of creating an independent Angolan state (Burlingham, 2017). In fact, the leaders of the various factions in the civil war that was to follow independence from Portugal were each educated in these "rebel" mission stations (Peclard, 1998).

The Angolan civil war, itself a product of both global and more local forces, created a division within the country that still impacts political, social, and economic interactions today. The Angolan civil war did not fit the typical model of rebellion against a state, but rather was a war fought between two groups, each posing as the state and each fighting for political legitimacy (Pearce, 2012). This clash between the MPLA (*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*) with Soviet and Cuban support in the north and UNITA (*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola)* with support from the United States and South Africa in the south, eventually became a complex proxy war that dragged on more than a decade after the Cold War ended. According to Justin Pearce, senior lecturer at Stellenbosch University, South

Africa, the division was primarily political, not ethnic, with both sides seeking to form states, both sides creating political identities and claiming civilian support for the right to wield the state monopoly on violence (Pearce, 2012). Eventually the MPLA's claim to legitimacy won out. The war ended in 2002 with the death of the leader of UNITA, but some aspects of that internal division remain, with more resources, including access to education, dedicated to the area around Luanda in the north and MPLA allegiance an unofficial requirement for career advancement. After the war, UNITA became the dominant opposition party in the country with most of its support still centered in the south. Even today, the MPLA controlled government views IECA, also centered in the south but expanding its influence nationally, as generally supporting UNITA. This ongoing tension forms part of the political context of this case.

The context of the case goes beyond tension between political parties. Given the history of violence from both the colonial era and the civil war era, it is no surprise that Angola finds itself ranked as the 35th most fragile state out of the 179 countries on the Fragile States Index compiled annually for the past seventeen years by the think tank Fund for Peace (Fund for Peace, 2022). It must be noted that the concept of the "failed state" has been rightly criticized as yet another example of comparing African states with those in the West based on static, European values (Hill, 2007). The position of Angola as a fragile state is relevant here, however, because, as Leon Tikly points out, fragile states are "much more susceptible to global forces that those of wealthier countries" (Tikly, 2001, p. 165). The mechanisms for this susceptibility include organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In its quest to consolidate power and rebuild the country after the civil war, the MPLA quickly abandoned its communist veneer and welcomed support from global organizations of all

types. As a result, the Angolan people have suffered at the hands of the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and the IMF, especially women in rural areas (Ibnouf, 2008). This is due, as Tikly suggests, to "a full-frontal attack on state provision (whilst maintaining support for elites)" (Tikly, 2001, p. 165). While the people continued to suffer, the elites in Angola learned to siphon off wealth in order to maintain power and this has had consequences for the educational sector. Tikly's description of this process fits the Angolan context well:

> …the state has proved a key mechanism for accumulation and the emergence of national and global elites as well as for the maintenance of the status quo. Access to state power gives access to material and cultural resources which can be mobilised to alter the domestic power relationship. A job in the public service also carries a salary, which even if modest and paid irregularly is no trivial thing, and can be used to invest in other economic activities. Holders of positions of power can also use their position to demand goods, cash and labour without recourse to violence and can supplement their salaries with bribes (practices that have their origins in colonial times). Education plays a key role in all of these mechanisms. (Tikly, 2001, p.164).

Access to and control of education easily translates into political power.

Lynn Davies, a researcher from the University of Birmingham published a study in 2011 on capacity building in the Angolan education system. While in Angola, she witnessed and documented blatant cases of corruption and fraud within the system, but she found that Angolan educators preferred to keep quiet and cooperate rather than make any attempt at systematic improvements (Davies, 2011, p. 162). She concluded that in fragile contexts like Angola, a vicious cycle develops whereby the people cannot trust the state to provide a decent education and therefore the education system becomes powerless to encourage healthy change in the political system (Davies, 2011, p. 161). And while it has already been stated that the evaluation of the state as "fragile" is another form of evaluating Angola based on European values, some of

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those values are fully shared by the Angolan people themselves, as evidenced by their own testimony demonstrated in chapter four.

According to the United Nations Human Development Index (UNHDI), Angola is in the lowest range of the "medium human development," ranked 148th out of 191 countries evaluated (United Nations, 2021). Some of Angola's political and economic problems have been blamed on the "resource curse" theory discussed in the field of economics (Auty, 1993). In short, the resource curse is a commonly discussed paradox in economics whereby countries with rich natural resources such as oil or diamonds (Angola has both) often find themselves near the bottom of the human development index, burdened with staggering levels of poverty. One suggestion is that these countries experience huge revenues that drive up exchange rates, making other sectors such as agriculture or manufacturing less competitive in the global marketplace (Humphreys et al., 2007). This might not be a problem if the resulting revenues were invested in public services or infrastructure, but in Angola, they are mostly siphoned off by the governmental elite (Amundsen, 2014). Some economists, Buitelaar (2001) and Davis (1995) among them, have emphasized that the natural resources themselves are not responsible for the economic crisis in these countries (as cited in García-Rodríguez et al., 2015, pp 160-161). Most agree that the problem behind what looks like a resource curse in the case of Angola and other countries like it can instead be blamed on failed institutions and faulty decision making (Amundsen, 2014; García-Rodríguez et al., 2015). Of course, another way to interpret Angola's place on the UNHDI is to note that it has shown steady increase over the past two decades, only dipping slightly in the most recent three years (United Nations, 2020). Regardless of whether one emphasizes the failure or the success of human development within Angola, there is more

progress that the people of Angola would like to see, especially given the vast wealth that the country has access to in the form of crude oil.

It is clear that Angola's participation in the global economy overall has created vast wealth that has been used primarily to enrich the political elite (Eligon, 2022). Inge Amundsen is a senior researcher at the Chr. Michelsen Institute, an NGO based in Norway that does significant work in Angola. In a 2014 article, Amundsen explored how the resource curse theory could best be understood in the case of Angola. Amundsen clarified the ways in which Angolan institutions of extraction, those which gain the rents from the natural resources, remain strong, while the institutions of redistribution, those which take that money and translate it into public services, continue to be weak. Public services, such as higher education, suffer as a result (Amundsen, 2014). This is not surprising when one considers the fact that the institutional structures in Angola today were inherited from the colonial era and were originally built for exactly that purpose: extraction without redistribution.

In order improve in the area of human development, Angola needs systemic reforms in all sectors, including education. In fact, it needs to develop new habits and modes of operation in the country as a whole, but those habits and practices must develop from within. Davies identified Singapore as a country that managed to transition from a fragile state to a stable, thriving, educationally competitive state by eliminating corruption from the top-down. In her conclusion, Davies suggested that any attempt at educational reform in Angola would need to proceed in the same fashion, but it must target people who have the power and incentive to initiate or block change as needed (Davies, 2011, p. 177). That means finding people with power who do not rely on or are willing to give up their benefits from the current system.

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UniDondi will be located in the central highlands, a former UNITA stronghold, and if current plans bear out, will be operated by Igreja Evangélica Congregacional em Angola *(IECA),* a Protestant denomination of more than one million members historically centered in the south and therefore associated with UNITA. As a result of this position outside the established national power base, both politically and geographically, the leaders of IECA hope to begin the work of initiating change as they develop UniDondi, but they face challenges. Regardless of funding sources, they will need final approval from the MPLA controlled government that has been in power since the end of the civil war and recently survived an election challenge in 2022. It will be valuable to learn from its leaders their views on the possibilities and challenges provided by the creation of UniDondi.

The Development of Higher Education in Angola

Higher education in Angola today has colonial origins. The *Universidade Agostinho Neto*, set up originally by the Portuguese as the *Estudos Gerais Universitarios de Angola* in 1962, was the only functioning university in the country during the colonial era. Portugal withdrew abruptly from Angola in 1975, leaving three major factions, later reduced to two, struggling for control of the independent Angolan state. The civil war continued for twenty-seven years. During the early years of the civil war many educational institutions in Angola ceased to function, although aid from Cuba, including teachers, did maintain some access to education in the area around Luanda in the north (Hatzky, 2005). In the later years of the civil war, the renamed university opened branches in the major coastal cities but served only a fraction of the population (Langa, 2013). Private universities also began to open. The first private university was set up by the Catholic Church in 1992 and began operations in 1999 (Carvalho,

2012). Over the next ten years sixteen additional private institutions opened to serve the urban populations (Carvalho, 2012; Langa, 2013).

The largest numerical increase in institutions began after a government reorganization of higher education in 2009 (Conselho de Ministros, 2010). The Council of Ministers, Decree No 90/09 of 15 December was designed to expand and diversify higher education (Conselho de Ministros, 2010). This 2009 decree dictated the organizational and curricular requirements for any new institution of higher learning in Angola and remains one of the most important documents outlining the operation of an educational institution in Angola today (Langa, 2013). A second significant government decree was issued in 2016, but so far has changed little from the 2009 document, mainly because the guidelines outlined in more recent legislation have not been put into practice. As one recent study put it, "In practice, compliance with these guidelines is not enforced" (Cangue, 2021, p. 6). One important change since the 2009 decree was the establishment in 2017 of the Ministry of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation of Angola as a separate ministry from the Ministry of Education. Higher education policy is now determined independently from primary and secondary education, but the structure of the system of higher education itself still reflects what was established in the 2009 decree.

Decree 90/09 details the structure and requirements for any institution of higher education opening and operating in Angola. According to this policy document, the purpose of higher education is to benefit the state economically, that is, higher education should contribute to "the global strategy of reconstruction and development in order to meet the needs of the economy" (Conselho de Ministros, 2010, p. 1). This language mirrors the World Bank's emphasis at the time, that is, higher education for economic development, an emphasis that was a

shift from its earlier focus on basic education, which it initially characterized as having greater return on investment (Molla & Cuthbert, 2018; Obamba, 2013; Teferra, 2013). Indeed, the World Bank has been one of the global forces affecting education policy throughout the Global South and has received much criticism for its role in hindering growth with policies purported to aid in development (Molla & Cuthbert, 2018; Stiglitz, 2002).

As a global force shaping educational policy in aid-recipient countries of the Global South, the World Bank and other international organizations exercise power in both overt and subtle ways. According to Tebeje Molla, an Australian researcher, the World Bank exercises "a veiled dominance in the policy process and avoid[s] local resistance to its neoliberal policy prescriptions" through the use of "knowledge-based policy regulatory instruments" (Molla, 2019, p. 343). Financial assistance is followed by requirements for consultations, reports, and other evidence-based documents that exercise subtle authority over the ongoing educational policy and policy makers. Molla calls for recognition of this soft power and a closer examination of whether any given policy is responding to actual societal needs (Molla, 2019). Of course, the World Bank is not the only global force shaping educational policies. The International Monetary Fund, UNESCO, and even the World Trade Organization can influence policy in ways that may result in the "full submission of education to the pursuits of global economy" (Moutsios, 2009, p. 469). These international organizations must be kept in check by local actors with the best interests of their society in mind. Higher education is often tasked with economic development generally but should also be designed and supported so it can deliver knowledge production that addresses the needs of the society that it serves, hopefully along with the expansion of democracy, peacebuilding, and sustainability.

Structure of Higher Education in Angola

After establishing economic development as the purpose of higher education in Angola, the 2009 decree goes on to grant higher education institutions autonomy and academic freedom in order "to ensure the plurality of doctrines and methods in the fields of teaching and learning" (Conselho de Ministros, 2010, p. 4). However, that autonomy and academic freedom is still limited in some ways by government power. According to the organizational structure laid out in the document, every institution of higher education must have a board, a director, and an assembly. The assembly is a body composed of students, faculty, administrators, and some community members. This body injects a democratic element into university governance but in the end, final control still rests with the Ministry of Higher Education. To hire the director of the institution, the assembly is supposed to elect three candidates and recommend them to the board. The board should then select one candidate from the three and present that person to the Ministry of Higher Education for final approval (Conselho de Ministros, 2010, p. 9).

While this system of determining an institution's leader may not appear to be influenced by or interacting with global forces in any way, it does allow the government to exercise final authority over higher education as needed and higher education by its very nature interacts with global forces. For example, much of the funding for higher education in sub-Saharan Africa comes from outside sources and is handled through state channels (Teferra, 2013). This leaves the government, comprised of local elites, in command of managing much of that money. With the power of the purse strings, the ruling party can maintain control over the highest levels of administration at any tertiary institution and dictate access along with the direction and possibly

even the results of research projects and other forms of knowledge production while ensuring the security of their position of power.

The higher education system in Angola consists of two divisions: university and polytechnic. The two divisions can exist within the same institution but are not sequential nor are they dependent on one another. The polytechnic institutions grant professional degrees and the university level institutions grant academic degrees, both undergraduate and graduate (*Conselho de Ministros*, 2010b). Although the people of IECA refer to their new school as UniDondi, the government, which has not yet given approval for UniDondi to open and operate, has stated that its official name would have to be ISP Dondi, short for *Instituição Superior de Dondi*. This is because the school will only be allowed to provide certain technical degrees, at least initially. This label gives it slightly less prestige in the Angolan system.

Access to higher education is supposed to be available to any student who completes secondary school, but the number of seats in universities and polytechnic institutions does not meet demand in Angola. Although specific numbers are difficult to verify, it is reported that in 2013-2014, for example, only 43% of qualified students who passed the necessary exams were able to obtain seats in the public higher education system (Katúmua, 2016). This unmet demand for higher education drives the expansion of private universities despite the fact that the private sector schools are out of reach financially for many Angolans (Geuser & Josset, 2020). Rapid expansion also makes quality control difficult.

The Ministry of Higher Education oversees quality control for all tertiary institutions in Angola today. Approximately twenty years ago, Altbach and Teferra edited a comprehensive handbook on African higher education, and in the section on Angola, the authors argued that

Angolan universities in the 21st century faced political interference from the MPLA ruling party and overall low quality (Teferra & Altbach, 2003). Higher education in Angola has improved since 2003, but there is still work to be done. The internal and external review process is outlined in Decree No 90/09 (Conselho de Ministros, 2010, p. 51-52). Nevertheless, according to a 2013 study of higher education in African, Portuguese-speaking countries completed by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa, effective implementation of the quality control process has not been achieved. The author concludes that "no real activity towards quality assessment has taken place" (Langa, 2013, p. 14I). Other studies concur (Carvalho, 2012; Homerin, 2016). Recently, there have been renewed efforts by the government to implement meaningful quality control with the help of international consultants, perhaps in response to this criticism (Barbosa Mendes, 2016; Geuser & Josset, 2020). Some studies of these quality management systems have appeared in open access publications and note that many problems are ongoing (Silva, 2023).

International Partnerships and Angolan Higher Education

Higher education institutions in Angola, as elsewhere in the Global South, have embraced internationalization in the form of international partnerships in hopes of increasing their research capacity, raising their overall status, and gaining access to additional financial resources (Obamba & Mwema, 2009). This activity is relatively new to Angolan higher education in that the civil war only ended twenty years ago. For example, in 2020 there was an agreement signed with the Chinese company Huawei for ICT training at Angolan universities. Another recent example of the search for international partnerships was a 2021 by the Angolan ambassador to the University of Utah for preliminary discussions surrounding a partnership arrangement.

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Returning to our case, the development team for UniDondi has so far established a relationship with the Illinois Conference of the United Church of Christ and the German relief agency, *Brot für die Welt*, hereafter referred to as Bread for the World. The UniDondi project received some limited funding and expertise through these relationships during the timeframe of this case study.

In order to be successful, higher education initiatives must recognize and address the wants and needs of the society in which they will be implemented. Projects and plans should emerge endogenously. This does not exclude outside help, indeed external support may be crucial to the success of any new venture, but external support must not come with external demands that can overpower internal needs. Furthermore, those providing support from the outside must listen carefully to those on the inside. One study of a formal exchange between Angolan health academics and European partners concluded that the European partners "did not fully acknowledge their [Angolan] local contexts, compromising the prospective development of partnerships in the health field" (Craveiro et al., 2020, p. 2). The literature surrounding international university partnerships makes it clear that unaddressed power imbalances, particularly in North-South relationships, are one of the primary reasons partnerships fail to achieve their goals (Ishengoma, 2016;Obamba & Mwema, 2009; Teferra, 2014).

While further study is needed to determine the possibilities for successful international partnerships within Angolan higher education, some lessons can be drawn from case studies focusing on international partnerships undertaken by universities in other sub-Saharan countries. Felly Chiteng Kot, Head of Institutional Research at Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan, examined the perceived benefits of international partnerships at two universities located in sub-Saharan Africa, one in Tanzania and the other in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The author

compiled survey data from over 4,800 university personnel and categorized the perceived

benefits as institutional or personal. He noted that participants from both universities perceived

significant advantages in both categories from international partnerships. Overall results were

positive in terms of perceived institutional prestige, increased revenues, and improved

managerial and academic effectiveness. Additionally, individuals felt they gained personal

benefits such as new language skills, extra financial resources, expanded networking, and

improved research skills (Kot, 2015). While perceived benefits do not necessarily indicate actual

benefits, the positive attitudes revealed in Kot's study may in fact translate to increased openness

and healthier academic dialogue among higher education institutions globally.

In order to determine the actual benefits of these partnerships, it becomes necessary to

agree upon the desired outcomes and develop standards for measuring those outcomes. One

common measurement of the effectiveness of international partnerships is research output. Using

records of research publications from select countries of the Global North and Global South, a

report commissioned by the UK Office of Science and Innovation found that international output

increased overall when comparing 1996-2000 with 2001-2005 (Adams et al., 2007).

Furthermore, research that was the result of international collaboration produced a greater

impact, as measured by citation count, than the research of individuals (Adams et al., 2007).

While there is clearly something to be gained from this trade in knowledge, the question remains

about whether these gains are evenly distributed. One of the authors of the above study went on

to analyze over 25 million articles in publication from 1981-2011, and while his conclusions

were similar, his analysis did reveal that "growth in international collaboration eclipses domestic

output in established economies, but not in emerging ones" (Adams, 2013, p.558). One must

consider the possibility that North-South partnerships have typically been designed in such a way that the material benefits flow to the partner from the Global North.

Some partnerships are established with the stated goal of reducing poverty and promoting development in the Global South. Christopher Collins of Azusa Pacific University conducted a qualitative study of a group of such partnerships between US and African universities that were funded by the organization USAID. After examining the organization and key players at twenty-two universities involved in eleven partnerships, Collins concluded that international partnerships were indeed able to contribute to social progress and the public good to some degree (Collins, 2014). Their benefits were curtailed, however, by onerous bureaucratic requirements that most partners blamed on the implicit and self-serving goals of the funding agency, USAID. While these North-South university partnerships did indeed contribute to some development projects in the areas of water, food, heath, and teacher education, the reporting demands and bureaucratic complexity resulted in only one quarter of the funding actually going to Africa (Collins, 2014).

International partnerships are not new, but their form and function has changed over time, especially with respect to higher education in the Global South. Damtew Teferra, professor of higher education at the University of Kwazulu-Natal and Director of International Network for Higher Education in Africa (INHEA), a joint venture with Boston College, authored a brief history of the ways in which higher education partnerships have changed in Africa in the recent past. Teferra analyzed the motives, past and present, behind most international partnerships in African higher education. He examined post-colonial motives, Cold War motives, and modern neo-liberal motives. According to Teferra, these external motivations have created significant

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challenges for African institutions and have produced an ever-shifting landscape for them to negotiate. He concluded that African universities today should expand and consolidate more equitable partnerships than they have in the past, negotiating on their own terms rather than allowing themselves to be buffeted by fickle funding and the changing global context (Teferra, 2014). For international university partnerships to succeed for both partners in the 21st century, power imbalances must be addressed directly, the research agenda must be developed jointly, and the goals must involve mutual capacity building (Obamba & Mwema, 2009).

In fact, power differentials appear to be one of the most significant challenges facing North-South university partnerships. Johnson Ishengoma conducted a qualitative study of the effectiveness of international partnerships in strengthening higher education in the Global South by examining his own institution in Tanzania. After analyzing the structure and outcomes of partnerships between the University of Dar Es Salaam and a variety of universities around the world, Ishengoma concluded that the inequalities embedded in the North-South partnerships were such that the hoped for institutional benefits from the partnerships, such as improved infrastructure, better academic programs, more efficient management, innovative teaching, and institutional prestige simply did not emerge (Ishengoma, 2016). He attributed this failure to the foreign/donor aid framework that led to self-censorship by the Tanzanian partner of possibly unwelcome research outcomes, conflicting agendas among different donors, and lack of clear goals and measurable outcomes for most partnerships. In addition, he noted significant brain drain, both internal (to NGOs) and external (to foreign universities) that actually weakened higher education in Tanzania by depleting the domestic talent. In the end, Ishengoma argued that the universities of the Global South simply did not have the power to negotiate as equals with universities of the Global North (Ishengoma, 2016). Of course, Tanzania is not the entire Global

South and Ishengoma still felt that partnerships were "instrumental in institutional capacity building" (Ishengoma, 2016, p. 1). In keeping with a transformationalist approach to globalization, it is clear that institutional partnerships as a global force are shaped by local circumstances. Their success or failure in strengthening higher education in the Global South will depend upon the extent to which they support regional priorities and focus on issues that fit with each university's own vision and mission (Collins, 2014; Ishengoma, 2016; Teferra, 2014).

In many cases, the difficulties encountered within international partnerships are rather mundane, but significant, none the less. Karen Biraimah, Director of International & Special Programs at the University of Central Florida has documented some of the difficulties encountered during a partnership between her school and the University of Botswana from 2011-2015. In her case study, she noted that beyond the initial disparities in financial resources, differences in report design and detail, speed of communication, and accounting practices, all contributed to feelings of frustration, anxiety, and resentment in the partners. Still, she argued, the mutual capacity building that can result from international partnerships was and is an outcome worth pursuing. She called for higher education professionals to carefully create terms of engagement and issue memos of understanding to make sure the partnership works well for both players (Biraimah, 2016).

Relationships matter. Three researchers from Pennsylvania State University interviewed faculty members from several institutions involved in North-South university partnerships to determine what made for a successful collaboration. Their findings point to what makes any mutually beneficial relationship. "Elements that held partnerships together included shared information, personal friendships and hospitality; collaboratively developed solutions for

endemic problems, and properly managed funds that provided tangible outcomes after completion of the work" (Semali et al., 2013, p. 64). While these things may seem obvious—share information freely, develop real friendships, provide hospitality to all, work together to solve problems, handle money fairly, and celebrate successes together—the literature seems to indicate that they have often been overshadowed or overpowered by poor communication, mismatched motives, and inherent inequalities not addressed adequately in the development of the international partnerships.

A recent study focused on Angola argues that the country has reached a tipping point in terms of internationalization. Taking the expansion of the *Universidade Agostinho Neto* as stage one, and the increasing privatization of higher education as stage two, French researchers Geuser and Josset suggest that Angolan higher education may soon enter a "third" stage of development characterized by "internationalization and Europeanization" and that this would "anchor the country in a globalized model" (Geuser & Josset, 2020). While this may be true to some extent, it is important to keep in mind the earlier argument that contemporary globalization is driven by a multiplicity of forces and is transforming social, political, and economic realities in a variety of different ways, dependent on more local circumstances. The Angolan variation on this globalized model will depend on political, economic, social, and cultural factors that are not static and may be unpredictable. A closer examination of the Angolan context for the development of higher education may reveal interesting and creative ways that local actors influence and adapt to global forces.

Gap in the Literature

The World Bank as the "global neoliberal agent" has not served the best interests of the Global South (Molla & Cuthbert, 2018, p. 263). According to Molla and Cuthbert, "the pervasiveness of imported expertise in Africa's HE policy field means that vital local voices and knowledge are marginalized, resulting in superficial framings, issue omissions and poor implementation." (Molla and Cuthbert, p. 263). As the authors of one study of North/South health partnerships in Angola noted, most studies have overlooked "the role played by narratives, aspirations, and perceptions" (Craveiro et al., 2020, p. 3). This research should address that gap by exploring the aspirations and perceptions of the church leaders directly involved with the development of UniDondi. It will provide a full case study examining the broader goals, strategies, and challenges of a new institution as it is being established, in both local and global terms.

Conclusion

Long ago, scholars travelled great distances to learn from each other in the ancient institutions of higher learning. In that sense, the globalization of higher education today is an extension of an activity that has been an important part of the expansion of knowledge generally, for centuries. What is more recent is the extent to which higher learning today is tied to economic development, both theoretically and practically, individually and societally, along with the increasing intensification and thoroughly global extent of the entire process. Of course, globalization is transforming social, political, and economic realities in a variety of different ways, and education is involved in all of these, but if we consider only the role globalized,

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contemporary education structures have played as development agents in the Global South, they have had limited success (Daniel et al., 2019).

This is a case study examining how global and local forces are shaping the development of higher education in the central highlands of Angola. Although it has not always fulfilled its potential, higher education can be a valuable resource. It is sought after with enthusiasm by many because it has the power to reduce inequalities within and between countries if it is accessible. The discussion of expanding higher education in Angola presented in this chapter analyzed the applicability of theories of postcolonialism and globalization, both generally and within the context of education, before moving on to an examination of the Angolan context itself: the historical, cultural, political, economic, and educational setting for the case. To deepen our understanding of the case, the chapter included an outline of the structure of higher education in Angola within which UniDondi will need to operate. The final category of analysis reviewed the literature on the possibilities and challenges available to higher education through international partnerships.

We share a planet and thus we share resources. How those resources are distributed is the result of how power flows around the globe. Those power flows are typically uneven and all too often produce violence. In order to work for peace, we must work together for equality. Education has the potential to equalize, but too often it is hindered by existing political and economic realities that have been created from a variety of historical forces, one of the most significant being the cruelty of the colonial era. Careful observation and analysis of UniDondi may teach us something about how to shift those forces in favor of the people who have been poorly served by the history of the global economy. Or it may reveal how even carefully

considered and well-intentioned plans can fail to achieve their intended goals. Either way, there is something important to discover here. This case study is an opportunity to tell that story.

CHAPTER 3: UNIDONDI CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to examine the goals, opportunities, and challenges surrounding ongoing attempts to establish a new tertiary institution in the central highlands of Angola, and by doing so gain a greater insight into the global, national, and local forces at work in the process. The case here is a specific institution, UniDondi, and the team of people who are working to fulfill a long-held dream of opening and operating a university at the Dondi Mission Station in rural Angola. Qualitative data was gathered from the development committee, a group of approximately twenty leaders of IECA, a large Protestant denomination in Angola. This study examined their goals for the project along with their perceptions and experience of the opportunities and challenges they face opening this specific institution in this place by asking them to respond to interview questions, both in person and by email over a period of more than three years. Taken together with related literature and documents pertaining to higher education in Angola and the UniDondi project, this information will help fill the gap that exists in research pertaining to the development of new institutions of higher education in Angola and may also be useful when studying sub-Saharan Africa more generally, though that is not necessary and is not the primary purpose of the study. Most importantly, this information will be presented from the perspective of and using the actual words from the members of the leadership team of UniDondi.

Positionality of the Researcher

My connection to Angola and the people of IECA has developed gradually over many years. Shortly after the end of the Angolan civil war, the United Church of Christ (UCC), a Protestant denomination in the United States, and Igreja Evangélica Congregacional em Angola (IECA), a much larger Protestant denomination in Angola, re-established their long-standing

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connection, and I became involved in what is called the Angola Partnership Team (APT) of the

Illinois Conference (UCC), an ongoing effort to nourish that international relationship. Since

then, Angolans and Americans from both groups have visited back and forth, working together to

create friendships and mutual understanding. In the summer of 2016, I was asked by the leaders

of IECA to attend a planning meeting for the creation of a new university, the long awaited

UniDondi, later named ISP Dondi by the government, an institution that they hoped to open in

the central highlands at the Dondi Mission Station. At that meeting they emphasized their desire

to develop a rural university (none currently exist) that will create a new generation of national

leaders capable of alleviating some of Angola's economic, political, and social problems. In

order to be as helpful as possible in this effort, I decided to learn more about higher education in

developing countries, and so I enrolled in the EPOL:GSE program at the University of Illinois,

Urbana-Champaign. Thus, I entered my PhD program with an "intrinsic" case study in hand

(Stake, 1995, p. 3). With this work, I hope to understand "one thing well" (Stake, 2010, p. 27,

quoted in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 38).

As a white female American researcher, most people would assume I am practicing

"reflexivity in studying the unfamiliar" (Berger, 2013, p. 227). For the most part this is true. I am

clearly not Angolan and must learn about their lives with very little shared context. Additionally,

most of our conversations must pass through language barriers, as my Portuguese is weak and

my Umbundu practically nonexistent. And yet, there is a bit of "reflexivity in studying while

becoming"(Berger, 2013, p. 226) mixed into my work as I am no longer an outsider, having

completed a variety of projects with my Angolan counterparts over nearly twenty years, stayed

in their homes, and hosted them at my own home for months at a time. In fact, this long

relationship may make it difficult for me to objectively handle political tensions that might arise within IECA itself, as I do not wish to upset people who have become my friends.

One interesting way this transition from outsider to insider has changed my perspective is through a deepening understanding of their view of history. To explain briefly, I had long accepted the view that the white, Christian missionaries of the nineteenth century worked together with other European colonizers to oppress Black Africans and control Black African labor. I have since learned that many Angolans, particularly those in the south, view the Protestant missionaries favorably and credit those Americans and Canadians (Black and white) with helping them resist and overcome the control of the Catholic Portuguese state. I still struggle with this positive interpretation at times, but it is widely held by the Angolans I have interviewed.

The balance of power in the research relationship is complicated. As a privileged, liberal, cisgender, straight, white, Christian pacifist from the United States who has worked her entire life as an educator, I carry some power with me when I work with IECA. At the same time, I am dealing with a group of highly educated Angolans, mostly men, who are leaders in their communities. The power dynamics are by no means clear. As an American, I have access to more resources than the Angolans. This increases my power and may skew their responses in some way. As a woman, however, I am sometimes viewed as more of a helpmate to my husband rather than as an individual in my own regard. This makes me less powerful. Having said that, I believe the fact that I am working with people with whom I have established mutual respect and trust over the course of many years helps us all work through any difficulties created by power imbalances.

Ultimately this case study is a form of qualitative description. As such, I keep in mind the way in which Sandelowski summarized my responsibility in this endeavor: "There is no mandate to produce anything other than a descriptive summary of an event, organized in a way that best contains the data collected and that will be most relevant to the audience for whom it was written"(Sandelowski, 2000). My hope is this case study will be helpful to anyone interested in the development of higher education in Angola, including the leaders of IECA, and might serve to inspire additional research in this area.

Methodology

This is a qualitative case study. Robert Stake emphasized that case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied (Stake, 1995). I have chosen to study UniDondi, the dream and the reality, and the first tertiary institution to be opened and operated by IECA. A detailed analysis of the opportunities and challenges as experienced and described by its leaders during its initial development would shed light on the impact of historical and contemporary forces at work, and this deeper understanding may help the institution as it grows. Even with an "emphasis on uniqueness" (Stake, 1995, p. 8) it can be said that this case study may help to illuminate the relative impact of the global and local context on higher education in the Global South more generally by highlighting the plans and struggles of these Angolans as they work to expand educational opportunities in their part of the world.

According to Stake, a case has "a boundary and working parts" and is "an integrated system" in short, "it has a self" (Stake, 1995, p. 2). I would argue that UniDondi is clearly a case by this definition, in spite of the fact that it is not currently open and accepting students, for it has existed for many years in the minds of the leadership team and in another form in the history of

IECA, and clearly has a self. But every case also has a timeframe, and it might be argued that it would be better if that span of time for this case study included a year or so of actual operation in order to more fully understand its working parts. The timetable of the research and the researcher, however, have determined that this is the point where the case must be closed for now. Additional research can begin anew in the future, to be sure, but the discussion and the conclusions reached here will serve at least an initial purpose. There is always more work to do.

This is a qualitative study with purposive sampling. Most of the data is taken from interviews, both casual and formal. The participants are all members of the UniDondi development committee or leaders within IECA that have been directly involved in the project. As Merriam and Tisdell explained it, this selection criteria is "based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 96). This project has been in various stages of planning for many years, and these are the people deeply committed to its success.

The case study officially began in late 2018 with an approval from the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at the University of Illinois (see Appendix A). The first set of questions went out by email in January of 2019 (see Appendix B). An informed consent attachment in Portuguese and English accompanied them. Seven of the twenty people invited to respond sent their thoughts.

I travelled to Angola in June and October of 2019 for follow-up interviews, with one additional visit in late January of 2020 before the onset of the pandemic halted international travel. The two-week visit in late January included a tour of the buildings that had so far been completed at UniDondi. During the pandemic there were regular Zoom meetings with the

leadership team, and with the architect from the primary funder at that time, Bread for the World, Germany. I continued my data collection via email and Zoom meetings until the summer of 2022, when travel reopened for much of the world.

The next formal set of questions went out by email in May of 2022 (see Appendix C). The questions were slightly different but had a similar theme. Again, there were seven responses but one of the responses was from a different person. I returned to Angola in June of 2022 and again in May of 2023 to conduct additional interviews and see the developments at Dondi in person. I am certain I will return to Angola again one day soon.

The general strategy for data analysis in this case study was organized around a descriptive framework. Yin identified this as an appropriate strategy when "the original and explicit purpose of the case study was a descriptive one" (Yin, 2018, p. 171) As a close description and analysis of the development of UniDondi is the focus, this framework works well. Following Yin's recommendation, the elements of the framework correspond with the questions identified in chapter 2:

(1) Aspirations for the project
(2) Goals—most important
(3) Challenges—most daunting
(4) Role of international partnership

From this framework, I drew my conclusions regarding the forces shaping the development of UniDondi in order to begin to answer my initial questions, adjusted here to focus on this specific case: How does the link between globalization and massification of higher education play out in this case? What aspects of globalization most directly affect the development of higher education here and how does the UniDondi development team respond?

What impact do local forces have in the development of this institution? In the current context, what are the challenges and possibilities for higher education in rural Angola?

This research took place over several years and Stake's assertion held true in this case when he said, "There is no particular moment when data analysis begins" (Stake, 1995, p. 71). As the sole researcher, I used direct interpretation and categorical aggregation throughout the process. After every interview or visit, I recorded my direct interpretations in my notebook and I applied categorical aggregation with the use of a chart I created after the first set of interviews, looking for ideas that carried over from one participant to the next. This coding and memo-ing was a continuous process. As Stake described it, "The search for meaning is often a search for patterns, for consistency within certain conditions, which we will call 'correspondence'"(Stake, 1995, p. 78). I focused my final analysis on areas where I found correspondence. This method helped make sense of interviews that were not always linear and were frequently complicated by language barriers and a variety of interruptions. Although some of the conversation took place in Portuguese, all the direct quotations here are presented in English, translated with the help of my interpreter.

In his examination of prominent scholars writing on case study, Bedrettin Yazan suggested that it was "incumbent upon the case study researchers to draw their data from multiple sources to capture the case under study in its complexity and entirety"(Yazan, 2015, p. 142). In addition to email questionnaires, this case study relied on personal interviews, policy documents, government decrees, statistical data, and relevant literature to interpret events and develop understanding. This variety of sources provided validity through what Delamont called "within method triangulation" (Delamont, 2016, p. 133). Even given this variety of sources, however, the most significant data came from interviews.

According to Yin, "Interviews can especially help by suggesting explanations of key events, as well as insights reflecting participants' relativist perspectives"(Yin, 2018, p. 118) I found this to be true. While policy statements and other written documents make the goals and strategies of an institution public, personal interviews are often much more intimate and therefore more revealing. Furthermore, those more specific and privately held understandings of the goals, strategies, and perceived challenges facing a new institution may well have greater impact on the development of the school than the public statements. For this reason, I planned regular visits to Angola where I would be able to talk to the participants directly and visit the campus as the building progressed.

Here is a table summarizing and simplifying the action steps discussed above:

Table 1: Action Steps

Date	Location	Action	Notes
November, 2018	UIUC	IRB approval	Expiration date: 11-15-2023
January, 2019	Home	Sent out initial questions by email	7 out of 20 respond, coding and memo-ing follow
June, 2019	Angola-one month	Visit Huambo and Dondi for a month for interviews and help with the Language Institute	Code interview and memo after, also tour the facilities at Dondi
October, 2019	Angola-one week	Meet with other members of the "board" for UniDondi	Six interviews, coded and memoed after meetings
January, 2020	Angola-two weeks	Visit and plant trees at Dondi. Informal interviews only	Memos
Pandemic era: 2020-2022	Home	Zoom interviews, emails, WhatsApp with participants whenever news of the university came to my attention. Also meeting with Bread for the World, Germany.	Poor internet in Angola made this difficult. WhatsApp often our only way to communicate.

Table 1 (cont.)

May, 2022	Home	Sent out second set of questions	A slightly different group of 7 respond, coding and memo-ing follow
June, 2022	Angola-two weeks	Follow up interviews and visit Dondi. Also visit U.S. Embassy in Luanda	Coding and memos
May, 2023	Angola-ten days	Ask final questions of participants in person. Meet with the governor of Huambo. See new phase of building at Dondi	Complete findings

As an example of my interview experiences for one of the visits listed above, here is the

interview schedule from my shortest trip to Angola, October of 2019:

Table 2: Interview schedule, October, 2019

Participant*	Date of interview	Time of interview	Setting of interview
Antonio	10/21/2019	17h-17:45h	Academico, the largest church in Huambo and the location of the offices of the Provincial Synod
Bernardo	10/21/2019	20h-21h	Language Institute living quarters (with tea), Huambo
Daniel	10/22/2019	19h-21:30h	Language Institute living quarters (with tea and occasional interruptions), Huambo
Ignacio	10/24/2019	18:30h-19h	Language Institute living quarters, Huambo
Manuel	10/24/2019	20:30h-21h	Language Institute living quarters (with snacks), Huambo
Carlos	10/25/2019	14:30h-15:30h	Fly Hotel restaurant (late lunch), Luanda

*Pseudonyms were selected to hide the identity of the participants and it was necessary to choose all masculine names due to the very limited number of female participants.

Potential Ethical Issues

This study has been approved by the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (see Appendix A). There is no visible effort to develop a corresponding research ethics committee in the social sciences in Angola at this time, but there have been recent efforts to strengthen biomedical ethics at the major universities and medical schools in the past decade (Alfredo et al., 2019). In this case, there is no obvious risk to the subjects of the present study in that the development of UniDondi is a transparent project, open to the scrutiny of the public. The Ministry of Higher Education, a government department staffed by members of the MPLA ruling party, will need to approve the operations of UniDondi. The only potential conflict here is the history of IECA, which is connected more to the main opposition party, UNITA. This political tension between IECA and the MPLA is not new, however, and many members of IECA belong to the MPLA, as well. Still, it is helpful to be aware of the political implications of the work.

Conclusion

The development of a new institution of higher education is a worthy process. In the case of UniDondi, it is an attempt to reduce inequalities within and between countries and to meet a demonstrated need for the expansion of higher education in rural Angola, to be sure, but there are more specific goals inspired by the particular place and people that the institution will serve. These should be made known, along with the challenges they encounter along the way. Every global citizen should want this project to succeed, for if it does not we get one step closer to the threat issued by UNESCO, that, "the gap between the poor and rich will widen, leading to a rise in worldwide inequality, creating more global despair and conflict" (UNESCO, 2020, p. 46). This case

study is a unique opportunity to document the creation and opening of a new tertiary institution along with the real-time reflections of those closest to the development process. By detailing their motivations, frustrations, goals and aspirations, we will better understand the challenges and opportunities for higher education in this particular place and the insight thus gained may in turn benefit the development of higher education more broadly. This case study, like all good educational research, will contribute to the global goals of peace and justice.

CHAPTER 4: GOALS, ASPIRATIONS, CHALLENGES, AND PARTNERSHIPS

The Dondi Mission Station was not the first mission station in Angola, but it has a long

and proud history. The current construction of the buildings that will one day become UniDondi

has been ongoing since 2017. The dream of the university dates back much further. The mission

station itself is remembered as providing advanced education to the indigenous people of the

region for most of the twentieth century, a time when their educational attainment was limited by

law in most of the country. Dr. Walter Thomas Currie, a missionary from Canada who served in

Angola for a quarter century, is credited with the idea and much of the planning of its founding,

but it took the work and cooperation of many others to bring it into existence. In her self-

published book, *Angola Torchbearers*, Maria Chela Chikueka tells the story of negotiations and

cooperation between Chief Mukandavantu and two missionaries: Reverend Henri Neipp and

Reverend William Bell, who searched the land for the perfect site and oversaw the initial

construction. The mission officially opened October 5, 1914. According to Chikueka,

> For many years Dondi Mission gave opportunity to the people of Angola to gain higher
> education. Dondi Mission schools trained many young Africans who came from all over
> Angola. After their training these young people took up responsible positions in the
> church and in the society of Angola and in the neighboring countries. For example, the
> report to the government showed that in the year 1964-1965 alone Dondi Mission had
> 1,298 students in professional, technical, hospital, pedagogical, typographical and
> theological schools, plus 2, 270 more in the outstation schools (Chikueka, 1999, p. 195).

Speaking just last year on the significance of Dondi as an educational center, one IECA

leader explained:

> Our villages were the most developed in Central Angola and due to it, the country,
> though under colonial rule, was self-sufficient, exported farming products surplus, and
> most of those sent to [our] school got jobs in places where only educated Portuguese
> would be allowed. By 1957 local leadership was ready to be trusted and enabled to
> lead, not only in the Church, but also excel in community organization and leadership.
> We led our villages by ourselves and transformed them into livable places, better than the

other villages and capable to stand as a result of the Gospel's transformation and impact. Though not publicized, Dondi Mission became a revolutionary place claiming for a free and independent Angola in the fifties and sixties. (Antonio, 07/08/2022)

Shortly after the civil war ended, the first attempt was made to restore Dondi as a place of advanced education, but limited funding and government interference cut that effort short. The buildings being constructed now, in 2023, represent triumph and frustration. Triumph, as they are going up as the result of hard work and partnerships among church, state, and non-governmental organizations. Frustration, as there is still uncertainty surrounding the leadership of the new institution and no final approval or opening date. Offered here are the thoughts and reflections of the Angolan leaders working on the project, a project that is, in their own words, "an old dream that is coming true" (Fernando, 07/11/2022) and "a project with hope" (Ignacio, 05/11/2023).

Aspirations

In 2017, three Angolan members of the UniDondi leadership team came to the United States to seek out partners for the UniDondi project and to perfect their English language skills. When asked when the university would open, one member of the team repeated, unequivocally, "March 2018" (Gustavo, 06/2017). This research project officially began in the fall of 2018 and the school had not yet opened, but the leadership team anticipated that it would soon open on a small scale. Some of the buildings that had survived the war were being rehabilitated using funds obtained from international partners. In anticipation of my visit in the summer of 2019, I sent out an email questionnaire (see Appendix B) and in response to the questions regarding their aspirations for the university, the respondents emphasized their desire to meet the needs of the unserved and underserved rural populations.

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[We hope] to improve human knowledge, skills, and abilities [so that] the big gap between urban people and rural people may be reduced and gradually eradicated. This is why UniDondi is planted among poor farmers. (Bernardo, 02/10/2019)

[UniDondi] will be the only institution situated in rural areas and directed to a great extent at the education of daughters and children of persons with limited means. (Emilio, 02/27/2019)

By the summer of 2019, plans were underway for new buildings with new funds from another international partner. When I returned in October of 2019, the leadership told me, once again with great confidence, that the school would open in March of 2020, specifically with an enrollment of 400. That did not happen, and not only because of the start of a global pandemic. There was no approval from the government and the buildings were not ready when Angola closed its borders in March of 2020.

Efforts to open UniDondi resumed late in 2021. Despite economic hardship throughout the country brought on by the pandemic era and low oil prices, the optimism of the UniDondi team did not falter. They continued to emphasize the needs of the rural areas.

The aspirations for the future of the new university in Dondi are to be outside the urban centers, helping the most disadvantaged, to be a different model to the traditional university model: bilingual; being on a campus that has a tradition in teaching (Daniel, 06/08/2022)

We are thinking to make sure that villages in Angola are not forgotten and the youth both young women and young men, are enabled to develop their God-gifted abilities and be useful in the construction of a well-developed country. We need to develop new models of addressing life, enabling the youth to create new jobs, new projects without waiting on the government payments and job allocations. If we help, bringing those well trained servants, make them able to provide required services to the communities, the communities themselves will gratify them and they will become owners of schools, farming projects, constructions companies and will make with their expertise rural areas developed places, taking investments into the urban areas with their production and expertise. (Antonio, 07/08/2022)

I think we hope to have an institution that will be able to educate young people spiritually and academically. It will be an institution that will help those who cannot afford to study in cities. It means that it will train young people from rural areas. (Fernando, 07/11/2022)

During the pandemic, I had many text-based conversations by email and WhatsApp. When discussing their motivations for developing the university, one reoccurring theme was a desire to carry out the work of the church, and in so doing, continue the work that had been started by the missionaries long ago. When I was finally able to return to Angola in the summer of 2022, I stayed in the apartment with the English teacher who was returning to resume classes. As the students chatted with me before and after class, those same themes re-emerged.

[We should] revive and raise the good work of Dondi's mission since its foundation for today and thus conquer national and international recognition. (Emilio, 06/05/2022)

[We aspire] to provide high quality education to the future Angolan leaders, workers, peasants and social development actors to excel in their dealing with their duties. To be a Church mark and contribution to social development and acceptable spirituality of the country and the region. To be a place of attraction to the youth both have and the have not, to have a dream for a bright future (Antonio, 06/17/2022)

[We hope to] perform the dream of training at the top level of young people and not only at the level of the municipality, but also provincial and national. [We aspire to] guarantee sources and employment opportunities, as regards the students to apply new knowledge in the most diverse areas of knowledge, while carrying out the realization of the missionary's dream in this mission (Emilio, 06/17/2022)

I hope that through the education and the principles and values of the Church in the long term, long time, we can influence, not change but influence, the young, the children, the young, and the families because most of the young people, teenagers are losing some important values that as a church member, we think that it's very important not only for education, as a literacy, but also for values. And I believe that in the values of the Church, we are working at targeting and changing behavior, on the development of communities, on the projects of development of communities. (Gustavo, 07/12/2022).

In all the interviews, agriculture and food security featured prominently here as well as in the category of goals for the university.

The aspirations I hold for the future of the University of Dondi are that it will be an important institution to uplift the lives of poor people by granting them access to higher level trainings at low costs in food, transportation, student fees and accommodation. UniDondi can contribute to food security of people and be an environmental friend. (Bernardo, 06/15/2022)

Over several years of interviews with the leadership team, it became clear that their aspirations for the project and their optimism regarding their ability to fulfill their dreams were unshakable. Only rarely have their attitudes shown any sign of shifting and their belief that the university will open soon remains steadfast. They are committed to social, economic, and environmental development, and their desire to provide opportunities for the people, especially young people, in the surrounding rural areas while furthering the vision of the Church and the missionaries has not wavered.

Important Goals

While aspirations can be broad and sweeping, goals are often stated in somewhat more concrete terms. The short-term goals mentioned by the leadership team included opening the university and establishing the curriculum, with a special emphasis on agriculture. They often connected the importance of agriculture with the desire to improve rural life.

The short-term goal is to ensure the college starts and offers a differentiated quality education, training nurses and agricultural engineers capable to help disadvantaged communities in the rural areas and urban peripheries to meet their needs toward human development (Antonio, 02/27/2019).

Classes on agriculture should be made a transversal subject. Students should practice agriculture by developing a community farm in which they should rotate plants which enrich the soil, plant fruit trees which will make the students' diet a healthy one. They would learn and keep practicing it in all their lives once they leave UniDondi and go back to different places (Bernardo, 06/15/2022)

As Gustavo explained it to me during a Zoom call one July day, they were not interested in teaching the students an "American" way of farming. Rather, they wanted to help the rural Angolan farmers use their "two acres" more efficiently.

> We are going to have agriculture. The way we are going to be doing agriculture, in our communities, respecting the attitudes, the practice, how they do it now, and insert new methods, new techniques to contribute for development of this country (Gustavo, 07/12/2022.)

No strangers to theories of human capital development, the leaders of the project held practical goals for their graduates, while often phrasing those goals in terms of the work of the church.

> We expect to make youth, young people and people of other ages, be able to seek and be eligible to jobs. In doing so, they may improve their descendants' academic levels, job opportunities, good housing, and health nourishment. (Bernardo, 02/10/2019)

> The university should focus on elevating its quality teaching and researching, expanding in terms of infrastructures and number of students, and create a high number of marketable graduates, exposing favorably the institution (Antonio, 06/17/22).

> It is most important that our trained students make a difference in society and are committed to development. The church must play its educational role (Fernando, 07/11/2022).

Early in the development process, the team learned that the initial designation for UniDondi would have to be ISP Dondi. As a new institution, it would be approved for a few technical courses and once those programs had operated successfully for a few years, they might be able to add more subjects and develop research capacity. When I talked to them in February of 2019, they were planning that the opening of the institution would occur in October of 2019 and while they acknowledged that the institution would open as a polytechnic one, they were clear in their plan to grow beyond that designation.

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Long-term we plan to work to move from the Higher Polytechnic Institute to University (Emilio, 02/27/2019).

The long-term goal is to turn the college into a qualified university, with quality researching program, and laboratories in various scientific fields, providing solutions and orientations to problems arising and ensuring sustainable development and people empowerment to live with dignity. Furthermore, to be a Christian ministry (Antonio, 02/27/2019).

The pandemic did not appear to diminish those expectations. Their long-term goals remained lofty, as evidenced here by comments from Emilio and Daniel in the summer of 2022.

[We must] place the name of the Mission of Dondi and the university project among the most renowned education systems first at the municipal, provincial, and finally national level (Emilio, 06/05/2022).

[We should] make the university a reference for teaching, in the short term and in the medium term, be a reference in research and internationalization. It is urgent that Angolan universities start collaborating with foreign universities with recognized capabilities so that Angolans gain know-how and experience in research and innovation. (Daniel, 06/08/2022).

Overall, the leadership team demonstrated a robust commitment to their goals for UniDondi throughout the timeframe of this research project. It is safe to assume that commitment will continue.

Challenges

Challenges for UniDondi are many. Quite early in the research process, one participant commented on the challenges presented by globalization:

Globalization with its recession and competition promotion is one of those forces challenging any project geared towards helping the needy, especially in Africa. Resources are being exported with the aim of buying spaces in the worldwide market, leaving countries and flock impoverished and so, unable to contribute as one should expect to the local initiatives to speed up development and eradicate poverty. (Antonio, 02/27/2019).

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Among the more commonly discussed challenges, participants listed funding, human

resources, conflicts within the development team, and difficulty obtaining approval from the

government. Of these, the biggest concerns were for adequate faculty, facilities, and finances.

> Financial and human resources. The project is big and require a big investments in terms
> of financial resources and qualified human mind (Antonio, 02/27/2019).

> To erect the definitive facilities of UniDondi and to equip them with modern equipment,
> academic, laboratory and institutional support (Hugo, 02/28/2019).

> Finding trusted and qualified human resources who could join and commit themselves to
> work hard and believe it will work (Antonio, 06/17/2022).

> Lack of human resources and lack of money. It will be difficult getting people to the rural
> location and finding students. The rural people will need to sell their chickens to pay for
> education and they may go hungry (Bernardo, 10/21/2019).

> Challenges include insufficient financial resources and the probable default by some
> students. Also lack of housing support for students from distant provinces (Fernando,
> 07/11/2022).

Fernando's and Bernardo's comments above, reveal another ongoing concern. While

serving the traditional, rural population around the Dondi Mission Station was clearly important,

both for reasons of economic inequality and historic mission, the leadership recognized that the

rural setting also made the already significant challenges in terms of financial and human

resources even more dramatic.

> The project encounters many challenges. Among them, I describe the following:
> Teachers should be expected to come from Huambo and Bie provinces. Where the money
> for food, diesel and gasoline for teachers would come from? Students would also come
> from Huambo and Bié. Maybe even from Benguela, Cuanza Sul and other places. There
> isn't any attraction nor reason would justify students to leave government and private
> higher training schools of their homes and come to Dondi, a place which does not offer
> any good standards of life. No housing, no internet, no electricity, no food as they only
> produce corn and beans. The rains are not regular which makes evens these crops not to
> be granted every year (Bernardo, 06/15/2022).

The most immediate and obvious roadblock for the university was the lack of

government authorization. Throughout the timeframe of this study, the leadership team

consistently held that official approval was imminent. The Angolan government, however,

repeatedly frustrated those plans.

> The other challenge not less is the government strict rules in recognizing and providing credentials for a college to be started (Antonio, 02/27/2019).

> Also, the church does not own the land, as the government owns all the land in Angola (Bernardo, 10/21//2019).

> The slowness in authorization, that is the bureaucracy in Angola (Fernando, 07/11/2022).

> We must get it legal by the Angolan government (Antonio, 06/17/2022)

Finally, although no one wanted to be quoted directly regarding conflict within the

planning team, it was a constant theme during my October 2019 visit and a few participants

alluded to that challenge in some more recent conversations.

> The last challenge is the capacity to run a college as a part of present church management culture. (Antonio, 02/27/2019).

> The challenges encountered so far have mainly been the organization of work teams, speed in planning and implementation. The challenges for the future will be the establishment of trust, to train teachers in the domain of English, develop infrastructure, permanent pedagogical and technical training of teachers (Daniel, 06/08/2022).

Receiving only one mention among all the lists of challenges, even though it seems like a

serious issue to this researcher: access to the internet at Dondi is severely limited.

Partnerships

As a member of the Angola Partnership Team, I was considered one of the "partners" on the project, even though APT financial resources were limited and our partnership had been established as one of faith and friendship, not as grantors and grantees. As Americans, however, we were viewed as having access to many resources and indeed APT did marshal resources for IECA, when possible and when asked. My position as a member of APT probably made it difficult for the participants to say anything very critical of partnerships in general, and as such I received positive comments overall. In reality, most of the funding for UniDondi up until July of 2022 came from Bread for the World, Germany, a non-governmental organization that served as an occasional social program funding source for IECA projects.

In order to understand the comments from the participants on the topic of partnerships, and in fact, in order to understand the case itself, it would help to follow the development of the re-established relationship between the UCC in the United States and IECA in Angola. As the sole researcher and a member of the Angola Partnership Team, I offer this narrative of that relationship from my own experience, an experience shared with members of IECA. A table summarizing the partnership and the participants' comments follows the narrative.

The partnership between IECA and the UCC was re-established in 2004 as a result of the fact that the daughter of the General Secretary of IECA at the time was a student at the University of Chicago and was attending weekly worship at University Church, UCC. Through this relationship, the Angola Partnership Team of the Illinois Conference of the United Church of Christ was formed. I was a member of a UCC church in Rockford, IL, and members of our church were invited to join the newly created APT. This began my interest in Angola. One Sunday in May of 2005, a member of IECA came through the area on his way home to Angola

after finishing a program of study here in the states and he had dinner with my family. This began my friendship with the people of Angola.

Members of APT soon arranged a visit to Angola and members of IECA visited the US in return. The first large scale joint project involved raising money to build a "first cycle" school in Waku Kungo, Angola, grades equivalent to K-6 here in the United States. The school was completed in 2010 and the project was deemed a success. Visits back and forth continued. For these visits, each partner paid for their own air travel, but given the unequal access to resources, the APT paid for the bulk of the additional expenses.

My first visit to Angola was in the summer of 2016. During the trip, I was taken to several mission stations, churches, hospitals, and schools in the central highlands. On July 31, I attended an informational meeting held at the Provincial Synod offices in Huambo, where I learned about the UniDondi project. During a visit to the Bailundo Mission Station the following day, the APT visitors were asked by the local congregation if we could please help to provide new hymnals for the IECA congregations. This would become our next project and it would be connected to UniDondi.

Early in 2017, the IECA leadership asked APT directly if we could help with the production of the new hymnals because they did not have the needed printing facilities in Angola and they did not have foreign currency to have the printing done elsewhere. This was a pattern that had worked for them in the past when they needed something that was unavailable in the country. By going through an international partner, the cost of printing was approximately cut in half for the Angolans, as they were able to avoid the poor exchange rate and high fees of the Angolan banking system. Furthermore, they indicated that the revenue from the sale of the hymnals would be used to finance the university. They estimated that they needed $135,000 to

print the hymnals, but that the projected revenue from sales would bring in $450,000, yielding a substantial profit that would go toward building the facilities for UniDondi. APT funded the hymnal project with the help of money from the Illinois Conference that had been designated for international mission. In 2018, 50,000 hymnals arrived in Lubango, a friendly port with dockworkers sympathetic to IECA, and the transfer went smoothly. Unfortunately, the hymnals did not sell as expected.

In the summer of 2017, while the hymnal effort was underway, three professors involved in the UniDondi project came to stay in the US for a few months to learn English and seek support for UniDondi. They stayed in homes of APT members. During speaking engagements and in private conversations, the lead professor would repeat, emphatically, that the university would open in March of 2018. While this seemed nearly impossible from our perspective, one encouraging sign came early in 2018 when Bread for the World, Germany announced an initial grant of 200,000 Euros with an additional 1.8 million Euros to follow if the partnership proceeded as planned. Building began shortly thereafter on the initial phase of UniDondi in keeping with the guidelines of Bread for the World, that is, multiple construction bids using local workers with specific reporting requirements.

In June of 2018, two APT members traveled to Angola for a month to initiate a Language Institute in Huambo, Angola at the request of IECA. The creation of the Language Institute would prove to be another ongoing joint project of APT and IECA and it was supposed to offer support for UniDondi. According to the original plan, UniDondi would open as a bilingual university, offering classes in English and Portuguese. The IECA leadership felt this would offer valuable English language instruction to its faculty and students while at the same time

strengthening ties to English speaking countries. Some of the Bread for the World money was used to rehabilitate the former seminary in Huambo, and this building became the Language Institute.

In June of 2019, I joined the two English teachers who were returning to the Language Institute for another session. I taught English for only a month but one of the teachers was planning to stay for at least two years. APT raised money to rehabilitate her living quarters in the Language Institute building. I returned in October to attend meetings for UniDondi and to conduct further research. At that point the Language Institute was thriving with over 200 students. The leader of the university development team announced that the university would open in March of 2020 with 400 students. They still had not yet received government approval to open and it soon became clear that there was tension over who would be asked to assume the position of director of the institution.

During my visit in October of 2019, I again toured the UniDondi facilities, which by this time consisted of a central structure with four classrooms, a separate structure with four additional classrooms, bathrooms, showers, a small kitchenette/café and a courtyard. There was one additional building that would serve as the library. They asked for donations of books in English or Portuguese. There is no easy way to order books in Angola, but there is also no easy way to bring a substantial number of heavy books in luggage. Nevertheless, I said the visiting team members would bring a few books with them in the upcoming visit, planned for January 2020.

APT members and a few other UCC church members visited Angola in January, 2020, and stayed in the homes of IECA church members for the first time. We had previously always

been asked to stay in hotels. I stayed at the home of the deputy governor of Huambo province. She would later become governor. The team visited Dondi, where the construction had slowed and some vandalism had occurred. There was still no approval from the government for the university to open, but the development team said that the university would certainly gain government approval to open in October. Eventually we learned that Bread for the World would not release additional funds until "site A," now named the Currie Institute, was up and running.

On the morning of March 20, 2020, the Angolan government announced that it would close all its borders at midnight due to the looming pandemic. With the help of the US Embassy, the teacher at the Language Institute was evacuated a few days later on a charter flight operated by Chevron. Much global activity moved online and the digital divide between IECA and its international partners made meetings difficult, but some communication by email and by Zoom continued. A joint meeting of APT, Bread for the World, and IECA leadership finally took place November 18, 2021, on Zoom. The architect provided by Bread for the World went over the plan for "site B," named University City (see Appendix D), which was to be constructed on the property, closer to the main road and set apart from the Currie Institute. In the meeting, Bread for the World repeated the requirement that IECA would need to get site A operational, and find matching or near matching funds, in order to receive the additional 1.8 million Euros.

By 2022, pandemic era restrictions had eased. In late January, the Ministry of Higher Education visited the campus of UniDondi and required an administrative building be added to site A of the project. That building was completed by March, but there was still no government approval. The General Secretary of IECA met with the President of Angola late in March to discuss the government's approval and support for the UniDondi project. By April there were

suggestions from IECA leaders that some government money might be accepted for the needed matching funds from Bread for the World. I returned once again in June to further my research. A visit to Dondi revealed serious deterioration in the areas built in site A. The library now contained a few books and 18 computers, but there was significant water damage. While there, I saw a group of local young people touring the facility despite the broken windows, falling ceiling tiles, and evidence of past bat infestation. Things did not appear to be going well. Then, quite suddenly it seemed, the government of Angola officially recognized the Dondi Mission Station as a historic heritage site with a ceremony on July 31 (*Dondi Mission Elevated to National Heritage - Angola*, 2022). Soon after and unbeknownst to APT, the government assumed the cost of construction and began the building of site B.

I returned to Angola in May of 2023, in what would be my last visit before the timeline set for my research would expire. The visit to the Dondi Mission Station revealed that site B of the university was being built rapidly by a Chinese construction company. Some said it was being built according to the plan agreed upon with Bread for the World (see Appendix D), others disagreed. I learned that Bread for the World had withdrawn their support due to a lack of transparency on the part of the government contractor. Through my visit, APT learned that the university would be funded entirely with government money. Feelings within APT and within IECA on this development are mixed. As of this writing, the IECA leadership believes that government approval will come once the building is complete and IECA names a director for the institution.

Below is a summary in table form of the events described above.

Table 3: Partnership timeline

2002
End of civil war in Angola.
2004
Partnership re-established between IECA and the Illinois Conference of the United Church of Christ, Angola Partnership Team (APT).
2005
The author shares her first meal with a member of IECA who is visiting the Chicago area in May on his way back to Angola after spending a year at Princeton Theological Seminary. Our families will become good friends.
First visit to Angola by the members of the APT.
2007-2009
IECA leadership visits the US briefly and together IECA and APT raise money to build a school in Waku Kungo, Angola. The donation from APT is $87,000, which is enough to build a six-room elementary school, with offices. This is the first large-scale joint project between IECA and APT.
2010
APT members attend ribbon cutting ceremony for the school in WakuKungo, Angola. Initial enrollment is 618 students. The project is deemed a success.
2015
Members of IECA visit the US and stay with members of APT in their homes. This is primarily a relationship building visit.
2016
The author visits Angola for the first time, with other members of APT and is asked to join a planning commission for UniDondi.
2017
Three professors who plan to teach at UniDondi once it opens come to the USA to stay for a few months, June-September, to learn English and seek support for the UniDondi project
APT is asked to help provide new hymnals for IECA. The printing of the hymnals will take place in Portugal.

Table 3 (cont.)

2018
Bread for the World, Germany provides initial grant money of 200,000 Euros with 1.8 million Euros to follow if the partnership proceeds as planned. Regular meetings with and monitoring by Bread for the World will take place over the next four years.
At the request of IECA, two APT members go to Angola for a month to initiate a Language Institute in Huambo, Angola.
50,000 hymnals arrive in Lubango, a friendly port for IECA avoids any problems with customs.
2019
The author joins the two teachers who are returning to the Language Institute in June to teach English. One teacher plans to stay indefinitely. APT donates $40,000 to rehabilitate the building.
The author returns to Angola in October to attend meetings for UniDondi and to conduct further research. Tension is evident around the topic of who will lead the new institution.
2020
APT members and other UCC church members visit Angola in January. The team visits Dondi where the construction has slowed, and some vandalism has occurred.
The teacher at the Language Institute is evacuated in March, due to the pandemic.
2021
The digital divide between IECA and its international partners makes meetings difficult, but communication by email and by Zoom with those who have access continues.
A joint meeting of APT, Bread for the World, and IECA takes place, November 18, on Zoom. Bread for the World reveals the plan for "University City" (see Appendix D).
2022
The Ministry of Higher Education visits the campus of UniDondi and requires an administrative building be added to site A of the project. The building is completed by March.
The General Secretary of IECA meets with the President of Angola in March to discuss the government's approval and support for the UniDondi project.
The author returns once again in June to further her research. A visit to Dondi reveals serious deterioration in the areas built in site A.

Table 3 (cont.)

The government of Angola officially recognizes the Dondi Mission Station as a historic heritage site with a ceremony on July 31 (*Dondi Mission Elevated to National Heritage - Angola*, 2022).
The government assumes the cost of construction and begins to build site B. Bread for the World withdraws their support due to a lack of transparency on the part of the government contractor.
2023
The author visits Angola in May and sees that site B of the university is being built rapidly by a Chinese construction company with government funding. No director has been named and no approval given yet for UniDondi.

It was within the context of this ongoing relationship that the participants made statements to me about partnerships during interviews and by email throughout the research process. In 2019, participants merely recognized and praised the partnerships: "The partners have made the best of both material and spiritual support for the implementation of this project, specifically the Illinois Conference (USA) and the Bread for the world (Germany)" (Hugo, 02/28/2019). Most comments were still positive in 2022: "They gave us courage and believed in us, which raised our self-esteem. The funding they provided was and will continue to be a decisive factor. It was and will be necessary support in the exchange of experiences" (Fernando, 07/11/2022). As the project wore on and frustrations built, participants' remarks carried more specific meanings. The criticism that did emerge centered on communication and monitoring use of funds: "So far monitoring has been a great difficulty" (Emilio, 06/5/2022). And yet it was often prefaced with a positive comment:

> The closeness in the talks and the ready willingness to carry out the planned actions were most useful. Reality has been difficult. Our desires are greater than the partners' availabilities and the local organization is not always compatible with the partners' organization (Daniel, 06/08/2022).

> Most useful has been commitment and true support financial, moral, and technical, fellowship and accompaniment with exchange of knowledge and experiences, exposure to their [the partners'] educative realities for learning experiences, and expectation for

long-lasting connection. It has been difficult to reach their quality reporting expectations, something that we were learning slowly until we got to the point. We work to build trust and believe things will move out well (Antonio, 06/17/2022).

It is interesting that criticism regarding oversight came from both directions, some

claimed the demands were too high and others argued there should have been more:

Bread for the World, Germany, is training the administrator of the project, training the architect, training the engineer, which is I can say is a very professional relationship. Talking about the United States and Canada, we have started very well, but I feel that in the middle of the way we are lost. We had a lot of misunderstandings. They [partners from USA and Canada] should have demanded more transparency with the sales of the hymn books (Gustavo, 07/12/2022).

Bernardo offered the longest reflection on the difficulties in the partnership in his

discussion of the hymnbook/university project specifically:

Regarding the international partners working on UniDondi project, the most useful contributions, in my opinion, were from the Angola Partnership Team and the Bread for the World. There is a kind of "fiscalização" in their approach to the project. The spiritual and financial support from them make the UniDondi workers responsible and accountable. A kind of positive pressure makes UniDondi members report and justify why the planned due dates to start the school are not fulfilled.

I don't know with certainty what the most difficulties are between the project leaders and the partners. What I believe may be difficult is the fact of UniDondi keep announcing the inauguration of the new institution for more than 5 years. In each year an optimistic statement is produced announcing the next year as the date to start the studies. I know the partners who invested their money in a hymn book project expecting the outcome revenues of selling such hymns to support the building of the university may have not understand well the failure of the plans. Questions like the young generation not being interested in traditional hymns, lack of employment of young people who are the majority of the Angolan population, the possibility of having digital hymn copies may be among other reasons which made the investment to fail. (Bernardo, 06/15/2022).

The most significant partnership event in the UniDondi project, however, turned out to be

a surprise for everyone involved: the loss of Bread for the World as an international partner.

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Transition to Government Funding

As the search for the matching funds demanded by Bread for the World dragged on,

attitudes surrounding the use of government money for the university gradually began to change.

Early in the project, the participants emphasized that UniDondi would be free of any government

funding or interference and would serve as a model institution for others to follow. When the

leadership team visited the United States in 2017, they repeatedly stated that they were creating a

"an independent, bilingual university free of government interference" (Gustavo, 06/2017). An

earlier attempt to start this project had been abandoned when government funding was found to

come with certain demands that IECA deemed unacceptable. More than one of the participants

explained that the earlier attempt under previous administrations, both in the church and

government, failed because the government would only have allowed the project to begin if

IECA made certain payments and gave certain privileges to government officials. Antonio

described their desire to create an institution free of government interference this way in 2019:

> The educational system in the nation became so corrupted, fragile and unreliable,
> including higher education. The whole system needed profound reformation to meet the
> required needs. We need to give a hand in changing the situation and have something to
> stand as a model, adjusting our policies and practices to be more transparent, efficient,
> and effective to ensure no corruption prevails (Antonio, 2/27/2019).

Once it was understood that the additional funding from Bread for the World required

significant matching funds from another source and no independent source could be found, a

strategy and argument emerged that allowed for the acceptance of government money. As

Bernado explained it in 2022:

> The most important goal to achieve for the University project is, in my perspective, that
> the General Synod should appoint, in consultation with the IECA lay teachers, a
> UniDondi leader who should be someone skilled in the field of academics whose past
> may not have been threatened by corruption. The General Synod should then make
> photographs of the MPLA mottos written by Cubans and FAPLA [armed forces of the

MPLA] in Dondi's Institute walls. The MPLA pictures and political propaganda in favor of the ruling party is a proof of a direct involvement of MPLA in the 1970s to destroy Dondi. A court case should be started in Cachiungo [nearby village] and certainly Cachiungo government would not be able to pay. It would be transferred to Huambo government who as well could not pay. Being Angolan economy centralized, only Luanda, i.e., the central government would be able to respond. Just to underline that it will be a difficult project to be implemented, unless the government and /or partners join hands to contribute to this success in this initial stage.
(Bernardo, 06/15/2022)

As it turned out, a court case was not pursued. In summary, the justification for receiving government support was that the MPLA had destroyed the property and all the buildings at the Dondi Mission Station during the war and then went on to become the government, so the government should help pay to rebuild it (Carlos, 04/20/2022). The leadership of IECA met with government officials in 2022, and perhaps aided by the pressures of an election year, the MPLA government decided to fund the UniDondi project, or ISP Dondi, as they named it.

The government insisted on hiring a "trusted" Chinese contractor for the construction, "This is very trusted, the company. It is the company that rebuilt the railway after the war. It was all destroyed but they were able to connect Bengala to almost the Zambia and the Congo. These are a very good quality" (highly placed government official, 05/10/2023). There was no open bidding process for the project and the contract shows that the government funded the project for approximately eleven million dollars. The signatories to the contract were the Provincial Synod (IECA) of Huambo (not the IECA General Synod in Luanda) and the construction company. The Angolan government then paid the funds directly to the contractor. The Provincial Secretary who signed the contract is a IECA pastor and the official leader of the UniDondi planning commission. Some members of the team thought this was a good idea, others did not agree.

As a result of the lack of transparency surrounding the bidding process for the construction project, Bread for the World withdrew its support. This loss of an international partner was a disappointment to many on the leadership team. Others felt it was a necessary compromise. Regardless, the Angolan government is now the sole funder of the university project at Dondi and trust in the government is not widespread. Some participants suggested that the contractors were not building all the buildings outlined in the architectural plan and were keeping the extra money for themselves. According to some of the planning team, this turn of events puts IECA and the UniDondi project in a precarious position.

> [It is possible] that the church will lose the control of the university and it will not be a school with a program that creates free minds, to create minds with the values and principles of democracy, of entrepreneurship, etc." (Gustavo, 05/14/2023).

> Corruption to co-opt the Church to kill the prophetic voice. Future generations of IECA will pay a high bill (Carlos, 05/10/2023)

As of this writing, the university has not received final approval from the government and is not able to enroll students, but the building is progressing quickly. Announcing the director will be the first step. There may be a power struggle in their future, or things may proceed smoothly.

Conclusion

There is a sense in which none of this is surprising: A group of people, connected by shared values and a vision, have an ambitious plan to expand educational opportunities in a region. They find motivation in stories of their past, history as memory is powerful. They aspire to help their poor and disempowered neighbors. They face challenges in funding and some

personal conflicts. They ask for help. They must make compromises to achieve their goals. Some

of them are bitterly disappointed. Others continue to hope.

While this may not be surprising, it is important in that we all need it to succeed for

reasons of peace, justice, wellbeing, and global prosperity. It is important because it is needed.

One participant offered closing words of encouragement:

> Let us not give up our dreaming for the better future. Our resilience will help us not
> deviate from such a dream of being free and never back into slavery. We need to do away
> with any kind of oppression. Therefore the worst and more oppressive status is ignorance,
> illiteracy which is also, the real source of poverty, suffering and early deaths. We also
> want to leave the dreams to our next generations, so when they read past and present
> history, they will want to emulate it (Antonio, 07/08/2022).

CHAPTER 5: FORCES SHAPING THE UNIDONDI PROJECT

Globalization in the UniDondi Context

In the previous chapter we heard the hopes and dreams of some of the people working to open this new institution. Initially, those dreams were to be made manifest with complete independence from the government, but that proved impossible, or at least improbable enough that a compromise was found and now the only funding source is the one-party state, the MPLA. This fact suggests an answer to one of the questions posed earlier: What aspects of globalization most directly affect the development of higher education and how do institutions respond? Rapidly expanding globalization, especially global trade, creates income streams. In the case of Angola, the one-party state that controls the primary export, oil, has managed to siphon off the profits of that global trade. As evidence, until she was forced out by the newly elected president, Jean Lourenco, Isabel Dos Santos, daughter of the previous president, was the chair of Sonangol, Angola's state-run oil company, and the richest woman in Africa. Although the current administration has made attempts to bring some former officials to justice for corruption, they have shown no willingness to give up their exclusive access to the income streams produced by oil exports. This economic power gained through global trade solidifies their political power, and that power maintains their control of economic life in Angola. It is a self-reinforcing feedback loop.

There are few opportunities outside of the control of the MPLA and absent free and fair elections, there is no incentive for the MPLA to create any. This directly affects higher education, as it is not allowed to develop without complete reliance on the government, despite

policies that seem to indicate otherwise (Conselho de Ministros, 2010). The development team

for UniDondi was unable to raise adequate funding without government cooperation and once

involved in the project, the government was unwilling to follow the rules set out by Bread for the

World. The only choice for the institution, therefore, was to concede to greater levels of

government control than they had initially hoped. In response to our question, then, it becomes

clear that one aspect of globalization that directly affects higher education is the incentive

provided by wealth and its companion, power, created by global trade. Institutions of higher

education respond by attempting to access that wealth, for they need funding to do their work,

and this forces them to create links to profit seeking businesses or powerful governments, which

in turn shapes their missions.

Another question posed earlier: How does the link between globalization and

massification of higher education play out in the Global South or at least in the case of

UniDondi? This question was answered in part in chapter one. Simply put, the reordering of the

social, political, and economic environment that occurs as broadly, globally held ideas and

globally developed systems and products descend upon a society, creates opportunities and

threats. Higher education is perceived as one way to capture the opportunities created by

globalization, and thus globalization spurs massification, as demand for access increases. At the

same time, market fundamentalism, a key feature of neoliberalism and a key concept within

global capitalism, brings business models and profit motives to bear on higher education. Areas

with little access to higher education thus find that private institutions proliferate as business

ventures, often with little attention to quality, however that may be defined. Thus, globalization

drives massification by increasing demand while incentivizing suppliers of low-quality higher

education offerings. The members of the development team are aware of the market incentives

for low-quality, profit-seeking educational institutions and are hoping to avoid this in the case of UniDondi. As one participant put it, "In terms of purpose or aims, the majority of other schools are somehow related to business. I mean the owners expect to increase or multiply their money, while UniDondi is related to improve human knowledge, skills and abilities" (Bernardo, 02/10/2019). The team maintains the hope that they will be able to offer a high-quality institution in rural Angola. Unfortunately, quality is costly, and resources are limited.

Quality higher education can serve as a vehicle for human development and empowerment for good. Clearly these are the motives behind most of the comments from the development team for UniDondi. They want the graduates of UniDondi to help society, but to do so, they need jobs. The participants in this study did not see any contradiction between higher education as bestowing gains on the individual and higher education as bestowing gains on society as a whole, but they did recognize that students would need to pay something for their education when they voiced concerns about the institution becoming self-sustaining. They clearly view education as a path to gainful employment for the individual graduate who would then go out and do good things for their community. One participant suggested "merging volunteerism and good salaries" (Antonio, 02/27/2019).

Jobs that pay a good salary are not abundant in Angola, however. The majority of paychecks in Angola come from the government. IECA is one of the few organizations that offers a paycheck with no direct connection to the government, but while IECA does pay its pastors (often intermittently), most pastors also have a government job. They work as lawyers or as professors, for example, and they benefit from having two salaries. Higher education is

viewed as a path to a job, but getting a job is by no means guaranteed and most jobs still come

from the government. One person described the typical process this way:

> "The government is still the most jobs paycheck. All the graduates expect the government to employ them. The private sector is very unstable. There are some laws now enforcing the private employers to grant retirement to their employees but generally it is not observed. Many graduates ask money from their parents or guardians to give them money with the aim of paying those who have power of admissions. The aim is to pay them and deserve their favor during the selection process. I know people who paid eight hundred thousand kwanza each to get jobs. The more a job pays the better salary the more it costs. There were people who paid one million and one and one half million to get employed" (Bernardo, 06/07/2023).

This is why the participant who mourned the acceptance of government funding for

UniDondi mentioned the loss of "entrepreneurship, etc" (Gustavo, 05/14/2023). Not just because

entrepreneurship might bring new products and individual wealth, but rather because it could

bring new systems and processes, which in turn could create a more diversified economy that

would serve a greater percentage of the population. New ideas and a more diversified economy,

however, might dilute the power of the government, which currently holds almost exclusive

power over gainful employment. It must be understood, then, that this desire for "good jobs" is

not some sort of neoliberal plea for increasing privatization, it is an Angolan plea for decreasing

corruption.

There is something more here, though, and it involves education as a means of social

reproduction. It also begins to address the question of what local forces will be at work in this

case and how those local forces interact with global ones. In their work on the globalization of

education, Robertson and Dale emphasized the importance of a close examination of how "the

cultural, political, and economic—as distinct kinds of determinations—work on, in, and through

education" (Robertson & Dale, 2015, p. 154). A university is only one element of any education

"ensemble," that is, the "complex collective construction of the social world…[that] involves an

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array of actors and other institutions beyond the obvious," but it seems clear that that the education ensembles in Angola would vary from the rural areas to the urban areas and the influence of global and local forces would vary with the setting. Since education is part of the process of social reproduction, there is a sense in which any university will shape the social world it serves. It also seems clear that, in the case of UniDondi, there is a power struggle for who will oversee the construction of that social world. A new university will shape the education ensemble of the region, but in what way and in whose favor. The IECA leaders spoke of their wish to influence the values of young people. At the same time, the MPLA certainly wants to stay in control of the government and the entire country, including the rural areas. It is also likely that the chiefs would prefer to maintain their power in the villages. How are each of these actors responding to global forces and what impact do they have? Both the church and the state are influenced by and responding to global forces, both presently and historically. Umbundu culture, perhaps much less so. Whose society will this project reproduce? This is yet to be seen.

As noted earlier, the specifics of this case created additional questions for the researcher: How can the creation of a new university possibly be accomplished given the limited resources of the sponsoring institution? What do they hope to achieve given the political and economic realities within Angola? At this point the answer seems to be that the creation of UniDondi can only be done with funds from the government. The development committee hopes to achieve much, as shown in chapter four, but to do so, they must have an institution open and operating, something that may only be happening now that the government is involved. When asked if the government would exercise any power over the university once it opened, the answer from a government official was that no, the government was very willing to let the church run the institution as long as the curriculum met government standards. The government official

went on to explain that the government would only step in and help if needed (highly placed government official, 5/10/2023). The follow up questions, though they were never asked, might have been: "Does the government intentionally make it so that nothing can succeed without government help and influence? Is it a threat to the power of the MPLA to have something succeed without them?" Regardless of the answers to these questions, it does seem apparent that government funding brought the project much closer to completion, much more quickly than it otherwise would have.

Recall that one of the main goals for UniDondi was to become a globally competitive full-fledged research institution one day. For comparison, in a 2010 article, Hugo Horta from the University of Lisbon discussed the role of the Portuguese government in helping its leading universities compete at the international level. According to Horta, as Portugal transformed from an authoritarian state to a more democratic government, the state-controlled university system transformed into a state-sponsored system. For this article, Horta explored whether the state-sponsored system was successful in developing Portuguese universities that could compete at the international level. Focusing primarily on measurements of scientific production and international collaboration from the late 20th C to the early 21stC, Horta concluded that even with a state-sponsored rather than a state-controlled system, substantial state funding was needed to integrate Portuguese universities into the global higher education arena (Horta, 2010). The lesson Horta drew from his case study was that merely providing a regulatory system was not enough for "catching-up" countries, rather, strong public investment was needed and that state funding was and would always be a significant factor in the pace of "catching up." This is relevant to the case of UniDondi in that, as Horta pointed out, Portugal functions in the global system as a bridge between itself, as an EU country, and its former colonies (Horta, 2010). As described

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above, Angola's higher education system has also experienced a transition from a state-controlled system to a state-sponsored system and UniDondi, like its Portuguese counterparts, would like to compete at the international level. It may turn out that the compromise with the Angolan government for funding the UniDondi project was absolutely necessary. Time will tell.

Returning now to the question: What aspects of globalization most directly affect the development of higher education and how do institutions respond? It must be noted that there are other elements of globalization to explore in this case, some more important than others, but still clearly relevant, for example, the power of English as a globalizing force. Recall in chapter one the discussion of world university rankings and the increasing influence of those rankings on the direction of higher education. Since research output is an important element in the algorithms of those rankings and the majority of academic publications are in English, demand for English language classes has increased and English has become, in many ways, the language of the academy (Altbach, 2016; King, 2009). This aspect of globalization puts many schools at a distinct disadvantage, and in response, many non-English speaking countries in the Global South, such as Angola, have greatly expanded their efforts to teach English (Altbach, 2016). It is not surprising then, that as part of the development of UniDondi, a language institute was opened to offer English classes in Huambo. It might naturally be assumed that access to publications and greater global prestige were the primary motivations for this move. One member of the development team put forth a slightly different argument, however, when he explained, "We are surrounded by English speaking countries: Zambia, Namibia, South Africa. We want to learn English so we can talk to our neighbors and foster regional friendships" (Bernardo, 10/21/2019). In all likelihood, regional and global motivations both shared a part in the decision to open a

language institute to teach English in support of UniDondi and both now demonstrate the ever-expanding power of the English language in higher education and beyond.

Another aspect of globalization that affects higher education, and is relevant to the case here, is internationalization in the form of international partnerships. As shown above, the development team of UniDondi has already been working with two international partners, one of whom has since withdrawn their support. The members have focused on funding thus far and were somewhat disappointed in what their partners could provide. It is interesting to note that the participants criticized their partners for their financial oversight at both extremes. According to member statements, Bread for the World was considered, at times, to be overly demanding in its reporting procedures, while the Angola Partnership Team was deemed not demanding enough. In both cases it seems that communication was a problem. This resonates with the study completed by Karen Biraimah. While her study of the partnership between the University of Central Florida and the University of Botswana differed in that it was an agreement between two ongoing higher education institutions, her conclusions that the primary problems in the partnership developed due to differences in report design and detail, speed of communication, and accounting practices, which together created feelings of frustration, anxiety, and resentment in the partners were similar to the case of UniDondi. She called for higher education professionals to carefully create terms of engagement and issue memos of understanding to make sure the partnership worked well for both players (Biraimah, 2016). Perhaps the same could have helped in the case of UniDondi. Perhaps the same will help going forward.

The UniDondi team would like to increase their international partnerships. They specifically mentioned that they will need outside support in order to expand their research

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capacity, raise their status, and gain access to additional financial resources, and in this way they are in a similar situation to many other institutions in the Global South (Obamba & Mwema, 2009). This will be particularly challenging for UniDondi, however, as a new institution with no established reputation in a country known for low-quality higher education, operating under the constraints of and possible interference from the MPLA government (Teferra & Altbach, 2003).

Local Forces

Every space has its own social, political, and economic features that influence and are influenced by more general, global forces. The transformationalists recognize that the impact and shape of globalization in any given location depends on more local circumstances (Held et al., 1999). While the discussion of the impact of globalization thus far has not hesitated to integrate aspects of the local space that is UniDondi, two specific local forces are worthy of individual attention. The first, a unifying force, is the power of founding narratives, and the second, more divisive, is the dynamics of power within IECA.

The participants hold a deep desire to "revive and raise the good work of Dondi's mission since its foundation for today" (Emilio, 06/05/2022). This creates a formidable determination and persistence in the face of some obvious challenges. Market analysis would probably indicate that UniDondi should be built in Huambo city, and there was serious discussion regarding the disadvantages of the rural location in the early years of planning. Infrastructure for communication and transportation is lacking at the Dondi Mission Station and in the surrounding areas. People living outside the cities in Angola have no connection to the global knowledge network and are not integrated into the formal economy. The obstacles are many, as one participant stated, "the rural people will need to sell their chickens to pay for

education and they may go hungry" (Bernardo, 10/21/2019). The profound determination that "a tree cut off from its roots cannot grow" has kept the project alive despite these challenges (Antonio, 6/14/2019). The roots are at the Dondi Mission Station, and thus UniDondi must be located there.

The strength of the participants' attachment to and belief in the positive work of the missionaries is a local force that bends and shapes every global force related to the work of UniDondi. Maria Chela Chikueka, an Angolan refugee and the first Black woman to be ordained in the United Church of Canada explained it this way:

> Sometimes people complain about the missionaries: how they were—or are—bent on destroying native cultures. Often they ask me what I think. The answer is not simple. Of course mistakes were made. But mistakes, while undeniably serious, are not the special province of missionaries. They are still being made, not only by missionaries but by great numbers of people; not only in Africa but generally.
>
> Clearly, the Portuguese colonial system was very detrimental to the African people. But Protestant missionaries were balm on the wounds brought on by slavery and colonial oppression. In our anguish the missionaries sided with us. They went to jail for us; they tasted our tears and we tasted theirs, and they rejoiced with us in our happy times. The Church created a larger community than that of the extended family, in which everyone felt at home and free to move. The assimilation program during colonialism tried to destroy African culture. The Europeans called savage everything African: people, language, art, names, food, etc. The missionaries, by contrast, protected our culture. They learned our language; they reduced our language to writing; they wrote books about us and our culture, and they translated the Bible into our own tongue.
>
> The missionaries may have misunderstood some aspects of the African culture and tradition. However, the benefit of their work for African people and the relevance of the church's work in Angola will never be erased from the history of the universal church (Chikueka, 1999, pp xiv-xv).

This respect for the founders creates the sense that because the ancestors believed offering education was something worth doing in the past, even under challenging conditions, it

is worth doing now. Of course, conditions are much different now, and one of the most significant differences is the existence of pervasive global capitalism and advanced communication technologies. Education at the Dondi Mission Station in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was tied into local knowledge with a US and Canadian presence that connected them to the global knowledge network of the day. The missionaries learned the Umbundu language, created a writing system using Latin script, and taught literacy using the Bible. This was in keeping with the standards of the time. The missionaries themselves provided the connection to the global knowledge network.

One problem facing UniDondi today is the need for a connection to the twenty-first century global knowledge network, but they do not have the resources or skills to access it. The standards of education in the twenty-first century, especially higher education, require a connection to the internet. While the participants, all highly educated Angolans, did not mention this as a primary challenge in the development of the UniDondi project, it seems that if they want to achieve their goals, they will need to find a way to incorporate both local knowledge and twenty-first century access to knowledge and communication networks. They seem vaguely aware of this, as they purchased computers for the library, but given the unreliable electricity and limited or lacking internet access, it seems unlikely that this will be sufficient for a successful tertiary institution. In addition, the library has only a few donated books and no easy way to obtain additional volumes. The mere presence of the missionaries, or in this case international partners, will not provide all they need to successfully access the global knowledge network.

While this reverence for the work of the missionaries provides motivation and unity in the face of many challenges, there are other local forces at work that create division and strife.

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As a denomination of approximately 1.5 million members, IECA is a powerful organization by its sheer size. Also by its sheer size, there exists multiple sites of power and conflicting visions of the relationship of the church to the broader society. These conflicting visions align with theological divisions that can briefly be summarized as, on one side, a hyper-Calvinist insular, exclusivist vision of the church with an individualistic understanding of sin and salvation, following theologians such as Louis Berkof and Wayne Grudem, verses a broader, ecumenical vision of church with a more corporate, social understanding of sin and salvation in the spirit of Desmond Tutu and Gustavo Gutierrez. Both sides of this tension feel they are carrying out the work of the missionaries discussed above with their theological grounding. The way this plays out in the practical operation and functionality of IECA is that the most powerful province, Huambo, is on one side of the theological divide and regularly clashes with the central IECA authority, the General Synod in Luanda, which is positioned on the opposing side. While they both want UniDondi to succeed, they disagree on the compromises that can be tolerated in order to get the university open and operating. Since higher education is seen as one way to access the benefits provided by globalization, each side in this local conflict is vying for control over the university, its mission, and the benefits it will provide in the form of power to solidify and spread their vision of the relationship between the church and political power.

Why Does This Matter? What's Next?

Developing quality higher education and research capacity is one way to lessen existing global inequalities, both within and between countries (Kimenyi, 2011). Both the Sustainable Development Goals and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, created and promoted by the member nations of the United Nations, clearly indicate that our health and flourishing as a

species on this planet depends on access to quality education for all, and this is perhaps most true for higher education. If we want to thrive globally, we must also thrive locally and nationally and the best way to do that is to educate "critically thinking, environmental-friendly, politically active citizens" in every space (Chankseliani et al., 2021, p. 125). UNESCO reminds us that "limited access to higher education entails a host of other related social, political and economic problems. The road to economic growth and prosperity in the developing world will either stagnate or be bound to end altogether, if the progress from limited access to education does not succeed" (UNESCO, 2020, p. 46). It is therefore important to understand the many and sometimes unique challenges to the expansion of higher education in any setting, especially in areas previously lacking such access.

The case of UniDondi involves some common challenges such as funding and faculty, but it is more important to consider why those common challenges persist, and why they are so very common, after all. They persist in part due to global forces that create access to wealth, which in turn creates a power struggle as various individuals and institutions battle to control the wealth and the influence it provides. If some part of the task of higher education is to create politically active citizens, then in an area such as Angola, operating under a one-party state, the anti-democratic forces will be fighting for their very survival. This is why the source of funding became such a contentious issue within the UniDondi project and why it will be important to evaluate the extent of its influence going forward.

To be clear, this is not simply a fight between "good" democratic forces and "bad" autocratic forces. This is a much more complicated set of social and political relationships operating in an area that truly needs higher education and for whom the addition of a high-quality tertiary institution would benefit all parties. In fact, everyone has a stake in the success of this project, and not just for

access to power and wealth. Everyone benefits from critically thinking people to solve problems. Everyone benefits from environmentally friendly people living on this planet we all share. And it is most likely true that, in the long run, everyone benefits from a politically active citizenry, even those currently in power. Again, as UNESCO reminds us, if access to higher education does not expand to meet demand, "the gap between the poor and rich will widen, leading to a rise in worldwide inequality, creating more global despair and conflict" (UNESCO, 2020, p. 46). For this reason we should all care about the future of the UniDondi project and others like it.

There is certainly enough funding and expertise in the global economy to support the expansion and development of higher education in the Global South. The question then becomes, why is such funding and expertise so much less abundant in some areas than others. While Horta (2010) concluded that universities in "catching up" countries succeeded best when financially supported by the government, Chankseliani and colleagues called for universities to "resist being exclusively tied to the needs of the nation-state" (Chankseliani et al., 2021, p. 125). Potentially, a balance between government funding and independent operation must be found. The leadership team of the UniDond project was unable to fulfill their dream of re-establishing Dondi as an educational mission without the funding of the Angolan government. Perhaps it is possible to decouple the university from the power of the government and still accept its funding. Again time, and additional dedicated educational research, will tell.

How do we interpret the ongoing efforts to open a new university and the eventual decision to accept government funding for UniDondi with respect to the influence and power of globalization in the development of higher education? The hyperglobalizers would suggest that national governments will eventually be overcome by the forces of global capitalism, and thus their role in the development of UniDondi may not matter in the long run. The sceptics, on the

other hand, might see this as evidence supporting the argument that globalization will always be managed by the nation state and that the recent celebrations of the Dondi Mission Station as a historic site, for example, served as a symbol of the resulting growing nationalism. In this skeptical view, the UniDondi project will never be able to create a truly independent institution guided by its historic mission. The participants of this study, however, are operating more as transformationalists, patiently working within and around the nation state, harnessing global and local forces to further social, economic, and environmental development, provide opportunities for the people in the surrounding rural areas, and continue the work of the missionaries. They are aiming for a better world.

Expanding higher education in the Global South is important, generally, and the UniDondi project is important, particularly. This will take ongoing study and regular attempts to hear all voices, along with increased efforts to amplify those voices that have previously gone unnoticed. This case study is one opportunity to do just that. In the words of one IECA leader:

> Dondi Mission Station is so important to us because it means people making unity visible and building a community with a purpose. As a leadership teaching place, Dondi was the top of the mountain hierarchy of leadership development set up by the church. Today we are talking of UniDondi in a new context and a new set of needs, but the need of being educated will always be the same all over the world. We need to be educated; people need to be educated (Antonio, 07/08/2022).

With continued research and thoughtful, joint efforts from institutions in both the Global North and Global South, UniDondi and projects like it can harness the benefits of globalization to meet local and global needs and work to make a more sustainable world for all.

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APPENDIX A: APPROVED PROTOCOL FORM

I ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR FOR RESEARCH

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
805 W. Pennsylvania Ave., MC-095
Urbana, IL 61801-4822

Notice of Approval: New Submission

November 15, 2018

Principal Investigator	Mary Witt
CC	Janine Solberg
Protocol Title	*Creating a new university in a globalized world: Goals, challenges, and strategies at ISP Dondi, Angola, a case study*
Protocol Number	19269
Funding Source	Unfunded
Review Type	Exempt 2
Status	Active
Risk Determination	No more than minimal risk
Approval Date	11/15/2018

This letter authorizes the use of human subjects in the above protocol. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed and approved the research study as described.

Exempt protocols are approved for a five year period from their original approval date, after which they will be closed and archived. Researchers may contact our office if the study will continue past five years.

The Principal Investigator of this study is reponsible for:
- Conducting research in a manner consistent with the requirements of the University and federal regulations found at 45 CFR 46.
- Requesting approval from the IRB prior to implementing modifications.
- Notifying OPRS of any problems involving human subjects, including unanticipated events, participant complaints, or protocol deviations.
- Notifying OPRS of the completion of the study.

APPENDIX B: 2019 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is your role at ISP Dondi? How have you been involved in the planning process?
2. What are your short term and long-term goals for this institution?
3. What do you perceive as your greatest challenges for the development of this institution?
4. How is the process of creating a new institution of higher learning here (Dondi) different from the same process elsewhere in the country? Continent? World?
5. How will this institution be unique among institutions of higher learning?
6. What made this the right time to create this institution? In other words, why is this happening now?
7. What local concerns are you trying to address?
8. What global forces do you see influencing the development of this institution and how are you responding to those forces?
9. Do you have any international partnerships in place at this time? Do you have plans for any? If so, please describe those partnerships or plans and what you hope to gain from them.
10. How does the current political and economic climate in Angola affect the process of opening this new institution of higher learning?

APPENDIX C: 2022 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What aspirations do you hold for the future of this new university at Dondi? Please list at least three things.
2. What challenges has the project encountered so far? Please list as many as you can think of.
3. What challenges do you believe the project will encounter in the future?
4. Which goals for the university project do you feel are the most important to achieve?
5. Which challenges seem the most daunting or difficult in this process?
6. Regarding the international partners working on the university project, what has been most helpful?
7. Regarding the international partners working on the university project, what has been difficult in working together?